THE INDEX

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Further Particulars of the "Wild Preacher," *George Jacob Holyoake* 2
"Confusion worse Confounded," *B. F. Underwood* 2
Conciliation, but not Concession, *Wm. J. Potter* 3
The Atheism of Science, *E. D. Stark* 3
A Lesson of Guiteau's Life and Death, *B. F. U.* 4
Prof. Adler's Reply to Mr. Potter, *Felix Adler* 14
A Rejoinder, *Wm. J. Potter* 15
An Implication of Evolution, *B. F. Underwood* 16
Scientific Evidence of Immortality, *M. A. Hardaker* 16
The God Above, *F. M. H.* 17
Anti-State Theorists, *B. W. Ball* 17
Bowne's "Metaphysics," *F. E. Abbot* 26
Justice and Mercy in the Moral Education of Mankind, *Wm. J. Potter* 27
"Anti-Theology-Mad" Liberalism, *B. F. Underwood* 27
Evolution and Morality, *Wm. I. Gill* 28
The Condition of Russia, *Ivan Panin* 29
Hebrew Spectacles, *B. W. Ball* 29
Moral Judgment against Wrong-Doers, *Wm. J. Potter* 38
A Reply to Mr. Abbot, *B. F. Underwood* 38
Cardinal Newman as Viewed by a Liberal, *W. M. Salter* 39
M. Renan on American Popular Instruction, *B. W. Ball* 40
Religious Results of Disestablishment, *William Clarke* 41
Enlightened Reverence, *Wm. J. Potter* 50
Iconoclasm and Art, *Moncure D. Conway* 50
A Danger in the Republic, *M. A. Hardaker* 51
The Creed of Science, *John W. Chadwick* 52
Prayer, *Robert C. Adams* 53
Mr. Beecher's Latest Theological Manifesto, *Wm. J. Potter* 62
New Testament Teachings regarding Woman, *B. F. Underwood* 62
Faith Miracles, *Rowland Connor* 63
A Word about Prof. Lotze, *W. M. Salter* 63
A Singular Remark of Goethe, *B. W. Ball* 64
A New Proof of the Immortality of the Soul, *Wm. I. Gill* .. 64
The Reserved Forces of Virtue, *Wm. J. Potter* 74
Modern Asceticism, *T. W. Higginson* 74
Sympathies and Antipathies, *Sara A. Underwood* 75
Mental Impressions as a Means of Cure, *E. D. C.* 76
Self-Denial and Agnosticism, *B. F. Underwood* 76
Human Society and its Classes, *Wm. J. Potter* 86
The Chinese Question, *E. D. Cheney* 86
Are Agnostics Ascetics? *F. M. Holland* 87
Dr. James' Defence of Faith, *W. M. Salter* 88
England in Eclipse, *Moncure D Conway* 98
T. De Witt Talmage, *Rowland Connor* 99
The Chinese Question, *E. D. Cheney* 99
Faith Miracles, *Mary J. Safford* 101
The Concord School of Philosophy: its Merits and its Defects, *Wm. J. Potter* 110
The Place of Opinion, *George Jacob Holyoake* 110
God or the Galilean? *Felix L. Oswald* 111
Foreign Issues in American Politics, *M. A. Hardaker* 113
The Catholic Church and Intellectual Progress, *B F Underwood* 113
The Radical Unitarians and the National Unitarian Conference, *Wm. J. Potter* 122
Theological Atavism, *S. J. Stewart* 123
The Decrease of Suffering, *W. Sloane Kennedy* 124
Emerson and the Church, *Wm. J. Potter* 124
Dr. Hedge on the Church, * 125
The Catholic Church and Slavery, *B. F. U.* 125
Scope of Philosophy, *Wm. I. Gill* 134
The Future, *R. C. Adams* 135
A Remarkable Passage in Emerson's Poetry, *W. S. Kennedy* 136
Protestant Jesuitism in Girard College, *Wm. J. Potter* 146
A Sea-Change, *Moncure D. Conway* 146
Orthodox and Liberals in Conference, *Wm. I. Gill* 147
The Spencerian Metaphysics, *M. A. Hardaker* 148
Philoprogenitiveness, *B. W. Ball* 148
Unitarians in Conference, *E. C. Towne* 149
Electricity and Life, ... 150
Why we do not go to the National Unitarian Conference, *Wm. J. Potter* 158
Puseyism, *B. W. Ball* 158
Unitarians in Conference, *E. C. Towne* 159
Transcendentalism at Bay, *B. F. Underwood* 160
An Argument that doesn't Work, *Wm. J. Potter* 170
The Peak in Darien, *Lee T. Vance* 170
Why should Naturalistic Evolution be mainly Evil? *Wm. I. Gill* 171
On Some Defects of the Daily Press, *W. S. Kennedy* 171
Unitarians in Conference, *E. C. Towne* 172
Roman Catholicism and Paganism, *B. F. Underwood* 173
Sovereignty of Mind, *Wm. J. Potter* 182
Progress and Degeneration, *John W. Chadwick* 182
New Phases of the "Holy War," *Walter L. Sawyer* 183
Worship, *B. W. Ball* 184
Sophistry of Webster, *Charles K. Whipple* 184
The Girard College Case Again, *Wm. J. Potter* 194
The English Positivists, II., *William Clarke* 194
A Transcendentalist's Plea for Life, *T. W. Higginson* 195
Miss Hardaker's View of Herbert Spencer, *Celia P. Woolley* 195
The Church and its Work, *Robert C. Adams* 196
The Pound of Flesh, but Nothing Else, *Wm. J. Potter* 206
A Diurnal Circle, *Moncure D. Conway* 206
English Positivism, *William Clarke* 207
That Hollow Ghost,—Idealism, *Wm. I. Gill* 208
Herbert Spencer's "Absolute," *M. A. Hardaker* 209
Evolution: A Letter to Mr. Underwood, *D. A. Wasson* 218
On Some Defects of the Daily Press, *W. S. Kennedy* 219
"The Conquest of this Planet," *B. W. Ball* 220
A Few More Words on the National Unitarian Conference, *Wm. J. Potter* 220
Conventions, *F. A. Hinckley* 221
The Elections, *Wm. J. Potter* 230
Evolution: A Second Letter to Mr. Underwood, *D. A. Wasson* 230
The "Faith Cure" Once More, *Edwin D. Mead* 231
Agnosticism: A Letter to the Rev. Dr. McCosh, *Fred. May Holland* 233
Conventions, *F. A. Hinckley* 233
Assurances of Progress, *Wm. J. Potter* 242
Evolution: A Third Letter to Mr. Underwood, *D. A. Wasson* 242
English Opinion of America, *E. C. Towne* 243
Mind and Matter, *B. F. Underwood* 244
Comments on Church Statistics 245
Sympathy as an Educator in Ethics, *Wm. J. Potter* 254
The Relation of the Beautiful Arts to the Evolution Philosophy, *W. Sloane Kennedy* 254
Truth in Error, *Robert C. Adams* 255
Two Contemporary Queens, *B. W. Ball* 256
A New Unitarian Controversy, *Wm. J. Potter* 266
Materialism, *John W. Chadwick* 266
The F. R. A. Conventions 267
Prayer and an Ethical View of Life, *W. M. Salter* 267
Notes from the Field, *B. F. Underwood* 268
The Issue as seen by an Extreme Orthodox, *Wm. J. Potter.* 278
Christianity in Court, *Moncure D. Conway* 278
The Nature of Free Will, *H. D. V.* 279
Science and Sentiment, *F. M. H.* 280
Notes from the Field, *B. F. Underwood* 280
Character not doomed by Heredity and Environment, *Wm. J. Potter* 290
Lydia Maria Child, *William P. Andrews* 291
Truth in Error, *Robert C. Adams* 291
Notes from the Field, *B. F. Underwood* 293
Progress in Reform, *C. K. W.* 293
The Coming Church, *Wm. J. Potter* 302
Socialism and Social Democracy, *W. M. Salter* 302
Fact and Faith: Self and Sacrifice, *Charlotte Porter* 303
Wealth and Poverty, *B. W. Ball* 304
Notes from the Field, *B. F. Underwood* 305
Where the Coming Church is to come from, *Wm J. Potter.* 314
By-ways of Science in Colorado, *W. D. Gunning* 315
Fact and Faith: Self and Sacrifice, II., *Charlotte Porter* 315
William Tell, *Fred. May Holland* 316
Great Men, *Wm. J. Potter* 326
Human Religion, *Robert C. Adams* 326
Reformation from Within, *W. I. Gill* 327
Counteracting Inherited Vices, *E. D. C.* 328
Nirvana, *A. O. C.* 328
Science and the Religious Sense, *Wm. J. Potter* 338
"Thomasing," *Moncure D. Conway* 338
France on the Wane, *B. W. Ball* 339
Notes from the Field, *B. F. Underwood* 339
A Survival of Religious Intolerance, *B. F. U.* 340
The New Orthodoxy, *Wm. J. Potter* 350
Protestantism and Romanism, *B. W. Ball* 350
George's Doctrine of Wages, *W. M. Salter* 351
A Batch of Assumptions, *B. F. Underwood* 352
Is Goodness only a Trick? *Wm. J. Potter* 362
Struldbrugs, *W. D. Gunning* 362
Schools of Poetry, *Margaret E. Tirebuck* 363
Evolution, *B. F. Underwood* 364
Fossil Theology, *Wm. J. Potter* 374
Crooked Uprightness, *C. K. W.* 374
Mr. Cook's "Tu Quoque," *Edwin D. Mead* 375
Reform, Pure and Conventional, *Horace L. Traubel* 377
Evolution, *B. F. Underwood* 377
The Unitarian "Year-Book" Lists of Ministers, *W. J. P.* 379
Who are "Unitarian Ministers"? *Wm. J. Potter* 386
Struldbrugs, II., *W. D Gunning* 387
Physics as an Explanation of the Nature of Things, *W. L. Sheldon* 387
The Associated Charities, *E. D. C.* 389
Kant and his Successors, *B. F. Underwood* 389
Joseph Cook's Logic, *Wm. J. Potter* 398
The Secret of the East, *Felix L. Oswald* 399
The New Evangelists, *Sara A. Underwood* 400
The Deleterious Influence of Quakerism on Philadelphia Life, *W. S. Kennedy* 400
Evolution, *B. F. Underwood* 401
A Reform of the United States Indian Policy, *Wm. J. Potter;* The Secret of the East, *Felix L. Oswald* 410
An Issue in Social Science, *M. A. Hardaker* 411
Is the Bible the Word of God? *Robert C. Adams* 412
Governor Butler's Proclamation, *B. F. Underwood* 414
Free Religious Association Conventions, *F. A. Hinckley* 414
Ecclesiastical Banking, *Wm. J. Potter;* Liberalizing of Opinion in the English Universities, *William Clarke* 422
The Bible a Human Book, *Robert C. Adams* 423
Education Leaflets, *E. D. C.* 424
Joseph Cook's Charges against Kuenen and Leyden, *B. F. U* 425
The Albany Convention, *F. A. Hinckley* 425
Notice to Subscribers 426
Free Religion Practical, *Wm. J. Potter* 434
Free Thought and its Merits, *F. M. Holland* 434
Digest of "Progress and Poverty," *W. S. Kennedy* 435
The Passage in Tacitus, *B. F. Underwood* 436
Notice to Subscribers 437
Amending History, *Wm. J. Potter* 446
An Easter Homily, *John W. Chadwick* 446
The Secret of the East, *Felix L. Oswald* 447
The Salvation Army, *B. F. U.* 448
Societies for Ethical Culture, *Wm. J. Potter* 458
Hargdicks, *W. D. Gunning;* The Jews, *B. W. Ball* 459
Education, *B. F. Underwood* 461
Platonized Orthodoxy, *Wm. J. Potter.* 470
An Antiphone of War-cries, *M. D. Conway* 470
Digest of "Progress and Poverty," II., *W. S. Kennedy* 471
Supernaturalism, *E. D. Stark* 472
Mr. O. B. Frothingham's "Criticism and Christianity," *Wm. J. Potter;* The Secret of the East, *Felix L. Oswald.* 482
Thomas Paine Once More, *John W. Chadwick* 484
Notes of the Field, *B. F. U.* 484
Free Religious Association Festival 485
Theism as a Basis of Religious Organization, *Wm. J. Potter* 494
Has Woman stepped down from her Throne? *Elizabeth Oakes Smith* 494
The Secret of the East, *Felix L. Oswald* 495
Mr. George's Theories, *J. H. Allen* 496
Mormonism, *B. F. Underwood* 497
Free Religious Association Festival 498
Philanthropy: What is its Essence? *Wm. J. Potter* 506
A Michigan Indian Reservation, *Charles Ellis* 506
Shakspere's Politics and Theology, *B. W. Ball* 507
Man and his Show, *W. D. Gunning* 508
Is Volition Lawless? *B. F. Underwood* 509
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., *F. A. Hinckley* 511
Benevolent Lying, *Wm. J. Potter* 518
Shakspere's Politics and Theology, II., *B. W. Ball* 518
Human Ideas of God, *Robert C. Adams* 519
Notes and Reflections on Liberal Work, *C. D. B. Mills* 520
Causation, not Free Will, the Basis of Ethics. *B. F. Underwood* 521
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., *F. A. Hinckley* 522
The Fate of Dr. Beard, *Wm. J. Potter* 530
Passion-Playing, *Moncure D. Conway* 530
A Michigan Indian Reservation, II., *Charles Ellis* 531
Affirmation and the Oath, *B. F. Underwood* 532
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., *F. A. Hinckley* 533
The Universal and the Special in Religion, *Wm. J. Potter* ... 542
The Claims of Religion, *A. N. Adams* 542
The Secret of the East, IV., *Felix L. Oswald* 543
The Political Organization of Liberals, *B. F. Underwood* 545
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., *F. A. Hinckley* 545
Postal Laws and Liberty of the Press, *Wm. J Potter* 554
Some Primitive Free Thinkers, *B. W. Ball* 554
The Sins of Woman, *Elizabeth Oakes Smith* 555
Gibbon, *J. H. Allen* 556
The Honesty and Accuracy of Gibbon, *B. F. Underwood* 557
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., *F. A. Hinckley* 558
The Secret of Life in its Relation to Religion, *Wm. J. Potter* 566
Mr. George's Land Scheme, *J. H. Allen* 566
The Pioneers of the Woman's Movement, and its Opponents, *Sara A. Underwood* 567
Some Earlier Free Thinkers, *B. F. Underwood* 568
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., *F. A. Hinckley* 569
Recalled to Sincerity, *Wm. J. Potter* 578
English Topics: The Affirmation Difficulty, *George Jacob Holyoake* 578
The Consolations of Christianity, *Robert C. Adams* 579
Dr. Beard's Soul and the *Independent*, *W. J. P.* 580
The Coronation of Alexander III., *B. F. Underwood* 580
Joseph Cook's Charges against the Leiden Students, *B F. U.* 580
Not a Sect, *Wm. J. Potter* 590
Social Inequality, *Horace L. Traubel* 590
Postscript. In Two Parts, *J. H. Allen* 591
The Secret of the East, *Felix L. Oswald* 591
The Free Religious Association, *B. F. Underwood* 593
Intolerance at University College, London, *B. F. U.* 594
The Growing Supremacy of Moral Ideas, *Wm. J. Potter* 602
The Lie as a Social Factor, *W. S. Kennedy* 602
Mythology, *Charles D. B. Mills* 603
A Remark of Herbert Spencer, *B. W. Ball* 604
The English "Wordsworth Society," *George Whale* 604
"Negative Preaching," *B. F. Underwood* 605
Settled and Unsettled Questions, *Wm. J. Potter* 614
The Death of a God, *Moncure D. Conway* 615
Nihilism, *Rowland Connor* 616
Moral Purpose in Art, *Horace L. Traubel* 617

ESSAYS AND OTHER LEADING ARTICLES.

Proceedings of Annual Meeting of F. R. A. 6
Illustrations of Theistic Retribution, *V. B. Denslow, LL.D.* .. 10
Emerson's Gospel of the Religion of Nature, *R. Heber Newton* 19
Illustrations of Theistic Retribution, *V. B. Denslow, LL.D* .. 22
William Hogarth, *Marie L. Macomber* 31
How Virtue and Vice are Transmitted, *F. M. Holland* 43
What Form of Agnosticism may become the Religion of the Future? *William Frey* 55
Annihilation, *D. C.* 67
Extracts from Sophocles, selected by *F. M. Holland* 67
Emerson and Theodore Parker, *Edwin D. Mead* 78
The Moods of Mankind, *B. W. Ball* 80
Emerson and Theodore Parker (concluded), *Edwin D Mead* 90
The Scientific and Metaphysical Methods in Philosophy, *Lewis G. Janes* 103
Schools of Poetry, *B. W. Ball* 115
Extracts from Sophocles, selected by *F. M. Holland* 116
On some Features of the Ethics of Jesus, *W. M. Salter* 127
Mormonism and its Critics, *T. W. Curtis* 138
Reflections by the Way, *Mont E. Collins* 140
Evolution in its Relations to Evangelical Religion, *B F. Underwood, Prof. P. A. Chadbourne, Prof. Asa Gray* 151
Matthew Arnold on Culture in America, *Rev Edward C. Towne* 163
Principles and Administration of Free Government, *J. F Hodge* 175
The Gospel of Law, *William Emmette Coleman* 176
The Strength and Scope of the Woman's Rights Movement, *Mrs. Sara A. Underwood* 186
Prof. Haeckel on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck 199
Unitarian Pioneering, *Edwin D. Mead* 210
Prof. Haeckel on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck 213
Some Logical Absurdities of Idealism, *Lewis G. Janes* 222
Prof. Haeckel on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck 224
Reflections by the Way, *Mont E. Collins* 225
What is Christianity? *C. K Whipple* 235
Philosophy at Dinner: Addresses by Herbert Spencer, Hon. William M. Evarts, and Others 236
Evolution, Objective and Subjective, *Wm. I. Gill* 247
Philosophy at Dinner: Addresses by Herbert Spencer, Hon. William M. Evarts, and Others 248
The Creeds of Agnosticism, *L. J. Vance* 258
Christian Theology *vs.* Human Fellowship, *Frederic A. Hinckley* 270
Emerson and Plato, *E. D. Mead* 272
Do the Ethics of Jesus satisfy the Needs of our Time? *W. M. Salter* 282
A Problem in Politics, *H. L. Traubel* 295
The Prevalence of Atheism, *Charles Ellis* 296
Emerson and Shelley 297
No Supersensible Matter, *Wm. I. Gill* 307
Curiosities of Music, *Ivan Panin* 308
A Rationalist's Estimate of the Bible, *Wm. J. Potter* 318
Industrial Co-operation, reported by *A. L. Leubuscher* 321
Conflicts of Philosophy, *Van Buren Denslow, LL.D* 330
Funeral Services of Samuel L. Hill, of Florence, Mass. 332
Conflicts of Philosophy, II., *Van Buren Denslow, LL.D* 342
Maxims and Meditations, *J. Wm. Lloyd* 344
Conflicts of Philosophy, III., *Van Buren Denslow, LL.D* 355
Theodore Parker's Interest in the Elevation of Woman 357
Orthodoxy and the Bible, *John W. Chadwick* 366
Thomas Paine 368
The Philosophy of Emerson 369
Evolution, Objective and Subjective, III., *Wm. I. Gill* 380
About Books, *George Iles* 391
Misconceptions of the Christian Clergy and Churches concerning Jesus, *C. K. Whipple* 403
Some Uncommon Thoughts on Immortality 416
Madame de Staël and Heine, *B. W. Ball* 417
Humanity as the Supreme Being, *William Frey* 427
Practical Deductions from the Religion of Humanity, *William Frey* 438
The Extension of the Ethical Movement, *Felix Adler* 450

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THE INDEX.

Free Religious Association Conventions, *F. A. H.* 452
The Union of Church and State in Connecticut, historically considered, *Emily J. Leonard* 462
Practical Deductions from the Religion of Humanity, *William Frey* 474
The Genii in Council, *F. M. Holland* 486
The Black Hole,—Solipsism, *William I. Gill* 499
The Criticisms upon the Ethics of Herbert Spencer, *S. J. Stewart* 511
The English Blasphemy Laws, *William Clarke* 523
The Genii in Council, *F. M. Holland* 535
An Agnostic View of the Doctrine of Vicarious Atonement, *Wm. H. Spencer* 547
Religious Rationalism in the United States, *Count Goblet d'Alviella* 559
Religious Rationalism in the United States, *Count Goblet d'Alviella* 570
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association 582
Men and Animals, *N. Daumar Mariager* 584
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association 595
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association 607
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association 619

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Code of Ethics, *A. B. Arnold, M.D.* 10
Free Society, Lyceum Hall, Dorchester, *A* 23
Berlin Correspondence, *S. B. Weston* 32
"The Woman Question," *Willard Pennington* 33
Reason and Imagination, * 33
Some Reminiscences, *Howard Worcester Gilbert* 33
Mr. Savage in Reply to Mr. Mitchell, *M. J. Savage* 34
Spirit or Matter,—Which? *David Eccles* 44
Berlin Correspondence, *S. B. Weston* 45
The Unitarian Scapegoat, *A. W.* 45
Emerson and Walt Whitman, *John W. Chadwick* 46
A Correction, *B. W. Ball* 57
One Phase of Free Thought, *Clay Neville* 68
Truth against Faith, *Charles Ellis* 68
The Index and the English Unitarian Press, *H. N.* 69
Prof. Adler and the F. R. A., *M. M.* 69
Faith Cures, or Modern Miracles, *John Dixwell, M.D* 70
Socialism, *F. Harmer* 81
Comteism,—Does it Solve the Question? *J. Y. A* 81
The Western Unitarian Conference, *C. W. W.* 82
A Letter from Lilian Whiting, *Lilian Whiting* 82
A National Free Conference, *Edward C. Towne* 92
Mr. Mitchell's Reply to Mr. Savage 92
Mind a Superior Force, *Subscriber* 93
Chinese Equity, *J. M. Latta* 93
What Poverty Means, *M. M.* 94
A Frank Letter from "the Piney Woods of Mississippi," *S. F. Smart* 94
Are our Mobocrats always Foreigners? *C. P.* 94
Our Late National Danger, *S. E. Moffett* 106
"Vaccination," *Alexander Spencer* 116
From Milwaukee, *B.* 117
Cardinal Newman, *J. G. White* 118
The Creed of Science, *C. K. W.* 118
Gleanings from Correspondents 118
A Study of Man in a Mining-Camp, *W. D. Gunning* 129
Will-Power in Disease, *John Dixwell, M.D.* 130
An Explanatory Note, *H. N.* 130
The Sunday Question in Newport, *H. E. A.* 131
Faith in God against Faith in a Material Universe, *Hatten* 140
Faith Cures, *John Orris* 141
Our Likes and Dislikes, *Roderic Random* 141
Gleanings from Correspondents 142
A Correction, *S. J. Stewart* 142
National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, *Harriet H. Robinson* 154
Missionaries in India and China, *Theodore Stanton* 165
Cruelty on the Niger by Agents of the Church Missionary Society, *Van Buren Denslow* 165
Darwinism, *J. M. Peebles* 166
America Fifty Years Ago 166
The Index and the National Unitarian Conference, *M. J. Savage* 167
The New Article of the National Unitarian Conference, *John W. Chadwick* 177
An Offer to the Spiritualists of America, *Joseph Templeton* 178
Woman Suffrage in Nebraska, *Harriet H. Robinson* 178
The Radical Unitarians and their Critics.—Both Sides, *S. J. Stewart* 188
Our Relation to the National Unitarian Conference, *W. H. Spencer* 189
Orthodoxy as Consolation, *E. B. B* 190
"Natural Religion," *J. Kudith* 190
The Unitarian Conference Once More, *M. J. Savage* 201
The Subjectivity of Consciousness, *Franklin Smith* 201
The Musician and the Naturalist, *J. Kudith* 202
The Unitarian Conference Once Again, *Chas. D. B. Mills* 226
Mormonism and the Press, *T. W. Curtis* 226
The Blessedness of the Saints is Insecure, *Wm. H. Spiller* 226
Curiosities of Orthodoxy, *C. K. W.* 226
That Correction, *S. J. Stewart* 238
Darwin's Letter to a Student, *Lee J. Vance* 250
"The Point raised by Dr. Ellis," *W. H. S.* 251
Catholics in Politics, *B.* 261
Ecclesiastical Interference with Civil Government, *Howard Worcester Gilbert* 261
Mr. Beecher on Herbert Spencer, Evolution, and Progress, *Carl H. Horsch* 262
The Renunciation of Rev. W. T. Cheney, *A. A. Bell* 273
Science and Religion, *L. B. Hopkins* 273
No Finality in any Present Form of Faith, *M. J. Savage* 273
A Spectre Exorcised, *Lewis G. Janes* 285
Prof. Chadbourne and the Christian Sabbath, *Gilbert Billings* 286
The Name of the Lord, *Julius Ashman* 286
Origin of the term "Agnostic," *H. E. Armington* 286
The Title "Reverend," *W. H. L.* 286
A Dynamical Fiction, *Franklin Smith* 297
Is Prayer Outgrown? *D. Rowen* 298
Liberal Religious Organization, *J. W. Mackie* 309
Intuition, *Eva A. H. Barnes* 310
Revision of Creeds, *W. H. S.* 310
Did not Jesus teach Orthodoxy? *T.* 334
"What constitutes an Agnostic?" *Leander Wetherell* 334
The Deity of Christ 334
Capital and Labor, *J. G. Whyte* 344
Liberalism in Religion, *John G. Webb* 344
The Sunday Evening Association in London, *Mark H. Judge* 345
Eternal Damnation, *W. H. S.* 345
Liberal Religion in Long Island, N.Y., *W. C. Bowen* 345
From a Defender of the Faith, *B. Brinkerhoff* 358
State and Church and the Preachers, *Horace L. Traubel* 369
The Creeds of Agnosticism, *V.* 370
A Query: Bigamy and Polygamy, *E. D. C* 370
Christian Abuse 381
A Free Thinker's Burial, *F. B.* 382
The Liberal Church, *J. W. Mackie* 394
Another Letter from Mr. Brinkerhoff 394
"Sanctified Scholarship," *A. N. A.* 395
On the Nature of "Goodness," *V. B. Denslow* 405
Who is Right? *An Inquirer* 405
The Index and "The Nine Demands of Liberalism," *J. A. J. Wilcox*; Recent Immigration, *John Dixwell, M.D.* 406
Reprobation, *W. H. S.* 406
"Nature never makes a Leap," *J. E. Sutton* 418
What is the Meaning of the term "Agnostic"? *David Newport* 430
What does the word "Religion" mean? *I. H.* 430
Mr. Charles Watts, *D. K.* 430
The Historical Evidences of Christianity 441
The Sunday Question in Literature, *H. E. A.* 441
Eusebius and Pious Frauds 452
Who is to Determine which is the Right Conscience? *W.* 454
Philadelphia Quakerism Defended, *David Newport* 454
A Plea for Protection, *John Warr* 464
A Word supplied, *J. E. Peck* 464
Did Jesus really teach so? *N. A. Haskell* 465
Humanity and Religion, *W. L. S.* 465
Eusebius and Pious Frauds 466
Neglected Things, *George Jacob Holyoake* 477
Mr. Adler on Freedom, *Wm. I. Gill*; The Passage in Tacitus 478
The Western Floods 478
A Plain Talk about the Indians and their Tremont Temple Friends, *Wm. Sloane Kennedy* 487
A Frenchman's View of George Eliot, *H. E. A.* 488
Eusebius and "Pious Frauds," *E. P. Woodward* 488
A Word from Mr. Heywood; A Note from Mr. Charles Watts; Thought in Dreams, *F. M. H.* 489
Is the Bible the Parent of Religion? *Wm. H. Spiller* 489
Letter from New York, *T. W. Curtis* 501
Peter Cooper and the Religion of Humanity, *William Frey* .. 502
Colonel Higginson corrects a Newspaper Item 502
Norse Literature, *Lita Barney Sayles*; The True Foundations of a Religious Society, *W. H. G.*; Count Goblet d'Alviella on Rational Religion in the United States, *H. E. A.*; Incomes of the English Bishops, *A Briton* 514
A Tariff upon Foreigners, *D. McLaren* 515
English Universities, *D.* 515
Eusebius and "Pious Frauds" 524
A Letter from Canada, *Allen Pringle* 536
Letter from Milwaukee, *B.* 557
The Functions of Governments, *S. E. Moffett*; Mr. George's Theories Again, *A. Bate*; Aristocracy in Religion, *C. K. W.* 538
A Solution of the Indian Problem, *J. William Lloyd* 538
Man and the Triple-headed Monster, *T. W. Curtis* 549
A Reply to Mr. Bate, *J. H. Allen* 550
The George-Kennedy-Allen Case Again, *W. S. Kennedy* 562
Samuel Johnson's *Religion of India, Keshavrao Bhat* 562
The Witchcraft Delusion in Boston, *Mary Gunning* 574
A Business Man's View 574
A Few Thoughts about Girls, *A. O. C.* 585
Material Immortality; In Memoriam 586
The Mathers, *E. J. L.* 598
"The Dogmatism of the Synagogue," *Dr. David Stern* 598
A Defect in George's Argument, *Frederick B. Perkins* 598
The Irish Land System—Cooperation, *C. H. Colman* 610
Consolations of a Noble Faith, *W. I. Gill* 621
"By their Fruits ye shall know them," *Elvira B. Barnes* 622
A Sample of Dr. Duryea's Preaching to Young Ladies, *D. F.* 622
The Slander Repeated, *D. B. Hale* 622
Note of Correction, *J. H. Allen* 622

BOOK NOTICES.

The Art Amateur, Sanitarian, Unitarian Review, Herald of Health 11
"American Men of Letters," Henry D. Thoreau 23
Revue de Belgique; Art Amateur 23
Clair; Memorial Address on the Life and Character of John Judson Bagley; North American Review 35
Bird-Bolts; Shots on the Wing; Paul Dreyfuss 46
The Catholic World 46
The Atlantic Monthly; Wide-Awake; Our Little Ones 47
Natural Religion; Christian Thought; Christianity Outside of Christendom 58
The Century Magazine; St. Nicholas; Baby-Land 58
For Girls 71
The Art Amateur; Unitarian Review; Herald of Health 71
The Revue de Belgique 82
Schmeitzner's Internationale Monatsschrift 83
The Sanitarian; The Sunday Review 83
Popular Science Monthly 94
Scribner's; Catholic World; Wide-Awake 95
Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863; King's Hand-Book of Boston Harbor; Atlantic Monthly; North American Review; St. Nicholas; Unitarian Review 107
Dramas and Miscellaneous Poems; Was Jesus Divine? 119
Revue de Belgique; Baby-Land 119
Reminiscences; The Choice of Books 142
The Popular Science Monthly; Art Amateur 143
Progress and Poverty; The Century; North American Review; Atlantic; Catholic World; Sanitarian 155
The Peak in Darien; St. Nicholas; Wide-Awake 167
History of Woman Suffrage; Socrates; Apology and Crito of Plato; Socrates; The Phædo of Plato; The Great Epics of Mediæval Germany; Wit and Wisdom of Don Quixote; Baby-Land; Art Amateur; Sanitarian 179
Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education 191
Revue de Belgique; Sidereal Messenger; Urn Burial 191
Atlantic Monthly 202
Century Magazine; Popular Science Monthly; North American Review; Catholic World 203
Wide-Awake; St. Nicholas; The Herald of Health; Our Little Ones; Pilgrim's Progress; Freidenker-Almanach; Lessons in Ethics 215
Agamemnon, La Saisiaz, and Dramatic Idyls; The Rhymster; Zoological Sketches; Mind; Revue de Belgique 227
Kant's Critique of Pure Reason 238
Ministers' Hand-book for Christenings, Weddings, and Funerals; Art Amateur; Wide-Awake; Unitarian Review; Herald of Health; Sanitarian; Baby-Land 239
Stories from Robert Browning; A Little Pilgrim; A Short History of the Bible 251
The Sunday Review; Sidereal Messenger 251
The Battle-ground of the Spiritual Reformation 263
Rückert's "Wisdom of the Brahmin" 263
Century Magazine; Atlantic Monthly; Catholic World 263
Theology and Mythology; Boston Inside Out; Thoughts on Theism; Washington Irving's "Old Christmas" and "Bracebridge Hall" 274
Historical and Critical Review of the Sunday Question 275
Sunshine in the Soul; The Art Amateur; North American Review; Popular Science Monthly; Wide-Awake; St. Nicholas; Our Little Ones; Baby-Land 275
Selections from Robert Herrick; Respiratory Control for Vocal Purposes; Unitarian Review; Herald of Health 287
Travels in South Kensington; History of Ancient Art; Poems; Harper's Young People; Divorce 299
Revue de Belgique 299
Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer 310
Art and Nature in Italy; Atlantic Monthly; Century Magazine; Popular Science Monthly; North American Review; Catholic World; Vick's Floral Guide 311
John Greenleaf Whittier 322
Some Children's Books; How to be Weather-wise 323
Our Liberal Movement in Theology 334
Mr. Isaacs; Maghbild; Stories of Discovery 335
Journal of Speculative Philosophy; Sanitarian 335
Poems; Anyhow Stories; The Art Amateur 346
Baby-Land; Wide-Awake; North American Review; Our Little Ones; Herald of Health 347
Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher 358
Popular Science Monthly; North American Review; Century Magazine; Unitarian Review; Revue de Belgique 359
George Ripley; Phyllis Browne 370
First Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution of Massachusetts 371
The Catholic World; Atlantic Monthly; Our Little Ones 371
Bible Myths, and their Parallels in Other Religions 382
History of the Religion of Israel 382
Silk and the Silk Worm 383
A Doubting Heart; Wide-Awake; St. Nicholas 383
Schelling's Transcendental Idealism; The Scientific Evidences of Organic Evolution; Pearls of the Faith 395
Notes on Evolution and Christianity 406
Early New England People; The Image Breaker 407
The Popular Science Monthly; North American Review; Atlantic Monthly; Art Amateur; Unitarian Review; Revue de Belgique 407
The Complete Works of Thomas Paine; The Official Report of the State Hospital for the Insane at Norristown, Pa. 418
The Elzevir Library 419
The Unending Genesis 430
The Catholic World; St. Nicholas; Wide-Awake; Pansy 431
The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson; Figures of the Past; Te Deum; The Century 442
Revue de Belgique 443
An Original Lecture 454
The Art Amateur; North American Review; Unitarian Review; Our Little Ones 455
Gov. Butler *vs.* the Common Schools of Massachusetts 466
The Elzevir Library; Atlantic; Popular Science Monthly .. 466
Fortnightly Review 467
The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible 478
Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement 479
Lectures on the Calling of a Christian Woman and her Training to fulfil it 479
Century; Wide-Awake; St. Nicholas; Our Little Ones 479
Lectures, Essays, and Sermons 489
Technical Instruction in France 491
The Art Amateur; Revue de Belgique 491
Oliver Wendell Holmes; The Elzevir Library 503
The Sanitarian; Pansy; Babyland; Herald of Health 503
The Modern Sphinx, and Some of her Riddles; Emerson as a Poet; The Popular Science Monthly; Century Magazine; Unitarian Review 515
History of Christianity 525
Dante Gabriel Rossetti; Spiritual or Magnetic Forces 526
North American Review; Atlantic Monthly; Catholic World; St. Nicholas; Wide-Awake; Our Little Ones ... 526
Christian History; The Story of Theodore Parker 539
Whence, What, Where? Aldornere 551
The Revue de Belgique; Atlantic Monthly 551
The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts 562
The Greek Philosophers 563
Atlantic Monthly; North American Review 563
Jesus: His Opinions and Character; Rivers of Life 574
The Popular Science Monthly; Spectator; Q. P. Index Annual; Unitarian Review; Macmillan's Magazine 575
The Great Religions; The American Protectionist's Manual 586
Revue de Belgique; Century; Wide-Awake; Catholic World; Our Little Ones 587
The Doom of the Majority 598
Conscious Matter; Societies for the Suppression of Vice ... 599
Art Amateur; St. Nicholas; Choice Literature; Babyland .. 599
Dynamic Sociology; The Rundschau; Atlantic Monthly 611
Autobiography of Benjamin Hallowell 622
Doctor Claudius; The North American Review 623

POETRY.

Cathedrals, *B. W. B.* 5
Righteousness, *Willard Pennington* 18
Brotherhood, *Horace L. Traubel* 31
Ingersoll's Thoughts on Death, *Mont E. Collins* 31
Mansions and Man, *Lita Barney Sayles* 43
Phædra, *B. W. Ball* 54
On the Heights, *Walter L. Sawyer* 66
Optimist, *Caroline A. Mason* 66
A Tribute to Emerson, *Mont E. Collins* 78
The Silent-Flying Land, *W. S. Kennedy* 78
The Mystery, *B. W. Ball* 90
The Growth of Wisdom, *H. L. Howard* 102
My Garden in the West, *B. W. Ball* 115
To Shakspere, *Howard Worcester Gilbert* 126
Onward, *Horace L. Traubel* 126
A Mid-day Dreamer, *Sara A. Underwood* 137
Delusion: Who shall declare it? *Emma Tuttle* 137
Goethe on America, *B. W. B.* 137
Sunrise, *B. W. Ball* 151
The Voice of the Morning, *Lita Barney Sayles* 151
The Equinox, *B. W. B* 162
The Mystical River, *S. B. Brittan* 175
Whispering Pines at Night, *W. S. Kennedy* 191
Cockalgines, *B. W. Ball* 191
Aromas, *B. W. B*; Where is God? *A. O. C.* 198
An Ancient Text, *H. T. C.* 210
The Cathedral Universal, *Lita Barney Sayles* 222
From my Study, *Horace L. Traubel* 222
Presentiment, *Sara W. Smith* 234
Prometheus, *B. W. Ball* 246
Bugle-Call, *H. T. Clark* 257
Electricity, *Lita Barney Sayles* 270
King Death's Soliloquy, "*Old Birch*" 282
Giuseppe Garibaldi; Teutonia—Roma, *B. W. Ball* 294
The Building of the Temple, *Walter L. Sawyer* 306
"It Moves," *George Martin* 318
The Marvel of Life, *B. W. Ball* 330
The Spirit Realm, *B. W. Ball* 341
The Problem of Life, "*Old Birch*" 355
A Priest of Nature, *B. W. Ball*; Work on! *W. W. Broom* 365
The Evolution of Harmony, *Sara W. Smith* 379
Victory, *B. W. Ball*; Election Day, "*Old Birch*" 390
Darwin and Emerson, *Rowland Connor* 393
Reveries, *Mont E. Collins* 403
Agnosticism, *Sara W. Smith* 415
An Ideal Jelly-Fish 419
Whisperings, *Horace L. Traubel* 426
Isis, *Howard Worcester Gilbert* 437
Crossing a Moor, *Xenos Clark* 450
Easter Bells, *Lita Barney Sayles* 462
The Sophist, *Horace L. Traubel*; Infidelity, *M. J. Savage* 474
To our Friend Samuel Johnson, *W. P. A* 486
Woman, *Walter L. Sawyer* 486
Peter Cooper 498
Cambyses and the Calf-God *B. W. Ball* 503
The Ineffable Name, *John W. Chadwick* 511
Heredity 515
Forgiveness, *Sara Ward* 523
The Old Bible and the New, *E. P. Powell*; Natura Rerum, *B. W. Ball*; The Affirmation Bill 534
My Gehenna, *A. O. C.* 546
Flowers, *Lita Barney Sayles* 558
Lines in an Album, *Van Buren Denslow* 559
A Parallel, *Helen T. Clark*; The Teuton, *B. W. Ball* 569
The Mystery of Life, *Emma Tuttle* 581
Optimist, Pessimist, *Theodore Harris* 581
Hylas, *B. W. Ball* 595
The Mariner, *J. C. Underhill* 606
A Soliloquy, *Sara Ward*; The Indian's Heaven, *B. W. B.* .. 618

MISCELLANEOUS.

Herbert Spencer 142
Darwin and Haeckel 227
Extracts from Girard's Will 262
Ingersoll on Death 502
Paine and his Priestly Visitors 526
A Translation of Cardinal Simeoni's Circular to the Irish Bishops 597
Montreal Free Thought Club 609
Judge Hoadly and *The Index*, *E. D. Starl* 622
Paragraphs, 11, 34, 46, 57, 70, 94, 131, 154, 202, 214, 274, 298, 310, 345, 466, 489.

CURRENT TOPICS.

Pages 1, 13, 25, 37, 49, 61, 73, 85, 97, 109, 121, 133, 145, 157, 169, 181, 193, 205, 217, 229, 241, 253, 265, 277, 289, 301, 313, 325, 337, 349, 361, 373, 385, 397, 409, 421, 433, 445, 457, 469, 481, 493, 505, 517, 529, 541, 553, 565, 577, 589, 601, 613.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Pages 5, 18, 30, 41, 54, 65, 77, 89, 101, 114, 125, 137, 150, 162, 174, 185, 197, 209, 221, 234, 246, 257, 269, 281, 294, 305, 317, 329, 340, 353, 364, 379, 390, 402, 414, 426, 437, 449, 461, 473, 485, 498, 510, 522, 533, 546, 558, 569, 581, 594, 606, 617.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

Pages 11, 23, 35, 47, 59, 71, 83, 95, 107, 119, 131, 143, 155, 167, 179, 191, 203, 215, 227, 239, 251, 263, 275, 287, 299, 311, 323, 335, 347, 359, 371, 383, 395, 407, 419, 431, 443, 455, 467, 479, 491, 503, 515, 526, 539, 551, 563, 575, 587, 599, 611, 623.

NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

By W. J. P. Page 4.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE OF THE YOUNG.

By F. A. H. Page 59.

LIVE THOUGHTS.

Pages 126, 346, 450, 485.

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	1
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Further Particulars of the "Wild Preacher," George Jacob Holyoake,	2
"Confusion worse Confounded," B. F. Underwood,	2
Conciliation, but not Concession, Wm. J. Potter,	3
The Atheism of Science, E. D. Stark,	3
A Lesson of Guiteau's Life and Death, B. F. U.,	4
NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS PRESS, W. J. P.,	4
EDITORIAL NOTES,	5
POETRY.	
Cathedrals, B. W. B.,	5
ESSAYS.	
Proceedings of Annual Meeting of F.R.A.,	6
Illustrations of Theistic Retribution, V. B. Denslow, LL.D.,	10
CORRESPONDENCE.	
The Code of Ethics, A. B. Arnold, M.D.,	10
BOOK NOTICES.	
The Art Amateur, Sanitarian, Unitarian Review, Herald of Health,	11
MISCELLANEOUS,	11
PERSONAL ITEMS,	11

CURRENT TOPICS.

A MEETING was held in Rome on a recent Sunday in honor of Darwin, at which the distinguished Prof. Moleschott, reviewing the career of the great naturalist, said that Italian history was a grand illustration of the Darwinian view of the struggle for existence.

THE Malley boys have been acquitted, and one of them goes to Saratoga for the summer, and the prosecution of "the Star route thieves" is already referred to as "the Star route break-down"; but a poor woman who stole a few cents from a neighbor to buy bread for her children has been convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. "Thank God, justice has not quite departed from the world!"

A STATUE of Savonarola, the patriot priest and revolutionist of Italy, whose character is so finely portrayed by George Eliot in *Romola*, and whose portrait George Eliot's face so strongly resembled, was unveiled before a large concourse of people with appropriate speeches and ceremonies on Sunday, June 25, at Florence. Thus, again, in the world's history, is tardy justice done the memory of a brave, patient, and conscientious martyr.

A DESPATCH says that Arabi Pasha has commenced operations against the Suez Canal, and that General Stone, it is greatly feared, is throwing in his lot with Arabi, and endeavoring to hamper English action. The despatch adds: "His conduct is inscrutable. Americans long resident agree that America's interests and England's ought to work together. General Stone's personal friends who greatly admire him, are sorry to see him risking his reputation in such a cause." General Stone's conduct has generally been "inscrutable." It appeared especially so the last time we saw him, a safe distance from the field on the opposite side of the Potomac, during the battle of Balls Bluff, a few days after which he was arrested and confined in Fort Warren. We were not aware that he had any reputation to lose, in this country at least.

THE critics, who fancy they see weakness in the policy of Gladstone in regard to Egypt, more likely expose their own superficiality of thought. The antagonism which would be aroused by the expulsion of Arabi Pasha from Egypt, without consulting the Great Powers of Europe, armed as they are to the teeth and watchful of one another's movements, would involve England in complications of the gravest character, and of which no one could predict the result. Mr. Gladstone is a far-seeing statesman; and the world may rest assured that he is as little likely to go into a quarrel without calculating the cost as he is to resort to any of the unscrupulous methods by which such men as Lord Beaconsfield were willing to extend and strengthen British power. The solution of the Egyptian question will finally, without doubt, be through the conference of the Powers.

THERE ought to be a Nemesis of the grimmest sort awaiting not only the officers and crew of the Dutch steamer "Nemesis," but also the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company, which owns it, and whose culpable neglect, to say the least, caused the death of sixteen little children from insufficient and unwholesome food and water, lack of medical care, and cruel treatment. The same causes brought to the parents and other grown-up passengers disease and suffering untold. Unfortunately, before the story of the poor immigrants—a story to the truth of which their physical condition plainly testified—was made public, the "Nemesis" was well on its way back for another load of victims. But, as an exchange remarks, even if the captain and crew "are at present out of reach of the United States, we ought to be ready for them with a stringent law when they turn up again."

ONE of the ludicrous phases of both religious and anti-religious zeal was recently illustrated in France. A Madame Paul Minck, once famous as a leading Communist, wished to name her new baby by the rather unmelodious and inharmonious name of Lucifer Blanqui Vercingetorix, a desire in which she was seconded by her husband, the child's father. But the mayor of the district in which the parents resided, having apparently the fear of Lucifer before his eyes, decidedly objected to any such name being borne by any baby under his jurisdiction, and, after careful search, dragged forth from its obscurity a forgotten law of 1805, which forbids the employment of names not found in the Gregorian Calendar. Probably, the child, however rabid an iconoclast he may grow up to be, will yet have a little kindly feeling for this instance of religious intolerance which saved him from the infliction of such a name.

"THE Supreme Secular Benevolent Association," recently formed at Port Jervis, N.Y., has filed articles of association with the Secretary of State; and they have been approved by Judge Barnard of the Supreme Court. The object of this association is to improve the condition of the members morally, socially, and materially; to establish a relief fund on an equitable basis, from which shall be paid, on the death of a member who has complied with the requirements, for the benefit of his family, a sum not exceeding $3,000. A further object of this association is to promote the complete separation of Church and State, and the administration of our political system on a purely secular basis, substantially in accordance with the Nine Demands of Liberalism. The president is E. G. Fowler, the secretary W. T. Doty, and the treasurer W. M. Vail, all well known and worthy citizens of Port Jervis.

WHATEVER may be James Gordon Bennett's faults, lack of broad-minded and warm-hearted impulse is not one of them. Though some have narrow-mindedly censured him for fitting out that unfortunate arctic expedition, yet those same carpers would have lauded him to the skies as the generous friend of science and humanity, had that expedition proved the success he hoped it to be, and such as his Stanley exploration venture undoubtedly was. Although he was in no wise to blame for accepting the services of the scientific enthusiasts who so eagerly offered themselves to accompany the "Jeannette," he has taken upon himself to inquire personally into the needs of the survivors' families, and to provide for all those who are in need. To Mrs. De Long, he has given a large sum, sufficient for her maintenance in comfort for years; and, quite incidentally, we learn that he pays the family of the seaman, Jack Cole, who was rendered insane by his sufferings, a monthly stipend of $75, and employs the eldest son at a good salary.

THE New York *Herald* says that Mr. Worthington, the Collector of the Port of Boston, was "commended to President Arthur for the appointment upon the ground that he is held in the highest esteem in Evangelical circles of the Puritan capital. The number of orthodox church members among the subscribers to his stalwart Republican newspaper was asserted to be greater in proportion to its circulation than is the case with any other secular journal of any stripe of politics in that city." The *Herald* declares that these considerations, together with ex-Governor Boutwell's recommendation, doubtless influenced the President's choice, and adds, "And they also influenced us in giving particular heed to the following public revelation by Collector Worthington of startling discoveries concerning the management of the custom-house by his predecessor, who is a civil service reformer of the variety exemplified by Senators Dawes and Hoar." The "revelation" is that Mr. Beard, Worthington's predecessor, had "an examining board of his own for the selection of employés. The usual question first asked was: 'Did you vote for such a man at the last election?' 'Well, if you did, you are not the sort of man to come here.'" Mr. Beard declares this statement "utterly and entirely false"; and, now, the *Herald* says that his letter of denial "impresses us favorably with Mr. Beard's business capacity, even if he is not so orthodox as Collector Worthington." And having been induced to give heed to the charge against Mr. Beard, partly because of the Orthodoxy of his accuser, the *Herald* says to the present Collector, who is an opponent of civil service reform, "We think it is incumbent that you shall produce your proofs." The Orthodoxy of Boston will not thank the *Herald* for a compliment supplemented with such a confession of disappointment and chagrin·

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FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE "WILD PREACHER."

In a recent communication, I promised to give further information concerning a "Wild Preacher" whom you kindly took off our hands. I allude to Joseph Barker, who, being once a Christian, became a sceptic and finally a disbeliever. He never attained the dignity of a heretic. It is a poor thing to be a sceptic except upon two questions, upon which evidence for belief is denied us. Mere disbelief is not satisfactory, and may denote laziness of mind, where positive truth is to be had in place of the error discarded. Mr. Barker from being a disbeliever became what he called an atheist, and we became glad when he was converted again to Methodism. At the same time, we had among us Mr. Thomas Cooper, a man of great probity, who is both a poet and an orator. During imprisonment which came upon him through advocating Chartism, he wrote a remarkable poem, entitled the "Purgatory of Suicides." Mr. Cooper has no proclivity to self-death, for he is happily living among us still. His poem contained much impulsive atheism. He was a sentimental atheist, pretty much as Shelley was. He also returned to Wesleyanism, in which he was reared or, as you would say, "raised." We were not glad of that; for, being a man of character and parts, his defection was a real loss to us. It was Mr. Cooper who was the occasion of its becoming known that Joseph Barker was, upon his own admission, an atheist.

Joseph Barker, during his unbelieving period, wrote a pamphlet containing broad and coarse atheism, expressed with his usual extravagance and repulsiveness. Thomas Cooper engaged to discuss with him certain propositions contained in the aforesaid pamphlet. After accepting discussion, Mr. Barker evaded holding it during a year or more. To bring the matter to an issue, it was left to me to decide whether or not the debate should be held. Having to address a hill-top meeting near Huddersfield, at which Mr. Barker was present, I took occasion to speak to him upon the subject. My words were: "Your answer to a single question will end this matter. Mr. Cooper calls upon you to defend certain atheistic propositions. Are you an atheist or are you not? If you are not, you cannot be rightly called upon to defend atheism, although you have asserted it in your pamphlet. What say you: are you an Atheist?" He answered "I am." My reply was, "Then, I decide that you meet Mr. Cooper." And accordingly he did. His adversary had extracted the questions to be discussed from Mr. Barker's own statements. Their naked offensiveness, when put in concrete form, inspired Mr. Barker with reluctance to answer for them. He, some time after, denied that he ever was an atheist, though he assured me he was, and in consequence of such assurance he accepted the obligation of defending atheism. That atheism never had any real hold upon him, that he never had any clear or deliberate intellectual conviction of its truth, is possible. That he had written in favor of it, and had avowed himself of that opinion, did not prevent him denying that he ever was of that persuasion.

The debate was held in Bradford. It was desired by both disputants that I should preside at it. But the office of judge between them was not welcome to me. Both were capable, indignant, and determined disputants, quite devoid of admiration for each other. Mr. Cooper was a recent convert from free thought, and Mr. Barker a recent convert from Christianity. Mr. Cooper had no great opinion of Mr. Barker's honesty, and Mr. Barker had not learned to respect Mr. Cooper's sincerity. Besides, I was the friend of both. For Mr. Cooper, I had regard and attachment. Mr. Barker stood ostensibly on the same side of free thought as myself. Both would be sure to lapse into invectives, which I should feel bound to forbid. I neither wanted to condemn a partisan nor yet to decide against a friend, nor did I wish to preside over a discussion which might degenerate into a bear garden. Mr. Barker had a Wesleyan faculty of imputation, which had been cultivated by exercise in every party to which he had belonged; and Mr. Cooper was a controversialist, who would have thought himself wanting in manliness and faithfulness, if he did not say what he thought and all he thought about his adversary and his views; and what he thought was not at all pleasant. On these grounds, I avoided taking the chair, which I have regretted since. Mr. John Watts was appointed to preside, who was too young to have authority, and, being small in stature, looked like a boy in the chair between the two full-grown and mature disputants. Each opponent felt there was want of respect in the arrangement, which each thought I ought to have prevented. The debate left no pleasant remembrance behind it, and Mr. Barker shortly after slunk away into the old jungles of Orthodoxy.

During the war of emancipation in America, he reappeared in England as a copperhead and advocate of slavery. He had at an earlier period sent me from America powerful letters against slavery, which I had published in the *Reasoner*. The Anti-slavery Society in Manchester reminded him of his former opinions. The authorship of these letters he denied. As I had preserved the originals (being struck by their peculiar random yet regular calligraphy), I sent them to Mr. E. O. Greening, the secretary of the society which had challenged him, who produced them on the platform, when his disowning them had to take some other form than that of denying them.

Mr. Barker was of the reckless order of free thinkers. Indeed, he was reckless in everything. He never thought of the effect of what he was saying or doing. To make a sensation was the same thing to him as making progress. He was as the Indian, to whom the yell is more than the battle. If he made a great noise, it was the same to him as though the enemy were slain. He never inquired whether they were merely infuriated or whether they were fallen. As a disbeliever, he was anti-theology mad, and the dogmas of the priests ran away with him. Supernatural revelations were disproved long ago. The kingdom of science is founded and established; and, where its new truths are vigorously expounded, superstition retreats before it as wild beasts before the march of civilization.

As examples of Mr. Barker's wild statements, a few passages will suffice: "The last remnants of my old religious faith are gone." "All the religions of the earth are fictions of the human imagination." "I am most heartily sorry I was a Christian so long. I mourn over the time and strength I devoted to religion as an infinite and irreparable loss." "All belief in God and immortality appears to me to be inconsistent with right views of human duty." "Unitarian Christianity is little less immoral than the coarse and revolting original for which it has been substituted." "It seems an impossibility that I should ever be capable of reconversion. INSANITY might reconvert me, I suppose; but, how anything short of it could do so, I cannot conceive." These passages are taken from "Confessions of Joseph Barker, a Convert from Christianity," which he sent to me to be published. His writings at the same time, which I have not now at hand, contained examples of greater fierceness; but, from what is quoted, it is plain he need have had few scruples in defending atheism.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

"CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED."

Says the *Catholic Review*:—

The Free Religious Association, which has "Parker Memorial Hall" for its head-quarters, and our esteemed contemporary, *The Index*, for its organ, is not the last development of free thought. True, they claim the utmost liberty of thought and speech, the privilege of doubting and discussing everything, even the existence of God; yet, strange to say, they are theists. They believe in God and in religion as well as in morality. They have religious services every Sunday in Parker Memorial Hall, conducted by a gentleman who claims the clerical character, who prays and preaches; and the services are enlivened by excellent devotional music. They do not call themselves a church, not even Unitarians, though they are a split off from that body, and in spirit and method are close to the Theodore Parker wing of that society. Their high priest was the late Ralph Waldo Emerson, and their prophet, Mr. Felix Adler of this city,—both of whom have held office in the Association.

These remarkable statements are made the basis of some equally remarkable conclusions, to which we will allude further on. We desire first to indicate to our "esteemed contemporary," since it feels so deeply interested in the Free Religious Association, some of the errors regarding this body into which it has fallen. In saying that "they are theists," the *Review* evidently refers to the Free Religious Association and *The Index*. But it is not true that "they are theists." The Free Religious Association has among its members agnostics as well as theists; and to the former class belongs Mr. Adler, who was its president two years, and several of its present officers. *The Index* is as ready to open its columns to an agnostic as to a theist, and the writer of this article respectfully protests against being regarded as a theist.

It is not true that the "head-quarters" of the Free Religious Association are at Parker Memorial Hall, even though it has held some of its annual meetings there. The editors of the *Review* can find the "head-quarters" of the Association at 3 Tremont Place, Boston. It is not true that the Association or *The Index* "has religious services every Sunday in Parker Memorial Hall." The worthy gentleman referred to, who "prays and preaches" there, is not even a member of the Free Religious Association, and has never spoken at its meetings. The society which employs him existed years before the Free Religious Association was formed. Mr. Emerson has never been considered, nor has he served (or ruled) as a "high priest" of the Association, nor has Mr. Adler been regarded as its "prophet"; although both have been among its honored representatives and officers.

Is it not possible for our Catholic contemporary to understand that the Free Religious Association is an organization composed of men and women who represent various religious beliefs, and that it aims to promote truth by encouraging the study and discussion of religion from the different points of view rather than by a dogmatic statement of a particular theory, and a requirement of uniformity of belief regarding this theory as a condition of membership; and that therefore theists and non-theists can consistently belong to the organization, and, without any sacrifice of personal convictions or compromise of principle, can feel interested in its success and give it their support? Why should not Mr. Emerson, who was a pantheist, Mr. Abbot, who is a theist, Mr. Adler, who is an agnostic, and Mr. Savage and Mr. Chadwick, who call themselves Christians, join in sustaining an association catholic enough to give them all a hearing on its platform, tolerant enough to consider all their arguments and criticisms and to compare their views, and eclectic enough to profit by the thought of able thinkers and scholars who repre-

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sent different schools and different phases of philosophic and religious belief?

But, from the extract we have given, the purpose of the *Review* will not be clear without another quotation. The aim is to show that the Free Religious Association and *The Index* find fitting illustration of their legitimate influence in exhibitions of coarseness, vulgarity, and ribaldry. For, says this organ of the papal hierarchy, those who really "represent the last development of free thought" are "the frequenters of Paine Hall"; and, in order that the calibre and character of the audiences which "represent the last development of free thought" may appear to be so discreditable as to leave no doubt regarding the pernicious tendency of a movement which among Free Religionists is, as alleged, yet respectable, the *Review* informs its readers "that the ordinary parochial duties of the Paine Hall 'church' are performed by a vile imitator and mere shadow of his great prototype, the bishop [Ingersoll], with more than his blasphemy, but without his wit, his vulgarity without his culture, his reckless audacity without his talent."

Why does the *Review* select an individual whom it represents as an ignorant and a vulgar fellow, unworthy the attention of intelligent and fair-minded men of any belief or disbelief, as the last development of free thought and as an illustration of the natural result of a movement inaugurated by scholarly and pure-minded men, founded on the broadest principles, animated by a reverent love of truth, and conducted in a manner that has commanded the respect of friends and foes? We do not concur in the statement we have quoted regarding the gentleman who performs "the parochial duties of the Paine Hall 'church,'" and we believe his audiences will compare favorably in point of intelligence and character with the audiences that assemble in this city Sundays, to join in the services of the Church which the *Review* represents. At the same time, we regard much of the thought of the speaker referred to as rather crude, while his manner of presenting his views and treating those who differ from him is not exactly to our taste. But it should be remembered, both in consideration of his method and manner, and in justice to the free thought movement of which he is but one exponent, representing only himself and those in the same intellectual condition and transitional stage with himself, that he is but a recent convert from theology, the spirit of which still clings to him, and that therefore he should be associated with the incipient and rudimentary period rather than with "the last development of free thought." It is certainly unfair and unjust to hold up such a person as the last development of a method and a movement of which Darwin and Haeckel, George Eliot and Emerson, Spencer and Fiske, Holyoake and Conway, Higginson and Abbot, Frothingham and Adler are distinguished and recognized representatives, and the influence of which is penetrating in every direction and modifying the thought of the world. B. F. UNDERWOOD.

CONCILIATION, BUT NOT CONCESSION.

Ever since the stately Memorial Hall of Harvard College was dedicated, and even from the first inception of the project, the question has been raised by a small fraction of the friends and graduates of the College (and this outside the circle of its Southern Alumni) whether an institution of learning, devoted to the arts of peace and appealing for patronage to the whole country, should erect and perpetuate a memorial to one of the parties in a civil strife on both sides of which its sons were engaged and fell. On this question there might be an honest difference of opinion. But the number of Harvard graduates in the North, who, at least in the early years after the war, when its scenes were still fresh in memory, were disposed to take the negative of this question, was so small that the difference of opinion had no perceptible influence in resisting the force of the patriotic pride and gratitude which conceived the project of the Hall and carried it forward to completion. Now, however, after several years of peace and of efforts more or less successful to bring the two sections again into harmony, the feeling in some quarters that such a monument is out of place in a college has evidently strengthened. But, when the question is raised, as it has been more than once in private circles, and here and there somewhat more timidly in public, whether Memorial Hall may not now be interpreted as a monument to those graduates of the College who died in the war, in the Confederate as well as in the Union army, it is hard to see how on this point there can be any honest difference of opinion. The hall was built and inscribed and dedicated, the funds for it were contributed, with no thought of perpetuating the memory of those who fought to divide the country and overthrow its government, but in honor solely of those who died to save the country and its liberties. Every act that concerned the erection of the Hall from beginning to end kept this purpose unequivocally and openly in view. The tablets in the memorial vestibule, inscribed only with the names of the loyal dead, make this purpose so plain that not even the lisping of a question of it should ever be heard.

Yet, at the Commencement Dinner last week, one of the speakers, Mr. Robert M. Morse, Jr., of the class of 1857, speaking of the memorial window which had been erected by his class in the Dining-hall, made the declaration that the window "overlooks all differences between North and South"; that it was erected "in memory of those who fell in the war." And then he named some of his classmates who had fallen in the Southern army with those who had fallen in the Northern as equally honored by this memorial. And this declaration was greeted with not a little applause. A Southern graduate, at the time Memorial Hall was dedicated, privately made the remark that he expected to live to see the day when tablets in honor of those graduates who died on the Southern side would be placed in the vestibule. We then little expected to see within so few years a Northern man ready, as Mr. Morse appears to be, to take a long step toward the fulfilment of that prediction. We know not with how much favor Mr. Morse's class will receive his interpretation of the meaning of their window, but it was reassuring to discover that the great body of the Alumni were not carried away by the sophistry of his argument. When, later, Col. Norwood P. Hallowell was called upon to speak in behalf of his fellow-soldiers in the war, and made a most manly speech of precisely opposite tenor, the large assembly responded with a great outburst of applause that was evidently meant to tell something to Mr. Morse's ear. Singling out Colonel Shaw, without intending any invidious comparison, but, the speaker added, "for the same reason, perhaps, that his portrait hangs on yonder wall without a companion," and drawing a vivid picture of the chivalrous young commander leading his colored regiment up the parapet of Fort Wagner, and falling among them in death, Mr. Hallowell forcibly put the question whether "by virtue of his inheritance, by the earnestness of his convictions, by the unselfishness of his character, by his championship of an enslaved race, and by the manner of his death, the conditions were not all given to make him the best historical exponent, not only from Harvard University, but from all the land, of the underlying cause, the real meaning of the war, and of all that was best worth fighting for."

And these two speeches by Mr. Morse and Mr. Hallowell illustrate the false and the genuine interpretation of the meaning of the Cambridge Memorial Hall and of all other monuments which have been built in the North to commemorate the Union dead of the war. Mr. Morse and a few others, intent upon the one end of conciliation, are caught in the sentimental sophistry that, since there were valor and heroism and courage and fidelity to conviction on both sides, we may commemorate these virtues of both armies as American, and so try to forget that there were ever two armies or two causes. Mr. Hallowell holds—and we trust that the great majority of the Northern people still hold with him—that the North was contending for principles which are never to be conceded nor forgotten, and that such monuments as Memorial Hall commemorate the valor and fidelity *that maintained those principles*. There are plenty of ways for bringing about practical conciliation and harmony without conceding the very objects that redeemed the war from being a mere fratricidal strife for the display of military prowess and strength. Valor and courage and heroism are good qualities, but they are not always allied to good causes. *Fidelity* to conviction is praiseworthy, but the *conviction* is sometimes very far from praiseworthy. The late lamented Jesse James was valorous and brave. The leaders of the Inquisition had convictions which they were ready enough to maintain by force. The only historical justification which the loyal States will ever have for resisting the Southern rebellion is that they had not merely heroic troops and strong convictions, but that they had better convictions than the South, that they had a cause worthy of such a contest. The South went to war to divide the country for the sake of protecting and maintaining slavery. The North accepted the challenge of war to save from dismemberment a country that meant justice, order, and liberty. Here is an irreconcilable distinction, which, in the interests of historical truth, must never be obliterated by any gush of sentiment. And it is to be hoped that no institutions of learning, least of all Harvard, will ever feel called upon to apologize for specially perpetuating the memory of those of their graduates who have deemed it nobler to give their lives for their country and liberty than to fight against their country for slavery. Colleges may well be suspected of being hostile to the interests of the American Republic, if they ever shrink from openly identifying their objects with the principles of patriotism, justice, freedom, and humanity. Let the monuments stand, to teach still to coming generations of students that not courage and sincerity of conviction alone are good, but courage and conviction contending for noble ends. WM. J. POTTER.

THE ATHEISM OF SCIENCE.

So runs the charge from the religious side, implying that the spirit and effect of the current science are hostile to the religious conceptions deemed essential to society. From the scientific side, the charge is assented to with the counter implications that the current Theism is delusive and bad. So the issue is made up, is definite, clear, and momentous enough to justify the vehemence history records of the quarrel. The controversy has latterly taken on proportions never reached before, for the conflict rages all along the line. In vain, the platitudinarian tells us that the antagonism is only superficial, that true science and true theism are in accord, and the quarrel is only of words. The opiate serves till the cheat is detected. Paint by hy-

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pothesis a black horse and a white one both brown, and the argument about difference of color is closed. The trouble is the hypothesis will not verify. The mental habit is too inveterate. No great controversy was ever less one of words merely. The stand-points, assumptions, and methods are as wide as two mental processes can well be. Of course, all controversies carried on by words come of conceptual differences,—namely, different ways of thinking and viewing things; but the difference is none the less terribly real.

It seems to me disingenuous, as is the manner of some who, no longer able to hold to the old thought, are yet fain to keep the old phrases, and make belief in God mean belief in an indefinite, incomprehensible something,—say, like Spencer's Unknowable. True, the divine character and attributes have been the contention of great minds in all ages; but I much mistake if his personality and his relation to the universe as King and Ruler are not common, fundamental, and essential in the conceptions of them all. He is in the royal line alike in the philosophic thought, in the popular notion, and in the history of individual deities.

Every age and people invests its ideal ruler with qualities conformable to its own standard of kingly character. It is the inflexibleness of our traditional Deity; his unconformableness to republican government, that in my judgment is at the bottom of much of the modern atheistic tendency. The universal order is coming to be conceived of as a Commonwealth of interdependent and reciprocally related parts, whose moral laws are one with gravitation,—are, like it, inherent, necessary, and automatic,—are generalizations, after the fact of the necessary behavior of things, and not at all commands, as to vassals whose duty it is to illustrate and sustain the glory of the central person.

A teacher who, having gone through the Euclidian demonstration, should add that the hypothenuse was quantitatively related to the sides in that manner, because the divine will had so ordered it, would impeach his own competence as a mathematician, and would confuse and offend the intelligence of his pupil; for, the pupil having once fairly apprehended the truth, it becomes to him quite beyond the power of any will, human or divine, to change it. When ethics shall have become scientifically formulated, the suggestion of a divine will as a source of moral law will be felt to be equally impertinent.

A republican agitator, in the midst of aristocratic and monarchical institutions, with difficulty repels the charge of contemning all social order and all noble, royal qualities of character; for his movement draws to itself the dissolute, dissatisfied, and insubordinate elements of society. In vain, he protests that his governmental theory is compatible with all high qualities and a true social order; that the republican theory was that every one is born to sovereignty and nobility, and the way was open for each to enter on his inheritance; that "regal," "noble," etc., really meant individual worth and service, and not the trappings of station; that the enlarged meaning making those high qualities no longer the birthright of the few did not cheapen or degrade those high ideals, but in fact carried them above the sphere of vulgar sense and made them truly divine. Such a one would not escape the charge of falsifying and trifling, if he still professed himself a believer in the aristocracy and the sovereign.

Now, substantially, this is the attitude, as I take it, of the great Founder of our religion,—namely, that there was no such monarch in the skies as the Oriental fancy painted, exacting tithes, temple service, ritual and religious punctilio, as the popular notion and habit were; but that the paternal, fraternal, filial, and generally serviceable in mundane society exhausted the entire scale of proper human solicitude and duty, but so inveterate was the habit of apotheosis that he did not escape transformation first into the unhuman or superhuman, and then, by easy transition, into inhumanities surpassing in some respects all the other deities.

I have said that moral and administrative considerations were the chief cause of the modern revolt. It has always been so. When godless schools, godless constitutions, and godless literatures are seen to be sufficient for the great interest of society, God is thus impliedly made to be something insignificant, outside and apart from the world's great movements,—becomes a sort of ornamental attachment, an ecclesiastical annex to the great business of life, a superfluity hardly worth the trouble and cost to earnest people.

But, in addition to these practical and administrative considerations, the new psychology presents theistic difficulties peculiar to itself. Mind or spirit, as we know it in persons, is itself a product of the natural forces, commencing to be, growing by experience, maturing, declining, decaying, and passing away, all under our own observation; and, while it is confessedly first in the order of worth and dignity, it comes last in the order of time, and we are not satisfied that what seems only a late and transient phase of the impersonal, never ceasing flux of things should be conceived of as primordial, self-existent, and creative.

It is popularly supposed that belief in a personal deity gives a certain exaltation, serenity, fortitude, hope, and even joy in hours of darkness and calamity, and holds us to high aims: and that, under any other cosmic theory, society would sink into barbarism and bestiality. The claim, in my judgment, cannot be maintained. At all events, the sentiment of the legend of Abou Ben Adhem is truer. "The gracious motions of the soul" are purely social products, are born of communion with actual and idealized human beings, and not with superhuman; and they will flourish and decay, as respect for human rights increases and declines. As well fear that the denial of the old conception of light as a separate entity will involve the world in darkness, and the assertion that heat is only molecular motion will bring an arctic climate, or at least make the comforts of the fireside forever impossible to the denier of caloric and phlogiston!

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

A LESSON OF GUITEAU'S LIFE AND DEATH.

To the disappointment of many who expected, and to the chagrin of not a few who hoped, Guiteau would weaken, and show the world that he had been playing the part of a hypocrite, the assassin faced death on the scaffold with remarkable nerve, and, sustained by his enormous egotism and strong religious faith, read a prayer full of fanaticism and the spirit of revenge, chanted some unrhymed doggerel commencing, "I am going to the Lordy," and, when the black cap was over his head, shouted in loud tones, "Glory, glory, glory," and dropped a piece of paper as a signal that he was ready. There seem to be no grounds for doubt that he believed what he claimed, that he was "God's man," and that he was inspired to commit the deed for which he has been executed. His whole life, consistent to the end, was an illustration of intense religious faith, together with an undeveloped moral nature, the former enlisted by his selfish feelings and brutal passions on the side of immorality and crime, even to the incitement to and justification of murder. He was insane only as all men who believe they are supernaturally inspired of God are insane; and but for his heartlessness and viper-like disposition, and a wrong principle in government which excited his greed for office, he would probably have lived and died as an ordinary religious crank. Society certainly has a right to protect itself against men like Guiteau; but in much of the comment on the execution, and especially in the burning and hanging of the poor wretch in effigy after his death, there has been, we fear, more of vengeance than of patriotism. The career of the assassin will help to remove the popular error that theological beliefs and strong religious feelings have a necessary connection with excellence in character and conduct. "Unusual piety is in the popular eyes," says Lange, "either genuine saintship or a wicked cloak of all that is vile. For the psychological subtlety of the mixture of genuine religious emotions with coarse selfishness and vicious habits, the ordinary mind has no appreciation." To such an appreciation, the general familiarity with the life of Guiteau cannot fail to help.

B. F. U.

NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

W. J. P.

THE *Presbyterian* prints a sermon by the late Rev. Dr. Wadsworth, of the Clinton Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, which is one of the noteworthy signs of the times. The title of the sermon, "The Chief Thing,—Moral Character," is itself very significant; and the following paragraph shows the central aim and spirit of the discourse to be in entire keeping with the title:—

> The most important of all things on earth or in heaven, in time or eternity, is our own moral character. I am, of course, speaking only of character, and not of reputation; for no two things are more distinct and oftentimes more antagonistic, for the one is what man thinks of us, and the other what God knows of us. One is the substance of which the other is only the shadow, and often the most distorted and unreal of all shadows. The one is simply meteoric. It may be a black cloud, it may be a bright rainbow, flitting for a brief hour round a mountain peak, and which the first breath of the storm of adversity may blow away or the first sunburst of prosperity dissolve. The other is the adamantine rock of the everlasting hills, which all the earthquakes of time, all the great fires of eternity, can neither melt away nor break. In a word, the one is only a man's semblance, it may be only his caricature: the other is the man's selfhood, his positive character. I repeat it, therefore, moral acts, because they result in or spring from this inner character, are our most important acts,—indeed, the only truly grand achievements of life. Those achievements which men applaud and human histories record are the acts of the hands, the feet, the brain. But moral achievements are those of the whole man, heart, spirit, soul, working out together results as immortal as himself; for, in the exercise or formation or development of moral character, we are, in fact, working with or upon the very essence of the soul itself,—*i.e.*, of our own selfhood. It is, therefore, upon such acts our eternal destiny depends.

It is true that the sermon contains some evangelical phraseology and some intimations of doctrines,—*intimations* rather than assertions,—which a strictly rationalistic thinker could not accept. But its essential teaching throughout is given in this paragraph. What a contrast between this doctrine and the old Orthodoxy, which taught that "moral character" and "moral acts" were but "filthy rags" and no evidence of salvation at all! Within twenty years, we have heard an orthodox Doctor of Divinity declare in his pulpit that the man of upright moral character, without a religious profession, did more harm in the world than the openly wicked man. But, here, moral character is made the very end and crown of religion. When this teaching of Dr. Wadsworth's sermon shall have become the staple doctrine of evangelical pulpits, the disputes that may remain between

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them and Liberalism on points of theology will have little practical importance.

THE *Catholic Review* has a very good-natured and rather patronizing article on "The Unitarians and Free Thought." The *Review* has a keen sense of the difficulty of the Unitarian attempt to uphold liberty of thought and keep a little shibboleth of a creed at the same time, and at the close of its article gives some very good advice suggested by the embarrassment of the denomination over the generous offer of Mr. Wade, of Cleveland, to found a new school, entirely undogmatic, for the training of religious teachers. It says, referring to the late Unitarian Anniversary meeting in Boston:—

But what particularly attracted our attention and, in fact, gave occasion to this notice, was the discussion that arose in regard to the munificent offer of a Mr. Wade, of Cleveland, Ohio, to give $250,000 to build a new theological seminary, provided the present institution at Meadville should be removed to Cleveland, united with the new institution which should be put under the care of responsible trustees, and provided further that "no doctrinal tests should be imposed upon the young men." That struck us, at once, as a splendid scheme and right in the line of consistent free thought; and we supposed, of course, the proposition would be promptly and thankfully accepted. Alas for consistency! The trustees of the Meadville institution refused to amalgamate, unless satisfactory guarantees should be given "that the new institution would teach Unitarian doctrine always." And the trustees of the American Unitarian Association, of whom Mr. Henry P. Kidder, one of the most intelligent, high-toned, and successful business men of Boston, is President, in reporting on the subject, in view of the dead-lock, very naïvely remarked that "they are not prepared to suggest the next step." If we were allowed to give advice to such a very respectable body of *élite* and intelligent representatives of free thought, we would politely suggest the propriety of adopting a definite, positive creed of some kind, and sticking to it consistently and manfully, or else of abandoning the organization altogether and allowing every fellow to go it on his own hook.

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TRUE glory consists in doing what deserves to be written, in writing what deserves to be read, and in so living as to make the world happier and better for our living.—*Pliny.*

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

CATHEDRALS.

Shells of a dwindling faith, they stand,
Slow-mouldering, o'er many a land.
The ritualist would fain restore
These *holtes* of the days of yore;
Their Gothic arches fondly prop;
Their slow dilapidation stop.
Gigantic symbols once they stood
Of a long-current human mood.
That mood is past, and reason now
Forbids to grovel man's broad brow
In blind and servile homage low.
The lightning flash of modern thought
The gods they shrined to grief has brought.
They, mistlike, gradual fade away,
Smit through and through by reason's ray.
As ruin levelled long ago
Olympia's and Delphi's shrine,
Which nobler genius did design,
So Peter's dome at last will strow
With splendors wrecked the earth below.

B. W. B.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

IN speaking last week of the organization of women ministers as "Unitarianized," we did not intend to convey the impression that it was composed exclusively of Unitarians, but only that it had —unfortunately, as we think—followed Unitarian precedents and example in its rule of membership. As a matter of fact, its members represent the Universalist, Orthodox, Methodist, and Swedenborgian faiths, as well as the Unitarian. All the more pity that it could not have made itself broad enough to include Mrs. Bisbee, with her Free Religious tendencies of thought. We may correct our former statement, too, by adding that Mrs. Bisbee began, on the same day that she opened her Sunday-school, her service for adults, with an attendance of seventy persons. W. J. P.

"THERE are some things to which," says the *Nation*, "an honorable man ought not to stoop to procure money for any object, however sacred or respectable, whether church or party; and extorting small sums of money from poor men by leading them to think their livelihood will be imperilled by their refusal is one of them."

LOOK at your tags, and see whether you are in arrears for *The Index*, and, if you are, consider that we need the money which is due us, and that you will confer a favor by remitting without delay. It is time now for many of those who availed themselves of our offer to send the paper six months to trial subscribers for one dollar to renew their subscriptions; and we hope to hear from them soon.

REV. T. B. HILTON, president of a Methodist Episcopal seminary at Salt Lake City, in a recent lecture in New York on the "Evils of Mormonism," said, "Mormonism teaches that God is a married man." He thought this blasphemous. But how much worse is it to teach God is "a married man" than to teach that he is a being who "made man in his own image, and that his "only-begotten Son" was born of a woman who was not his wife, but was the wife of another, the wife of one of his creatures.

THE October number of *Mind*, a leading London quarterly, probably the ablest philosophical journal published in Europe, will contain a contribution from the pen of Francis E. Abbot, on "Scientific Philosophy." We design obtaining copies of this number for those who, recognizing Mr. Abbot's ability as a thinker, wish to see his latest and probably his ablest essay; and all persons who wish copies are requested to notify us at once, in order that we may know in time how many to order. Price one dollar.

WE have received from R. Heber Newton, the distinguished rector of All-Souls Church (Episcopal) of New York, the manuscript of a discourse of rare excellence, which he recently gave in that city, on "Emerson's Gospel of the Religion of Nature." This will be printed in *The Index* next week. Mr. Newton is known as one of the ablest, broadest, and most liberal representatives of his denomination, and in this discourse by him our readers will find a rare intellectual treat. A reply to Mr. Potter by Felix Adler, an article on "The Scientific Evidences of Immortality," from the pen of Miss M. A. Hardaker, and one on "Evolution and Morality" by Wm. I. Gill, A.M., are among the contributions that will appear in our next number.

AFTER the execution of the assassin, John Wilson Guiteau, his brother, said:—

Though my brother was either insane or inspired, and in either case ought not to have been killed for an act which he could not help committing, still he never could have died a better or a happier death. If he was not a martyr, he died at least a martyr's death, and, so far as he knew, went to a martyr's reward. He died in a manly, noble way, without a tremor; and his face, as he lay in his coffin under the gallows, was as smooth and placid as a baby's. It was unjust, it was barbarous to kill him; but he could not have died better, had he lived to be one hundred years old. I shall always remember with proud sorrow his fortitude, the strange mixture of the man of the world and the child of God, his bravery and his pathos, as he stood on the trap door yesterday, face to face with death. The Huguenot and the Puritan in his blood were at the front. He died as heroically as John Brown, and was, from his point of view, as patriotic and as noble a martyr for God. A braver death was never seen. All this talk with which so many newspaper reports to-day are filled, about his fainting and his weeping because he was afraid to die, is rot. As Dr. Hicks said to you last night, there was not the slightest wavering on the part of my brother from the time he first saw him until he died. He was self-possessed to the last, and was in that mood of exaltation which forbade dread of anything.

THE American Institute of Instruction and the National Educational Association have this year combined their forces, and will hold a four days' convention at Saratoga, N.Y., July 11, 12, 13, and 14. The programme includes the names of many distinguished teachers and speakers, and the subjects to be discussed are of primary importance and interest to all concerned in educational matters. On Tuesday afternoon, July 11, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer will speak on "Moral Teaching in the Public Schools." Among the other interesting topics to be discussed during the sessions, we particularly note the following, as showing the drift of thought in our educators: "Some Aspects of the Higher Education of Women," by John Tetlow, A.M., headmaster of the Girls' Latin School of this city; "What Place, if any, is Religion entitled to in our System of Public Education?" by Rev. A. J. F. Behrends, of Providence, R.I.; "The School Systems of the South, as seen with Southern Eyes," by Hon. James Denton, Superintendent of Public Schools, Little Rock, Ark.; "Secularization of Education," by W. W. Folwell, President of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis; "Self-Consciousness in Education," by Rev. E. T. Jeffers, President of Westminster College, Pa.; "The Education of the Will," by Prof. G. Stanley Hall, of Harvard College; and "The Foundation Principles of Education by the State," by Hon. Samuel Barnett of Washington, Ga.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 6, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For The Index.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, June 1 and 2, 1882.

(*Concluded from last week.*)

The PRESIDENT.—In listening to Mr. Salter's earnest and thoughtful paper, you will have detected the drift of the discussion this afternoon,—namely, to consider those practical interests which concern us as an Association; and the speakers who are to follow are to take up different points of the same general question. There are three of those speakers, and an hour and a quarter remains to us before the adjournment; and those three are expected to divide that time amicably between them.

Now, friends, you will have the pleasure of listening to Mrs. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

Address of Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer.

Mr. President and Friends,—Before proceeding to the discussion of the topic assigned to me, I crave your indulgence for a word of personal explanation. In the consideration of my subject, "The Appeal of the Unchurched to Free Religion," it devolved upon me to make a statement of the views, aims, principles, and purposes of Free Religion. And if, in that statement, I seem to oppose in any way the criticism in the morning from lips to which I, with others, yield in reverent admiration, you will remember that it is not a spontaneous answer,—for that would be presumptuous on my part,—but a previously prepared statement of my view of Free Religion, which I learned in humble reverence at the feet of the fathers and mothers of our movement.

THE APPEAL OF THE UNCHURCHED TO FREE RELIGION.

Who are the unchurched? They are those who have outgrown one form of church life and as yet *ingrown* to no other. They are those, also, who have never known the inner fellowship of a religious body. They are the conscious exiles whom the death of parent faiths has sent out, orphaned and anxious, to seek new dwelling-places in stranger lands of lore and thought. And are they the unconscious travellers, the "solitary" never "set in families" of united devotion, who know not that their restlessness contains any longing for a religious home. And they are the unhoused rangers of the wilderness, who count their roofless freedom a wholly joyous emancipation from dwarfing bonds. And what is the appeal which these various classes of the unchurched are making to-day, either by open confession of a felt want, or by unconscious betrayal of an intellectual or moral need?

To answer this question, one must consider briefly at least the present conditions of philosophic thought, of moral activity, and of emotional life. It needs no argument to prove before this body that over this trinity of intellect, conscience, and feeling, which constitutes humanity, the most profound and vital changes have passed during the last half-century. The scientific spirit of fearless investigation of all ideas and things, and acceptance only of verified facts of experience and nature as bases of absolute knowledge,—this spirit has possession of the age. No one resists it successfully; and no one tries to resist it, who can properly be called a leader of thought. The "intuitionalist" of high degree of intellectual power now differs from his brother agnostic or materialist not so much in *method of investigation* as in *tabulation* and *emphasis* of collected data,—a difference resulting more from temperamental bias of vision than from chosen system of study. And scientific explorations in the fields of physical, physiological, and psychological inquiry, conducted, as they have been in these later days, by master teachers, ranging in specialty of insight from the poet to the mathematician, have resulted in a deep-seated and wide-spreading uneasiness and doubt in the common mind. This uneasiness and doubt strike down to fundamental questions of belief, conduct, and feeling. Wherever the facts of physical nature and mental life have been found to disagree with accepted traditions of theory and practice, the traditions have given way, point by point. And this is as true of those who disclaim any change as of those who advocate an entire making over of the philosophy of belief and the conduct of life. The "Andover controversy" is but one of a thousand *proofs* that the Christian system of religion is riddled through and through with unbelief of its ancient dogmas. And, in Judaism and other special religions, the tendency toward giving up the exclusive beliefs and accepting as fixed only what common experience proves true is no less marked. Even the Brahmin caste of India yields to the democracy of facts that rules the intellectual world of to-day. And, although in the Christian, as doubtless in other special, organized religions, the temples are crowded with worshippers, the god they bow before is less often their highest ideal than conventional custom, social enjoyment, or unthinking consolation. Hence, we may say that the unchurched include hundreds and thousands of those whose names still remain on the church books, and whose constant presence at the church meeting gladdens the heart of the faithful believers, but whose highest thought and deepest devotion of religion are not phrased in the liturgy they repeat.

The threefold function of the Church is to teach the results of philosophic thought in its relation to the individual life; to outline the ideal standard and practical details of morality; and to purify the emotional nature of man, and direct it upwards to devotion, to the best in belief and action. That is to say, the office of the Church is to take the most of truth known, the best of right discovered, the fullest of love felt, and apply them to the building up of the individual character of each man, woman, and child. Its beginning of duty is the study and acceptance of all knowledge in reverence: its end is the establishment of harmonious relations between the universal law and the personal will in human life. This function and office cannot be fulfilled by any religious body which is too tardy in its intellectual advance or too uncertain in its moral direction to be a vitally controlling force in society. It will not sound presumptuous to you, if I say that the average church influence of to-day is not that of a masterful leadership, but rather of a confused and confusing following of other and controlling powers.

The time was when the Christian Church taught its beliefs with bold assurance as the "truth." The time was when the Christian Church held up its supreme model of right living, without criticism or addition, as the standard of a complete morality. The time was when, in consequence of this assurance of faith in its doctrines and absolute dependence upon its personal example of conduct, the Christian Church was the uplifting and all-controlling emotional influence in our civilization. And, *then*, the course of the humble and devout follower was plain. The whole force of thought and action could be spent in the living out of accepted and unquestioned beliefs. But *now* that the Christian Church, in no one particular, leads the advance of thought and action, the position of the simple and faithful ones, who make the rank and file of her army, is a difficult one indeed.

Consider in what straits the sincere and ardent religious disciple finds himself or herself, when the discrepancy between the ideal and the real position of the popular Church is first revealed! The creed-belief, once the honest if mistaken expression of the profoundest principles of intellectual judgment, is now proved utterly misleading not only by the logical attacks of its opponents, but still more by the apologetic and devitalizing "explanations" of its defenders. And the disciple learns to distrust more and more, the more he studies and reflects, not only the results of the old creed-makers' thought, but their method of inquiry as well.

The ideal of virtue embodied in the Christ, once supposed adequate to every emergency of moral growth, in the individual and in society, is now proved defective as a standard of ethics, not only by the arguments of the rational non-Christian, but still more by the vast enginery of moral reform born *outside* the Church in response to the imperative demands of social progress. And the disciple, observing how the modern additions to the Christian ideal of virtue are accepted,—often with tardy reluctance, but yet with final necessity,—accepted and adopted by the Church into its moral code, grows to distrust that code more and more, not only in its details of conduct, but in its system of ethical judgment as well.

And, finally, the emotional influence of the Church, once a heavenward-leading trellis on which the heart's pure passion, warmed by human relations, but soaring upward above all human relations, could climb securely to its divinest height,—this, also, is proved to deepest experience a broken and decayed support. That shy, sensitive, fragile flower we call devotional feeling can never bloom its best save where the intellect rests in calm assurance upon undisturbed foundation beliefs, and where the standard of moral judgment is clear to direct the conscience in paths of undoubted virtue. And that the devotional feeling of the popular Church is a withered blossom of a long-past harvest is proved not only by the rustling of dead leaves at the frosty touch of scornful unbelief, but still more by the uses to which the symbols of a once glowing life are now applied by professed believers. The cross of agony, on which the tears of countless devotees have dropped, now sparkles in diamond mimicry upon careless fashion leaders in ball-room revels. The pictured saints, whose faces devout painters toiled over in a solemn consecration of life, torn from their cathedral nooks, now exhibit themselves as if in a strange surprise, at the call of self-satisfied art collectors, in gay drawing-rooms. Even the church music, born in great travail-pains of passion, which must find voice finer and more subtle than word of poem or sculpture or painting,—even the church music is carried from the temple to the public hall. And, instead of listening on penitential knees to the moving tragedy and triumph of the God-man of his professed worship, the Christian, no less than the outside barbarian, attends the "Passion-Music" or "The Messiah," opera-glass and score in hand, every critical faculty alert, and intent only on æsthetic enjoyment.

Seeing all this, the sincere and ardent disciple may well cry out bitterly, as at sight of an empty tomb which had once been declared the beginning of a perpetual home, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." Ah, friends, there are no bereaved like those who close the dying eyes of old religious faiths, on which depended trust in eternal and all-conquering goodness and clear direction for every day's moral living, and sit alone in the still horror of desolation, not knowing surely that any new religious faith will ever be theirs. These bereaved are all about us. Their appeal is the transcendent call of the hour. On the intellectual side of religion, it is an appeal for a statement of belief regarding man's nature and the forces which control it, which cannot be overthrown by the most searching modern criticism. On the moral side of religion, it is the appeal for a standard of right and wrong more permanent and conclusive than the life of any one teacher of ethics.

On the emotional side of religion, it is an appeal for stimulation of a reasonable devotion of life, and a well-grounded trust that "whatsoever forces draw the ages on" work for good, and not ill, and hold the needs of the individual heart sacred, no less than the sweep of worlds and march of empires. This is the cry of the unchurched, "Give us an unassailable belief, a clear and definite moral guidance, a fire of purpose, and a cheer of consolation which are not cheating delusions."

This appeal in *the individual* has been met in num-

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berless instances by a response, often completely satisfactory, from the various special schools of scientific research and moral reform. Just in proportion as the popular Church fails in general intellectual and ethical leadership, other social forces take up the work in detail. And the increasing accumulation of knowledge and growing complexity of social life necessitate specialties of labor in the church business of character-building, as in all other industries. And, hence, it is more than likely that this division of the forces of the old unity of church life, into separate bands of belief-makers and moral-workers will increase rather than diminish. Education—once, in all its branches, a function of the Church—is now not only a separate interest, but subdivided into many parts, each worthy of life-long study and devotion. Moral control and intellectual advance tend more and more to analytical and administrative specialties of reform, training, legislative and legal activities. And, in these various departments of social science, great numbers of the unchurched have found a new and complete gospel of life devotion. To a Charles Darwin, searching with eager interest for the desired footprints of truth, and tracing them out with noble fidelity to a duller world, there could have seemed no personal lack in life that he should make "appeal" to any other priesthood than that of scientific study! To a William Lloyd Garrison or a Lucy Stone, wholly absorbed in teaching a blundering and indifferent people one letter in the alphabet of morality, there could seem no vital, apparent need for any other statement of the object and aim of life. To an Octavia Hill or a "Sister Dora," nourishing with their sublimated motherhood a world of neglected ones, there could be no cold and desolate hours in which to sigh for a new liturgy of hope and love. Such souls as these, and their lesser followers, make a special chapel of their own, when they outgrow the popular form of the universal temple. In such chapels, many of the nobler religious services of our age and time are performed,—services which deepen the word "worship" from its common superficiality of form to its ancient meaning of "worthship," a life of worthiness. But the danger of the special chapel is that the builder rules its service, and misses the widening influence of kindred but differing emphases of doctrine, and often loses the sense of universal relation which comes from the cathedral worship of common humanity, where choir answers to choir from distant and unseen heights. If one is fully satisfied with but a single phase of religious devotion to an ideal good, he runs the risk of narrowness of vision and bigotry of judgment. If, on the other hand, one is *not* satisfied with such a single phrase, and yet bound hand and foot to its expression, knowing no broader gospel, he feels the hunger which many of our specialized reformers and philanthropists might confess to,—the hunger for some strength-giving draught of faith in a righteous whole, of which they are only the struggling part.

For his soul's health, the reformer and philanthropist, if of devout nature, needs, most of all good men, to escape often from his tabulated statistics of sin, his shocked sense of nature's dualism of evil and good, his sickened sympathy with the unfortunate, his outraged indignation against the selfish, into a quiet place apart, where he may listen to the voices which unite the scattered dicta of conduct in some hymn of the moral ideal. And the moralist or philanthropist needs not only a synthesis of ethics to keep him sane and calm in the whirl of battling reforms, but a standard of moral judgment, a clearly accepted basis of morals, to equip him for the fight. More or less consciously, he has given up supernatural and superficial standards. More or less consciously, he is testing his social experiments by the fundamental question, Does a given condition make men better and happier? yet he has attained no principle by which he may always judge proposed measures, and consistently withhold or give his help.

And, further, although a great many of the unchurched have sufficient moral power and earnestness to make or accept for themselves these various channels of study and labor for the good of society which to-day constitute, both outside and inside the Church, the leading ethical influence, a great many more have not such moral power and earnestness. To thousands, the loosening of church bonds is the result not of intellectual or moral growth, but of the churches' weakness of control over the weakest elements of society. Below those capable of making a law and gospel for themselves from scattered elements of intellectual and moral direction, there is a mass of unthinking and unheroic humanity, needing constant supervision and persistent training from some acknowledged and prominent source, to enable it to fill any useful place in life. To this class, the theoretical questioning of the validity of an inherited code of morals means not a call to deeper and more careful analysis of character and condition for the finding of a more complete law of life, but a bonfire celebration of the death of all restrictions upon personal desire. Is marriage found to be not a symbol of the mystical union of Christ and his bride, the Church, to be defined by theologians, but a social compact, subject to the best judgment of the present law-makers, these people at once prepare for greater self-indulgence in the loosened bond. Is the order of society, political and industrial, found to be not a fixed decree of God, but a movable adjustment of relations by man, these people proceed to demonstrate how great a strain of anarchy the most advanced system of social order will bear before giving way to a retrogression toward earlier and more tyrannical forms. In short, is any searching question applied to traditions of ethics, with the result of finding those traditions unsuited to modern needs, large masses of people rejoice that they are now at liberty to do as they like, without feeling any sense of responsibility respecting the discovery of the real right which should come in place of the conventional idea of right. "Hurrah! hell is played out: we can do as we're a mind ter" was, it was said, the verdict of a newsboy on a popular orator's lecture. And no one can watch the current of our lower life without seeing what dangers inhere in the period after the old moral control of supernaturalism is gone and the new moral control of a self-disciplined rationalism is not yet grown to take its place. The appeal, therefore, from the unchurched for a definite guidance of thought and conduct is not only or chiefly from those earnest and noble natures who pass through conscious crises of suffering, and have the moral stamina to work out their own salvation even through struggle and pain. It is especially a call from those who know not their poverty, a call voiced only by a danger signal. And why is the appeal of the unchurched especially to Free Religion?

The appeal of the unchurched is especially to Free Religion, because Free Religion provides, in the first place, an atmosphere of thought; in the second place, a standard of moral judgment; and, in the third place, a stimulus of the idealizing sentiment,—which are in perfect accord with to-day's outcome of human development. This can be said without reservation of no other religious or social influence. Other forces of education, inside and outside the Church, provide more specially one or the other of these elements of character building, or provide for all these partially and indirectly, working together for ends they have not intelligently aimed at. But Free Religion, by its varied teachers in their different interpretations, has boldly affirmed, not grudgingly or unwittingly accepted, the latest results of human growth in application to the religious life of man.

For an intellectual bond, it proposes, not a creedal statement of details of truth already attained by some leading mind, *not even the latest philosophic dogma of the limitations of human understanding*, but a pledge of *reverent devotion to the study of truth*, leaving each mind free to express its own results. From science it has learned the lesson, so peremptorily taught in these later days, that absolute and universal freedom of inquiry and expression can alone collect the material of thought upon which the consensus of common experience passes the verdict of true or false in selecting the permanent from the transient for the divine purposes of growth. And, from religious history, it has accepted the lesson that the attempt to make speculative opinion, in *any slightest degree*, the basis of union, leads to bigotry and intolerance no less than to mental stagnation. Hence, in sympathy with all other forms of mental activity, the intellectual side of Free Religion represents the growing demand for a bond of united belief, which can be broken by no fresh accumulations of knowledge, but will, on the contrary, grow stronger, the more we learn. This *permanent bond of belief* Free Religion declares to be the conviction that facts are greater than any theories, that truth requires no props of assumption, no protection of tradition, no concealment of cowardice. This permanent bond of belief Free Religion declares to be a *method of study*, not a *record of achievements*,—an unfettered and tolerant devotion to the ideal truth, not a partisan statement of one of its aspects. And this Free Religious bond of belief, and this alone, matches the intellectual appeal of the unchurched.

For an ethical system, a standard of moral guidance and control, Free Religion proposes not the deification of some moral examplar as the perfect ideal, not the arbitrary enactment of a code of details of conduct to be unquestioningly accepted as the law of right,—not these, but a clear acceptance of the principles of equality of rights in human relations, and the subordination of the lower to the higher nature in the individual life. Welcoming to its platform differing theories of the genesis of morality, gaining light upon the philosophic problems involved, from idealist and materialist alike, it has no shibboleth test of agreement of opinion respecting the origin, the history, or the present details of ethics, to apply to any earnest worker for the right, as he sees it. Welcoming to its platform partisan pleaders for all special reforms, it stands pledged to no one of them. Its office in the moral development of the race conflicts with no detail of ethical activity: it stands simply for the great principles which underlie them all. The educational reformer is seeking for a science of human development which shall match the modern needs. The industrial reformer is seeking for a science of labor which shall consider all classes equally. The social reformer is seeking a science of sexual relation and general affectional adjustment, and of personal and public control of vice, which shall be weakened and warped by no false theories. The political reformer is seeking for a science of government which shall relieve and finally prevent the results of ignorance and selfishness in democratic as in aristocratic forms. These various reformers are recognized by Free Religion as purveyors to the developing theory and practice of morality. To all, Free Religion applies the question, Is your offered specialty of conduct a contribution toward the equitable adjustment of all human relations on the basis of fraternal love? To all, it applies the question, Is your proposed method of work consistent with the highest interests of the personal life? To all, it gives the good speed of reverent study, earnest consideration, hearty coöperation, as the individual case justifies. To none does it resign its place of critic and harmonizer of all the varied moral forces. And this Free Religious standard of ethical judgment and control, and this alone, matches the moral appeal of the unchurched. And, finally, Free Religion proposes, as a stimulant of devotion to the ideal Best, not an arbitrary *form of expression*, but a mount of vision from which climbing souls may gain each his own revelation of beauty and strength. Recognizing with deepest reverence the supreme fact that man is a "religious animal," born to worship and aspire, it recognizes also the secondary fact that love, whether it be the elect choice of friendship in human relations or the winged, upsoaring yearning of the human heart for union with the divine, of which imagination tells,—love must be unfettered in its incarnations. Throughout the ages of special religious systems, the religious sentiment has been torn in tatters during theological frenzies of tyrannical definitions of the object of worship. Free Religion attempts no definitions, no limitations, no suggestions even, of the personal expression of the universal idealism of man. Does one repudiate all the old names, disclaim faith in any God, outside the God-conception in man, he is welcome with his hopeful proof that the moral nature is recognized as sovereign in all forms of belief. Does one keep all the dear names which are our common inheritance and surcharge them with modern meaning, he, too, is welcome with his mingling of tenacious affection for the old form and brave acceptance of the new life. Does one on bended knee voice forth his yearning toward the Perfect in prayer to a distinct reality outside his consciousness, he is welcome as believer in powers "not ourselves, which make for righteousness." Does one in simple, honest silence toward the Unknown think and work upward to his own better nature, in a pure faith in its saving power, he, too, is welcome, as believer in the powers within ourselves that impel us toward the best. Does one speak confidently of "personal continuance" after death, he is welcome as confirming that grandly audacious hope of the human heart which has survived the unbroken silence of a world of graves. Does one declare his feeling that the individual life, like the dropping leaf of autumn, is lost save as its decay nourishes the root of humanity's tree, he, too, is wel-

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come, if he makes the moral influence of the special a continued gift to the general life; for he, too, in *impersonal* forms, confirms the ancient belief,—

"Whatsoe'er is excellent,
That is truly permanent."

Free Religion, on its emotional side, emancipates the *heart* of ideal devotion from the thraldom of intellectual dogma respecting its origin, object, and function,—just as a great social movement is freeing the distinctively feminine elements of human influence from the domination of the distinctively masculine powers. And, in both cases, the subtler forces, which have evaded classification and shrunk away from analysis under the tyranny of the special *form*, are beginning to blossom freely in the open air of the universal *spirit* of worship and association.

Free Religion has no united voice of authority respecting the spiritual nature and emotional desires of man. It bases its fraternal bond on no detailed answer, to which each tried and perplexed questioner must shape his problems of hope and fear or feel himself alone in the universe. It calls upon the tempest-tossed, the desolate, the faithless, the sin-beset equally with the prophets and saviours "which have been since the world was," to tell the tale of heart experience which life has told to them. And from the mingled voices of terror and of love, of despair and hopeful yearning, and of ecstatic joy, it weaves that symphony of aspiration toward an unexperienced, an imagined, and a trusted Good, whose music is the worship of the world. And this great, inclusive faith of Free Religion, this faith that the facts of universal life and law are to be trusted entirely, so entirely that we need no longer fret ourselves in fruitless efforts to unite upon a common liturgy of expression, but may forever content ourselves with its unfettered and variously voiced spirit,—this faith alone meets fully the emotional need of the unchurched.

A Pentecostal day hath dawned; and every one speaks in the language whereunto he was born, to testify of the spiritual force within. To many, the voices are confused; but to Free Religion, as I apprehend it, they are concurrent testimony to a movement in humanity constant and untiring, a movement from lower to higher, from higher toward the highest in thought and conduct and feeling,—a movement which proves the *righteous tendency of universal law*. On this, it rests with faith, whose "steps fall on the seeming void to find the rock beneath." Glad as Free Religion is of all the star-eyed poets who have hymned the special gospels of the separate religions, have added to this faith of faiths, far gladder is it for the testimony of common and uncomprehending experience.

This common humanity, its feet heavy with the clods of bestiality, its garments draggled with the bloody dew of selfish battle, its eyelids drooping with the tears of bitter sorrows, yet forever lifting its haggard face, forever stretching out its trembling arms in yearning toward something better than it has known, forever struggling upward, though blind and weak, to higher and yet higher aspiration,—this gives faith in the sovereignty of Good which cannot be gainsaid. This, the transcendent fact about the human, is Free Religion's altar-picture of the Divine.

The bond of sentiment it creates, the religious service it commands, is to "widen the skirts of light" by clearer knowledge of truth, by deeper devotion to the discovered right, by tenderer affection for the universal brotherhood of man, that the picture may shine with more resplendent glory, and inspire to a sweeter peace.

With such bread of life to break to a hungry world, bread of life already broken for the nourishment of elect souls, shall Free Religion answer the appeal of the unchurched with a stone of indifference. Oh, for a prophet's tongue of fire to tell the need, a poet's word of insight to teach the transcendent opportunity, a painter's skill to image forth the glorious promise of this *our* day of work!

THE PRESIDENT.—We have been glad, friends, to welcome new faces and new voices on our platform to-day. We are also glad to see the old faces and hear the old voices; and we have a friend with us to-day who was among the original founders of the Free Religious Association, who has been absent from the country for a number of years, but who has now returned and will speak to us on this occasion. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. Edward C. Towne.

Address of Mr. Edward C. Towne.

In the record of Thomas Carlyle's religion there is a double story. When he talked with his friend Edward Irving, he said that he did not believe in Christianity. Edward Irving, he said, at the end of that man's life, was the best man, upon the whole, he had ever known; yet a man who, perhaps, in this modern time, went most wrong in the intellectual construction of religion. It was perhaps very natural indeed for Mr. Carlyle to say to that man that he did not believe in Christianity. But there was another thing about Mr. Carlyle's life. If you have not read the two volumes which Mr. Froude has recently published, you should read them, and you should gather out of them a holy and beautiful gospel of the relation of Thomas Carlyle to his mother. Mr. Froude tells us that between himself and his mother there was a passionate attachment; and he pictures to us how they sat together in the gloaming by their Scotch fireside, smoking their Scotch pipes, while the mother, with her tender anxiety, was striving to save Thomas from the temptations of the intellect, and Thomas, with the great heart of him which he had got from that mother, was trying to make her understand that, although his conceptions were different and his words were different and he seemed to be travelling in a path different from hers, yet nevertheless, as he assured her, their characters were the same, and, fundamentally, their faiths were the same, and he did believe, after all, in that very religion which he had thought it necessary to deny when he talked with his friend Irving. I have no doubt that, but for that mother of Mr. Carlyle, he would have been the most desperate leader of agnosticism and the fiercest apostle of despair. But she held him,—held him by his heart.

The reason that I speak to you of this is that I want you to see the two methods by which we may judge a religion, any man's religion. One of them is the small and narrow and strict method, and according to that method Mr. Irving believed; and, finding a man who so believed, Mr. Carlyle denied. But in the heart of a good mother there is always another method,—a method which is large, which is broad, which is free. I have sometimes thought that religion would long since have gone out of the world, if it had been left to men. I believe it would. I believe we should have agnosticism and despair altogether triumphant, if religion had been left to men. You turn the page of contemporary English history, you ask for the representatives of religion, and you will find that one of the most conspicuous illustrations of genuine religion on that page is that very plain, common, I think I may say inferior, yet nevertheless good woman, who is on the throne of England. And when you see the daughters she has sent into the world, especially those two elder daughters she sent to Germany, the Crown Princess of Germany and the Princess Alice of Hesse Darmstadt, who died, you find, with their mother, three as good disciples, I suppose, of Theodore Parker as there are in the world, and made such simply by the instincts of their good English womanhood. I do not say "English" because I mean on the other side of the Atlantic. What I have learned by five years' and a half residence in England is that England, as Mr. Carlyle said and as John Bright has said, lies on both sides the Atlantic, and especially when you come to the finest of all facts in English traditions, the tradition of its womanhood.

Now, that large and broad and free method is the method of the future in regard to religion. I think there is a great deal of Orthodoxy left on this platform. I think we have heard the method of it in those brief essays which followed one another through the hour and a quarter during which Mr. Salter entertained and instructed us. The method, I say, of Orthodoxy is the method of small and narrow and strict construction.

Now, if there is one thing the history of religion enables us clearly to understand, it is this: that every one of the great founders of religion has had knowledge of that religion which is behind and below all the religions. You may take the worst of them,—Mahomet,—and the world, the orthodox scholarship of the world, is already recognizing that, if you will look at Mahomet from his own point of view, from his own words, if you will read his life during the twenty-five years that he was faithful to that noble woman who was his wife, and who, if she could have lived to the end of his life, would probably have exercised more influence for good upon the destiny of mankind than any other human being would have exercised, you will find that even in Mahomet himself there is a large and noble reality, taking hold of the divine, of divine revelation. And need I speak of the morality of Confucius or of Laou-tszee? Need I speak of the divine compassion of Buddha? Need I speak of the sweet voice of nature which sung itself out of the Vedic hymns? Need I point to the different Bibles of the East,—the Bibles of Egypt, of Chaldea, and of Greece, to Greek poetry,—to convince you that everywhere there is one divine strain, if you are only willing to look at it in a large enough and broad enough and free enough spirit?

There is another fact which the history of religions teaches. It is that no set of disciples ever failed to corrupt the teaching which they had heard. And I think I do not exaggerate when I say that between master and disciples there has never been such a gulf fixed as between Christ and his disciples. I listened eagerly for something about the ethics of Christ in Mr. Salter's essay. I heard a great deal about modern problems, very nobly said, to which my heart responded, and I heard a number of assertions in regard to the ethics of Jesus; but I could not detect, from my own judgment as a scholar, that Mr. Salter had made the acquaintance of the ethics of Christ; I mean, that he had taken the pains to extract them from the memoranda which we have from the disciples of Christ; and I am confident that, as the years roll over his clear head, and as Providence, or circumstances, if he wishes to call it so, shall guide his earnest search, he will more and more find that he is walking in the identical footsteps which left a line of light in those paths of Galilee and up that hill of crucifixion.

I cannot, of course, in the brief moments that are allotted to me, say what I should like to say of the method of Christ which makes me recognize it as the ideal method in religion, yet not because it was Christ's. The only person I have ever nearly worshipped in religion was my mother. When I was a Trinitarian, I did not worship Christ: in the historical sense, I recognized him; but when I came to the questions of humanity in the streets of the city of New York, where I began my study of divinity, I said to myself instantly, "The spirit that has been breathed on me in all my life, and by which I have learned to trust God as a father,—that spirit is in utter contradiction of this religion which I am setting myself to learn, and am expected to preach." And I got out of it It dropped off from me. Now, I am confident, I say, that those who will look closely enough into this matter will find that, without any worship of Christ, without any other recognition of him than as a teacher and as an example,—a teacher and an example who sought after and found the ideal, and who has been providentially made an historical symbol,—they will find, I say, that Christ does represent to them this truth, which is the natural truth of the human heart. Mr. Emerson said so. Mr. Carlyle said so. I think you will find that the greatest thinkers have all said so in one way or another, whatever their criticisms. They offer their criticisms upon what is told us of Christ. But when it comes to Christ himself, when they come to stand with him, to walk with *him*, to live with him, and to die with him—then they know that his life was sublime and immortal. I yield to no man in giving honor to conscience; but I say that, when you add sympathy or love to conscience, you have quadrupled your resources. And I say again that there is a stage higher still, which, if you add it, you quadruple all that you have got before; and that is the stage of trust,—the instinct which looks out and forward and upward for good and for light, recognizing one purpose that is good—good enough to be divine—in all the course of the ages. Now, I say, this trust is four-fifths of natural religion; and sympathy is four-fifths of the other fifth. And if you go to work upon the basis simply of conscience, supremely important as that is, you are going to work with about four per cent. of the natural resources of religion.

Now, there is a lamentable tendency, I think, in our time to go to work upon a basis of four per cent. I will tell you why I think so; and if any of you have lived in England, as I have done, you will understand how lamentable the thing can be. If you take freedom, or the resistance to superstition, in a sense so extravagant as to make it possible to throw men back upon bondage and upon superstition, you may be

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doing more for bondage and superstition than you are doing for freedom and for religion; and I sometimes ask myself whether, as a movement, we have not done more to injure the cause that is sacred to us than we have done to help it. All over England, you find the very class who have been immersed in free religion caught up by the very worst form of ritualistic superstition, and in the bondage of clergymen who call themselves priests, and call for subjugation to them as to a priesthood. The very people, I say, who were naturally Free Religionists, are turned in many of the Anglican churches into the bond-slaves of superstition; and it is because that is true which Wordsworth so finely said of Nature, which I will alter a little to make it applicable to my thought:—

"Great God! I'd rather be
A Pagan, suckled in a creed outworn;
So might I, standing by this shoreless sea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn."

You cannot get away from these realities of the infinite and of eternity. They belong to the human heart. They are not merely in the Bible, they are not merely in the teaching of Christ. We do not find Christ much of a religionist: we find him more of a humanist. We do not find him much of a theologian: we find him more an ethical master; but, then, his ethical sagacity was sustained by the instinct of divine love and of eternal hope. He took God and took immortality for granted. And unhappy would the day be when such a master as we heard this morning, and such a disciple as we heard this afternoon, or a school of them, should fill our religious world with the very worst gnosticism that has ever been invented, though intended to be non-gnostic; for I think the very worst gnosticism that has ever been invented is that we know the limits of the horizon about us, and so well know them that we cannot trust, cannot hope, and cannot believe in God and in immortality.

Now, I have one more thought, and it is this. You may do what you like in any class or school of teaching, there is one thing that settles all these questions; and that is, the human mind, the course of history. I do not speak of the superficial appearances of the age: I speak of that which is eternal. I speak of the adamant which is beneath all our feet. I say that, whether you care for Christ or the teaching of Christ or not, the world does and will; and, if you do not give it to the world rationally and free, the priesthood will give it as a bondage and a superstition. And, if that be true, let me tell you that it is certainly the fact that this adamant which is under us all lifts the figure of Christ into a sunlight which will never be absent from him as long as suns shall rise and suns shall set. He, simply by the human truth of his faith, by the human truth of his conscience, his love and his trust, of his faith in God and faith in man, his divine faith in eternal life, by his large and free reading of religions, of church, and of worship, gave to us the perfect measure of religion, free as the air, free as the sunlight of God.

The PRESIDENT.—There has always to be a last speaker at every meeting, and generally the last speaker has a hard time of it. His time is scant, in the first place, and his audience is apt to be thin, and to become thinner; and therefore I bespeak for the last friend who is to address you at this time your special attention, for I know he will hold you, if you will let him have a chance. I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. B. F. Underwood, who will now address you.

Address of Mr. B. F. Underwood.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have no prepared address, and, if I had one, at this hour and under these circumstances should be very much disinclined to deliver it. Indeed, the meeting would close without any remarks from me, did there not seem to be needed a few words, in order to give formal completeness to the proceedings. We have heard much about religion, and a few words should now be said in regard to the value and importance of science. We have had different definitions of religion. Mr. Potter, in his able and eloquent address, defined it as the expression of man's relation to the universe. Prof. Adler, in his forcible and eloquent statement of his position, defined religion as something related to and derived from the moral sense, expressing itself in the idea of moral purpose in the universe. Mr. Salter has given another and perhaps a more transcendental definition. And, in the last address, we had yet another attempt to define religion. Whatever be the amount of truth in any of these definitions, I claim that it rightfully belongs to the domain of science. There is nothing in religion that is realizable or valuable that transcends science; and, when I say science, I do not include theology, which, being the "science" of the unknown and the unknowable, is, properly speaking, no science at all.

If religion refers to man and his relations to the universe, it represents what must be classified as a part of the sum total of human experience and knowledge. Once, in reply to a similar remark, Col. Higginson said in substance that religion is an emotion, and is not observable and cannot be dealt with by the methods of science. But it is the privilege of science to take cognizance of our thoughts and feelings, to compare and arrange them, to observe their objective effects, and to bring them within the province of classified knowledge, just as we take cognizance of material objects, and compare and classify them and reduce them to order and system. To speak of any religion as beyond or outside the scientific domain is to speak of what is beyond the power of the human mind to conceive or to consider in relation to the life and character of man.

Whether you regard religion as doctrines formulated into a creed—Christianity or Mohammedanism—or regard it as an intuition or a tendency inwrought in human nature, the result of ancestral experience, extending back through ages to the time man began to feel emotion in contemplating nature and his relations, it is the work of science to explain it, to illuminate the mind in regard to this subject, which is of such general and profound interest to man, and finds expression in so many ways.

It may be safely said, too, that the more science we have, the more morality will we have. True, much immorality is seen in communities that are in possession of considerable knowledge; and we hear it said, sometimes, that in some savage tribes is found a morality that would shame civilized nations. But such statements predicated upon superficial comparison of simple and complex communities are of little value. If you wish to form an idea of the difference in the moral character of the savage and the civilized man, imagine the Digger Indians suddenly organized into a community, with institutions and agencies as numerous and relations as complex as those of the city of Boston. Of course, such a change, were it possible, would at once involve not only great intellectual development, but the education of the moral sense and the differentiation of moral conduct to adjust the members of the community to the requirements of the new life. Such intellectual and moral changes cannot be effected without science, and then only by slow changes extending through centuries.

Morality—real morality, and not merely an ascetic or theological morality—depends upon scientific progress; and, if a people that have made considerable advancement in science, and are still more or less under the dominion of laws and habits which belong to an unadvanced condition, it shows how largely the present may be in slavery to the past, how men may outgrow beliefs and still be under the influence of those beliefs, just the same as many fancy they have emancipated themselves from the thraldom of creeds, when they have all the dogmatism, bigotry, and bitterness which those creeds engendered in their ancestors, and which they received partly by education and partly by inheritance. What I attempt here to indicate in regard to the influence of the past in determining our moral character, when it is utterly inconsistent with our best knowledge, is as unquestionable as the influence of superstition over Madame de Staël, when she said, in reply to a question, that she did not believe in ghosts, but was nevertheless afraid of them.

It is science, if I mistake not, that has chiefly promoted the *practical* morality we have to-day in the most enlightened communities, because it is science that has taught us what is involved in all the old precepts, and enables us to realize them in life. "Be just." These words express the whole duty of man under all circumstances, in all climes. They were uttered by ancient teachers, they are accepted by the savage mind. But intellectual development, including scientific knowledge, has enabled man to learn what *is* just. The abolition of slavery and the growth of international law were made possible by science, not by the repetition of precepts known to the ancients as well as to ourselves. The fact that much needs to be done to make men understand morality in the application of its principles to practice is illustrated by the unwillingness of the orthodox clergy to consent to the taxation of church property, when they know that such taxation compels people who do not believe in the churches to support them. It is secular knowledge and scientific progress that will finally effect this change, and not simply repeating the words of Jesus and exhorting men to obey them. The brotherhood of man was taught not only by Jesus, but by poets and sages in India and Greece; but what the brotherhood of man really means in actual life was not understood until science brought men and nations into communication, and is not fully understood yet. The invention of the telegraph, in my opinion, has done more to promote the brotherhood of man than all the preaching to which men have listened since that invention commenced its work of uniting men in the bonds of a common humanity. And it is now enabling men to put in practice what was before to a large extent mere theory, because it is making men more cosmopolitan in their views and broader in their sympathies. And so the invention of printing, which has spread knowledge broadcast, has been an important factor in social advancement, which means also moral progress. Further illustrations need not be given.

I may add that science, by giving good surroundings, teaching men how to live, making them acquainted with their numerous relations, giving them good laws and correct ideas of nature and of duty, strengthens and develops that fine and noble sentiment which has been defined here to-day as religion. Science is promotive of the highest sentiments and of the noblest traits of character. Left without these scientific aids, without this knowledge that comes to help man in controlling the forces of nature, left simply to the worship of an unseen Being or to a dreamy, nebulous contemplation of the universe, man never could have advanced from the conditions of savage life. Indeed, the emotion which is excited in the presence of the eternal mystery of being, the awe arising from the contemplation of man, of man's nature, and the inexplicable universe to which he is related, are the result of the enlargement of the human mind and the growth of the moral sentiment. With the number and complexity of man's observations and experiences, upon which this enlargement and this growth have depended, science has extended her empire, while the domain of theology has become smaller.

I insist then on the importance of science, not only in its application to what are called physical facts, but in its application to the human mind, the expressions of the human mind, and to the products of the human mind, including the religious sentiment and the moral sentiment as well as religious systems and the moral code.

I think, with Prof. Adler, that the chief value of this Free Religious Association consists in the liberty it has afforded and the encouragement it has given for the study and presentation of thought from every point of view. A society so broad and catholic can of course have no creed to hamper its members; and, for this very reason, it is adapted to do the work for which it was formed,—to encourage the independent and courageous expression of thought, and to elicit truth on the subject of religion. But it does not follow,—I wish to add this before I sit down,—because men and women agree to unite in the study and friendly discussion of this subject, that they must resolve themselves into a charitable organization. It is right and proper that charitable organizations be formed and supported as they are by many who are members of this Association; but it does not follow that an association established for the study and expression of thought from different points of view is remiss in its duty or has failed to accomplish anything, simply because it has not taken up a work for which it was *not* formed and which it has not the machinery to carry out.

The PRESIDENT.—I cannot let you go, friends, until you have finished the little matter of business of which I spoke at the opening of the afternoon session. The committee then selected to name a committee to nominate officers next year have reported as follows: Mr. Charles H. Codman, Mr. Harlan P. Hyde, and Mrs. Sara A. Underwood.

On motion, the Association ratified the nominations of the committee.

The PRESIDENT.—And now, friends, this Conven-

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tion comes to its natural close. The festival this evening will be more informal and social. Whatever may be the issue of the Free Religious movement in the future, it has certainly, I think, had a good meeting to-day. We have had the wide range of thought that it has been usual to have represented upon this platform, and the various elements and phases that are here harmoniously associated together have been voiced. If any inspiriting idea has come into any of our minds, any more generous impulse been stirred within us, any higher hope, any better aspiration, then the meeting has been a success. But it will not have been a success in its results, unless we shall all go to our several posts of duty to put this new inspiration, this higher hope, this larger thought, into our lives. With the expression of the hope that this may be the case with us, I now announce that this Convention is adjourned.

Social Festival.

In the evening, the Hall was well filled again with those who came for the social entertainment. A portion of the time was given to speaking and music. The addresses were informal and mostly impromptu, and no notes were taken of them. The speakers were F. A. Hinckley, S. J. Stewart, Miss M. F. Eastman, Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, Capt. Robert C. Adams, and A. B. Alcott. The music, generously volunteered by the Euterpe Quartette of young lady singers, was a very pleasant feature of the occasion. Two hymns, one by Samuel Johnson and one by Mr. Emerson, were also sung by the whole assembly. The rest of the evening was spent in social conversation and at the tables for refreshments. The donation table of the Finance Committee was also patronized; and the whole financial receipts of the Convention are given below.

For *The Index*.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THEISTIC RETRIBUTION.

V. B. DENSLOW, LL.D.

If I were disposed to believe that the social world is governed by a Divine Person, instead of being left, like the material elements, to the unstable equilibrium resulting from the equal warfare of antagonistic forces, I should find, in the three foremost events of the present year—namely, the "No Rent" abolition of landlords' rights in Ireland, the assassination of President Garfield, and the Christian persecution of the Mormons—the manifestation of a desire on the part of this Person to teach mankind that ethical questions are not infallibly determined by popular majorities, and that policies may be very unanimous on the part of vast masses of people, and yet may be so unwise as to be pregnant with the seeds of their own punishment.

The six millions of Irishmen who, since 1846, have been driven to this country by the perverse incapacity and misgovernment of the Irish and English landlord class, have built railroads and performed agricultural and other labor here, which of themselves alone may fairly be credited with having developed a capacity for the cheap production of breadstuffs, meats, and provisions, which has rendered the payment of rent by English, Irish, and Scotch farmers impossible at the low prices to which American farmers have reduced the products on which British farmers depend. If, on the other hand, the English government had done as much to develop and preserve Irish manufactures as English, Ireland could have retained the seven millions of people who have been driven to America, Canada, Australia, and the Cape, and could have maintained the whole twelve millions in far greater comfort than she now maintains four millions. The lesson of this is that, though the English people were very unanimous in the measures by which, from 1781 to 1846, Irish industries were destroyed, yet, in spite of their unanimity, the British nation were asinine and suicidal, and their blunder was pregnant with the seed of retribution. All the official prayers of the Church of England cannot stop the destructive bombardment which is tumbling the English aristocracy and Church to the ground, though the only guns that are fired are the jocund laugh and merry jibe of the Irish laborer in America, as he drives his team afield, or picks up his spade every morning for his eight hours' work and his white wheat bread.

In the case of President Garfield, I wish there were more charity in what I have to say; but I am describing retribution, and I have never been able to see any element of charity in retribution. President Garfield sincerely desired to cover within the comprehensive mantle of a single, generous, and richly endowed mind a perfect and consistent sympathy with the most advanced metaphysical speculations and scientific conclusions of Newton, Humboldt, Tyndall, Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and Haeckel, and at the same time to give hospitable shelter, under the same intellectual tent, to superstitions which for a thousand years held the world bound under chains and darkness, which during eighteen hundred years have probably destroyed the lives of fifty millions of people, and which have opposed, tooth and nail, inch by inch, every onward step in the revival of civilization in modern times. Knowing that Christianity had made this monstrous record,—for the vast and accurate reading of the late President had carried him intimately over the entire ground,—he still strove to see in its crude superstitions an element better than the human mind in its generous progress had placed there,—an element exterior to, above, and better than the aggregate march of human progress, indeed a sufficient cause and an inspiring motive to all this progress. He loved applause universally, but was voracious of the applause of Christians. He appeared at their conventions at Chatauqua and elsewhere; and, though deeply imbued with the spirit of an enlarged philosophy which abhors superstition, he encouraged the gross, materialistic Christians, who believe in a salvation through blood and the like, to claim him as their own. It was out of this dark cloud of Christian superstition which has been glowering over the world for centuries that the bolt fell. Behind him crept the meagre-witted, skulking, ill made-up and mentally deformed creature, in whose darkened pate the superstition, of which the brilliant Garfield was determined to see only the silver lining, had bred the dark and dangerous lunacy which led him to believe that the world is governed by a Moral Deformity, and that he selects moral deformities as his fittest agents and ministers. Had Guiteau's moral sense been sufficiently educated to perceive that Abraham, if the story of his offering of Isaac is to be taken as history and not myth, was a lunatic, he would not have fallen into the meshes of his own religious vanity. Without saying that, if the magnificent intellect of Garfield had never stooped to compliment and identify itself with Moodyism at Chatauqua, it would never have been struck down by Moodyism at Washington, I am of the opinion that the very Moodyism toward which Garfield bowed so low at Chatauqua that he forgot for the time the close intellectual relations he bore to an anti-superstitious philosophy,—a fact which he would not have forgotten, if the votes of philosophers had been as numerous and as clannish as those of Christians,—was the atmosphere in which Guiteau's intellect became addled. I am of the opinion that all effective religious revivalism is a mode of social and epidemic trance or lunacy; that Guiteau, according to his own testimony, was first struck with it during the Moody meetings in Chicago, in listening to a sermon by Dr. Kittredge, in which that worthy confessed himself unable to form a settled theory of Christ's second coming. Guiteau's phrases—"God always employs men of brains to do his work." "God has no use for fools,"—were the tickling phrases which Moody used during those meetings. Guiteau went out of the Moody meetings with the general notion that all frenzy is divine inspiration; and in fact he was as near right as this,—that there has never been any other divine inspiration than that which grew out of human frenzy or disease. He was possessed with the vast religious vanity of being as great a man as Moody. The first step to becoming such was to be as blindly superstitious. Along this track he moved into religious vagabondism, petty deadbeatism, diseased overestimates of his own personality, chagrin, shame, dark clouds settling constantly over his moral sense, until at last from motives partly insane and superstitious, partly sane and devilish, he struck out in the dark for fame or infamy, his mind was too clouded to tell which.

At Chatauqua, Garfield, from the full quiver of superstition, plucked the graceful feathered arrow of religious compliment, and drew the bow to show how deftly he could aim it at the heart of atheism. Millions of Christians made the welkin ring with their acclaim, and asked: "Who now will say that we are superstitious? Who now will claim that our effort to 'come up to the help of the Lord' in his arduous efforts to run the universe is a mode of lunacy?" Alas! before the shouts of acclaim had died away there was a sudden cry of horror and dismay. The whole world stood aghast. It had desired to assume that Christianity bred none but Garfields. But the terrible arrow had returned. Christianity breeds also Guiteaus. Atheism may perhaps be truly charged with assassinating deity,—so far as deity is a mere hypothesis of the undeveloped reason,—but superstition, and the lunacy it begets, assassinate man in the flesh. I find it impossible to conceive that the lamented President Garfield, during his long months of agony, could have failed to feel that the superstition to which he had tried to be kindly and complimentary had shot back the arrow which he had aimed at atheism.

> "So the struck eagle, stretched upon the plain,
> No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
> Viewed his own feather on the fatal dart,
> And winged the shaft that quivered in his heart.
> Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel
> He nursed the pinion which impelled the steel;
> While the same plumage that had warmed his nest
> Drank the last life-drop of his bleeding breast."

Nothing short of a New Revelation could break on many minds the conception that the doubts and discussions among philosophic minds as to the existence or nature of deity are as harmless, because as high above the frenziable class as the stars. They can neither scorch nor wither, and they may instruct and guide. But the class of superstitions that first frighten and then enfeeble or enthuse the giddy vanity of the vast materialistic throngs of ox-brained, beefy mediocrity that crowd in thousands upon the teachings of a Moody, Talmage, Kittredge, or Harrison, who easily catch the notion that human frenzy is divine inspiration,—these, like low, ground fires that burn among the stubble, are dangerous.

(Concluded next week.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CODE OF ETHICS.

Editors of The Index:—

I regret to find in *The Index* some ungenerous remarks on the action of the American Medical Association for condensing the new code of ethics adopted by the New York Medical Society, which permits to hold consultations with any legally qualified practitioner. This latter clause is altogether misleading. In some of the States, any one is legally qualified to practise medicine, if he takes it up as a business, regardless of his want of education and experience. In other States, a board of examiners, consisting mostly of non-professional persons, may, at their option, grant licenses to practice. Under these circumstances, no other resort is left for the educated physician, in order to maintain the honor and dignity of his profession, than to hold no professional intercourse with the "irregulars"; and this resolve has found expression in the code of ethics established by the representatives of the medical profession. Such a course is demanded by candor and honesty, if by nothing else. But the question arises, Who are the "regulars" and who are the pretenders? If medicine is a science at all, then there can be only one science of medicine, as there can be only one science of mathematics or chemistry or biology. Although Comte places medicine low in the ranks of sciences, on account of its dearth of large generalizations and of established principles, yet he admits it into the hierarchy of sciences; for he discerns in the cultivation of allied sciences, which form the foundation and auxiliaries of medicine, the true scientific method.

The theory and practice of medicine can claim a scientific basis only when built upon observation and experiment when it commences with the inductive process and then utilizes the results of the latter for deductive purposes. So-called special systems, in which the history of medicine abounds, abandon this slow, tentative work, and seek in the domain of hazardous speculations for a shorter and quicker route to the desired goal. In this effort, the founders of "pathies" are urged on by the consideration that to cure disease is a practical necessity that cannot wait for the fruition of scientific research. Unfortunately, that branch of medicine which concerns itself with the selection and application of certain substances and agencies for the relief and cure of diseases is the most backward of all the different departments of medical study. The enlightened and conscientious physician, who frequently knows perfectly well what is wrong with his patient,

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but too often has to deplore the inadequacy of his therapeutical means to fulfil the indications of treatment, besides the inquiry into the powers and value of a reputed remedy, is beset with almost insurmountable difficulties; for the error of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* can hardly be eliminated from it. Suppose a patient recovers from a disease, who had been submitted to a certain plan of treatment, how are we to tell whether the recovery was effected by the remedy or happened in a natural way? The acute diseases are self-limited, and have a tendency to spontaneous recovery. A vast number of other morbid conditions are only exceptionally fatal. It is evident that, at least in these classes of cases, nothing can be absolutely determined concerning the curative powers of any remedy; but what a wide field does this open to the pretender, the impostor, and cheat, and what false inferences will be drawn by the advocates of some pet "pathy," who see in the recovery a confirmation of their faith! And, in truth, how great is the temptation to credit drugs with virtues for no other reason than that persons got well after they had taken them!

Many of those special systems of medicines have been reared upon just such fallacious reasoning, and homœopathy is the latest of them. Criticism is silenced amid the shouts of happy convalescents, who fancy they escaped death under the auspices of globulism. It appears as if sickness levels all understandings. Pericles, the Greek of the Greek, who could command the best medical talent of Athens, gave himself up to the charms and potions of his old slave woman, when he was taken sick. The Æsculapian priest could triumphantly point to the thousands of votive offerings hung up in the temple by invalids in gratitude to the healing God, whatever the sceptical Hippocrates may say to the contrary. The Father of Medicine would undoubtedly have smiled, had he been assured that the ten millionth of a grain of pulsatilla cures diphtheria. Perhaps some forward Athenian journal would have accused him of Bourbonism, and teased him because he could not put himself "in harmony with the spirit of the age." But it is said that "a good proportion of intelligent people employ physicians of the homœopathic school." When Dr. Forbes visited Paris, in 1842, he was told of the astounding medical virtues of a nostrum which was all the rage with the *élite* of the city. The irrepressible Englishman, by means of a handful of francs, got hold of the formula of this wonderful nostrum, and what was it? O ye shades of Galen and Sydenham! A decoction of flint stones!

But the unkindest cut of all is to put the science and art of medicine on a level with theology, with the implication that both of them rest upon such a precarious basis that "sectarianism or close communionism" becomes neither of them. I shall not stop to discuss this point, as my communication has already exceeded the limits I had designed for it. A few words may, however, be added in explanation of the cause that induced the members of the New York Medical Society to modify their code of ethics in the manner indicated. They even went further than this, when they said that "emergencies may occur in which all restrictions should, in the judgment of the practitioner, yield to the demands of humanity." How the demands of humanity could possibly be answered in a case of sickness by the combined efforts of men who have not a single medical opinion and mode of treatment in common, it would be hard to determine. The truth of the whole matter is this: homœopathy has become fashionable and lucrative in New York city. Many wealthy and influential people employ globulists, and it frequently happens that the professional services of eminent consulting physicians of the regular kind are desired by these rich patients. In order to avoid the scandal which a compliance on the part of the regulars would cause in medical circles, it was found convenient to modify the ethical code. The "humanity" is all in favor of the "big guns."

A. B. ARNOLD, M.D.

BALTIMORE, June 27, 1882.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THOMAS PETTIGREW, of Streator, Ill., in renewing his subscription, writes, "I think *The Index* the best paper of its kind in this country, and I cannot afford to dispense with it."

CAPT. R. C. ADAMS, in a business letter, writes: "Your proof-reader deserves great credit. Few papers present such good 'English,' in printer's phrase, as *The Index*. This reminds me that, in *On Board the 'Rocket,'* I wrote, 'Sailors talk in their watch below from 8 to half-past 8, one bell.' The printers made it, 'Sailors talk in their watch below, 8 to half-past 8, *on hell*,'—not what I meant to say."

DEMOCRACY (like Christianity) is not served best by its own most brawling advocates, but often far, far better, finally, by those who are outside its ranks. I should say that such men as Carlyle and Emerson and Tennyson, to say nothing of Shakspere and Walter Scott, have done more for popular political and social progress and liberalization, and for individuality and freedom, than all the pronounced democrats one could name.—*Walt Whitman.*

MISS SALLIE HOLLY, in charge of a colored charity school at Lottsburg, Va., in a letter acknowledging a donation from Rev. Photius Fiske, and mentioning the fact that he has contributed to this institution during the fourteen years it has been open, writes: "The school goes on day after day all the year round. But the ignorance, indolence, and indifference of both white people and colored people toward all that is included in modern civilization is wholly unknown to a Northerner. Virginia is a hundred years behind Massachusetts."

THE flag for which the heroes fought, for which they died, is the symbol of all we are, of all we hope to be. It is the emblem of equal rights. It means free hands, free lips, self-government, and the sovereignty of the individual. It means that this continent has been dedicated to freedom. It means universal education, light for every mind and knowledge for every child. It means that the school-house is the fortress of liberty. It means that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"; that each man is accountable to and for the government; that responsibility goes hand in hand with liberty. It means that it is the duty of every citizen to bear his share of the public burden,—to take part in the affairs of his town, his county, his State, and his country. It means that the ballot-box is the ark of the covenant; that the source of authority must not be poisoned. It means the perpetual right of peaceful revolution. It means that every citizen of the republic, native or naturalized, must be protected at home in every State, abroad in every land, on every sea. It means that all distinctions based on birth or blood have perished from our laws; that our government shall stand between labor and capital, between the weak and strong, between the individual and the corporation, between want and wealth, and give and guarantee simple justice to each and all. It means that there shall be a legal remedy for every wrong. It means national hospitality,—that we must welcome to our shores the exiles of the world, and that we may not drive them back. Some may be deformed by labor, dwarfed by hunger, broken in spirit, victims of tyranny and caste, in whose faces may be read the touching record of a weary life; and yet their children, born of liberty and love, will be symmetrical and fair, intelligent and free.—*R. G. Ingersoll.*

BOOK NOTICES.

THE *Art Amateur* for June contains a finely illustrated notice of the Paris Salon, with special reference to the pictures by American artists and to those coming to this country. Other exhibitions in Paris, New York, and Philadelphia are also vivaciously criticised. There are capital practical articles on modelling in clay and amateur photography; and some timely hints on the decoration of country "boxes" are given, together with the first of a series of articles on illuminated manuscripts, supplemented by valuable hints for amateur illuminators. The departments of Ceramics, Bric-a-brac, Needlework, and Art in Dress are well filled; and the usual liberal array of designs for china painting, embroidery, and general decoration completes a fine number of this deservedly popular art magazine. Price $4 a year; single number, 35 cents. Montague Marks, Publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

THE *Sanitarian* for July is at hand, and contains the following valuable papers: "The City needs a Change of Air," by Prof. Richard McSherry; "Protection against Disease," by Dr. J. J. Speed, Secretary of the Kentucky Board of Health; "Protective Power of Vaccination," by Dr. Edwin M. Snow, Superintendent of Health of Providence, R.I.; "Evidences of Insanity, discoverable in the Brains of Criminals and Others whose Mental State has been questioned," by Prof. Edward C. Spitzka, one of the experts testifying in Guiteau's case; "Lead-pipe Dangers to Potable Water," by Dr. E. R. Maxson; "The Perils of Emigrants," apropos of the recent affair of the "Nemesis." These, with a portrait and sketch of the late Dr. Stephen Rogers and miscellaneous matter, make this an excellent number of the magazine.

THE *Unitarian Review* for July has the following table of contents: "Scholastic Theology," by Rev. J. H. Allen; "Personal Influence a Preventive," by Kate Gannett Wells; "Sense of Proportion in Religious Inquiry," by Rev. Thomas R. Slicer; and a delightful defence of "Sentiment," by Dr. H. W. Bellows. The "Editors' Note-Book" treats of Lessons for Sunday-schools and "The Use of Tobacco by Boys." In "Things at Home and Abroad," by Mrs. Martha P. Lowe, we are treated to a very interesting, gossipy, and pleasant talk on Emerson, Parker, Miss Peabody, Margaret Fuller, F. D. Maurice, Theodore Parker, and others. Rev. John P. Hopps contributes "Notes from England"; and there is review of Rev. Mr. Ware's Sermons and other current literature.

THE *Herald of Health* for July, among other evidences of a progressive spirit, devotes a special department to "Studies of Hygiene for Women." It also deals quite fully with some of the hygienic phases of the Chinese question.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

A COLLECTION of letters by the late Lydia Maria Child, in press by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., will have a preface by Mr. Whittier.

CHARLES BRIGHT'S lecture at Paine Hall last Sunday gave excellent satisfaction, and he was engaged to speak there again Sunday, July 16.

DR. BELLOWS, while living, was thought to be in good circumstances; but an examination into his affairs after his death proved that such was not the case. His former parishioners, on learning this fact, raised for his widow a purse of fifty thousand dollars.

MR. WALTER L. SAWYER, who has been connected with several of the Portland papers for some time, and also was correspondent of the Washington *Post*, has accepted a position on the staff of the *Post*. He has the best wishes of the editors of *The Index*, to which our readers will remember he has been an occasional contributor the past year.

CONCERNING Bret Harte, an exchange says: "One of the most intense and unspeakable Englishmen I have seen since I struck London is Mr. Bret Harte. . . . His hair is white, and his face is red enough to enrage the tamest bull in the world. He wears a section of a window-pane in one eye, and talks with a la-de-da accent that would infinitely amuse the friends of the Harte we used to know. This one trains with my lord this and the earl of that, and talks big things of magazines he is going to start."

THE *Christian Union* says: "The Rev. Samuel Longfellow, of Germantown, Penn., has resigned his pastorate of the Unitarian Society there, and will remove to Cambridge, Mass., to take up his residence in the Craigie House with the daughters of the poet, his brother, for the purpose of writing his authorized life. This arrangement is in accordance with the desire of the family, and should give content to all interested in the best performance of the work. Mr. Samuel Longfellow is a gentleman of fine literary taste, and himself a poet of no mean order. Some of his religious poems are almost as sweet as any in the language."

A STORY is told in Berlin of a rather embarrassing position in which the distinguished Professor Mommsen found himself during his recent visit in Rome. He was attending a lecture by the well-known archæologist, Dr. Rossi, when the latter paused to express his satisfaction at seeing before him "a man who might be called the father of Christian epigraphy." Before the lecturer had time to pronounce the name of the scholar referred to, Professor Mommsen rose and modestly bowed his thanks for the compliment; but he was thrown into confusion when the lecturer, recovering from the interruption, went on to quote the name of the Jesuit Father Carucci as the person intended.

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The Devout Life.
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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 13

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Prof. Adler's Reply to Mr. Potter, Felix Adler, ... 14
A Rejoinder, Wm. J. Potter, ... 15
An Implication of Evolution, B. F. Underwood, . . . 16
Scientific Evidence of Immortality, M. A. Hardaker, . 16
The God Above, F. M. H., ... 17
Anti-State Theorists, B. W. Ball, ... 17

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 18

POETRY.

Righteousness, Willard Pennington, ... 18

ESSAYS.

Emerson's Gospel of the Religion of Nature, R. Heber Newton, ... 19
Illustrations of Theistic Retribution, V. B. Denslow, LL.D., ... 22

CORRESPONDENCE.

Free Society, Lyceum Hall, Dorchester, A., ... 23

BOOK NOTICES.

"American Men of Letters," Henry D. Thoreau, by F. B. Sanborn, ... 23
Revue de Belgique, Art Amateur, ... 23

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 23

CURRENT TOPICS.

MRS. LIVERMORE thinks "the cream of the East has gone west, that our finest young men and women are there, and that is the reason the West is in advance of the East."

IN the observatory at Princeton there has been recently put up a new telescope, said to be one of the largest and finest in the world, which cost $25,000. In the same observatory is a spectroscope costing $1,000.

THE success of the Mormon missionaries is remarkable. A shipload of converts has come to this country every month this year. July 1, a steamer brought to New York nine hundred and twenty-seven Mormon immigrants, most of whom were Swedes and Norwegians.

THE *Christian Statesman* says regretfully: "Last Sabbath week — the first hot Sabbath of the season — there were, it is said, more excursionists from New York to a single seaside resort than there were worshippers in all the churches in that city. Short trips on the Sabbath — stimulated by numerous trains and cheap fares — have become an alarmingly general form of Sabbath desecration."

THE people of Iowa have ratified the following amendment to the Constitution by a majority of about forty thousand: "No person shall manufacture for sale, or sell or keep for sale as a beverage, any intoxicating liquors whatever, including ale, wine, and beer. The General Assembly shall by law prescribe regulations for the enforcement of the prohibition herein contained, and shall hereby provide suitable penalties for the violation of the provisions thereof."

IN his attempt to soften the rigor of the Repression Bill, by modifying its provisions in regard to the right of search, Mr. Gladstone last week experienced a personal defeat; but his course was as just as it was courageous, and it ought to convince the Irish leaders that the English premier with the reactionary conservatives, as well as some of the short-sighted Liberals against him, is doing all that any man could do, under the circumstances, to give relief to the Irish people.

A NEW cure for small-pox is thought to be discovered in California, through the accidental upsetting of a boat containing sixteen small-pox patients on their way to the pest-house, in the bay at San Francisco. Having to wait in their water-soaked garments for an hour thereafter, it was confidently prophesied that they would all die, but instead they all recovered from the disease in a remarkably short time. Pest-houses will hereafter need to be turned into seaside bathing-houses.

IT is the opinion of military men who are familiar with the army and defensive strength of Egypt that the national party organized by Arabi Pasha will be speedily and decisively overthrown by the military and naval power of Great Britain. It is not forgotten that the Egyptian soldiers disgraced themselves in the Balkan peninsula when they quailed before the Russians, and, worse still, that they retreated in Abyssinia before the rude levies of King John; but they may prove braver now.

THE people of France will celebrate the fête day of the Republic on the 14th inst., going back very properly, to find their great day of celebration, to the date of the fall of the Bastile,—July 14, 1798. The vigorous growth of the French Republic, its progress toward stability, its development of resources, and its success in eliminating clericalism and ecclesiasticism from the administration of the government, will make the celebration of its fête day this month a subject of congratulation from lovers of liberty throughout the world.

COLLECTOR WORTHINGTON'S paper, the *Traveller*, which is as much noted for its piety as for its opposition to civil service reform, declares that "those crack-brained creatures, the civil service reformers, who are mad after office, are beginning to assume the attitude of 'bolters,'" and adds, "They will be found to be the corruptest lot of counterfeiters of patriotism that ever figured in America"; that "the sordid, selfish creatures are so anxious for mischief that they may not be able to restrain themselves at the approach of a chance for doing something. They will become as ridiculous as were the 'Patriots' of Walpole's time, and they will have to be seized to man the mad-houses." Another office-holding editor, one who lives in Peoria, Ill., says that George William Curtis is "exaltedly asinine," and is troubled by his "in famous and chimerical stupidity."

THE present time has been called, and doubtless is, the "scientific era." But all eras open with the strenuous effort and self-sacrifice of the few that the many may be enlightened. This era is no exception to the rule; but it is nevertheless with a sense of personal shame that we read that an important part of the life-work of a thinker like Herbert Spencer is to be abandoned from lack of means to carry it on to its completion. With part eighth, which is devoted to French sociology, of his *Descriptive Sociology*, Spencer states that the losses he has incurred during the fourteen years since he began the work compel him to discontinue it. While the expenses of publication, etc., have amounted to $22,000, the receipts so far have been but $5,000,—a money loss of $17,000, in addition to the time and labor which it is not strange that he begins to think thrown away. Although not yet destitute of means, he rightly thinks that he cannot longer afford so great a sacrifice of time and means for the benefit of an inappreciative public. "Should the day ever come," he says, "when the love for the personalities of history is less and the desire for its instructive facts greater, those who occupy themselves with picking out the gold from the dross will perhaps be able to publish their results without inflicting on themselves losses too grievous to be borne,—nay, may possibly receive some thanks for their pains."

THE most vivid and dramatic imagination of the wildest romancist could not invent a more thrilling or tragic story than is revealed by the discovery, amid the arctic ice-fields, of the dead bodies of Lieut. De Long and his party, and the pathetic, matter-of-fact terseness of the terrible entries in De Long's recovered log-book, in which occur such sentences as these: "Eat deer-skin scraps." "Nothing for supper but a spoonful of glycerine." "All hands weak, but cheerful." "Sent back for Lee: he had laid down, and was waiting to die. All united in saying the Lord's Prayer and Creed." One day, they had "tallow tea and two old boots" for breakfast. "Alexia dying." Then, the entries grow fewer: only a record of the days of the month, and deaths of the starved and frozen explorers. "Mr. Collins dying" is the last entry made by De Long, then himself nearly dead. There were then only two others alive. The bodies of these were found close by his remains. The following is from a New York *Herald* correspondent, who sent his despatch from the Lena Delta: "Melville went along the bank, and saw a camp kettle and the remains of a fire, about one thousand yards from the tent, and nearly stumbled over De Long's hand, sticking out of the snow. Here, in about a foot of snow, they found De Long, Ambler, and Ah Sam, all partially covered by pieces of tent and a blanket. All the others, except Alexia, they found at the place where the tent was pitched. Two boxes of records, a medicine chest, and a flag on a staff were beside the tent. None of the dead had boots. Their feet were covered with rags, tied on. In the pockets of all were pieces of burnt skin and clothing, which they had been eating. The hands of all were burned, and looked as if when dying they had crawled into the fire. Boyd was lying over the fire, his clothing being burned to the skin. Collins' face was covered with cloth. The bodies were carried to a hill, three hundred feet high, and forty versts to the south-west from where found, and interred in a mausoleum constructed of wood from the scow, surmounted by a cross. The mausoleum was covered with stones, and will be sodded in the spring. The cross is inscribed with a record, and names of the dead."

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PROF. ADLER'S REPLY TO MR. POTTER.

Owing to my absence from the city, *The Index* of June 22 reached me a few days later than usual. I regretted this, because I should have liked my answer to Mr. Potter's article to reach you without delay. Not indeed that I am eager for controversy, especially not with one for whom I entertain the sincerest respect and esteem; but, to-day, controversy for once shall be welcome, if it will give me an opportunity to make more clear certain leading convictions which underlie my work as a religious teacher, which have lately prompted me to retire from the presidency of the Association, and which, it is very evident from Mr. Potter's article, are still misconceived to a remarkable degree even by near colleagues and companions in the common cause.

Let me take up Mr. Potter's different points of criticism, and reply to each in turn. First, I am told, "the Free Religious Association, though having its head-quarters and holding its annual meeting in Boston, is a national society, and always has been. It has a membership scattered through the country. . . . Its officers represent nine different States." My answer to this is that there may be two meanings to the word "national" as applied to an association, the one referring to the scope of its work, the other to the representative character of its governing body. The Free Religious Association is not national in the latter sense. The names of its honorary Vice-Presidents, many of whom live at a distance and some of whom have not been in direct contact with the Association for years, do not suffice to make it so, its list of members is not large enough to make it so, and the real government of the society's affairs is in the hands of a few directors, who represent a limited constituency in the Eastern States. The Free Religious Association is national only in the former sense. It aims to work for the entire nation, to include the entire nation within the scope of its influence. But even that is at present a mere aim, and one which its most sanguine friends might wish a great deal nearer fulfilment than it actually is.

Secondly, it is said, the Association exists for the propagation of principles, not for carrying them into practice. "It disseminates the ideas, urging that they should and must result in increased moral and philanthropic activities. . . . It cannot be expected to establish in Boston such special beneficent institutions as Workingmen's Institutes, etc."

To this, I answer that it never entered my mind that the Free Religious Association should attempt anything of the kind. I, too, believed its mission to be the disseminating of ideas, but of ideas "that should and must result in increased moral and philanthropic activity"; and precisely because they did not seem to me to result in *increased* moral and philanthropic activity did I question the sufficient value of the methods which the Association is employing. And I spoke of Boston and of the lack of increased moral and philanthropic activity in the Free Religious circles of that good city, simply because Boston is, after all, the seat of the Association, the place where the influence of its ideas should be most forcibly felt; and the question arose in my mind, If the Association cannot even inspire increased moral and philanthropic activity in its immediate vicinity, how much influence of this kind can we expect it to exert anywhere else? But here I come to the third point of criticism, of which I confess it puzzles me not a little and grieves me not a little that it should even have been made. Mr. Potter counts up a number of philanthropic enterprises in which persons holding Free Religious opinions have engaged; and, after saying that "other beneficent societies and institutions might be named, to say nothing of individual charity, in which the Free Religious people of Boston are specially prominent," he charges me with going "beyond the limits of rhetorical license, and committing an injustice against men and women who were growing gray in the service of humanity before he was old enough even to think of his work in New York," in overlooking these evidences of the benevolence of the Liberals of Boston. As if it had ever occurred to me to refer to the benevolence of individuals at all, or to deny that persons holding Free Religious opinions in Boston are taking their share in fostering existing philanthropies and in privately relieving the necessities of their fellow-men! This was decidedly not the point in question; and Mr. Potter himself seems to have felt that it was not, for he continues, "If he should reply that these beneficent activities do not come distinctly inpthe name of Free Religion, it must be said," etc. Now this is precisely what I do reply. I cannot imagine a more indelicate position than that of one who should rise in the community to vaunt the charities of his friends and himself, and to throw discredit upon the charities of others. I repeat, the question was not at all as to who is the better man or who are the better set of men. Before our own consciences let us all confess that none of us are in the full sense worthy, and a discussion of the point as to who might be the worthier did not enter even into my dreams.

The real point at issue related to the question whether, under the influence of the Free Religious Association, any form of moral effort had been initiated, which might be *directly traceable to the Free Religious idea*, and which would not have been undertaken, had Free Religion not existed. To this, it is not sufficient to reply that Free Religion directs us to work for humanity "with others." We may work with others and we may invite others to work with us; but, unless it inspires us to *higher forms* of moral endeavor than those current about us, until its ideas shall result in *increased* moral and philanthropic activity, I maintain that it is not in the true sense religion.

Moreover, by increased philanthropic activity or higher moral endeavor, we are not here to understand merely the more assiduous practice of the standard ethical convictions of the day, but especially the advancement of ethical theory itself, the working out of higher formulas of duty than have yet prevailed, and, as a consequence, the lifting up of the life of humanity to a higher level of manhood and womanhood than would be possible without such an advance of theory.

And here, indeed, it seems to me that we have touched the point upon which the future progress of Free Religion (I use the word not in a limited, but in its general sense) will wholly depend. "Unless your righteousness exceed that of the Pharisees," etc., is a word of warning addressed to us, as it was addressed to the disciples of Jesus. Unless our new views of Man and the Universe lead us to a better understanding of the fundamental principles of morality and at least their attempted realization in life, unless Free Religion is capable of guiding us onward in the path of ethical discovery, we shall have signally failed to fulfil what is expected of us.

Let me then attempt to point out the characteristic difference, as I understand it, that distinguishes such forms of moral effort as are undertaken under the direct inspiration of Free Religion from the ordinary efforts at improving society and the individual. In the limited space which I am entitled to claim from your courtesy, I can of course do this only with epigrammatic brevity. Religion, in all its possible forms, has to do with the idea of perfection. That form of practical charity to which we may ascribe religious significance, therefore, must express and enliven in us the idea of moral perfection. Now, it is true that in a certain sense every effort we may make to ameliorate the condition of society or to improve ourselves is a step nearer to the ultimate ideal, and in this way is subservient to the final purpose of perfection. But, as a rule, our efforts at improvement are so partial and fragmentary, the amount of visible good accomplished so inconsiderable, the connection between our endeavors and the final aim so remote, that the transcendent conception of the moral ideal is apt to fade from our consciousness in the interval. We are immersed in a series of tentative philanthropies, we are engaged in fighting off a crowd of ugly evils, we are compelled to combat innumerable lesser and larger vices, whose immediate effect occupies our attention, and, lost in these details, the conception of the Whole Man and of the Whole Humanity becomes necessarily feebler and more dim. We need therefore, if we regard the deed not only as the test but as the source of our faith, to search for some form of moral endeavor, of which the peculiarity must be that it shall serve to keep the ideal of the perfect fresh before our consciousness, even while we prosecute our labors. And the question will be asked, What form of moral effort can there be which shall answer these seemingly unattainable requirements? Be it said, by way of parenthesis, that all moral endeavors may be divided into two classes,—those which are undertaken for the improvement of others, and those undertaken to the end of self-improvement. In regard to the first class, let me briefly answer the above question by saying that I believe a scheme for the complete and generous education of young children deserves to be considered as a charity having religious significance. In such a scheme, if it be really comprehensive enough, we do aim at building up the *whole manhood, the whole womanhood*, of the pupils. And, as children are well known to be most open to lasting impressions, the chance of exerting a regenerative influence upon the entire life of others is nowhere so favorable as in their case. Let it be remembered that such a scheme of instruction and education for young children does not as yet exist anywhere, that our best public schools are notoriously deficient in supplying this want; nay, that even the idea of a *complete* education for young children has not yet secured full recognition, and that the problem which it implies has only been solved to a very limited extent, even by our most eminent reformers in education, such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, Diesterweg, and the others. To lead on the work of reform, therefore, in this direction, to spread the convictions, and to secure the means necessary for new and fruitful experiments in the education of the very young, has seemed to me a suitable task for a society founded on the principle of Free Religion,—a task following directly from the Ideal of a complete humanity, which it is the business of Free Religion to teach and to further,—a task, moreover, which we cannot undertake and successfully prosecute without having the idea of moral perfection ever present in consciousness.

In regard to the second class of moral efforts, those which aim at individual improvement, the idea of completeness is again necessary to lend them the distinction of religious significance,—the idea of completeness, however, be it well understood as a conscious aim, not as an accomplished reality; for that, we are all aware, is

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nowhere and never reached amid terrestrial conditions.

There are a great many societies, whose object is the cultivation of some one particular virtue or the crusade against some one particular vice. We have societies for dress reform, societies for temperance, societies for the cultivation of studious habits, of chastity, and others of similar kind. It has seemed to me that a religious society must be distinguished from every one of these by including in one complete whole all the good they aim at and more, that the purpose of leading a *completely* human life must be the inspiring principle of such a society. And, since the desire for a perfect humanity will animate its members, they can never rest content with simply accepting the often crude moral canons that obtain in the community around them, but their whole life must be one prolonged effort to enter more deeply into the mystery of the moral nature of man, to search out and formulate ever finer rules for the guidance of conduct, and to round out their moral existence in accordance with the fuller insight which they have thus gained. And, because it is especially among the young that we find the motive and the willingness to enter upon the paths of radical self-reform, therefore I suggested a Young Men's Reform Society,—and I might have added a Young Woman's Reform Society, in the same breath,—as a proper beginning, looking toward the practical realization of the Free Religious idea, in so far as it applies to the task of self-reform.

I have now endeavored to explain why it is that not every form of charity indiscriminately can meet the demands of Free Religion, as I understand it.

As citizens of the State, as members of certain neighborhoods, as merchants, as professional men, we may still and ought still to engage in very many secular charities, which deserve the most devoted support and whose importance I am the last man to underrate. But, over and above all we may do in this direction, we have still another and higher duty to perform, we have other efforts at moral improvement to undertake,—those, namely, which we undertake at the command and in the name of our religion. And the name, here, is not a mere label dictated by vanity and presumption, but implies an intrinsic connection as between cause and effect. If, then, I have mentioned before the Convention various institutions that are now beginning to grow up in the midst of the Society for Ethical Culture, it was merely to give examples of the kind of moral endeavor which, in my humble belief, may prove adequate to meet the demands of the Free Religious principle, not thereby, assuredly, to throw into the shade what others have done.

Of course, I am well aware that the institutions to which I referred may not ultimately prove to be what I expect of them; but this is of minor importance. The main point is that we recognize in our religion a new principle of action, and make the attempt, at least, to derive from it a really new upward impulse for the ethical life of the world, such as the Hebrew prophets gave in their day, and such as the earliest teachers of Christianity gave eighteen hundred years ago.

As for the conventions of the Free Religious Association, I do not deny that they may be productive of good; but the serious question is whether they do enough good, considering the work that now needs to be done, and whether other methods, if they were tried, would not do the same good, and far, far more?

FELIX ADLER.

A REJOINDER.

We welcome to the columns of *The Index* Prof. Adler's more complete and explanatory statement. It was with great reluctance that we wrote the article of June 22d, and we much regret that anything in it should have caused him grief. Yet he must remember that his address at the Convention had grieved many of his friends. In that part of our comments in respect to which he specially and warmly disclaims the interpretation put upon his criticism, we were only echoing the sense of injustice which was being expressed to us on every side; and we saw that it was necessary to put the point forcibly, in order that Mr. Adler should see the full force of his words. And we think that, to any one who should turn back and read those parts of his address, this interpretation which he disclaims would seem the most obvious one.

Mr. Adler now states the point at issue to be "whether, under the influence of the Free Religious Association, any form of moral effort had been initiated, which might be *directly traceable to the Free Religious* idea, and which would not have been undertaken, had Free Religion not existed"; and he explains that his uncomplimentary reference to the Free Religious circles of Boston meant not that the Free Religious Association should itself initiate philanthropic institutions there, but that Boston, "being the seat of the Association," should first feel the influence of its ideas, and that there should first appear that increased moral and philanthropic activity which we have a right to expect as a result of the Association. By this latter remark, Mr. Adler shows that he still too much regards the Association as a Boston institution. As a matter of fact, not only its honorary Vice-Presidents, but a very considerable and influential part of its governing Executive Committee have been outside of Boston, and outside of Massachusetts. Its two chief executive officers, active in its management, have never been residents of Boston. It has held one public meeting in Boston each year. Evidently there has been no such *special* activity of the Association in Boston as to lead necessarily to the expectation of a special demonstration there of practical results. But this, under Mr. Adler's present statement, is a subordinate point, and need not detain us. Let us come directly to the main "point at issue," as stated by himself above. And the answer here must be sought not in the Free Religious circles of Boston alone, but wherever persons are at work who may be presumed to have been at all under the influence of the Free Religious Association, or the character of whose work is "directly traceable to the Free Religious idea." The question is, Have such persons been helped at all to "*higher forms* of moral endeavor" than those commonly current, or to that "*increased* moral and philanthropic activity" which tends to "the lifting up of the life of humanity to a higher level of manhood and womanhood"?

Now, such a question as this, of course, is very difficult to settle. It involves the ideas, influences, motives that go to the determination of character and action; and nothing is harder to ascertain than just these things. Nor are the practical benefits of any great religious reform to be measured by immediate, tangible results. The moral good resulting to Christendom from the Protestant Reformation was not immediately apparent. And we apprehend that if "the Hebrew prophets" or the "earliest teachers of Christianity," to whom Mr. Adler refers for a parallel, had been asked to show what practical good they had accomplished, they might have found it difficult to convince the standard Judaism around them of their usefulness. There is very much in the tone of the Hebrew prophets that indicates that they were not able to point to very much of achievement. And the earliest Christian apostles occupied a very small place in the world's progress for the first fifteen years after the death of Jesus. Yet it is now evident that in both cases they had found "a new principle of action," and that therein was "a really new upward impulse for the ethical life of the world." So it may be that, even though the Free Religious Association could as yet point to no *special* work accomplished for the moral benefit of man, the history of the movement it represents, when completed, will show that the new principle of action had arrived and was working in many hearts and minds, and bringing forth fruit for humanity's good.

But leaving this large and therefore vague ground, on which the value of ideas has to wait for historical justification, and even accepting Mr. Adler's demand for some immediate practical test, Free Religion, we believe, would not be found wanting. He explains that "by increased philanthropic activity or higher moral endeavor" he does not mean merely "the more assiduous practice of the standard ethical convictions of the day, but especially the advancement of ethical theory itself, the working out of higher formulas of duty," and "at least their attempted realization in life." Now, we believe that every prominent worker in the cause of Free Religion, every one who is working from the "Free Religious idea," is working, or is at least trying to work, precisely on these lines. Such persons are fully alive to the idea that ethical theories have heretofore in the prevailing teaching been made to depend on certain theological beliefs, and that, as these beliefs are seen to be no longer tenable, a new foundation and new principles must be found for ethics. And we think it may be safely asserted that the teachers of Free Religion generally are making it one of their chief endeavors to learn for themselves and to point out to others what are the new moral and social duties which grow out of their "new views of man and the universe," and how people may be led to the realization of these higher principles in their lives. Persons and societies might be named, if necessary, to exemplify this statement.

Prof. Adler, it is true, goes on to point out certain practical methods which, in his view, meet these ethical demands on Free Religion better than other methods,—namely, the methods that have been adopted in his own society. But, however excellent are these methods,—that of beginning with the education of children certainly goes down to the root of things,—we do not understand him to assert that they exhaust the scope of Free Religion, or that every Free Religious society must have exactly these in order to be entitled to its name. If he were to say this, we should certainly take issue with him, following his own argument. The aim of Free Religion, as he justly says, is the perfection, individually and collectively, of humanity. His statement, on this point, is nothing new; and this, in a general way, the churches will claim to be their aim. But the churches have found their motive for moral appeal and work toward a perfected humanity on the side of theology. The new moral impulse that is involved in the Free Religious idea is to be found in humanity itself. And this new impulse will work on its new lines of organization, as Mr. Adler also justly says, not merely for this or that special and fragmentary reform, but for the amelioration of the "Whole Man and the Whole Humanity." But, because of this very largeness of the aim and scope, the expression of it must be large and many-sided. No methods, probably Mr.

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Adler would agree, as yet attempted can be regarded as covering the whole. They are all tentative. The conditions will not admit of precisely the same methods in every place. But the conditions everywhere call for the higher moral aim and endeavor and for the juster social order. Not even has the new basis of ethics that is to take the place of the obsolescent theological basis of morality yet been clearly defined and established; much less has the practical solution of the pressing ethical and social problems of the present day been fully discovered. Individual workers, here and there, have their views on these questions, more or less positive. Individual societies are trying one and another method, more or less promising and successful. And hence, again, as it seems to us, the occasion and the usefulness of a general association in which the individual workers shall compare views and methods, and stimulate one another to increased activity, and enlarge the general light. WM. J. POTTER.

AN IMPLICATION OF EVOLUTION.

Mr. W. L. Distant, replying in *Nature* to the statement that it is highly improbable that young birds have an hereditary instinct enabling them to distinguish uneatable butterflies antecedent to experience, observes:—

It is unnecessary to refer to the results obtained by Mr. Spalding in proving the inherited acquisition of ideas and experience in young chickens: it will at least suffice to repeat the observations made by him on the actions of a young turkey which he had adopted,—"When chirping within the uncracked shell." Now this young turkey, not only on the tenth day of its life, exhibited the most intense terror at the sound of a hawk's voice which was confined in a cupboard, but also proved its *inherited* knowledge of uneatable insects.

"When a week old, my turkey came on a bee right in its path,—the first, I believe, it had ever seen. It gave the danger chirp, stood for a few seconds with outstretched neck and marked expression of fear, then turned off in another direction. On this hint, I made a vast number of experiments with chickens and bees. In the great majority of instances, the chickens gave evidence of instinctive fear of these sting-bearing insects; but the results were not uniform, and perhaps the most accurate general statement I can give is that they were uncertain, shy, and suspicious."

If domesticated fowls and turkeys exhibit such inherited "instinct," may we not postulate a much greater excess of the same in purely insectivorous birds in a state of nature? And, if this is so, it will be unnecessary to explain away what appears to be one of the most philosophical considerations in the doctrine of "mimicry."

There are numerous facts of the class mentioned above, which clearly show the experiential nature of instinct, and prove it to be inherited habit; or, as Lewes aptly terms it, "lapsed intelligence" in which natural selection of variations of habit has probably played an important part.

And, if evolution be admitted, these facts render logically irresistible the conclusion that the intellectual intuitions, the moral sense, and the religious nature of man have had a natural growth, and are the results of the experiences of centuries organized in the race. True, some there are who affirm that they believe in evolution, but cannot accept this "extreme conclusion." It is equally true that—when Darwin's *Origin of Species* was first published, and, indeed, until the past dozen years—the majority who conceded the Darwinian theory as probably true failed to see, what none dispute now, that, if the facts of homology, embryology, natural selection, etc., sustain the view that the higher forms below man are derived from the lower ones, then it is irresistible that the *human* structure is the result of the modifications of pre-existing forms of life. Of course, Darwin saw this, and many affirmed it long before *The Descent of Man* was written. The evolution of man from lower animal forms carries with it inevitably the conclusion that the mind of man, including every faculty and tendency, is just as much the result of the modification, by natural cause, of lower minds as that the bodily structure is the result of the modification of lower structures. If we come into the world with an organism, every part of which is the result of changes that reach back through immense periods of time; if the body is an evolution, in which organs and parts, formed through ages, have been inherited through ancestors,—what we call mind must equally be an evolution, in which the inherited results of experience have become ingrained in and a part of our mental nature. In short, if man has come up through countless ages, and bears in his structure the results of innumerable changes of *form*, it is obviously a corollary that the powers of thought, the aptitudes and predispositions, all mental and moral characteristics, have been developed from the lowest organic activities; and thus the "laws of thought" or "regulative principle" of the mind, instead of being prior to all experience and above all mental processes, like Fate above the Olympian gods, are as much the result of experience as any individual acquirement can be. The writers who, while declaring they accept evolution, still attempt to hold that there are elements of the mind which are underived from experience, individual or ancestral, generally ignore the facts and reasoning here submitted, when everything else in the consideration of this subject is, in comparison with them, of but secondary importance.

If the logical implications of the theory of evolution were generally seen, its number of adherents would be fewer than they now are. But it is being accepted as other theories have been accepted, and in the only way possible, by emphasizing its points of contact with existing beliefs, ignoring whatever in it plainly contradicts the doctrines and theories of the age which are the least outgrown, and "reconciling" it as far as possible with the old thought, and accommodating it to the condition of minds that are progressive, yet profoundly influenced by traditionary beliefs. It is in this way that connection between the thought of an age and the thought of all past and future ages is maintained and mental evolution is made possible.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE OF IMMORTALITY.

It is impossible for any earnest person to approach this subject without a feeling of reluctance; for, if he have thoroughly canvassed it, he cannot avoid the conviction that the scientific evidence of immortality is, in the present state of human knowledge, absolutely *nil*. But the announcement of such a conviction jars roughly, and perhaps needlessly, upon the common imagination. It is not always safe to assume an intellectual balance in one's audience, which will save it from the mental suffering that always comes from forced acceptance of a premature conclusion. Still, the topic is one which is so freely agitated by the many who now attempt to defend it by scientific reasoning that lovers of scientific thoroughness feel tempted to insist that every emotional factor shall be as carefully eliminated from this question as from any other. What proof have we that personal consciousness continues beyond death? To the writer's mind, the answer repeats itself with the authority of an intuition, *Absolutely none*. Nevertheless, ten years ago, the opposite conclusion seemed equally imperative. The inference is that the conviction of ten years ago was based on certain hereditary inclinations, supplemented by training and environment. It is quite certain that ten years ago no rigid reasoning upon the facts of nature which would determine such a question had ever been done by me. Even now, a conclusion reached after much thinking, and already held for several years, has a merely speculative interest for my mind. The very earliest effect of this negation was to convince me of its slight practical bearing upon life. Instead of losing interest in the present, the result was rather a gain, since the thought once projected forward into a dream of *post mortem* development was all concentrated into the effort for immediate improvement. Nor has the effect of this change been a diminution of interest in the advancement of others, but rather the heightening of a feeling before somewhat lukewarm. Indeed, the normal result of continued association with one's fellow-men seems the generation of a stronger sympathy, quite independent of all theories and theologies.

One of the noticeable philosophic changes of the few years just past is the lessened importance of speculative opinions in the minds of all instructed persons. Mr. Bradlaugh's atheism, for instance, has been magnified by himself and his disciples entirely beyond its intrinsic interest. The world at large cares nothing whatever for Mr. Bradlaugh's atheism in itself, but is only interested in the drama of parliamentary toleration. Contrast the interest felt in atheism with that in the Irish question or the free trade laws, and we at once see how theological opinion dwindles before questions of material welfare. So this question of personal immortality almost refuses treatment, although once a subject for glowing oratory. The amount of imagination once applied to a conception of the glories of heaven or the tortures of hell was very large, as shown in the great poems of Dante and Milton. Now, we are surprised to see how loosely the mere question itself lies in the hand, how easily it is displaced by some more vital interest. The development of American art, the wise solution of the labor problem, the purification of politics, the abolition of poverty and intemperance,—all seem more pressing than the settlement of this matter of continued existence. The actual ideals of our present civilization are the largest degree of personal development and the highest state of social perfection. These ideals are pursued with an almost complete independence of the speculative peculiarities of those whose welfare is sought. The State, for instance, favors all her children equally, whether they be Catholics or free thinkers. If this question of immortality had the actual imperativeness which it once had, the defenders of the doctrine would not rest until its truth was satisfactorily demonstrated. As matters now stand, there is an almost universal feeling among the more thoughtful that the problem is insoluble, and that we can very comfortably wait for death to settle it without making ourselves unhappy by present controversy.

Still, if it is to be agitated at all, as it often is by theologians, it should be handled in the light of all the facts which influence it. The proof of a *post-mortem* consciousness is identical with the proof of human thought, independent of brain action. If it be admitted that there is absolutely no evidence of thought except as a product of the living human brain, it follows that there is absolutely no evidence of a personal immortality. So far as human research and reasoning can go, life is but a brief name for the transforming processes which matter undergoes in the human body. In its physiological aspect, the human organism is but a vehicle for the expression of energy, the physical basis of that energy being food and air. The

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brain processes which we call thought are, so far as we know, motions of cerebral matter. If thought is anything else than this, as it may be, science has not yet found it out. That thought and brain action are identical has the same sort of proof as that speech and certain laryngeal and labial movements are so. The thought motion in the brain is transformed into the more massive speech motion, one action of matter into a coarser and slower mode of motion. We have no more proof of a thought-spirit than of a speech-spirit. Where investigation is complete, as in the phenomena of speech, we realize that the process is entirely mechanical. The investigations into brain action demonstrate the exact synchronism of movement and blood supply with emotion and intellection. There is no more need of positing spirit for thought than for digestion. It may be done, but it brings a superfluous factor into the problem. There is nothing for this thought-spirit to do, when once it has been invoked. It is true that in the first endeavor at self-adjustment to this new point of view, there is a difficulty in conceiving the identity of brain action with thought. But at what point can the material pass into the immaterial? Every process of the human organism is physiological. Thought, then, must be a physiological process, or it is nothing. But all physiological processes cease at death. Hence, the thought process, being purely physiological, must cease also; and with its cessation comes the cessation of personal consciousness. If any evidence exists in disproof of the identity of brain-motion and personality, such evidence would overthrow the conclusion just stated.

A large number of the leading physiologists of the world, as well as many others, physicians and general scientific workers, have ceased to be dualists, and have dropped the belief in a continuance of personal consciousness without thinking it worth while to advertise such a change of opinion. Indeed a mind earnestly active in new acquisition and in pleasurable employment quickly learns to feel that this matter is an unimportant one,—that it alters no law of life by the veriest trifle whether that life be continued for fifty or for fifty thousand years. Modern physics has demonstrated the constancy of the amount of matter and motion in the universe. A developed human organism exhibits the phenomena of heat, of mechanical, molar, and molecular motions, of chemic processes, nervous vibration, and finally that complex neural action called cerebration. Other more occult modes of action are detectible by their effects,—that is, they become apparent to the senses when converted into more massive forms; and these have a special nomenclature; as electro-neural force, animal magnetism, clairvoyance, odic or psychic force, etc. All the phenomena of mesmerism and spiritualism, when sufficiently studied, will doubtless be ranged under these forces, and will become measurable and manageable.

But, as matters now stand, the only possible undeveloped proof of immortality lies among the crude and unclassified phenomena of spiritualism. We have abundant and reliable evidence from careful observers in Germany and England, where these phenomena have been approximately investigated, that a force emanates from the human body which counteracts gravitation, and which under proper conditions materializes sufficiently to reflect light, and to present to the optic nerve and to the sense of touch the phenomena of luminous hands and of walking or gliding and speaking forms. This materialization has been such that the pulse and heart-beats of these phantoms have been accurately counted and recorded, and tolerable photographs of them have been secured by means of the electric light. If it can be scientifically demonstrated that these shadowy beings are visitors from another world, of course the argument against immortality will have to be reconstructed. The real stronghold of those who would put this doctrine beyond a doubt lies in the study of these spiritualistic phenomena. It is quite possible that some absolutely new and irrefutable proof can be derived from them. But, for the most part, thus far these things have been left in the hands of those who have reasoned so poorly upon them that we see a justification of Faraday's comment that "many dogs have the power of coming to more logical conclusions." So far as the German and English investigations have gone, they indicate a general identification of the phenomena of hypnotism and psychic force of all kinds with abnormal nervous conditions in the subject or medium. But the important thing in the present argument is that all nerve processes, normal and abnormal, are suspended at death. Every fraction of a grain in the living body remains, and suffers slow volatilization or reabsorption. The dead body soon represents so much oxygen, carbon, phosphorus, and salts. It is diffused through nature's laboratory of inorganic matter. The very heat which it possessed is radiated, and could be measured to show that none was lost. The subtle magnetisms disappear. Mediumship and spirit materialization are not possible in a dead body. Spirits do not walk forth from dead bodies, but from living ones. And yet it would seem both more natural and more polite that impatient spirits should seize the opportunity to manifest themselves through the passive forms of those just departed. That they never do this shows a strange disregard of available methods of proof. Indeed, the neglect seems culpable, when we reflect upon the universal nervous exhaustion which the functions of mediumship impose. Whatever this electro-biological process is, it is certain that the food and life-force of the medium are consumed in its production, and that the spirit-forms can be traced back to their final terms in the bread and butter which the medium consumes. The whole proceeding demonstrates a dependence of spirit on matter which is equivalent to identity.

It would seem that the considerations just enumerated had touched every important phase of the question in discussion; but a final point suggests itself. The quality of human thought is often made to support the argument for immortality. We may call this view *the argument from superior quality*. But, if complexity, fineness, or quality be the criterion, it may be applied to include or exclude any term in the whole series of conscious life. All living forms are besouled. An animal thinks, an infant thinks, a man also. Shall degree determine permanence? A horse thinks and loves more than a snail, a rabbit or a bird more than a crawling worm, and a civilized Englishman more than an Esquimaux. A noble horse may have more self-respect, more affection and morality than a savage or criminal. It is not safe to draw a moral or an intellectual, but only a physiological line.

M. A. HARDAKER.

THE GOD ABOVE.

One strong reason why we think that God is above us may be found in Bell's *Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression*, Essay IV., pp. 95, 96, where we are told by what muscles the eyes revolve. "There are two sets of muscles which govern the motions of the eyeball. Four straight muscles, attached at cardinal points, by combining their action, move it in every direction required for vision, and these muscles are subject to the will. When the straight muscles, from weariness or exhaustion, cease to guide the eye, two other muscles operate to roll it upward under the eyelid: these are the oblique muscles." "In sleep, languor, and depression, or when affected with strong emotions, the eyes, naturally and insensibly, roll upward. The action is not a voluntary one: it is irresistible. Hence, in reverence, in devotion, in agony of mind, in all sentiments of pity, in bodily pain, with fear of death, the eyes assume that position." "This direction of the eye would appear to be the source of the universal belief that the Supreme Being has his throne above."

F. M. H.

ANTI-STATE THEORISTS.

Proudhon has disciples on this side of the Atlantic even, where "the State" sits lightly on the citizen, not crushing him beneath intolerable burdens, but allowing him the largest liberty. Manifestly, as long as ignorance, barbarism, selfishness, and animalism continue to be the traits of the majority of the human race, some system of repressive and protective authority, answering to what is called "the State," will continue to be a necessity. It is true that, in every enlightened community at least, there is a growing percentage of people who, by reason of their intelligence, instinctive recognition of each other's rights, and high degree of rationality, kindliness, tolerance, and good sense, are a sufficient law unto themselves. In every thoroughly modern community there are groups of what Matthew Arnold calls *children of light*,—of people perfectly free from a narrow, bigoted, religious Philistinism on the one hand and of a rowdy Philistinism on the other; of people who (to continue to use the phrases of the gospel according to Matthew Arnold) are full of sweetness and light and a sweet reasonableness. Such people of course could immediately dispense with "the State," as they are ready to comply with the dictates of the moral law without compulsion, and to obey its behests as naturally as atoms and planets obey the law of gravitation. Such people could live in peace with each other, even now, under "green orchard boughs," in that Atlantic seat which Emerson speaks of, "where the statesman ploughs furrow for the wheat." Fifty years ago, New England, with its intelligent, homogeneous population, had very nearly reached such a mental and moral condition as a community that it required very little repression. But manufactures were introduced, the British system of industrialism was naturalized here, and ignorant, European *proletaires* were constantly imported for purposes of labor in ever larger numbers, and wealth, more and more tending to and increasing in the hands of the few, began to divide society here into castes and classes of employer and employed, of capitalist and workingman; and, now, New England everywhere abounds in crime, poverty, and ignorance, and contains a populace who regard even our kindly republican "State" as their enemy. As a consequence, police repression is more and more needed, because the absence of it would be simply interpreted by the populace aforesaid as a license to commit crime and outrages of all sorts. Hosts of people resident here, not to the manner born, have scarcely a qualification for self-government. Such, if they constituted the larger moiety of our population, would soon become the subjects of an arbitrary personal rule in civil matters, as they are now in spiritual matters. No intelligent observer of men and things here can doubt that such would be the case, were it not for the American element of population. A populace destitute of moral character, self-respect, intelligence, and the progressive impulse and aspiration, naturally become the subjects of an arbitrary personal sway and dictation both on civil and ecclesiastical matters. For hierarchy and royalty are

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correlated. Even now, the presence of priests as well as policemen in all the industrial and commercial centres of our once staid, law-abiding, self-governing New England bears witness to the change which has come over the spirit of our dream. Meantime there are people here who are beginning to denounce even our lenient, popular "State" and government as a usurpation and an infraction of the natural rights of man. Would that the State could be dispensed with! But, even with our large force of constables and policemen, and with our criminal courts, jails, houses of correction and State prisons in full blast, crime is more and more rampant, and outrages of all sorts on person and property form a staple of the daily news. Hence it is that no-State Antinomian doctrines are premature. Ignorant people are not in the full sense of the word *human* beings. The animal predominates in them. They cannot be left to their own guidance and control. They require repression and the presence of the constable and policeman to keep them in order. And not only that: they are liable occasionally to swarm in the shape of brutal and destructive mobs. And such wholesale manifestations of rowdyism on the part of a low-grade populace cannot always be quelled without resort to military force. Meantime let us be just to American institutions. They do not produce mobs. They, by means of popular education and a general diffusion and distribution of political rights, social equality, and property, make men orderly and autonomous. In the common-school States there is no native mob. It is always an importation from Europe. It is a curse inflicted on us by the abominable social, political, and ecclesiastical systems of the Old World. Though blameless in this matter, we Americans have to suffer in consequence of the persistence of such systems, in spite of the liberal tendencies of the time in the Old World. For, through rapid transit, Europe is close to our door-sills. Only where the people are highly enlightened and where a genuine social and political equality prevail is it true that that government is best which governs least. Governments of force, such as prevail on the other hemisphere, are both the badges and causes of human degradation. All civil governments are essentially the same, and have the same final cause. And this is the case in spite of difference of names. With an illiterate population on its hands, a republican government has to be occasionally as repressive as a royalty or imperialism. Those who wield the authority of civil government, whether by election or inheritance, are placed in a position of social superiority to their fellows; and, if they are corrupt and selfish, they can enrich themselves under our system as well as under hereditary systems. In an emergency of peril, such as popular insurrection or war, an American governor or president exercises all the power of a king, kaiser, or czar. It must needs be so. Let us hope that, in consequence of the migratory deluge which is breaking on our shores at Castle Garden, like the great, moon-drawn Atlantic tidal wave, government here may not have to become more and more stringent, and to divest itself of some of its immemorial popular attributes. Meantime let us remember that those who attack our American system of State education and common schools are our deadliest foes. Of the ultimate triumph of a popular civilization in the Old World, no liberal at least will hint a doubt. But, the Old World must not be permitted to overwhelm popular civilization here.

B. W. BALL.

TRUTH is as impossible to be soiled by an outward touch as the sunbeam.—*Milton.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

OUR readers will echo our thanks to Rev. R. Heber Newton for his generosity in enabling us to give them his fine lecture on Emerson, printed in this issue of *The Index*. We have nowhere seen, since Mr. Emerson's death, a more thorough and accurate analysis of his philosophical and religious views. Rev. Mr. Newton and Bishop Huntington are both preachers in the Episcopal Church, but it is evident that Mr. Newton does not share Bishop Huntington's anxieties as to the present locality of Emerson's soul. The lecture is written with a sympathetic pen, which discloses, perhaps, the source of some of the Broad Church doctrine for which Dr. Newton is distinguished.

W. J. P.

WE shall publish next week, among other contributions, one from Francis E. Abbot on "Bowne's 'Metaphysics,'" one from Ivan Panin on "The Condition of Russia," and the article by W. I. Gill, on "Evolution and Morality," to which reference was made in our last number.

IN Sanborn's *Thoreau*, just published (reviewed in another column), we find the following reference to one of our most able and versatile contributors by Emerson in a letter to Thoreau, written in 1843: "Young Ball (B. W.) has been to see me, and is a prodigious reader and a youth of great promise,—born, too, in the good town."

A WRITER in the *Occident* has an article on "Christ's Pocket Bible." We did not know before that Christ had a pocket Bible, but our orthodox friends seem to enjoy special revelations which are not granted to others. We imagine that few Christians to-day would be content to carry such a pocket Bible as Jesus did, which contained no word of the New Testament.—*Christian Register.*

IN an able discourse delivered at Streator, Ill., on "Charles Bradlaugh and the Test-oath," Rev. Mr. Shay said:—

Back of Bradlaugh stand his constituents, who have suffered one of the blackest of wrongs. His exclusion was in violation of the common custom of England and in direct contravention of her law. Whether is it best for the commons to break the law in the name of deism or for Bradlaugh to observe it with the name of atheist? Assuredly, the latter. Christ said, "Swear not at all." The oath in court is the same as common swearing out of court. It has no more sanctity. It grows out of a low condition of morality, and had its origin away back in a corresponding low condition of society. It is a relic of despotism, of superstition, and is a part of the old inquisitorial process. It appeals to outside powers as the incentive to higher conduct instead of the inner, nobler self; and it is conducive to human degradation.

A JAPAN correspondent of the *Sunday School Times* writes:—

The students in our theological school at Kioto came to a stand-still against that solemn old boulder, —the doctrine of the atonement. The class, to a man, refused to accept it as presented. The fact would not satisfy. They must theorize about it, and have a theory that to their own minds appeared just, righteous, God-like. "If God is good," say they, "he can forgive without reparation or punishment. It is like our cruel emperors to exact the last farthing." Again and again did the professor go over the well-taught ground, wrestle in prayer, spend sleepless nights, grow pale and sick, send to Europe for books rich in weighty utterances on the subject; for was he not like to lose this entire class for Christ?"

We are told that the theological professor finally found an illustration which satisfied the class. This may reasonably be doubted, even though the position and authority of the professor at last *silenced* the class. But what a spectacle,—a teacher employing all his ability and learning to obfuscate the reason of his pupils, by attempting to make them believe in a dogma against which the unperverted mind revolts!

BISHOP SHARP, of the Mormon Church, has come East from Salt Lake City with a delegation appointed to present a memorial to Congress, asking for the admission of Utah as a State. To a reporter of the New York *Herald*, he said: "'That polygamy is a right we believe as a matter of conscience, but we cannot contend against the laws of the United States. Most of our people are monogamists in practice, and doubtless the government can wipe out polygamy altogether; but, while the practice of it may be abandoned, we will continue to maintain its rightfulness. A peculiarly harsh feature of the law is that it proscribes existing polygamous relations. Now, I married all my wives before the law of 1862 against polygamy, and I don't think Congress has a right to attack those marriages. I joined the church in Scotland, and I had a wife and a family at the time. I went to Salt Lake City in 1850. I had married my first wife in 1840. I married again in 1854, and again in 1861. Now, I have grown-up children by my marriage in 1854. Congress now says I must turn their mother out of doors. Do you think it would be right for me to do so? I don't, and I won't do it?'"

MRS. JOSEPH COOK, having completed with her husband a journey around the world, has returned to this country, and is at the residence of her father, at Fair Haven, Conn., where she has been interviewed by a correspondent of the Boston *Herald*. She said:—

The same lecture subjects that were popular in England were popular in India. Idolatry is discarded by the natives; but they have accepted the scepticism of Western Europe and this country, and are familiar with the writings of Herbert Spencer, Mill, Tyndall, and Huxley. The lecturer combated this tide of unbelief and agnosticism; and, strangely enough, the Brahmins heard his denunciation of caste without demonstrations of disapproval. The English railways have done much to break down the barriers of caste in India; and the high-born Brahmin who travels by car is forced to sit side by side with, and touch the elbow, perhaps of one of low caste. The democracy of trade, commerce, and traffic is helping ministers, missionaries, and books to revolutionize that proud and splendid country.

"The English railways" and "the democracy of trade, commerce, and traffic" are no doubt doing much for India; and, through these same enlightening and liberalizing agencies, the advancement in thought and tolerance will continue, we trust, notwithstanding Mr. Cook's frantic efforts to stop "the tide of unbelief and agnosticism."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Forgotten departed deeds
Live on to the after days,
Live on to the lives that lead
Abroad to the wide-world ways.

The truth life never lost
Had birth in the burdened need,
Had life by the long pain cost
Of use in the wide-world deed.

Oh, gather a world of grace
And truth in a life-tide song,
And faith toward a fairer race,
Atoning the wide-world wrong.

WILLARD PENNINGTON.

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The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index.*

EMERSON'S GOSPEL

OF

THE RELIGION OF NATURE.

A Discourse delivered in All-Souls Church, Memorial of the Rev. Henry Anthon, D.D., New York, Sunday, May 28, 1882.

BY R. HEBER NEWTON.

The first of preachers our generation has known was Ralph Waldo Emerson. He left the pulpit behind him, but carried his sermons with him. He simply exchanged the church for the lecture hall and the publisher's house, where he found a wider range of topics and a freer method of handling them. He answered an urgent solicitation to settle over a church where he temporarily supplied after giving up his own pastorate, "My pulpit is the lyceum platform." It was a portable pulpit to him. He did not lecture to amuse or please or even instruct his hearers. He never sought merely to mint his brilliant phrases into golden coin. On every theme, to every audience, he has preached by tongue or pen, seeking to rouse, inspire, and ennoble men. He could say, with Wesley, "My parish is the world."

Poet, philosopher, and saint, such a preacher certainly had a message for his age, some glad tidings of great joy. That gospel, like all other real gospels, is not to be read off-hand. The exhilarating tones of the clarion-call we hear full well, the articulate utterance we must study carefully. I am sure that the dear old soul in East Lexington did not speak without a meaning when she explained her church's reluctance to call a minister, after having had *him* as "stated supply": "We are a very simple people, and can understand no one but Mr. Emerson." That she habitually understood him, I somewhat question. But that deep and blessed thoughts were wakened and high and holy emotions were stirred in her, that she felt out of this man influences streaming, full of cleansing and comforting power, I am perfectly sure; and so she thought she understood him. Well when poorer preachers are thus understood!

It seems a forlorn hope to extricate any definite beliefs from the brilliant phantasmagoria of Emerson's pages. His vagueness, his love of paradox, his lack of logic, his self-contradictoriness, are proverbial. We should not wonder much if the Egyptian Sphinx *had* verily opened her lips after forty centuries of silence to say to the strange man standing before her, "You're another." But the attempt is not so hopeless as it seems. Most of his dark sayings have the key hanging by the door. He spake in parables, as Browning and other great poets have done up to the divine poet of Galilee, to turn away the unready and pique the hungry souls to keener relish, saying, "He that hath ears to hear let him hear." His contradictoriness grows out of his inveterate habit of climbing round a truth and looking at it from every side. The moods of nature passed into his mind, and a spiritual truth was no more the same to him on different days or in different hours of one day than the face of Monadnock was the same from sunrise to sunset through the changeful play of the light.

"Yonder ragged cliff
Has thousand faces in a thousand hours."

Yet have rock and man alike a persistent identity. Illogical he certainly was, according to the cut and dried patterns of our Art of Logic, with its quaint forms and conventional methods. Mr. Alcott once said that his essay read as if he had written separately the detached sentences of which it was composed, and thrown them into a hat, and then pulled them out haphazard, stringing them together as they came. Which was very much the actual fact of his literary method, if method it could be called. My honored friend, Miss Peabody, told me that he once read a printed essay to her, referring to his commonplace-book for the sources of the sentences, which it has been his habit to write therein as they came to him; and thus one sentence bore date of 1847, in England, and the next of 1860, in Concord. Yet these kaleidoscopic paragraphs arrange themselves by law in fixed figures. A few commanding ideas group these brilliant combinations. There is a logic of thought, though not of form. If then, undeterred by the difficulties of our quest, we search these hieroglyphs, we need not wholly miss a real message of good cheer.

Emerson's gospel is *the religion of nature,*—a limited gospel, but a veritable glad tidings for our age of nature study, with its blind fear that there is therein no place left for worship and for awe, for peace of faith and joy of hope.

It seems to me most natural that Emerson should pass away close after Darwin. They were really linked together as typical men of our age; the one representing the researches of the Understanding into nature, the other the visions of the Reason through nature. Darwin creates an epoch in knowledge, and reconstructs the globe. Emerson leads up the new knowledge into a new faith, and spheres the larger earth within vaster heavens. Darwin is the *accoucheur* of a new order of thought, which in Emerson finds its voice:—

"An infant crying in the night,
An infant crying for the light."

The great Englishman, dying just as he had examined an interesting beetle, was not more truly a student of nature than was his fellow *voyageur* into the mysteries of the beyond.

Emerson's first notable essay was entitled "Nature." That title might stand over all his writings. Each tune was a variation of one theme. Every topic was a phase of one subject. How he loved nature and lived in it, we have already seen. Thence, he drew his inspirations. His poems are songs, not of the salon, but of the field; and not of the "asphodel meadows" about which he read, but of the daisy fields of Concord where the rhodora blooms "its own excuse for being," where "the burly, dozing humble-bee drones," and the winds sough through the "sacred pines." Nature holds a fundamental position in his thought. All knowledge must rear itself upon its basic facts. Laws, beliefs, institutions, must root themselves in nature, and suck up their forces from it. Nature holds the truths it behooves us to know. Therefore, he studied her with such patient, reverent care that he interpreted her as another Wordsworth. He is nature become self-conscious and thinking aloud. Whether he had acquainted himself with the forefeelings of the earlier *savans* in our modern world, as he certainly knew some of the students of nature in the ancient world, or whether it was an illustration of Tyndall's "use of the imagination in science," the fact remains that twenty years before the appearance of the *Origin of Species* he announced the theory of evolution, which that epoch-making book brought fairly to the birth. The seer was beforehand with the *savan*. The motto to "Nature" was:—

"A subtle chain of countless rings
The next unto the farthest brings.
The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose.
And, striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form."

This was no lucky guess of a moment. It was his habitual vision. In the "Ode to Bacchus," he asks for "wine which music is," that "drinking this" he

"Shall hear far Chaos talk with me,
Kings unborn shall walk with me;
And *the poor grass shall plot and plan*
What it will do when it is man."

"The Sphinx," "Wood Notes," "Monadnock," "May Day," "Song of Nature," are hymns for the psalter of evolution. Tyndall could not apostrophize heat, wherein lie "the promise and potency" of all things, with more accurate eloquence than Emerson in the "May Day":—

"Like a sea which me infolds;
Heat with viewless fingers moulds,
Swells and mellows and matures,
Paints and flavors and allures;
Bird and brier inly warms,
Still enriches and transforms;
Gives the reed and lily length,
Adds to oak and oxen strength.
* * * * * * * * *
Enveloping heat, enchanted robe,
Wraps the daisy and the globe;
Transforming what it doth infold,
Life out of death, new out of old.
* * * * * * * * *
The *dead log touched bursts into leaf,*
The wheat-blade whispers of the sheaf."

That these are not the hyperboles of the poet is assured by the soberer prose of the essayist. Of the progressive life of nature, he writes: "It publishes itself in creatures, reaching from particles to spicula, through transformation on transformation, to the highest symmetries, arriving at consummate results without a shock or a leap. A little heat—that is, a little motion—is all that differences the bald, dazzling white and deadly cold poles of the earth from the prolific tropical climates. All changes pass without violence by reason of the two cardinal conditions of boundless space and boundless time. How far off is the trilobite, how far the quadruped! How inconceivably remote is man! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to oyster; farther yet to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come as surely as the first atom has two sides."

With this clear vision of the process of evolution, Emerson, the seer, has the vision which the *savan* does not always have. The *savan* deals analytically with the various parts; while, in the synthesis of the imagination, the seer tells us

"I yielded myself to the *perfect whole.*"

In this sight of the "one stupendous whole," of which all sciences are but parts, nature became to him a revelation full of awe. Where the ancient poet of evolution, Lucretius, saw only the blind play of atoms, Emerson saw—that which I leave him to describe.

"What god is this imperial Heat,
Earth's prime secret, sculpture's seat?
Doth it bear hidden in its heart
Water-line patterns of all art,
All figures, organs, hues, and graces?
Is it Dædalus? is it Love?
Or walks in mask almighty Jove?"

A question to which his answer is clear and positive in the sublime conclusion to the "Wood Notes":—

"Ever fresh the broad creation,
A divine improvisation;
From the heart of God proceeds
A single will, a million deeds.
Once slept the world an egg of stone;
And pulse and sound and light was none;
And God said, "Throb!" and there was motion,
And the vast mass became vast ocean.
Onward and on, the Eternal Pan,
Who layeth the world's incessant plan,
Halteth never in one shape,
But forever doth escape,
Like wave or flame, into new forms
Of gem and air, of plants and worms.
He is free and libertine,
Pouring of his power the wine
To every age, to every race;
Unto each and unto all,
Maker and original.
The world is the ring of his spells,
And the play of his miracles.
* * * * * * *
Thou seek'st in globe and galaxy,
He hides in pure transparency;
Thou askest in fountains and in fires,
He is the essence that inquires.
He is the axis of the star,
He is the sparkle of the spar;
He is the heart of every creature,
He is the meaning of each feature;
And his mind is the sky,
Than all it holds more deep, more high."

No wonder that Mr. Tyndall, in his fragments of science, declares: "In him, we have a poet and a pro-

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foundly religious man, who is really and entirely undaunted by the discoveries of science, past, present, and prospective. In his case, Poetry, with the joy of a bacchanal, takes her graver brother, Science, by the hand, and cheers him with immortal laughter."

The *savan* thus hails the seer the prophet of the new order, the psalmist of the Bible writ in stone, to whom there is the vision of the living creatures round the throne of the Lord and Giver of Life, singing, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, which was and is and is to come."

How did Emerson reach this sublime apocalypse, and see the new heavens over the new earth? He did not leap to his conclusion, else he were no poet laureate of science. Imagination may have projected the lines of his pathway with swift, unerring sight; but reason opened the roadway thus surveyed, and builded slow and sure this causeway to the skies. Let us try to follow the steps by which he climbed to this mount of vision.

Emerson lays the foundation of his religion in the two cardinal affirmations of Science.

I. The first string in his constructive thought is *the Unity of Nature*. We can quite understand the surprise of John Stuart Mill's father that no one revived the ancient theory of dualism. It is the off-hand explanation of the contradictory forces and laws which earth presents. It offers an easy solution to the hard problems of life. But, whatever its plausibilities may be, it is forever impossible henceforth. Evolution establishes the oneness of nature. The materials of all organisms upon the earth, from the bacteria up to man, are the same. The elements of the worlds around us in space are the elements which compose our world. Sulphur and iron, oxygen and hydrogen, build up Neptune as the earth. The laws which govern the crystallization of the rocks reappear in higher forms in human society. Civilization arranges itself after the pattern of the life within the domed halls of the bees and the galleried chambers of the ants. The planets sweep through space under the law which drops the apple from the tree. Forces slip into each other, while we are watching them, and show themselves but forms of one Protean force. One type of organization discloses itself through the endless varieties of vegetable and animal life. The trunk of the tree and its branching boughs become the body, or, as we still say, the trunk of the animal and its legs, which only need to be set up on end to become the human form divine. We may learn about our organs in the oyster. The minuter the scrutiny, the more astonishing the analogies between all living things. It is because of this oneness of materials, laws, forces, and type, that each fleck of bioplasm carries within its filmy thread the possibilities of anything that is. It no longer admits of question that whether or not we are to say, "I believe in one God," we must say, "I believe in one nature, one order, one table of elements, one system of laws, one pattern and type of structure, one subtle, mystic force, of which all forces are but masks."

By no thinker has this unity been more vividly realized or more profoundly estimated than by Emerson. He is full of this thought. It fascinates him. It even moulds his style. Any sentence will do to follow any other sentence; for whether it be about ethics or physics, art or chemistry, it is about one and the same substance, a different setting of one thought. A truth of music turns to a truth of painting, just as motion passes through different stages into sound and light. A principle in botany is a principle in government and trade, and all are principles of morals. Everything can become every other thing.

Nature's unity is a basic truth with him, the first article of the new creed. "This unity of design in creation, this unity of thought, is the key to all science." In his poem on "Xenophanes," whose early discernment of this truth interested him, he writes: -

> "To know one element, explore another,
> And in the second reappears the first.
> The specious panorama of a year
> But multiplies the image of a day,
> A belt of mirrors round a taper's flame.
> And universal Nature through her vast
> And crowded whole, an infinite paroquet,
> Repeats one note."

This is the secret of the Sphinx.

> "Uprose the merry Sphinx,
> And crouched no more in stone;
> She melted into purple cloud,
> She silvered in the moon;
> She spired into a yellow flame;
> She flowered in blossoms red;
> She flowed into a foaming wave;
> She stood Monadnock's head.
>
> "Thorough a thousand voices
> Spoke the universal dame:
> 'Who telleth one of my meanings
> Is master of all that I am.'"

II. The second article of the creed of evolution, which Emerson also voices, is *the Progressiveness of Nature*. Evolution is a synonyme for progress. Things are not standing still. Creation is advancing. From chaos, order has emerged. Out of molten masses of star-dust, out of stormful, seething seas and hills hissing with the fires that twisted their granite-like clay and knotted their veins in writhing coils, issued the earth in the calm beauty of the summer opening again upon us. From wriggling, shapeless films of transparent matter, grasses and flowers and trees, fishes and birds and beasts have arisen, until, at the last, man has turned his mirroring face upon the long ascent of life, and in reading its processes recognized himself its issue, "the man-child glorious" with whom it has been in travail.

True, this progress has been no uniform, undeviating movement on and up, but a strangely wandering movement, now in this lateral direction and again in that, a series of tentative efforts, a feeling forth and round in all curious and baffling tracks; missing its way again and again, drawn aside into *culs-de-sacs* where was no exit, lapsing in recedent eddies, halting in stagnant back-waters, yet ever recovering itself from every wrong guess, retracing every mistake, finding its path again into the main stream of "the organic ascent of life," and pushing on into ever finer, higher, nobler forms, till in man it rests not still, but is already casting beforehand the shadows of the Coming Man in our dreams and aspirations. This truth, too, has been clearly grasped and graphically drawn by Emerson. It recurs ever in essays and in poems. "We can point nowhere to anything final, but tendency appears on all hands, planet, system, constellation, total nature, is growing like a field of maize in July, is becoming somewhat else, is in rapid metamorphosis. The embryo does not more strive to be man than yonder blur of light we call a nebula tends to be a ring, a comet, a globe, and a parent of new suns."

"'Tis in the stomach of plants that development begins, and ends in the circles of the universe. 'Tis a long scale from the gorilla to the gentleman, from the gorilla to Plato, Newton, Shakspeare,—to the sanctities of religion, the refinements of legislation, the summits of science, art, and poetry. The beginnings are slow and infirm, but 'tis an always accelerated march. The progress higher shows itself in society as in the lower spheres.

"The civil history of men might be traced by the successive meliorations, as marked in higher moral generalizations, virtue meaning physical courage, then chastity and temperance, then justice and love."

III. Thus far, the *savan* leads us. As he leaves us, it should be on our knees. Given an order whose vast complexity reveals an inner unity of elements, laws, forces,—an order whose unity is that of one advancing type, of one idea finding ever fuller and nobler embodiment, and already blossoming into such a creature as man,—and we have a fact before which none but the thoughtless can fail in awe, as before an infinite power in which we live and move and have our being. Here, we have already the materials for a creed, waiting only the seer's touch to tremble into worship. The seer's touch, not the *savan's*; for beyond this point he, as such, does not lead us. The next step is into the mystery beyond the ken of the physicist, the source of the enfoldments whose unfoldings he pursues. He postulates a potentializing of bioplasm before he begins to write his genesis, but he cannot find these potencies in the matter with which he deals. The only rational indication of this source is found in following the uplifted finger of the seer, as he points to *mind*. Philosophy can account for matter by mind, it cannot account for mind by matter. When pushed to the wall, it affirms—and can prove, if need be—that all things cognized by the senses are but states of consciousness in mind. Common sense, the quick, concurring instinct of the multitude, authenticates this witness of philosophy, and unhesitatingly and universally declares that such an order is stamped with the seal of an infinite intelligence. Science itself leaves us before a mystery of form within every organism, upon which the fluent matter streaming through it steadily is moulded into persistent identity. From every region of thought, we are driven back, as Huxley confesses, upon the ideal or spiritual interpretation, if we have to choose between this and materialism; though, under the influence of Spinoza's illusive and unethical ethics, he persists in expecting a higher unity, of which we need only say it is not yet within the field of thought. The alone substance or reality standing under the changing phenomena of nature we can postulate is *mind*.

This Emerson saw and taught.

"Mind is the only reality of which men and all other natures are better or worse reflectors." Every law of nature was first a law of mind. "Nature is the incarnation of a thought. . . . The world is mind precipitated." He tracks law through its circles till he finds its throne, where

> "Conscious law is King of kings."

Cities, and all the seemingly substantial facts of civilization,

> "Are but sailing foam-bells
> Along Thought's causing stream,
> And take their shape and sun-color
> From him that sends the dream."

Monadnock spake to him:—

> "If thou trowest
> How the chemic eddies play,
> Pole to pole, and what they say;
> And that these gray crags
> Not on crags are hung,
> But beads are of a rosary
> On prayer and music strung;
> And, credulous, through the *granite seeming*
> Seest the smile of Reason beaming;
> Can thy style-discerning eye
> The hidden-working Builder spy,
> Who builds, yet makes no chips, no din,
> With hammer soft as snow-flake's flight;
> Knowest thou this?"

Yes, he knew it well; and for him and those who know it with him, were there nothing more to add, it can be said,—

> "Enough for thee the primal Mind,
> That flows in streams, that breathes in wind."

But, though enough, it is not all.

IV. Another step the seer takes. Nature is not only, in its one substance, Mind: it is Character. Law is to him a series of concentric coils, wheel within wheel, as in the symbol of Ezekiel; and the innermost coil, the main-spring of the whole mysterious movement, is Moral Law.

A purpose of good is at the core of creation. An energy working toward goodness is stored in the filmy threads of bioplasm. All growths string on this crystallizing form. When we climb up through the slow progress of life, the Moral Law is the law which issues as the crowning and commanding principle of action; the Power recognized in the highest life of the highest product of nature,—man,—as throned above him for his unquestioning loyalty; the Force evolved in the organic ascent of life, which at once upon its appearance on the field ranks all other forces, and every most imperious power feels its master come. This law, this force, is ruling, working through every stage of nature's development, so that we can reduce its terms from ethics down through chemics and physics, and find the adumbrations of social ideals in the crystallization of the rocks, the fertilization of the flowers, and the associations of the insects, and know that we have really gotten a scientific statement of the Power in nature as capable of verification as any other proposition in our imperfect knowledge, when, in Matthew Arnold's famous phrases, we speak of this "stream of tendency" flowing up through life as "a Power not ourselves, making for righteousness." This is the truth Emerson saw and voiced. He is not blind to the anomalies of nature, viewed as a moral order; its severities and savageries, its free fecundities and libertine longings, its indifferences to character,—the sun shining on the evil and on the good, the rain falling on the just and on the unjust. He knows full well that in these facts men, themselves unlifted into spirituality, have ever found hints and excuses of evil, and that the lower forms of nature worship have been rituals of riotousness, sacraments of sensuality, propitiations of powers wrathful and withering, apotheoses of desire and dread. He sees, however, back of all this that is *un*moral in nature awakening the *im*moral in man, the traces harnessing these blind powers and brute im-

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pulses to an ethical purpose, a spiritual will driving resistlessly on toward the education of man, and already drawing after it into the paths of virtue the truly human men. He finds in actual life that Nature is a spring and source of virtue, that her influences are inspirations. This careful picker of adjectives declares that

"Spring is strong and virtuous."

He finds that

"None can tell how sweet,
How virtuous, the morning air."

Intent on the building of a man, he chose accordingly his home among the "sacred pines," where he might be ever nigh to nature. Wordsworth before him had found that

"One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can."

And he, too, had gone to school among the Westmoreland lakes.

Thus, the noblest spirits have ever found. "Pure, vigorous nature," sighed the dying Froebel, drawn up in his arm-chair to the open window, that he thence be strengthened for the last ordeal. The perfect man grew amid the Galilean hills. This influence of nature upon man is the forthflowing from a heart that beats to the rhythm of a moral force.

"The Moral Law lies at the centre of nature, and radiates to the circumference. It is the pith and marrow of every substance, every relation, and every process. All things with which we deal preach to us. ... Every animal function, from the sponge up to Hercules, shall hint or thunder to man the laws of right and wrong, and echo the Ten Commandments.

"This ethical character so penetrates the bone and marrow of nature as to seem the end for which it is made." No supernatural revelation is needed to introduce man to virtue. Nature is a revelation of virtue, a teacher of conduct, a trainer of character. If true to nature, man will be virtuous. "Virtue is the adopting of this dictate of the Universal Mind by the individual will. Character is the habit of this obedience." The Moral Law is thus throned by nature over life, and the true man owns "the sovereignty of ethics." Conscience is the vice-regal faculty, ruling the individual in the name and by the authority of the Most High. Its counsels are commands, its suggestions are laws. At whatever cost, it is to be obeyed. Only in absolute loyalty to Duty is there real and abiding happiness for man. The final argument is, "I ought."

"Though love repine and reason chafe,
There came a voice without reply,—
'Tis man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die."

In this insistent push of Force through nature and through man toward character, he feels the presence of a Spirit rightly to be called the Holy Ghost: the recognition of unity and progress leading on to the perception of Mind, and this Mind revealing itself as Goodness, he bows and dares to say "God."

"The next age will behold God in the ethical laws, as mankind begins to see them in this age, self-equal, self-executing, instantaneous, and self-affirmed, needing no voucher, no prophet, and no miracle besides their own irresistibility, and will regard natural history, private fortunes, and politics, not for themselves, as we have done, but as illustrations of those laws, of that beatitude and love. Nature is too thin a screen, the glory of the One breaks in everywhere."

It is thus by steps in the granitic order of nature that Emerson climbs to the mount of vision whereon he sees God.

V. Emerson, therefore, has no fears about the future of religion. While oxygen and hydrogen continue and meet in the currents of electricity, there will be water. While nature and the soul continue and confront each other in the common thrill of the Power working in them both, there will be religion. It is the instant result of this relation, where no untoward circumstances hinder. Religion is not in lodgings on earth. It came with the first human man (Mr. Chadband's "human boy" is no longer tautological), opened his eyes in wonder, and it came to stay.

"Let others wrangle, I will wonder," was a saying of Augustine, of which he was fond. Himself a

"Wonderer at all he meets,
Wonderer chiefly at himself."

Wonder always leads her sister Faith after her. Nay, faith is simply wonder become conscious. One who has learned much of Emerson tells us that

"Faith and wonder and the primal earth
Are born into the world with every child."

While wonder lasts and leads on to these high cognitions, faith will not fail. Wonder's other name is Worship. Linnæus on his knees before the Scotch heather in bloom, Kepler concluding the researches which led to his third great law with a sublime prayer, sign the natural posture of the soul before the Infinite Mystery forth from which such light gleams, and symbolize the secret Emerson had seen. The last thing to fear for is religion.

"The whole state of man is a state of culture, and its flowering and completion may be described as religion or worship." He was not unaware of the great change going on in religion, of the decay and death of old forms of faith going on all round him. His finer sensitiveness detected this fact, and measured its force before the mass of his contemporaries had become conscious of any change, and before any save a few had appreciated its full significance. But he saw that which a generation later we are all coming to perceive: that the present "ooze and thaw" of belief, in which most find symptoms of a coming catastrophe, is the washing away of an effete order to lay the foundations of a new and higher order; that the drying up of dogmas is only the extension of envelopes, which have served their end, by the swelling bud within the ancient formularies; that the change is in the line of growth toward simpler, freer, nobler forms of religion.

"You say there is no religion now. 'Tis like saying in rainy weather there is no sun, when at that moment we are witnessing one of his superlative effects." He sees a new church arising, whose walls the toiling host of students of nature are rearing, whose gospel knowledge will preach by the altars where Imagination lifts her worship:—

"There will be a new church founded on moral science, at first cold and naked, a babe in the manger again, the algebra and mathematics of ethical law, the church of men to come without shawms or psaltery or sackbut; but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters, science for symbol and illustration: it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry."

The creed of this coming church we are not yet ripe to write.

"I am too young yet by some ages," he says, "to compile a code." Yet he does not hesitate to offer a tentative expression of the faith that is in him:—

"I am ready to give the first simple foundations of my belief: that the Author of Nature has not left himself without a witness in any sane mind; that the moral sentiment speaks to every man the law after which the universe was made: that we find parity, identity, of design through nature, and benefit to be the uniform aim; that there is a force always at work to make the best better and the worst good."

Bald as this confession of faith may seem, it is the baldness of the root, needing only time and right conditions to put forth leaf and bud, and blossom, and flower, and fruit. It is what Catholics would call implicit faith. It holds in latencies more than it has developed, just as the similar faith of the old Hebrews held Christianity, wanting only a Jesus. It is what Catholics would call implicit faith. It is a potential theology. When this simple ethical religion begins fairly to work upon the problems of our earthly existence, it will find, as Emerson foresaw, that the old Schoolmen had not conjured up the mysteries that exercised their ingenuities. However antiquated their interpretation of those mysteries, there were facts at the core of their fine-spun metaphysics. Those facts exist to-day as of old. They will insistently solicit man's attention, demanding explanation. The new statements may differ from the old as widely as the reality differs from the federal headship of Adam, as Mr. Spencer's law of organic retrogression differs from original sin, as natural selection differs from election, as natural consequences in character differ from the doctrine of hell. In some form, however, the old problems will reappear in thought. "Natural Religion," writes Emerson, "supplies still all the facts which are disguised under the dogmas of popular creeds."

VI. Without curiously conning the pages of the future's thought, which are not fully open yet, let us note that which touches us more,—how, in Emerson's religion of nature, hope blossoms on this simple faith.

However dark the problems of existence may look to him who studies them in detail down in the valleys where the *savan* works,—to the seer, who from the sunlit summits sweeps the horizon's circuit, all looms light. This was Emerson's view. As I look up to French's fine bust, and note the characteristic smile, I think of that subtile touch in Spenser's personification of Hope,—"She always smyld." That smile seems to say, "I see more than I can tell." This was the secret of his optimism,—the persuasion that an infinite will had the job of earth in hand. "A sublime confidence is fed at the bottom of the heart, that in spite of appearances, in spite of malignity and blind self-interest, an eternal, beneficent necessity is always bringing things right; and though we should fold our arms, which we cannot do,—for our duty requires us to be the very hands of this guiding sentiment and work in the present moment,—the evils we suffer will at last end themselves, through the incessant opposition of nature to everything hurtful." Thus, unwronging any human sorrow, he could breathe the desire of the *Dial*,—"We wish it may resemble that instrument in its celebrated happiness, that of measuring no hours but those of sunshine." He was sure he caught truly the secret of evolution. Evolution is the grandest of prophets, its voice a lofty strain of expectation like the second Isaiah's,—"Comfort ye, comfort ye my people."

"Under gentle types, my Spring
Masks the might of Nature's king,
An energy that searches thorough
From Chaos to the dawning morrow;
Into all our human plight,
The soul's pilgrimage and flight;
In city or in solitude,
Step by step, lifts bad to good,
Without halting, without rest,
Lifting Better up to Best."

The organic ascent of man is not completed. Man is but the embryo of the man that is to be, if this majestic movement of nature goes on in the upward lines along which our vision already flies. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God." This is the song of nature Emerson overhears: —

"I sit by the shining Fount of Life,
And pour the deluge still;

"And ever by delicate powers
Gathering along the centuries
From race on race the rarest flowers,
My wreath shall nothing miss.

"But he, the man-child glorious,—
Where tarries he the while?
The rainbow shines his harbinger,
The sunset gleams his smile.

"My boreal lights leap upward,
Forthright my planets roll,
And still the man-child is not born,
The summit of the whole.

"I tire of globes and races,
Too long the game is played;
What without him is summer's pomp,
Or winter's frozen shade?

"I travail in pain for him,
My creatures travail and wait;
His couriers come by squadrons,
He comes not to the gate."

This coming man is "the semi-god whom we await." It is none less than the World-Soul, who

"Forbids to despair;
His cheeks mantle with mirth;
And the unimagined good of men
Is yeaning at the birth."

Nor does this prophecy of nature merely mean to him the continued development of the race on earth. He is sure it means also the continued growth of individuals in other spheres. He is, as he says all right-minded men should be, incurious about this future, content with hope as the substance and not the form of things to come. But his own secret trust creeps out through all his aversion to the speculation which he saw had grown flamboyant in the Churches. "After science begins, belief of permanence will follow in a healthy mind. ... In nature, the implanting of a desire indicates that the gratification of that desire is in the constitution of that creature that feels it. ... I have heard that, when we pronounce the name of man, we pronounce the belief of immortality. All great natures delight in stability; all great men find

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eternity affirmed in the promise of their faculties. . . . As soon as virtue glows, the belief confirms itself. It is a kind of summary or completion of man. . . . Our dissatisfaction with any other solution is the blazing evidence of immortality. . . . Everything is prospective, and man is to live hereafter. That the world is for his education is the only sane solution of the enigma. . . . I am a better believer, and all serious souls are better believers in immortality than we can give grounds for." In his last volume of essays, the old man, nearing the great mystery, dropped his reserve and spake out his matured conviction, in strong though restrained language. But this conviction was no late ripening of his thought. In early life, he lost a darling boy, "a genius of so fine a strain" as the world seemed "not ripe yet to sustain." When the morrow of his great loss had "dawned with needless glow," and other morrows after it, tiding him at length beyond "the blasphemy of grief," he wrote that thrilling Threnody, wherein he whispers to his soul the comfort he had learned in the darkness:—

"Wilt thou not ope thy heart to know
What rainbows teach and sunsets show?
Verdict which accumulates
From lengthening scroll of human fates,
Voice of earth to earth returned,
Prayers of saints that inly burned,—
Saying, *What is excellent,*
As God lives, is permanent;
Hearts are dust, hearts' loves remain,
Heart's love will meet thee again."

VII. Faith and Hope hold the hand of their divine sister, Charity; and the greatest of these three sits shrined serene within the temple Emerson rears for worship. It is needless to illustrate at any length the spirit which shines from each page he has written, which breathed in all his life, making every word and deed fragrant with gracious, gentle love. There was one thing he could not be drawn to do,—controvert. He voiced the truth he heard within him, and left others to voice the truths revealed to them, trusting "the vast Soul that o'er *all* planned" to harmonize the strains. In all that he has written there lives no word to hint the long years of suspicion, distrust, and misrepresentation through which he walked unsoured. Not even when popular prejudice railed round him most unkindly did his ink curdle in the least. He swept all classes within his sympathies. His intercourse with Carlyle dropped when the savage howl against "the nigger" came across the sea. No most abhorred creed could part a good man from his soul. The churchman shut not from him the man.

"Why should the vest on him allure
Which I could not on me endure?"

No differences of race prevented him from feeling with another people's faiths and hopes. He was one of the first to introduce to our people the sacred books of the East, and to welcome the "accent of the Holy Ghost" in foreign idioms,—

"What are Moslems? What Giaours?
All are Love's, and all are ours."

To him, the Power working in nature and in man is Love. Back of the Infinite Mind is an Infinite Heart. The pine-tree whispers that

"Perfect nature's every part
Is rooted in the mighty Heart."

The Sphinx hints that in nature

"Love works at the centre,
Heart-heaving alway;
Forth speed the strong pulses
To the borders of day."

Monadnock finds a voice to tell him of the Building Intellect,

"Whose throbs are love, whose thrills are song."

The "Threnody" sums the impossible when it asks,—

"Wilt thou freeze love's tidal flow,
Whose streams through nature circling go?"

VIII. The nature where faith and hope and love find altars reared is thus to him a temple of the living God, wherein "all wisdom and all good abide," and whereof "man is the façade," a temple whose rhythmic strains this seer articulates in worship.

IX. I am not unaware of the limitations of Emerson's religious thought as a theology. He was probably conscious of its limitations himself. His theism verges dangerously upon what, in spite of Carlyle's savage ridicule, is no light confusion,—pantheism. With this follows a tendency to regard evil as only negative, a defect of immaturity in nature, and thus to blur the ethical distinctions, as in some noted passages. The real dangers of pantheism have been lately pointed out by so dispassionate a critic as Le Page Renouf, in the conclusion of his Hibbert lectures on the religion of Egypt. They haunt the religion of nature. Emerson's attitude toward Jesus Christ seems to me largely part of his surroundings, as he came into life amid the revolt from the unnatural Christ of the Churches. His profound reverence for Jesus, his recognition of him as the supreme teacher sent from God, "our best, our dearest saint," it is needless to recall. Of his divineness, he would have said,—

"Draw if thou canst the mystic line,
Severing rightly his from thine,
Which is human, which divine."

The doctrine of the incarnation held for him a profound truth, which in other times he might have been more anxious to affirm than to deny. But this immanency of God in man, of which Jesus is the sacred symbol, had been in his view materialized in the usual way of sacraments. Men's reverence for the symbol and sacrament had made it no longer a transparent spiritual truth, but an opaque metaphysical truth. Instead of holding Jesus up to the light and looking through him to God, studying the divine nature as caught upon this prism, and thus entering into the consciousness of oneness with God which was at its full in him, the churches he found to be busied in looking *at* Jesus, disputing over him, intent on magnifying him, and thus missing the secret of his life. "The idioms of his language and the figures of his rhetoric have usurped the place of his truth; and the churches are not built on his principles, but on his tropes." Alas! that this was and still remains so near the fact. Pity that Christianity has adjourned its Master's work of regenerating human society for the disciples' work of determining his personality, that it has substituted truth about Jesus for the truth *of* Jesus. Thus, it came to pass that so reverent a soul should have to say, "The way to preach Christ to our age is to be silent about him." As, with the really growing spiritual and ethical life of the Churches and their mental emancipation, his charge shall cease to be true, his attitude will cease to be necessary; and the way will open for a rational *and* reverent recognition of the supreme authority of Jesus Christ as nature's most authoritative utterance, "the highest, holiest manhood," and thus the crowning consciousness of life.

His negative attitude did not reveal his truest thought. He was a living embodiment of his constant counsel, to affirm and let the affirmation carry its own denials. The man reveals the positive, constructive character of his thought,—nobly, beautifully good; profoundly, simply religious; never withdrawing his name from the register of the church in Concord; showing where he had been and of whom he had learned by the confession he drew from hosts besides old Father Taylor,—"He is more like Jesus than any one I have ever known"; a man of whom we can best say, he "walked with God and was not, for God took him."

The light in which we are to regard Emerson as a religious teacher is that of the attempt forced upon our age to get back within the florid overgrowths of institutional and dogmatic Christianity to that severely simple substratum of all religion which lies below controversies and questionings, grounded in the facts of nature, whereon Science lays deep and strong the foundation-stones of faith, while Imagination waits impatient to lift the walls which shall blossom into the beauties of faith and hope and grow vocal with the harmonies of worship.

A grand mission, grandly fulfilled. Already, we can see the advancing lines of that cathedral of humanity which the Religion of the Future is to open for men's worship, into whose chapels shall be welcomed the devotees of all true knowledge and all lofty life, whose walls all arts shall beautify, and whose rituals poetry shall write; while over its central altar shall shine the face of God breaking through upon the flesh of Jesus Christ. And when in gratitude and wonder our children shall ask, Who first taught your age to build thus nobly, when the old structures seemed tumbling into ruins? we will answer, Emerson.

"SPEAK thou the truth. Let others fence
And trim their words for pay:
In pleasant sunshine of pretence
Let others bask the day." —*Dean Alford.*

For *The Index*.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THEISTIC RETRIBUTION.

BY V. B. DENSLOW, LL.D.

(*Concluded.*)

Again, if I were disposed to be theistic, I should think that God not the Jehovah of the Old Testament, but such a God as the consensus of educated men could devise if they set about it—had become so disgusted with the mode in which the Christian world walks backward with eyes shut, and throws the veil of reverent concealment over the iniquities of the Sacred Book, that he had determined to send upon them this murrain of Mormons, on purpose to show them in real life exactly what Bible-living is. Every Christian knows that from Genesis to Revelations there is not a single precept that forbids polygamy to anybody not a bishop, and that the prohibition in the New Testament upon a bishop, that he should be the husband of only one wife, implies that whether any man not a bishop should be the husband of more than one is left to his own choice. Every Christian knows that polygamy was practised throughout the Old Testament period without divine or human or prophetic or priestly rebuke of any kind; and every scholar knows that in casual instances, though greatly discouraged by the antagonistic heathen influence of the Greeks and Romans, the practice obtained in Judea until after the opening of the Christian era. Jacob has four wives, Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, and Zilpah; and the abundance of his wives as well as of his children and cattle is spoken of as proof of the divine favor, just as it would be to-day in Utah. The element in the crime of David which Nathan rebukes is not the polygamy, but the meanness, in robbing Uriah of his wife, when Uriah, instead of an opulent flock of women, had only "one little ewe lamb." But it is the "Lord God of Israel" who says to David, "I delivered thee out of the hand of Saul, and I gave thee thy master's house and thy master's wives into thy bosom." It is needless to cite a single further text to prove that the God of the Old Testament directly sanctioned polygamy.

On the other hand, in the very dawning of Greek civilization, as pictured in Homer's *Iliad*, that heathen type of life was nobly monogamic; and woman was there the intellectual adviser and counsellor of her husband, his equal, his co-thinker, his companion poet, and his fellow-artist. Hector is not ruffled nor his pride offended, when Andromache, at their parting, gives him sound advice as to the point at which he should await the onset of the Greeks, instead of sallying out against their odds. He, like a fool, rejects her advice, and falls a victim to his folly, which consists wholly, as pictured by Homer, in the fact that he trusts more in the assumed protection of certain fictitious gods, who had no existence except in the brain of poets, than he did in the level sense and shrewd judgment of his intelligent wife; and he dies as the penalty of his religious bigotry and of the stupefaction of his brain by a false theology. Throughout the whole Bible, no woman ever appears as a wise adviser. If she advises at all, it is as the mother of Jacob advised him into a fraud. Throughout the Bible, woman appears in the subordinate and slavish rôle which polygamy assigns to her as an article of property, to be bought, sold, given, fetched, moved, and owned. But, in the *Iliad*, at a date as early as that of Solomon, the Trojans and the Greeks divide and war over a theme the real gist of which is not Achilles' wrath nor Hector's valor, but the question whether Helen had or had not the right to leave the home of her lawfully wedded husband for the home of Paris, whom she loved more and better. This is the very highest social question now extant, and upon it civilization has not advanced an inch beyond the point at which it is left in the Greek epic. All the Aryan races in Europe were monogamic,—the Romans, Celts, and Germans as truly as the Greeks, and as faithfully while they were heathen as they are to-day. It is these heathen races, therefore, that converted Christianity into a monogamic religion, or rather, as Christianity crossed into Greece, Rome, and Germany, it took on monogamy from heathen sources, and became a composite religion, not a religion founded on Judean influences only. Indeed, as there is no idea in Judaic Christianity that was not previously heathen, so the best ideas in modern Christianity have been absorbed from heathen sources since the religion began its progress; and, doubtless, monogamy is one of these best features. The doctrine

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which Judaic Christianity attempted to introduce into Europe was that celibacy is better than either monogamy or polygamy, but that between the two latter there is no difference worth speaking of. In this effort, Judaic Christianity signally failed, except as concerns the Roman and part of the Greek priesthood. The passions of mankind, the harmonious balance of which constitutes a truer virtue than can be found in the religious passion alone, rescued Europe and civilization from this contemptible silliness.

If I were a theist, I should see a profound special providence in the fact that a great nation whose further progress in self-knowledge and social reform is seriously impeded by their fetich worship for a book, many of whose teachings they have outgrown, should have thrust under their noses a type of Bible morals so liberal, so perfect, that it makes them sick. I sincerely hope there is such a Being in the direction of all human affairs. But if there be such a Being, and if he directed the events to which I have called attention for the purposes referred to, I still regard them as most bungling examples of divine justice. In the case of Ireland, a shorter route to justice could have been found by adding a little to the wisdom of the English people; in the case of Garfield, the cheaper route to justice would have been to lessen the volume and impetus of American superstition; and, in the Mormon question, a larger gift of common sense to both classes of saints would fill the bill.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FREE SOCIETY, LYCEUM HALL, DORCHESTER.

Editors of The Index:—

The Anniversary of this Society, celebrated Sunday before last, was of marked significance, as illustrative of the power of sympathy which may exist between churches of different denominations. A large variety of churches was represented in the audience. After the devotional exercises, in which a passage from T. W. Higginson, on the "Sympathy of Religions," was read, the pastor, Rev. Clara M. Bisbee, made a brief review of her purpose and plan of work, stating that such was an attempt to answer the wants of the "unchurched" through the establishment of a *broader platform* in *religion* and *simpler modes* of *worship*. Mrs. Bisbee then read communications from Unitarian, Methodist, Universalist, Episcopal, and Free Religious teachers of the age. This was followed by most interesting addresses on the "Good Life," by Revs. C. R. Eliot of the Unitarian Church, Dorchester, Frederick A. Hinckley of the Free Religious Society, Providence, R.I., and Wm. G. Babcock of the Warren Street Chapel, Boston. Three lay members of the Free Society, Mrs. Sarah C. Bird, Mrs. Frances E. Billings, and Mr. Wm. G. Babcock, Jr., made fine contributions in testimony to the growth and harmony of spirit which marked this first anniversary of the new society. The services were concluded by illustration of a practical method of Sunday-school teaching, employed by Mrs. Bisbee, wherein flowers of the garden are made to correspond, *through color*, with so many "flowers of the heart."

A.

BOOK NOTICES.

"AMERICAN MEN OF LETTERS." HENRY D. THOREAU. By F. B. Sanborn. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Sanborn has given us a charming and characteristic sketch of one of the most remarkable and strongly individual men of that group of moral and intellectual heroes who have made the little village of Concord so famous in the annals of our literature.

He has drawn the portrait of Thoreau, not in sharp relief against a blank sky, but in his natural setting of ancestry, kindred, and friends, and has helped us thus to know him as he really was, in all the delicate beauty of his home life and affections, far better than if he had made him an isolated figure.

Thoreau and Concord are inseparable in our thoughts; and Mr. Sanborn has sketched for us the grand old town, with its historic memories, its simple citizen life, its farmers, men of sturdy virtue and keen intelligence, and its poets and philosophers, like the fair blossom or the mellow fruit of the apple born upon the rugged, knurly tree. Nor has he failed to give the broad meadows and sluggish streams, the fair orchards, green hillsides and glowing sunsets which made the familiar scenery of this beautiful, idyllic life. Few men could have brought such qualifications to the task of depicting this town and its inhabitants. Poetic feeling, literary culture, wide knowledge of society, are united with a thorough spirit of reform and a love of genealogical detail and a quaint perception of humor. So he can sympathize with all the many-sided traits of his hero, can understand his longings for solitude, and reverence the heroic courage which made him the champion of John Brown and every unpopular defender of the right.

The life thus presented to us is full of meaning and beauty, and shows us how simple, sincere, and ideal a life may become in seemingly prosaic and unfavorable surroundings. Yet Thoreau is emphatically the child of his ancestors, and one can see how all the influences before and around him helped "to make him the being that he was, when he was most himself."

The incidental sketches of Thoreau's friends are equally true to life: the strength and nobility of Margaret Fuller's nature appear in her relation to him as his early critic, all Horace Greeley's good sense and generous kindness influenced his efforts to help the young writer, while Alcott, Emerson, and Channing seem like a host of angelic friends encompassing him on every side.

Like Margaret Fuller, Thoreau is not to be judged so much by his actual performance as by the influence he shed around him. What he was affects us far more than what he wrote, for it is only slowly that he is revealed to us in his works; but his character is reflected back from the faces of those who knew and loved him so dearly, and he seems more living and nearer to us now than when he walked with us in the flesh.

E. D. C.

THE June number of the *Revue de Belgique* opens with a powerful article on Ireland by Mme. Lagrange, who thinks the temper of the people such as must ultimately bring about their independence. There are also a poem, some rambling accounts of Sweden, the conclusion of a highly wrought story of reform through the power of love, a brief notice of Darwin, and some brief reviews of recent books. The longest and most original article is by Tiberghien, an author of forty years standing, who compares Schopenhauer, Comte, and Herbert Spencer with his own master, Krause, a successor of Kant, who has attracted little notice, owing largely to obscurity of style, but has the great merit of inspiring Froebel, as well as of pleading earnestly for the collective interests of humanity. Tiberghien, like Harris, argues that the agnostics ought not to say they know nothing about the Infinite; for their use of this term shows they give it some meaning. The agnostics' answer is: "We take the word from our opponents, and use it under protest. Our meaning is, that we know what is within reach of observation and experience, and nothing more. Those who claim they know something outside of our field of knowledge talk about the Absolute and Infinite, and bring forward various statements and definitions, all of which we reject, partly because they are irréconcilably contradictory and partly because they are found, when used as premises, to lead to absurd conclusions." This last statement is especially true of Hegelianism, which Tiberghien says is no longer talked about in Germany.

THE *Art Amateur* for July has an unusual amount of practical suggestions in regard to pigments and methods of applying color in various styles, which must be very valuable to amateur artists. The criticisms of pictures are generally lively and discriminating; and the writers do not seem to be bigoted adherents of a school, but really capable of appreciating merit in any style. We wish, however, that this art journal would also serve the cause of literary culture by holding up a higher standard of literary style for its contributors. There are many expressions in its pages which remind one of the current slang of the day. A genius may occasionally use a slang phrase with such aptness and felicity as to make it poetic; but, in ordinary hands, it becomes a mannerism, wearisome enough in the chat of Freshmen and school girls, but intolerable when printed in a serious essay or a criticism on artistic themes.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. CHARLES BRIGHT will give a second lecture at Paine Hall next Sunday afternoon, entitled "The Elephant and the Partridges, or Priests and Progress."

PRESIDENT ALICE A. FREEMAN, of Wellesley, has been awarded its highest degree, Ph.D., by Michigan University, one of the soundest of the co-educational colleges.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER is expected to arrive in New York about July 21, as he has engaged passage on the Cunard steamer "Servia," which will leave Liverpool on July 12.

CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON, the novelist, was born in Claremont, N.H. Much of her life has been spent in Cleveland, Ohio, where she makes her home at present. Miss Woolson's mother was a niece of James Fenimore Cooper, for whom she was named.

THE Springfield *Republican* thinks Bayard's Dartmouth College oration on Webster "rather a portraiture of Bayard than of Webster,—unconscious, but such as men of sincerity draw of themselves when they seek to point out a moral from the life of another."

CAPT. PAUL BOYTON has swum more than twenty-five thousand miles, saved hundreds of lives, and is officially reported by the Life-Saving Service as having rescued seventy-two persons from drowning upon the coasts of the United States. For his services, he has received forty-two medals from the European governments, but not one from this country, of which he is a native.

MISS ZOE LUCY BETSY ROTHSCHILD, recently married at Paris, has a dowry of three thousand million of francs. It is interesting to know that this rich young lady is prepared for any future loss of wealth, since she is also the owner of a diploma which certifies her fitness to teach,—a diploma won by actual, earnest study, and of which she is doubtless as proud as of her inherited wealth.

THE poet Whittier is represented by Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, in the *Churchman*, as saying of Longfellow's view of the influence and nearness of dead friends: "I have felt but very slightly that closeness of the unseen of which you speak. Life is a mystery, death is a mystery. I am like the Chinese philosopher, Confucius, who, when he was asked, 'What is death?' answered, 'Life is such a mystery that I do not seek to penetrate what is beyond it.' I believe in the progress of the soul after death. Surely, we are not to be placed in niches to remain forever. We shall doubtless there have what we lack here, harmony; and that is my idea of heaven."

THE will of Mr. Darwin leaves to his son William Erasmus the family portraits and papers, all medals, the silver candlesticks presented to him by the Royal Society, his manuscript of the Voyage of the "Beagle," and his manuscript autobiography; to his son Francis, his scientific library; to his wife, Mrs. Emma Darwin, £700, all his furniture, plate, books, effects, horses, and carriages, and his residence at Down for life; and to his friends, Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker and Thomas Henry Huxley, £1,000 each, free of legacy duty. The residue of his real and personal estate is to be held upon trust for his wife for life, and at her death as to twelve seventy-fourth parts for each of his five sons, and as to seven seventy-fourth parts for each of his two daughters.

OF George William Curtis, the Boston *Herald* says: "It would delight the hearts of the 'practical' politicians, if they could parry the blows of this reformer by sneering at him as a 'sore-head,' who is simply venting his spleen because the party has not rewarded him according to his own estimate of his deserts. But Mr. Curtis is so far from being an office-seeker that he has declined the unsolicited offer of various honorable positions in the public service, and it is known that he could not be tempted from his present post of honor and of duty by the tender of any office within the gift of a President. The words of such men have weight, because the people believe them to be honest and fearless, with no selfish ends to serve, and no motive to mislead those who look to them for guidance. Office-holding and journalism are both honorable occupations, if honorably followed; but they don't go well together."

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	25
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Bowne's "Metaphysics," F. E. Abbot,	26
Justice and Mercy in the Moral Education of Mankind, Wm. J. Potter,	27
"Anti-Theology-Mad" Liberalism, B. F. Underwood,	27
Evolution and Morality, Wm. I. Gill,	28
The Condition of Russia, Ivan Panin,	29
Hebrew Spectacles, B. W. Ball,	29
EDITORIAL NOTES,	30
POETRY.	
Brotherhood, Horace L. Traubel,	31
Ingersoll's Thoughts on Death, Mont E. Collins,	31
ESSAY.	
William Hogarth, Marie L. Macomber,	31
CORRESPONDENCE.	
Berlin Correspondence, S. B. Weston,	32
"The Woman Question," Willard Pennington,	33
Reason and Imagination, *	33
Some Reminiscences, Howard Worcester Gilbert,	33
Mr. Savage in Reply to Mr. Mitchell, M. J. Savage,	34
MISCELLANEOUS,	34
BOOK NOTICES.	
Clair, by Hudson Tuttle,	35
Memorial Address on the Life and Character of John Judson Bagley, by George H. Hopkins,	35
North American Review,	35
PERSONAL ITEMS,	35

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE party of the old *régime* in China has already, it is said, made the anti-Chinese legislation of the United States an occasion for renewing the clamor for a policy of non-intercourse. But the progressive party, which is in the majority, although admitting that the anti-Chinese bill is unfriendly and has invited retaliatory measures, proposes to await further developments before taking any step affecting the commercial relations of the two countries.

A STRONG argument in favor of the cremation of the dead, especially of those who die from infectious diseases, is found in the discovery by the great French scientist, M. Pasteur, that the earth worms which prey upon such buried bodies become infested with the minute organisms which are the causes of such diseases, and coming to the surface are the means of spreading anew the germs of disease and death among the healthy and the living. Cremation would effectually destroy these germs, and in a great measure secure immunity from the often sudden and hitherto mysterious outbreaks of such diseases in communities where other sanitary precautions have been faithfully observed.

COL. T. W. HIGGINSON, in the *Woman's Journal*, writes: "One of the quotations whose source even the laborious Mr. Bartlett has failed to identify is the phrase, 'Consistency is a jewel.' The fact, however, is certain; and the jewel is rare. When we find so able a literary journal as the New York *Critic*, for instance, denouncing in one number those who would stop the circulation of the more indecent passages in Whitman's poems, and in another issue calling for legal interposition against the milder improprieties of *Zola*, or when the acute literary critic of the Springfield *Republican* lauds Whitman on the one side and condemns Wilde on the other, it is clear that consistency is hard to find."

THE following, signed by twenty physicians, appeared last week in the Dover (N.H.) *Republican*: "We, the undersigned, assuming that entire liberty of thought and freedom of opinion are absolutely essential to real progress in the science and art of medicine, *resolved*, first, that we will in no way approve, sanction, or hold allegiance to any organization, society, or name, as 'homœopathy,' 'allopathy,' 'eclecticism,' and any other o-pathy or -ism which, by giving exceptional prominence and authority to any exclusive medical dogma or mode of practice, tends to limit such freedom of thought or opinion; second, that we will recognize, professionally, only such honorable and well-accredited physicians as in their medical associations and conduct conform to the spirit of the foregoing resolution."

THE Concord School of Philosophy opened its four weeks' session on Monday of this week, when F. B. Sanborn read an original poem on Emerson and Longfellow. Among the new lecturers for this season are Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, who will give an address on "Scottish Philosophy" July 21; Charles E. Garman, of Amherst College, who will speak on "Dr. Hickok's Philosophy" July 27; Prof. G. H. Howison, who will give two lectures; and George Parsons Lathrop. On Saturday, the 22d, in the town hall in Concord will be held services commemorative of Emerson, commencing at 9 A.M., Dr. Bartol will give the opening address, to be followed by a poem by Mr. Alcott. Mr. Albee, Henry James, Prof. Harris, and others, will also make addresses or give readings. Most of the speakers were the personal friends of the dead poet; and the occasion is expected to be an unusually interesting one, which will call together a large and an appreciative audience of the admirers of Emerson's genius.

IN an address on "The Higher Education of Women," delivered before the American Institute of Instruction at Saratoga, N.Y., last week, John Tetlow, head master of the Girls' Latin School of this city, took the position that the entire practicability of identical brain work for girls and boys had been demonstrated, giving his own personal experience as a teacher for the last seven years in proof of the capability of girls to compete with boys in any study, even the higher mathematics. The reporter says that in the discussion that followed the address, "not one dissenting voice was heard in the large audience, but, instead, white-headed men jumped to their feet to give the evidence of their personal observation to these truths. It was almost magical to compare this gauge of national opinion with the corresponding one of twenty years ago, and showed, as nothing else can show during this convention, how rapidly we pass to the mile-stones of progressive opinions in our double-quick educational march."

PROF. H. W. PARKER, of Grinnell, Iowa, in a letter to the *Congregationalist*, describing the tornado which recently destroyed life and property in that town, writes: "The tornado levelled all between two houses owned by one man, strangely avoiding them; and he alone had a 'tornado insurance policy' to pay for incidental repairs. Perhaps he had daily and earnestly put his worldly affairs in the hands of God." Prof. Parker does not attempt to account for the destruction of the college at Grinnell, although it was a Christian college, "in competition with the free tuition of State institutions, which, however excellent and now in good hands, are, in the nature of the case, no more religious as institutions than others of the State courts, prisons, or post-offices." "Now," continues the Professor, "the first college planted in Iowa, founded and kept alive by home missionary prayer, every year owned by God in revivals, known to be like Oberlin in its spirit and in the community where it exists, has been outwardly annihilated."

WE have the statement, on the authority of the *Methodist*, that a clergyman from the West recently visited New York, and went to the office of the *Popular Science Monthly*, where he "announced himself as a minister who was engaged in refuting Darwinism and other atheism, and in demolishing geological time." He had, he said, given years of study to the subject, and had exposed the fallacies of modern science to the satisfaction of the crowds he had addressed. But, during the conversation, it turned out that he had read none of Darwin's works, and had no acquaintance whatever with current scientific thought. In the *Independent* appeared last week the following in regard to this same clergyman: "We see in the *Churchman* an enthusiastic account of a lecture in this city on 'Revelation and Science,' by the clergyman whom the *Methodist* told about as confessing that he had never read Darwin's books. He is reported as showing, with frequent applause, how 'science had proved a blind guide, or the Mosaic account demonstrably correct'; and six clergymen thanked him and wished he might be more widely heard, and they passed him a vote of thanks. Of course. Such offences must come."

EGYPT, involved in debt by the extravagance of her rulers, borrowed money and failed to fulfil her pledges. In 1879, the Khedive issued a decree, delivering into the hands of England and France, for the benefit of their bond-holders, the resources of the country. Arabi Pasha, representing what is called the "National party," usurped authority, and endangered not only the dividends of the bond holders, but, as it was feared, the Suez Canal, England's way to her Indian possessions; and this fact, together with the recent massacre of European subjects, and the determination of Arabi to strengthen the fortifications of Alexandria, has provoked England to display to the Egyptians the power of her iron-clads; and to-day the city that has existed through all the vicissitudes of twenty-two centuries is in ruins, while the independence of Egypt seems as remote as ever. How far England is justified by the circumstances in resorting to such summary action we will not undertake to discuss. John Bright, regarding the bombardment of Alexandria as a violation of international law and a blot upon England's escutcheon, has withdrawn from the cabinet. What will be the outcome of this trouble it is impossible to foresee.

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BOWNE'S "METAPHYSICS."

Prof. Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University, has recently published a volume of over five hundred pages, entitled "Metaphysics: A Study in First Principles," which has received considerable praise from the press. Without undertaking to make an elaborate review of it, which would only be suitable to a journal specially devoted to speculative philosophy, it may yet not be wholly inappropriate to *The Index* to use it as a fresh indication of the necessity of that profound revolution in so-called "modern philosophy" from which alone can proceed a truly modernized conception of the universe as a whole.

Prof. Bowne writes with a great deal of ability. His style is strong, terse, and clear, although his mode of presentation is lacking in order and consecutiveness; he evinces originality in detail, while yet occupying a point of view which is essentially traditional. In short, his chief merits are his own, and his chief defects are inherited. What is meant by this statement will appear below.

"The thinking subject being the starting-point of speculation," he says [p. 7], "and things being only hypotheses to explain the thinker's experience, it is plain that there can never be any reason for positing realities unrelated to thought. Such realities are simply *xs*, which explain nothing and which cannot be brought into any articulate relation to our thought-system. As such they are purely gratuitous. A rational experience can never be any ground for affirming an irrational reality. Hence we object to the thing in itself in this sense of something which eludes all thought-determinations, not that it is unknowable, but that it is rationally unaffirmable. Reason will always repudiate the irrational reality, and take refuge in idealism as the more rational doctrine."

This is a reiteration of Descartes' well-known *Cogito ergo sum*—the traditional beginning-point of philosophical speculation since his day. But, logically considered, it is an improvement upon Kant's historical development of this position into the affirmation of noumenal *Dinge an sich*. There can be no question among sequent thinkers that, beginning with the individual *ego* alone, the passage is impossible to any "things in themselves" which are not ultimately analyzable into mere "states of consciousness" of that individual *ego*. If agreement has been reached on any one point by speculative thinkers since the modern period began, it is on this fundamental principle of cognition: that *the individual mind knows only its own states of consciousness*. The only wonder is that not a single speculative thinker can be found in all that period who has dared to adhere boldly to the only logical outcome of that principle,—Solipsism, or the sole existence of the individual mind itself. Innumerable attempts have been made to vindicate the existence of an external world by adopting some form of Inferential Realism. But the crushing answer to Inferential Realism in all its forms is that the inference on which it rests is a logically vicious inference. Once grant that an external world cannot be known, but only inferred as the hypothetical cause of the individual's states of consciousness, and Occam's impregnable maxim, *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem* (which Sir William Hamilton re-affirms in his "Law of Parcimony") forbids the inference. If the individual mind knows only its own states of consciousness, the sole logical inference as to the cause of those states is that the mind originates all its own states by some principle working beneath consciousness,—in a word, absolutely creates its own objects, as in dreams it undeniably does. This inference was substantially made by Fichte, in his system of subjective idealism; but even he shrank from carrying it fearlessly out into a rigorously self-consistent Solipsism. Nothing is so remarkable in so-called "modern philosophy" as the unanimity with which, at the same time, philosophers adopt the principle that the individual mind knows only its own states, yet repudiate the only result logically inferable from that principle, Solipsism. This extraordinary phenomenon simply reveals the utterly untenable foundation of "modern philosophy," as compared with modern science, which adopts practically, though not as yet theoretically, a wholly different foundation.

It is in entire accordance with this traditional beginning-point that Prof. Bowne declares it to be the essential aim of his treatise "to criticise our notions of reality and thus determine the true nature and connection of things" [p. 5]. The "drawing of all knowledge from conceptions," however, by means of their subjective analysis and definition, was, as Tennemann explains, the distinctive peculiarity of the Scholastic method—the very soul of Scholasticism itself; and the adoption of this method by Prof. Bowne only shows afresh how essentially scholastic still is the philosophy which considers itself modern. The truth is that philosophy, unlike the physical sciences, has never yet thoroughly modernized itself, but has still to undergo that process of modernization which alone can render it a genuine power in the evolution of modern thought, especially religious thought. The purely critical method, divorced from that method of verification which is the soul of science, can lead to no stable results, as it has led to none; and philosophy can exercise little, if any, influence in the formation of the religious convictions of the future, until it has (1) recognized the necessity of adding verification to mere criticism, and (2) accurately determined wherein verification for philosophy must differ from verification for physical science.

The thoroughly one-sided subjectivism of "modern philosophy," which adopts the individual *ego* as its starting-point, and limits itself to the criticism of the individual's notions or conceptions as its method, is thus traditionally accepted by Prof. Bowne. Naturally enough, therefore, he accepts also the result of such a starting-point and method, when he explicitly teaches the doctrine of the mere subjectivity of relations. The very existence of science, however, is staked on the doctrine of the objectivity of relations. The starting-point of science is, not the conscious states of any individual *ego*, but the universal experience of the human race; for science was not possible until this experience had become already vast through the accumulation of innumerable individual experiences, and had recorded itself in human language. The first task of every scientific student, before he can pass onward to make fresh discoveries or even presume to have a valuable independent opinion of his own, is to master the knowledge already established beyond reasonable doubt. He might as well imagine himself to have originated the language by which he expresses himself as cherish the conceit of having originated the knowledge he simply acquires. This common stock of knowledge has, for its necessary postulate and foundation, the experience of innumerable individuals through innumerable generations; the very words that are its register require, as a presupposition, the coöperation of countless minds and tongues in order to account for the system of signs by which one communicates with another, and by which all individual thought that is clear must express itself. Futile indeed was the Cartesian dream of starting *de novo* with the individual subject! Science starts with the human race, as immersed in an illimitable cosmos of realities; its essential method is to determine the real relations among these realities, not by sending each individual into a corner to criticise his own notions, but by enlisting as many individuals as possible in a common coöperation of investigating activity. A cosmos of real things in real relations, objectively existent and objectively cognizable—that is the presupposition of science; and scientific philosophy can have no other. The only difference between the special sciences and a truly modernized philosophy must be that the former aim to explore the cosmos in its parts and details, while the latter aims to explore it in its unity and universality. But both must rest on the doctrine of the objectivity of relations, as part and parcel of their common and original starting-point.

Here, again, it is interesting to note how completely Prof. Bowne occupies the traditional ground of "modern philosophy." He teaches with wonderful clearness the doctrine of the subjectivity of relations, and is utterly unaware that in this very point lies the great battle-field between modern science and the Scholastic philosophy which calls itself modern. In entire consistency with his subjective starting-point and subjective method, he thus unambiguously states the traditional opinion of speculative thinkers on this subject since the triumph of Nominalism over Realism in the middle ages:—

"Relations as such are incapable of objective existence" [p. 191].

"Objectively there is nothing but things and their unpicturable interactions. All that is more than this is contributed by the mind. When these things are conceived as a manifold, then the mind relates its objects as conceived. But the relating act and the instituted relation are purely subjective, and the relation has no existence except in the relating mind. It represents no ontological predicate of things, but the aspect of things in thought. It is with the relations of things as with those of number. Apart from the mind there is and can be no number. The simple and unrelated unit is the only thing which can exist in itself" [p. 192].

So far as the mere subjectivity of relations is concerned, all this is consistent enough with the premises of subjectivism in general, which, as has been shown, Prof. Bowne fully accepts. But, so far as he concedes the objectivity of things, it is totally inconsistent with them. By what logical warrant does he violate the undisputed principle that relations are inseparable from their terms? Here he maintains at the same time the objectivity of things and the subjectivity of their relations,—as if the things and their relations could be by any possibility separated!

Logic requires that the things and their relations should exist inseparably, either both in the mind subjectively or both in the cosmos objectively. It is impossible for Prof. Bowne, or any other subjectivist, successfully to defend the position he has taken against this criticism. He goes directly against his own principles, as quoted previously, and concedes the objective existence of those things in themselves which he has above declared to be "rationally unaffirmable." Nothing but pure and unadulterated idealism, carried out to its extreme solipsistic conclusion, consists with the subjectivism which he here maintains. Granting that relations can exist only in the relating mind, then the related objects also can only exist in the relating mind; for the relations depend, absolutely and inseparably, on the terms between which they subsist. Any other statement would be totally meaningless. Yet this fundamental criticism reduces all such inconsequent subjectivism as Prof. Bowne's to hopeless contradiction. He is not, however, alone in this respect; all modern subjectivists are

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in precisely the same dilemma. And the criticism is brought here against him only to show the necessity of effecting a great revolution in "modern philosophy" before it can be in harmony with modern science, or even with itself.

F. E. ABBOT.

JUSTICE AND MERCY IN THE MORAL EDUCATION OF MANKIND.

The moral integrity of human society is preserved in great measure by the balancing action of the two sentiments of justice and mercy. No individual, perhaps, can ever really forgive himself for any lapse in his own conduct from the strict line of rectitude. But, with regard to one another's conduct, we are not only made judges, but we have also the power of pardon. More than this, we are forbidden to judge, unless our judgment be tempered with mercy. Every one of the world's great religions declares the law of compassionate kindness as well as that of justice. So long as men are endowed with a moral sense, it is impossible that they should make absolutely no judgment of one another's moral conduct. It is, indeed, by the interaction of conscience upon conscience that the moral education of society proceeds. But intertwined in the same human nature with the power that judges and condemns is the sentiment that forgives. As we are so constituted that every man's conscience is to exact entire justice in the conduct of every other man, so every man's heart is to be ready with pitying help for another's frailty. Judgment is necessary, even severe judgment; but mercy is to "rejoice against judgment."

In human experience, we may see continually how these two forces—justice and mercy, exaction and forgiveness, accusation and excusation—are made to balance and regulate each other. That action would be absolutely right which should be vitalized from both of these sources; which should combine justice and mercy in such perfect proportions that they should flow into one sentiment and be indistinguishable from each other; which should be kind because just, and just because kind. In the last analysis of moral issues, the conduct that is conformed to the strictest equity is the highest benignity. With a being conceived as absolutely perfect, there could be no conflict between justice and love. Justice would be only the impartial distribution of beneficence. But, in man, these two sentiments are as yet very far from having been brought to this perfect oneness. Both are present, and both are necessary to the well-being of society; but the moral balance between them has to be preserved by their action and reaction upon each other. The exactions of justice sometimes become severe, bringing a suffering that is indeed pitiable. Then, mercy pleads for some relenting of the penalty. Yet often it pleads with mistaken tenderness, by blind excess of sympathy doing another wrong which only a severer equity can set right again. The recent disturbance in the Massachusetts State Prison at Concord is an illustration of the natural, but not as yet very successful, attempt to find the proper balance between these two principles in the treatment of criminals.

Society in all its relations is most healthy when these two forces are most nearly balanced; or, better, when, instead of acting against each other and producing irregularity of movement and conflict, the spirit of kindness goes along with the spirit of accusation. The Scribes and Pharisees would have left the woman whom they accused of sin, fallen and hopeless. Jesus lifted her up, and said unto her, "Go, but henceforth sin no more." Not looking with weak indulgence on her past, he yet opened to her a hope for the future. Society has not yet found this golden mean that reconciles in one act the moral judgment which condemns the wrong done and the moral compassion which reclaims the wrong-doer. The spirit of accusation is very busy against the characters of people without waiting for proofs; and the spirit of forgiveness is equally busy in other cases where the proofs of wrong-doing may be strong enough, but the conditions of amendment are not very evident. A prominent political or social leader, in the midst of an exciting partisan struggle, seldom gets justice done to his motives. Perhaps he is pitilessly accused and abused, as if he were the most corrupt of men. He dies, and friends and foes alike hasten to cover his grave with the tears of esteem and affection. Thus, people are continually vibrating between the two extremes of unjust severity and mistaken indulgence; in the one case showing judgment without mercy, in the other showing mercy without judgment.

On the one hand, judgment is exercised without mercy. Deep, almost irreparable, is the wrong that is done by the condemnation of the vicious classes of society without appeal. With the doors of their houses, the so-called virtuous classes shut against them in many cases the doors of repentance and reformation. Excluded from the paths of honest industry till they have established an honest character, they are often forced again into courses of dishonor, and given no chance to win a good name. In the severity of the judgment upon their past lives, they are condemned to sin as a punishment and to a whole future of misery and moral despair. What worse fate can we conceive for any man or woman who has travelled the ways of wickedness and learned their barrenness, and now desires sincerely to regain virtue and reputation, than to find all the avenues to virtuous associations closely barred? Suppose that the prodigal in the New Testament parable, when, on coming to himself, he resolved to return to the old home and the old ways of virtue, had found, instead of the hearty welcome, the door closed and the father's heart hardened against him,—what would have been his chances for amendment? Yet this is what society that professes to take the New Testament for its ethical guide, and calls itself Christian, is doing every day toward its repentant prodigals. Thousands of human beings are doubtless kept this moment in the degradation of vicious courses, because no human ear will listen to their penitence and no hand is stretched out to welcome and aid their returning footsteps. Even their own fathers and mothers sometimes suffer their hearts to close against their erring children. Among the vicious and abandoned in every great city, there are without doubt hundreds who would gladly go back to the pure homes of their childhood, if they could be sure of still finding there the fatherly and motherly love which once they grieved and spurned. But they feel that the house would be shut against them, that every honest mode of livelihood shrinks from them, that even the so-called house of God is not open for such as they. Heaven pity them, for they have few friends on earth! And somewhere there is pity for them, and help. A mother, unquenchable almost as is her love, yet may forget her child,—forget, because disloyal to her motherhood. But the moral purpose that is at the heart of the universe neither forgets nor loses any of its offspring, that turn from whatsoever wanderings back to its ways. Let them but come, and it will surely grasp them with intent to heal and save.

But, though moral judgment without mercy is so hard and incomplete, even more ruinous, on the other hand, is mercy, or the spirit of forgiveness, without moral judgment. The unfoldment, however, of this point must be left till next week.

WM. J. POTTER.

"ANTI-THEOLOGY-MAD" LIBERALISM.

In Mr. Holyoake's description of Joseph Barker, the "wild preacher," in a recent number of *The Index*, occurs the following: "To make a sensation was the same thing to him as making progress. He was as the Indian, to whom the yell is more than the battle. If he made a great noise, it was the same to him as though the enemy were slain. He never inquired whether they were merely infuriated or whether they were fallen. As a disbeliever, he was anti-theology mad, and the dogmas of the priests ran away with him."

Some acquaintance with Joseph Barker while he was prominent as an unbeliever, and some correspondence with him both before and after his return to his early faith, enable the writer to appreciate the correctness of the above description,—a description, it may be added, which applies about equally well to some individuals who "make a great noise" in the name of free thought to-day.

Joseph Barker was extremely emotional, rather sentimental, and full of inherited religious tendencies. He lacked stability of character, was fond of applause, and was always trying to make a sensation. He possessed many of the elements of a demagogue, and indulged readily in extravagant statements, coarse ridicule, and bitter invective. He possessed considerable ability as a speaker, but was superficial, given to special pleading, and was unfair in the treatment of systems and persons he assailed. He was never held in high regard among educated or fair-minded free thinkers. How extremely vacillating he was may be inferred from the fact that he was successively a Methodist, an Independent, a Unitarian, a disciple of Theodore Parker, a deist of the Paine type, a pantheist, a dogmatic atheist, an unsuccessful applicant for orders in the Episcopal Church, and a Methodist again. When he came to this country from England, he was an abolitionist, and wrote for Garrison's *Liberator*. But he changed his politics as often as he changed his religion; and, having belonged to all the parties during the Rebellion, he became a secessionist (and at the same time a Methodist) and lectured in England in behalf of the South. In a work before us entitled *The Teachings of Experience*, published in London in 1869, Mr. Barker maligns the free thinkers of this country as in earlier works he had, as he admits, maligned the Christians of his native land. In this work, he cautions Christians as follows: "Do not read infidel books.... Do not attend infidel lectures.... I add, do not keep infidel company. Do not dispute with infidels." On his return to this country a few years ago, he proposed a debate with the writer of this article, with the condition that the report of his speeches should be published separately, so that Christian readers would have an opportunity to read the Christian side of the debate without being "contaminated with infidelity."

In looking through the writings and reviewing the career of this "wild preacher," it is difficult to determine whether his conduct was more discreditable during the time he was a Christian preacher or while he was a free thinker; but it is reasonably certain that he did far more as an advocate of Christianity than was possible for him as its opponent to disgust people with theology. And men of his type generally do more to injure than to advance any movement with which they become identified, whatever amount of applause they receive from undiscriminating, superficial people for manifesting the bigotry and unfairness which they bring with them in assailing doctrines they were but recently preaching and persons with whom they were but recently in cordial fellowship.

Mr. Barker was a product of theology, of the

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Methodist theology; and, although several years a professed "infidel," he was in some respects through his entire life a Methodist, and not only a Methodist, but a Methodist priest. It is not strange that such an impulsive, vacillating, egotistic, unreasoning fanatic, ill treated as he fancied he was by his brethren, should become an "anti-theology-mad" disbeliever, or that his hearing some children sing "Jesus, lover of my soul" (which he affirms was among the causes that led him back to Christ) should revive his old faith, and that avarice, which was a conspicuous trait in his character, should make him long for a priestly office in the English Church.

There are, unfortunately, individuals, now professing to represent Liberalism, who have personal characteristics and theological tendencies very much like those of Joseph Barker; and some of these individuals, although unable to make the slightest contribution to the thought of the age, or to command the attention of thinkers of any school or class, imagine that they are carrying the whole liberal movement on their shoulders. They would do well to pause a moment, consider the evanescent nature of the influence exerted by mere declaimers, acquaint themselves with current, scientific, and philosophic thought, and endeavor to comprehend the scope and spirit of the great liberal movement of the age, thereby putting themselves in the line of progress and sparing the liberal public much needless talk. But it is hardly to be expected that such men will act with much more reasonableness or sobriety of judgment in opposing what they once held than they did in preaching it. They represent actual stages of thought and conditions of mind that exist in every community, and the removal of which is possible only by years of education and growth. But it is well occasionally to remind the public that such characters are not the exponents of matured liberal thought, and that papers or preachers who try to belittle a great movement by referring to the vacillation or incoherencies or illiberality of such men, as the best result of free thought, are as unreasonable and as ungenerous to say the least as those they criticise. B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EVOLUTION AND MORALITY.

False arguments will rebound on their advocates, and not a few such have been launched against evolution. Of these, I wish to notice a few, chiefly as uttered by the eloquent James Martineau; and I wish to make these corrections by way of prelude to a paper in which I shall criticise one of the moral implications of evolution.

I affirm then, against Martineau, that it is incorrect to say that nature is opposed to self-denying benevolence. Indeed, the assertion is an assumption of the point in debate, since evolution affirms that all known benevolence is a mode of nature. Nature no more opposes benevolence than she opposes herself. Through all her domains, part opposes part, and thus effects interaction and community; and the same acknowledged force, operating according to the same law, produces opposite results on different objects. The force of gravitation raises smoke and vapors high in air by pressing down denser substances, and by the pressure of the atmosphere downward it forces water up the sunken pipe, and gives us all the advantages of our suction-pump. By a similar method, all the lower forms of natural agency subserve the higher, while they seem to oppose them. Gravitation opposes the uplifting of the animal's leg in walking; but that opposition is conducive to the process of walking, and absolutely necessary to it. Gravitation opposes the ascension of the sap in plants, and yet promotes it, and furnishes many of the essential conditions of the process, since it helps to bind the plant together and holds it in the soil. The more tightly the charge is rammed, short of bursting the gun, the greater the force of its expulsion and the more effective the shot. So nature's alleged opposition to benevolent feeling furnishes the necessary conditions and occasions of its exercise. If nature's forces brought in no case any evil in their train, compassion would have no function or object. Nature's painful operations have very often an effect which is coincident with the operation of benevolent feeling, and she pities and heals the wounds she inflicts.

It is also a partial and misleading statement that in *nature* the only rule is self-assertion and relentless competition for superior advantage. Is all compassion supernatural? Is not the instinct of motherhood, which dies for the salvation of its young, natural? Are there no natural affections of kindness, friendship, and love, which find their gratification in making sacrifices for the happiness of their objects? Surely, we have here only a caricature of *nature*, not a picture.

If we speak of material nature exclusively, we may describe it as relentless and inexorable. But we may not say it is "selfish" and in antagonism with unselfishness and morality. The application of such terms to matter as an unconscious force is irrelevant and absurd. Only the conscious and intelligent can be selfish or unselfish, moral or immoral, opposed or favorable to moral principle. In the discussion of this subject, therefore, it is only conscious nature which concerns us; and it is very clear that this is not wholly selfish and unmoral and devoid of compassion and self-denying benevolence or love. As in material nature there are phenomena of transcendent beauty, as well as repulsive forms and storms and tempests, so, in the world of self-conscious action, while there is a prevailing selfishness which is often fearfully grinding and remorseless, there are many charming exhibitions of kindness and unselfish devotion, which are the spontaneous operation of nature.

Nothing is gained by dividing nature into inner and outer, and setting one against the other. If both are manifestations of the same power, such a method is false. That they are both manifestations of the same power is the doctrine alike of evolution and theism. On either theory, there is a unity of ultimate force and method and final cause, so far as concerns this life. On either theory, it is equally unphilosophical and inconsistent to array the external and the internal works against each other, and to represent the one as opposing and the other as favoring all goodness. What is true of either is true of both. Evolution makes both to be the undeviating on-working and outworking of the same unchanging and eternal power, and in the same method, which varies only with varying connections and issues. Theism conceives God as working on one all-embracing plan, which binds all the phenomena of the universe into a unity of method and final purpose. On this theory, the material universe is instinct and pregnant with all high and moral issues, as its purposed ultimate end. On the theory of evolution, the material universe, whether by design or not, inevitably to the same extent works toward the same end, as seen in the actual operation of all exalted moral power, which is supposed to be the unfolding of the same power as that which shines in the sun, flashes and thunders in the lightning, howls in the tempest, and desolates in the earthquake or the pestilence.

As an argument against naturalism, the distinction and comparison of the inner and outer worlds is, further, impertinent, because both inner and outer are alike natural. If it were claimed that the inner and nobler world is all supernatural, there would be some logical significance in such a course. Such a claim, however, has never been advanced, and is not likely to be.

Nor are we prepared to accept without qualification the assertion that the sense of duty, according to naturalism, has lost its foothold on reality only to lean on a phantom of divine support. The sense of duty does not necessarily lean for support on the divine existence, whether this be a reality or a phantom. Here, we touch the fatal error of that notion of moral agency with which naturalism is here opposed. It assumes that there can be no morality, unless there is a supramundane personal deity as its source, support, and end; that it is only intelligible, if it be identified with the Universal Mind. This is a view which is intrinsically erroneous. The proponents of this argument, in any other connection, would be ashamed of such a description of the moral conception. Right and duty are not of God's manufacture. They do not ask his leave to be; and it is not his power or prerogative to change their essential nature aud form. They rule him, instead of being ruled by him. The judge of all the earth must do right, if there is such a judge. If there is not, still right is not annihilated. It remains as the dictator of all who can conceive the notion of obligation,—that is, of all intelligences.

All sentient being has a degree of worth or excellence of some kind. The very power of feeling and acting is something good, and the wise and benevolent regulation and employment of these powers are a further good. Simply because I am, and am a being of certain kinds and degrees of power, I owe a degree of respect and consideration to myself; and, for the same reason, I owe the same to all other beings. And, in proportion to the relative dignity and excellence of these powers, and the benefaction of their operation, are they worthy of this respect, and entitled to command and enforce it. This is the foundation and essence of all moral obligation, whether there is a God above me or not. If there is, I owe to him an absolute and unreserved homage and service for the same reason that I owe a qualified and various homage and service to myself and all other finite beings. If there is no God, my obligation to myself and other finite beings remains the same. Nothing is changed but our common relation to God. Every man is a law to himself; and he is primarily the executor of that law, and his dignity is measured by the clearness and emphasis with which he exemplifies this. God himself, as law-giver and judge, does no more, and can do no more, than secure this in its perfect operation and result in all intelligences. He who does right does not do right simply, as Paley says, to obtain the favor of God and everlasting happiness. He reverences himself and everything that exists, in proportion to his estimate of its worth. For this reason, he conforms to the will of God, so far as known, and may reasonably hope for his eternal favor and benefaction. He adores and obeys God, not ultimately because God wills it, but because it is right, and in so doing he acquires moral rights relative to God. The moral faculty in the breast of each man is monarch of all it surveys, and the fountain of all moral reward and punishment. It can allow no power to contradict it or set aside its decisions, or in any wise to override its authority, or to bestow or inflict any moral reward or punishment without its approval, because, without this, the bestowment or infliction would be devoid of all moral force. Just because of his powers, irrespective of aught above him, man is a moral

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agent who approves and executes the moral law, which has its source and supreme force in man's nature; and, in all perfect moral action, he scorns all authority as mere will, whether of God or man, and respects only the right as such.

We agree that right has no local essence, and assumes an absolute universality as the law of all free agency. In consequence of this law, it applies to all such agents, whether they are many or few, or whether they be all finite or one of them infinite. Neither numbers nor the dignity of any of the agents affect the operation of the law. For the same reason, its existence or non-existence prior to man does not affect its character. It is, in this respect, of no consequence whether it is the root or the blossom and fruit of our existence. Mr. Martineau has well said: "However the present may have come about, I find myself in it. In whatever way my faculties have been determined, faculties they are; and they give me insight into my duty and outlook on my position." The moral faculty, as we find it, we have described and expounded on the broadest and loftiest principles; and yet we find that this may consist with naturalistic evolution.

We are well aware that this is not the method in which evolutionists have expounded and defended the moral element in man in relation to their system, and we feel obliged to concede that their method has laid them open to assaults like those we have refuted. But their failure and misfortune here should not be allowed to inure to the perversion and misinterpretation of the moral conception, and any advantage gained against mere naturalism by so doing consciously must be temporary in its duration and always odious to a just and philosophical mind. WM. I. GILL.

THE CONDITION OF RUSSIA.

Ignatyef, who has succeeded in earning for himself the name of "The Father of Lies," is at last gone from the helm of the Russian craft. He has acknowledged himself unable to cope with hydra-headed Nihilism; and, no longer able to warrant the Emperor's safety, he has resigned. And yet be it remembered that it was during his rule that Suchanof, Trigonia, and Kolotkevich, members of the terrible Executive Committee of the Nihilists, had been made harmless, not to mention the others of the twenty-three, with whose trial the government thought ended its struggle with the Nihilists. Stephanovitch, Deutch, and Chalturin, the most daring and persistent leaders of the revolutionary movement in Russia, are also in the hands of the government. Chalturin, it will be remembered, was the one who alone, without anybody's aid in the palace, blew up the Winter Palace. Even Kobazef, the "cheese"-seller, who had undermined Garden Street, and who coolly informed the authorities that he had nothing but cheese in the barrels of earth which the suspicious authorities came to examine,—even he is arrested; and yet Ignatyef cannot warrant the Emperor's safety any longer. In his place is appointed Count Tolstoy, who has done more to bring about revolutionary sentiment in Russia than any other man. After the assassination of Mesentzef, Krapotkin, Heyking, and several others, by order of the Executive Committee in 1879, the ministers of Russia began to appear in public only under escorts of safety, Tolstoy, who was then Minister of Public Instruction, among them. It was then that the Executive Committee addressed Count Tolstoy in a proclamation as follows: "Your Sereneness has nothing to fear from us. We are well aware of the service you have rendered our course, and we promise you that your life shall be dear unto us." And this is the man now called upon to deliver Russia from Nihilism.

The news comes of a new "death-blow" to Nihilism. Some twenty-five "leaders" have been arrested, the names of the members of the Executive Committee have been found out, their sources of financial support have been discovered, and the like. But no one knows so well as the Russian government of how little import these arrests are. When the famous trial of the sixteen was made possible through the revelations of the traitor, Goldenberg, the government thought that in Kviatkofsky, Shiryaef, Priesnyakof, and their accomplices, it caught the soul of the revolution. But, although most of the sixteen did belong to the Executive Committee, the government still found itself obliged to capture Zheliabof, Perofskaya, Kibaltchitch, who were also members of that committee. From what came out at the trial of these regicides, it did seem that now indeed was Nihilism dead; for, undoubtedly, as Zheliabof was the most talented and most high-minded of the men of the revolution, so was Sophie Perofskaya among the women. Kibaltchitch was acknowledged to be the great scientific light of the party. He was known by the name of the "Technic." All these were captured and hung, still the movement went on. Melikof assured Alexander II. that with the trial of the sixteen the end of Nihilism had come. Baranof assured Alexander III. that, with the capture of Zheliabof and Perofskaya, he had naught further to fear. Ignatyef triumphantly asserted that the trial of the twenty-two was a death-blow to Nihilism. And now, with the arrival of a new minister, a new batch of "leaders" are captured; but it is all in vain. Every new minister, to show the Emperor his superiority over his predecessor, will indeed capture the presumably most dangerous heads of the conspiracy, but never has the keen insight of the Executive Committee been so successfully vindicated as in the last eighteen months; for in the middle of March, 1881, soon after the assassination of Alexander II., the Committee issued a proclamation to the new Emperor, in which they stated the terms on which they would suspend the struggle. After a few preliminary remarks, the Committee goes on to say:—

The bloody tragedy enacted on the Yekaterininsky Canal* was not an accident, and took no oneby surprise. After all that has passed during the last ten years, it appeared inevitable; and herein consists its deep significance, which should be properly recognized by the man whom fate has placed at the head of the State. Only men incapable of analyzing the life of nations can characterize similar facts as crimes committed by individuals or by a "gang." Notwithstanding the most severe persecution; notwithstanding that the government of the late Emperor sacrificed everything, the liberty and interests of all classes, of trade, and even the interests of its own dignity, in order to stamp out the spirit of revolution,—notwithstanding all this, we have witnessed in Russia, during the last ten years, that movement spreading, attracting to itself the best elements of society, the most energetic and self-sacrificing men of the country; and we see it engaged for the last three years in desperate partisan warfare with the government. Your Majesty knows that the government of the late Emperor cannot be accused of want of energy. Both innocent and guilty were hanged. Our prisons and distant provinces teemed with exiles. Scores of so-called ringleaders were caught and hanged. They perished with the stoicism and resignation of martyrs, but the movement did not cease. Without intermission, it grew and throve. Yes, your Majesty, the revolutionary movement is not such as to depend on the exertion of any individual. It is a process of the national organism, and the gibbet erected for the most energetic exponents of this process is as powerless to save the old order of things as the crucifixion of our Saviour was powerless to save a correct world of the ancients from the triumph of reforming Christianity.

*The place where Alexander II. fell.

The government may, of course, yet seize and hang many a single individual. It may break up a large number of separate revolutionary groups. We grant even that it may break up the most powerful of the present revolutionary organizations. All this, however, does not change in the least the true state of affairs. Revolutionists are created by the circumstances of Russia, by the universal discontent of the people, by the longing of our country for new forms of public life. The whole nation you cannot uproot any more than its discontent can be uprooted by repressive measures. On the contrary, through repression, discontent only grows. Hence, it comes that the gaps left by those made harmless are constantly filled up by new workers, coming forth from the midst of the people in ever greater numbers, ever more embittered, ever more energetic. These new workers for the interest of the cause will of course organize, richer now, however, by the experience of their predecessors. Hence, the revolutionary organization must in time gain strength, not only of members, but also of character,—a supposition verified, alas! but too strikingly by the experience of the last ten years. What has the government gained by the execution of the followers of Dolgashin and Tshaikof, the leading spirits of the movement of 1874? They were replaced by popular champions of a still more determined type. The terrible reprisals of the government called forth the terrorists of 1878–79. In vain the government executed Kovalsky, Dubrovin, Ossinsky, Lizogub. Fruitless also was the extirpation of scores of revolutionary societies. Out of these imperfect organizations sprang into existence more vigorous political bodies, by the process of natural selection. At last, the Executive Committee made its appearance,—a body with which the government has not yet to this day been able to cope with any success.

The prophecy contained in the passage underlined has been fulfilled almost to the letter. Almost every member of the Committee as it was composed at that time is now either executed, in Siberia, or in the hands of the government. Still, the *movement* is not checked, and will not be, until the Emperor grants reforms, and reforms in fact, not in paper. For so long as tyranny and wantonness exist, so long will there be resistance; and the greater the severity, the more terrible the retaliation.

IVAN PANIN.

HEBREW SPECTACLES.

That men should any longer attempt to nourish their spirits by feeding on the dry husks of the past is becoming more and more astonishing. "If we had any vivacity of soul and could get the old Hebrew spectacles off our nose, should we run to Judea to look at the doings of the Supreme?" asks Carlyle. Is not the Supreme at work here and now, as manifestly as he was in ancient Israel? All people of a high degree of intelligence, all modern live people, have in fact ceased to look through ancient Hebrew spectacles at the universe, have ceased to use the theological and mythological phrases of a dead and gone world and of dead and gone civilizations. Only in the churches and meeting-houses do we find the names and notions of the past still current. There, husks are furnished instead of fresh, succulent spiritual pabulum. All human history is sacred, and not the history of any particular period or people. That is a truth which now goes without saying. Every phenomenon of nature, even the most common, is a miracle, an insoluble mystery. What grander miracle could there be than the change from daylight to the star-sown gloom and silence of night? What apocalypse is there, or was there ever, equal to that of sunrise? It is a phenomenon due to the actual turning over in space of this vast mass of matter called the "earth," with all its seas, isles, continents, and mountain ranges.

Why, then, should we go to Bibles and *acta sanctorum* for foolish, fictitious theological miracles, when every moment is fraught with the miracles of cosmic movements and revolutions? The Teu-

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tonic race which, with its great, world-overshadowing branches in both hemispheres, is the foremost, the regulative race of the modern world, which is a stronger, wiser, more deeply seeing, subtly contriving, and moral race than any of the foremost historic races of the past, cannot afford much longer to so forget its intellectual, material, moral, and political supremacy any longer as to condescend to go back to dead Hebrews, Greeks, or Romans, for guidance of any kind. And yet, in continuing to believe in doctrinal Christianity, one is paying a perpetual deference to an ignorant, superstitious past, and turning his back on the light and truth of to-day.

Mr. Froude, in his Life of Carlyle, says: "Experienced fact was to him revelation, and the only true revelation. In revelation, technically so called,—revelation confirmed by historical miracles,—he was unable to believe: he felt himself forbidden to believe by the light that was in him. In other ages, men had seen miracles where there were none, and had related them in perfect good faith, in their eagerness to realize the divine presence in the world. They did not know enough of nature to be on their guard against alleged suspensions of its unvarying order. To Carlyle, the universe was itself a miracle, and all its phenomena were equally in themselves incomprehensible."

But the special miraculous occurrences of sacred history, so-called, were not credible to him. "It is as certain as mathematics," he said, "that no such thing ever has been or ever can be." And yet the churches and meeting-houses are still resonant with the old, outworn, threadbare theological names and formulas,—that is, the teachers in them feel obliged to feed their hearers on spiritual husks and million times threshed straw, in which there is no possible succulence or nourishment; because the churches are bound by iron usage and creeds formulated ages ago,—are bound to ignore the truth, knowledge, and light of to-day. How much longer will this defiance of the present go on in ecclesiastical quarters?

In all secular matters, people are taking advantage of the new light and the new truths. But inside of the churches, in the crepuscular shadow of the sanctuaries, men revert to the mental and moral status of two and three thousand years ago, and recite the words of ancient Hebrews, words and formulas which voiced the spiritual wants and feelings of semi-barbarous nomads and shepherds of thirty and forty centuries ago. We no longer treat with the least deference the astronomical or scientific theories of the ancient Babylonians, Egyptians, or Greeks. Why should we continue to go to the ancient Hebrews for our ethical culture and ideas of the good? Living men and women have moral natures and the moral sense far more fully developed than was the moral sense of the ancient Hebrews. Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill and Emerson teach a morality compared with which the morality of Moses and David and Paul was a barbarism, Modern international commerce implies such a high degree of morality as the ancient world could not have dreamed of. At last, one grows impatient at the spectacle of institutions surviving when their life is really gone, at hearing the old theological bagpipe still droning, as if nothing had happened, as if there was no science, as if there had been no advance in knowledge, as if, again to borrow the language of Carlyle, the Hebrew clothes had not become "old clothes," no longer adapted to human needs, but "gaping at all their seams."

B. W. BALL.

IF we could read the secret history of our enemies, we should find in each man's life sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility.—*Longfellow.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

IN the forthcoming article to appear in the London *Mind* of October, to which reference has already been made in these columns, Mr. Abbot will discuss more fully the subject which he treats with his usual vigor of thought in *The Index* this week.

THE total number of books licensed to be printed in Japan during the past year was 4,910 against 3,792 in 1880. Of these, school books take the lead. Among the translations are J. S. Mill's *Three Essays on Religion* and Buckle's *History of Civilization.*

THE article in *The Index* this week from the pen of W. I. Gill, A.M., is a noteworthy production to come from a Methodist minister, although it will surprise nobody who has read the remarkable work by the same writer on *Evolution and Progress*, — a work which was the cause of no little excitement in his own denomination a few years ago.

A FRIEND writes from Beverly, Mass., June 30: "At the exhibition of the high school here to-day, in twenty-seven essays, there was not one allusion to God, heaven, or a future life; and yet high purpose and good principle pervaded all. Probably, nobody missed the 'piety.' It is significant, as showing the great progress of secularism."

AT Greenwood Lake, the other day, was organized a "National Association for Promoting Healthy and Rational Modes of Living." Such an association ought to find a large following; but, before joining it, we would like to inquire by what method the association is to arrive at any unanimous agreement as to what are the most "healthy and rational modes of living"? "Who can decide when doctors disagree?"

WE quite agree with a correspondent who writes: "An editor who from policy or cowardice publicly mentions as a friend and praises as a hero a man whom he privately calls an enemy, and speaks of as a vile fellow, forfeits the respect of all honest men." The above statement is very general in its character, but any one who sees in it a condemnation of his own dishonesty is at liberty to make a personal application of the remark to himself.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE writes: "The term 'infidel' is simply a disastrous name. It is the worst in the vocabulary of Christian theology. I can honor even the apostles who bore the cross imposed upon them by their faith; but to choose the cross which your enemies make for you, and bear that, is the nearest approach to idiocy in advocacy that I can conceive. An infidel means an apostate from the truth. It means one who deserts it, knowing it to be the truth."

THE *Congregationalist* says, referring to Henry Ward Beecher's last sermon before the closing of his church for the season, that "it is to us inexpressibly sad to find the son of Lyman Beecher thus going out of his way to stigmatize as 'puerile, if not idiotic,' what he described as the faith of those 'who believe in the fall of Adam'; and winding up with a denunciation of the doctrine of the future eternal punishment of the impenitent. Mr. Beecher's name may still stand upon the official list of Congregational ministers, and his church be numbered among our churches; but, in the name of common honesty, we once more protest that such are not the doctrines of Congregationalism."

"THE assassin did not know," says the *Independent*, "that he needed any minister, he said, 'for I feel that I am a Christian; but, if I have any minister at all, I prefer a Congregationalist.' And so they gave him Mr. Hicks for chaplain. We do not judge that the Congregationalists are proud of their convert. Mr. Hicks was not an inappropriate chaplain, for he is so pronounced a Stalwart that he was one of the immortal medaled three hundred and six who voted at the Republican Convention at Chicago for Gen. Grant, to the very end. Like that other Stalwart Congregationalist, Dr. Newman, he was a Methodist; but being out of a job, and there being a split in a Washington Methodist Church, one portion went off and became Congregational, and called him for their minister, and so he gets his unpleasant notoriety."

THE general business of degree-giving has been so overdone by the colleges that their titles have little value nowadays. Prof. White of Harvard, in his address before the American Association, told of a college president who once remarked to him, "with a face shining with pride, that his college gave seventeen different degrees. One of these, I remember, was M.P., which, on interpretation, meant not member of Parliament, but master of penmanship." The professor added, "We all know, ladies and gentlemen, the bad odor into which the degree of D.D. has fallen among us, and that other degree, which means the same thing, of S.T.D., which, if the favor into which it has recently been growing in this country could be investigated, would perhaps prove to be an attempt on the part of the clergymen to escape the odium attaching to the D.D."— *Transcript.*

HENRY WARD BEECHER, in a recent discourse, said: "I do not know why public sentiment should gloss over great selfishness and wrong, because they are on a large scale. There have been some transactions in New York in the elevated roads that have been very instructive in this matter. There has been not only an elevated railroad system, but an elevated system of finance. There has been a system of ingenuity on the part of so-called Christians in that matter. When these things are known, the very name of corporation is 'tainted.' The outside multitude know their faults and their ways, and they feel oppressed. Therefore, when those combinations that have by deception and fraud filched vast sums from the public deny the men the poor pittance of $12 or $14 a week for the most laborious services, the men compare notes and say, 'What gigantic tyrant is this that over our head defies the legislature, cheats on the right and on the left, and now takes the bread out of our mouths and the mouths of our wives and children?' It is a dangerous thing for the great corporations to put themselves in that attitude toward the great mass of the people."

WE have received a circular which says:—

A society has been formed in New York, with a view to the amelioration of the social condition of mankind. Its name is the Sociologic Society. Its object is the propagation of the knowledge of the law of mutual helpfulness, and its application to all the interests of life. Its aim is to send tracts to all parts of the country, and to organize sentiment in regard to rapidly growing evils in our midst, which, if not arrested by a high moral sentiment, will prove destructive to republican institutions. We desire to form branches or auxiliary societies in every part of the country, which will elect their officers and have their own existence; accepting, however, our Constitution and By-Laws, and publishing tracts similar to those which the central organization sends out. We would be very glad of the hearty coöperation of all good men and women in this work of social reformation, either as members of the New York society or as independent workers to form sister societies. Correspondence is solicited; and those interested in the movement will please address Miss Clara White, Corresponding Secretary, No. 124 Amity Street, or the President of the Association, Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, 52 Seventh Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

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SAYS the San Francisco *Alta*: "Wherever a Chinaman gains a foothold, there he stays. . . . In every employment they have entered, the Chinese have mastered their work. They are the best imitators in the world. The man who belittles or minimizes a Chinaman is a fool. The Chinese are dangerous, because they are adepts. In all the arts and sciences, we find them rapidly catching up with modern progress. They are reaching out everywhere. . . . If the Chinese were intellectually inferior to Caucasians, the danger would be less. But they are not. In commerce especially, they are the keenest, wisest, and most forehanded people in the world. Besides, they live cheaper, and can afford to undersell us. Merchants of San Francisco, take this point into your consideration and digest it. You cannot, if you would, evade it. It is a foregone conclusion that every trade the Chinese are admitted into they will finally control. And, when Chinese laborers or operatives have displaced Americans, it is simply a little while until Chinese capitalists give their American compeers 'the grand bounce.' They get money cheaper: they live cheaper. How can you compete with them? It can't be done. Our only resource lies in exclusion. We do not sow our fields with thistles, neither should we permit noxious weeds to overspread our commercial garden. Merchants of San Francisco, you have a great and pressing duty to perform. Your self-preservation demands Chinese exclusion. See to it that you exclude them in time. Else you shall ultimately find your investments unprofitable, your business withering, and your occupation gone. With a full knowledge of the probable effects, we sound this note of warning to American capitalists. They cannot compete with the cheaper capital of China."

BISHOP HUNTINGTON, while eulogizing Emerson for his rare genius and unsurpassed purity of life, has, with commendable frankness and intellectual honesty, declared that, judged by any reasonable standard, he could not regard him as a *Christian*. For this, the bishop has been severely and, we think unjustly, criticised by some writers and preachers who have themselves discarded all that constitutes Christianity a distinctive system of religion, but who wish to retain the word "Christian," and expand it so as to make it include all truth and virtue. To one of his critics, Bishop Huntington thus replies:—

According to my recollection, I have never attempted to speak publicly one word touching the whereabouts or condition of Mr. Emerson's soul after death, or any other man's soul. In two articles on Mr. Emerson's genius and character, both highly eulogistic and both of which I am ready to send you in proof of what I say, I have discussed the question whether or not his religious and philosophical opinions were of the distinctively Christian type, inclining to the conclusion that they were not, and that in none of his published writings did he claim or imply that they were, although in many of their moral elements and spiritual aspects they coincided with Christianity. I had the same right and the same reason to make that criticism that you have for what you say of public men and their measures every day. . . . Mr. Emerson was a personal friend, a guest in my house, revered and loved by me as he was by hundreds whose esteem I value. For his family, I have the deepest respect. It never occurred to me to think of him as in disreputable company in any "world," and I should no more presume to assign his spirit to the "nether world" than yours to that one or the other.

It is pleasant to learn that Bishop Huntington does not think of Emerson "as in disreputable company," a fact evidently due to the influence of the rational thought and liberal spirit of the age which Emerson did so much to promote rather than to that theology which Bishop Huntington represents.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

BROTHERHOOD.

Through my every scar and sin,
Thou hast seen the man within;
Back of every failure, higher
Traced the lines of pure desire.

Weaker is the heart I show
Than the heart that throbs below,
And my dream scarce seems to die
In the act I prove it by.

Thou hast sought the deed at home
Ere the wanton child could roam,
And lifted into sight the aim
That dulls the glamour of the fame.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

For *The Index*.

INGERSOLL'S THOUGHTS ON DEATH.

Full well we know how vain it is
To gild a grief with words;
And yet we wish to take from death,
From every grave, its fear.

Here in this world, where life and death
Contend as equal kings,
Let each one meet with dauntless heart
What all the dead have met.

From off the wondrous tree of life,
Blossoms fall with ripened fruit;
And 'neath its boughs, in dreamless sleep,
Age and Youth lie side by side.

And, though such scenes bring voiceless grief,
Hope sees a glimmering star;
And listening Love, in death's dark night,
Can hear a rustling wing.

Let not the priest with solemn mien,
Nor creed of barbarous dead,
The future stain with thoughts of fear,
Nor fill the grave with gloom.

Why should we fear the change called death?
It may be life to die;
Since here the sun that sets in clouds
May rise in glorious morn.

The bird that withers, droops, and dies
By some untimely blast,
May serve a purpose, though unseen,
As grand as fairest flower.

So in the hours of deepest thought,
When Death has claimed his own,
We can but trust in Nature's laws,
Though mysteries hover round.

To live and love but for a time,
Where all must yield to death,
Is grander than eternal life,
Where love is never known.

Another life is naught to us,
Unless we meet again,
And know, as in this twilight world,
The ones that love us here.

Perhaps 'tis true, were there no death,
If none were born to die,
That love that gives to life its joy
Would wither from our hearts.

The nobler and the grander faith
In Nature, Law, and Love,
Assures us death, even at its worst,
Is only perfect rest.

Of this, all hearts may rest assured:
If all the myriads dead
Still live in realms beyond the grave,
Each finds his just reward.

Nor can they be less loved and blest,
On that mysterious shore,
Than when they journeyed by our side,
And shared with us life's toil.

So we, like others, have our faith,
Though not from book or creed:
'Tis this,—for all the living help,
And hope for all the dead.

MONT E. COLLINS.

MONONA, IOWA, June 14, 1882.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 20, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index*.

WILLIAM HOGARTH.

BY MARIE L. MACOMBER.

In 1697, the year in which the Peace of Ryswick gave to the arbitrary and impolitic James II. his quietus, retrenched the unjust claims of Louis XIV., and recognized William III. as the lawful sovereign of England, there was born in London that great and original genius, William Hogarth. He was descended from a Westmoreland family; and his ancestry were a race of solid and sturdy yeomen, whose coat-of-arms was the plough and the harrow. Hogarth's father was a man of considerable learning, but his limited means precluded giving his son a liberal education; and, at fifteen years of age, William was apprenticed to a silversmith, to learn the single branch of engraving arms and ciphers on metal. It was here, while still a boy, that he felt the "fire of genius" burn within him, and believed himself destined to become a great painter. His hours of leisure were devoted to caricaturing people with whom he came in contact, and woe to those hapless individuals who gave him offence! They were sure to be "shown up" in his inimitable manner, in so grotesque a light and with such incongruous surroundings as to make them the butt for ridicule and the laughing-stock of the neighborhood.

Hogarth was as finished a satirist with his pencil as was Butler with his pen. The brush of the one, with each "particular hair" pointed to the very tip with telling sarcasm on the follies of his time, seems an appropriate accompaniment to a form so replete in wit, humor, knowledge of the world, and yet so harmonious in exquisite rhythm, as was the *Hudibras* of the other.

When nineteen years old, Hogarth commenced business on his own account, first as an engraver, and later as a designer of plates for booksellers; but, with the exception of those for a duodecimo edition of *Hudibras*, none of these early productions merit especial note. On the success of these last-named plates, however, he was enabled to turn his attention to portrait-painting,—rather an ill-suited occupation for one so little prone to flattery, and "whose talents were not adapted to look on vanity without a sneer." His peculiar method of painting families in small, then a novelty, and his aptness in catching likenesses, made his success for a time quite marked; but the ultimate result was what might naturally have been expected. He was too much of a satirist, and portrayed defects with too vivid a coloring to suit the votaries of self-love; and his patrons gradually deserted him, to give their ducats to a less formidable confessor of natural blemishes.

In 1730, Hogarth married the daughter of quite a noted artist, Sir James Thornhill. The union was a stolen one; and considering the youth of his child,

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then scarcely eighteen, and the limited income of her husband, Sir James was not easily reconciled to the match. But through the diplomacy of Lady Thornhill, who, like a mother, was in sympathy with her daughter, some of the plates of the "Harlot's Progress," upon which Hogarth was engaged at that time, were secretly conveyed to Sir James' house, and placed in a conspicuous position where they would soonest attract his attention. On entering the room some hours later, his eyes fell upon the plates, and he eagerly inquired from whence they came. On being informed that they were the productions of his son-in-law, he exclaimed, "Very well, a man who can furnish representations like those can also maintain a wife without a portion"; and all enmity was forgotten.

"The Harlot's Progress" was followed by the "Rake's Progress," and still later by other paintings of a similar character, and from this time forth a firm foundation was laid for the artist's future fame.

Many laughable anecdotes are told of Hogarth, some of which serve to give an insight to his peculiarities and personal characteristics. On one occasion, a nobleman, not remarkable for generosity, sent for Hogarth, and desired that he should represent on one of the compartments of a staircase Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea, and at the same time he intimated that no great price would be paid for the painting. Hogarth agreed to do the work, and soon afterward applied to his employer for payment. The nobleman, seeing that the space allotted for the picture had only been daubed with red, declared that he had no idea of paying a painter who had proceeded no farther than to lay the ground.

"*Ground!*" exclaimed Hogarth: "there is no *ground* in the case, my lord! The red you see is the Red Sea. Pharaoh and his host are drowned as you desired, and cannot be seen, for the water covers them."

Another no less amusing incident shows his absent-mindedness. Soon after he set up his carriage, he had occasion to pay a visit to the lord mayor. While he was detained with his lordship, a violent shower came up; and, when he left the mansion-house, the rain was still coming down with business-like persistency. Hogarth called lustily for a hackney coach; but not one could he procure from any of the neighboring stands, and finally he decided to brave the storm, and actually reached his house in Leicester Fields without bestowing a thought on his carriage, until Mrs. Hogarth, astonished to see him so drenched, asked him where he had left it.

Hogarth was an intimate friend of Henry Fielding, and the likeness of this great writer (which was placed at the head of his works, and acknowledged by all who had ever seen the original to present a corresponding image of the man) was drawn from memory by Hogarth after Fielding's death.

That men, even of superlative genius, cannot step beyond the bounds in which nature designed them to move without betraying the weakness of their understanding, seems apparent in what Mr. Walpole says of Hogarth:—

"From a contempt of the ignorant *virtuosi* of the age," says Walpole, "and from indignation at the impudent tricks of picture-dealers whom he continually saw recommending and vending vile copies to bubble collectors, and from never having studied, indeed having seen, but few good pictures of the Italian masters, Hogarth persuaded himself that the praises bestowed on those glorious works were nothing but the effects of prejudice. He talked this language till he believed it; and having heard it often asserted, as is true, that time gives a mellowness to colors and improves them, he not only denied the proposition, but maintained that pictures only grew black and worse by age, not distinguishing between the degrees by which the proposition may be true or false. He went further. He determined to rival the ancients, and unfortunately chose one of the finest pictures in England as the object of his composition. This was the celebrated 'Sigismunda' of Sir Luke Schaub, said to be painted by Correggio, probably by Furino,—but no matter by whom. It is impossible to see the picture or read Dryden's inimitable tale, and not feel that the same soul animated both. After many essays, Hogarth at last produced his 'Sigismunda,' but no more like 'Sigismunda' than I to Hercules." Everything about the painting, according to Mr. Walpole's showing, was defective. The conception of the character was gross and repulsive. None of the sober grief, no dignity of suppressed anguish, no settled meditation on the fate she meant to meet, no amorous warmth turned holy by despair, the coloring wretched,—in short, all was wanting that should have been there to express a woe so sternly yet so tenderly felt. "Hogarth's performance in attempting this picture," continues Mr. Walpole, "was more ridiculous than anything he had ever ridiculed."

No weak sentimentality is shown in any of Hogarth's pictures. They all give evidence of a healthy tone and a vigorous touch, and they depict vice and corruption in its true colors. The moral of his satire is unmistakable, and bespeaks an independence of thought and action quite refreshing, when we consider the tendency of the times in which he painted.

In 1753, he appeared before the world in the character of an author, and published *The Analysis of Beauty*, a book, as some writer remarks, "containing many sensible hints and observations, but which did not carry the conviction nor meet with the universal acceptance which the author expected." Hogarth's life was a busy one; and even in the last year of it, when broken in health and quite feeble, he employed his time, with the assistance of several engravers, in retouching his plates. In 1764, a few months before his death, he remarked to some friends while the convivial glass was circulating around his own table, "My next undertaking shall be the end of all things."

"If that is the case," replied one of the company, "your business will be finished; for there will be an end of the painter."

"There will so," answered Hogarth, with a sigh; "and therefore, the sooner my task is done, the better." Accordingly, the next day he commenced painting his "Tail-Piece," as he termed it; and the diligence with which he worked seemed to indicate that he thought the time for its completion was limited. Every object that, to his vivid imagination, could symbolize the end of all things, was utilized in this picture,—an old broom, worn to the stump; a broken bottle; a cracked bell; a crown tumbled to pieces; the moon in her wane; the butt-end of an old musket; towers in ruins; the sign-post of a tavern called the "World's End," tumbling down; Phœbus and his horses dead in the clouds; a wrecked vessel; Time, with his glass and scythe broken; an open play-book with "*Exeunt omnes*" stamped in one corner; an empty purse; and the statue of Bankruptcy taken out against Nature.

"So far, so good!" exclaimed Hogarth. "Nothing remains now but this,"—taking his pencil in a sort of pathetic fury, and dashing off the similitude of a painter's pallet broken in pieces.

"The deed is done! All is over! Finis!" cried he.

Hogarth never afterward took a pencil, but expired on the 25th of October, 1764, less than a month after his feeble hand penned the "Finis."

CORRESPONDENCE.

BERLIN CORRESPONDENCE.

BERLIN, June 14, 1882.

Editors of The Index :—

It was recently stated in one of our American papers that the religious interests in Germany are declining. The statement was supported by giving the religious statistics of several cities, each of which showed for the number of its population comparatively few churches and a very small church attendance. As a further evidence of religious decline, it was said that a large number of marriages and burials take place without the performance of any Christian ceremonies.

That such a report is essentially correct, that Christianity is here growing powerless, could hardly be questioned by any one who has taken pains to inquire into the religious condition of Germany. It is a well-known fact that a great many of the people do not go to church at all, and that many others do not go oftener than once a year. Students and young business men will frankly say that they have not been to a church-service in years. It is not simply the young men, however, who neglect the churches, but the people generally. The Germans no doubt look upon the Christian Church as a much stronger institution among them than it in reality is. Christianity has here an outward appearance of life and power from the fact that it is a State religion, but its inner weakness is sufficiently manifest to one who visits the Sunday services. If it were not bolstered up by the State, its real weakness would be more clearly seen. The more important festivals of the Church are legal holidays, when the schools and universities are closed and business suspended or carried on behind half-screened windows. The universities had an Easter vacation of six weeks, between the winter and summer semesters; yet they have been closed at three different times during the first month and a half of this summer semester on account of church festivals: on the 3d of May for Prayer and Repentance Day, on the 18th because it was "Ascension Day," and from the 27th to the 5th of June because the Holy Ghost was supposed to have descended upon a few men gathered in an upper chamber at Jerusalem somewhat more than eighteen centuries ago.

Church services are held at these times, but are as poorly attended as upon Sundays. The people make use of these occasions for excursions, picnics, and other amusements.

The rate of church attendance in some of the other cities and in the smaller towns is undoubtedly higher than in Berlin, yet the religious statistics of this capital city are very instructive as to the religious condition of Germany, and indeed of our time.

According to a recent report, Boston has about two hundred and fifty churches and religious societies; and the total church attendance is 124,909, or about one-third, I believe, of the whole population. The population of Berlin, according to the latest census, is 1,169,122, about three times that of Boston; yet, if the reported religious census of Boston is correct, Berlin has only about one-fourth as many religious societies. From the last *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin*, we learn that there are 35 State Lutheran churches in this city; 11 Lutheran societies connected with hospitals, prisons, work-houses, etc.; 8 independent evangelical churches; and 4 Roman Catholic,—in all, 58 Christian churches and societies. In addition to these, there are 3 Jewish Synagogues and 2 Free Religious societies. Several of the churches themselves are small; and it is therefore quite safe to say that, if every seat in all of them were filled, more than a million people would still be left outside. But the fact is that the seats in the Protestant churches are, as a rule, not more than half-filled. It is not infrequent to find a congregation numbering between two and three hundred people, and even less. A special preacher or a special occasion will now and then draw a full house; but it is not difficult to believe the report that not more than one per cent. of the people of Berlin attend church. When the royal family are in the city, the *Dom* in which they worship is not only crowded, but hundreds of people stand in the street outside during the hour of service. It is needless to say, however, that these do not come together to worship Him who refused worldly riches and a temporal crown. The four Catholic churches are always crowded, as might be expected after learning from the statistics that considerably more than a third of the church communicants of Berlin are Roman Catholics. According to the reported census of Boston also, more than a third of the church attendants are Catholics. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that only about a third of the people, even in that city of churches, are said to attend church. Two very important conclusions are to be drawn from these facts: first, that the unchurched classes greatly outnumber those who attend religious service; and, secondly, that the real power inside of Christianity itself, even in so-called Protestant countries, is Roman Catholicism. Protestantism, as everyone knows, is divided against itself. It lacks unity, and so lacks strength. A professor in an American theological school has said that the religious forces of Christendom are being gradually gathered into the ranks of either Catholicism or Rationalism. Between the two,—one representing absolute authority and faith; the other, freedom and reason in religion,—there is in fact no theological stopping-place. The Protestant principle of private judgment inevitably leads to rationalism, or rather to that stage of rationalism which maintains that reason and conscience are higher guides to individual conduct than the authority of any priest or church or book,—in a word, to individualism. If modern Liberalism went no farther than this, it would then, to my mind, be infinitely preferable to Roman Catholicism; but it must and will go farther. Its splendid negations and its wholesome recognition of the dignity and worth of man are of priceless worth to human progress. But the world demands more than this. It demands splendid affirmations. It demands organization and the build-

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ing up of societies for the promotion of moral and social welfare. These demands will be fulfilled in time; but, meanwhile, what is the condition of things? Roman Catholicism, the old and avowed enemy of science and freedom, is still impressing her mediæval faith and doctrines upon hundreds of thousands who have not yet learned—and who do not dare to learn even that, the first principle of Liberalism—the right of private judgment. Catholicism, too, is earnestly pushing forward and strengthening her already magnificent organization. On the other hand, modern Liberalism is almost wholly unorganized, and is doing very little constructive work. To be sure, the scientists, who may be counted among Liberals, are doing an all-important work in their special fields of inquiry. But the work of science is not the special work of ethical religion. And, besides, what is done by a few or by many scientists will no more save the rest of us from the consequences of our ignorance and sins than faith in the blood of Christ. The new gospel is that we must work out our own salvation, and work it out in union.

It may be said, I think, that Liberals generally are either still in the negative stage or between this and a positive attitude; that is, in a state of religious indifferentism. But the fact that the great unchurched masses have given up their faith in Christian supernaturalism, the fact that Christianity is losing the power which it has held for centuries over the hearts and minds of the people, and the further fact that the axe of scientific thought has been laid to the very root of revealed religion, makes necessary the birth of a new religion and a new organization to take the place of the Christian Church.

The mission of religious liberalism, instead of ending with the disappearance of supernaturalism, has but just then begun. The liberation of mankind from superstitions and the old theology is a very minor part of our work, although some Liberals, it is sad to see, appear to regard it as the whole. It may be that Liberalism generally is in a more positive attitude than I have indicated. At all events, there are already signs of a more wholesome state of affairs. Here, as in America, there are many whose whole attitude is positive. They recognize the fact that the old faith is disappearing; but they think they see the dawning of a larger and deeper faith,—of a faith which implies the most reverent and absolute reliance upon truth, and which is yet ever open to new aspects of life and truth and duty,—of a faith, above all, which means an effort to fulfil the demands of the moral law. S. B. WESTON.

"THE WOMAN QUESTION."

Editors of The Index:—

This is an age of scale and crucible and microscope. But the intelligence of this age is an evolution, not an inspiration Between the crucible of scientific verity and that of the Great Consolidated Alchemies there is a "difference."

It is easy enough to measure ditch water by the gallon, and cerebral variations by the pound. But very instructive is the *naïveté* of the alchemies in the saying that "of qualitative differences we know but little."

Well, we will assume that "men are superior." Superiority in particular springs from enlightenment in general. Men have always perforated each other with spears and bayonets; but women have only had pins and needles. There is undoubtedly a "quantitative difference" between a pin and a bayonet. But the informed classes are beginning to regard the spear and the bayonet with disfavor. An excess of heroical enlightenment is contrary to the rules and regulations made and provided in the great Society for the Prevention of Discomfort. The effort of the Consolidated Alchemies to evolve a shell-proof, smoke-tinted eyeglass is possibly a valuable suggestion toward a remedy.

But, in the mean time, the large and respectable majority of men are very generally engaged in the millennial occupation of forging their spears and their bayonets into pins and needles. It is an interesting employment to forge needles from big horrid bayonets, but to forge the dear little needles back into bayonets,—God forbid!—it never can be done. That women never can arrive at the old-time standard is equally certain with the fact that men never can go back to it.

One of the alchemists declares that, "unless woman can devise some means of reducing the size of man, she must be content to revolve about him in the future as in the past." But the present writer has seen some talented men of "size" "revolve" very satisfactorily, though very self-reluctantly, upon the pen points of feminine exponents of the reform philosophy.

But that has only happened within recent years, since the world began to comprehend that there are other prophets than St. Paul, and other principles than those of pithless prudery. With sword and pen and statute, and by authority of iniquities, in all ages and in all departments of effort, have exalted fools declared for the conservation of the Great Incompetent. It is recorded over and over, in ever-varying modes of significance, in the history of every new idea which ever conflicted with the charters of falsehood.

We are wiser than we were: the fools shall not prevail at the last. We begin to know, for one thing, that there must be such entire freedom, for man, woman, and child, as is limited solely by an exact renunciation of fraud and violence and their concomitants. We begin to know that gain never can be measured by the brazen gauge of the traders. We begin to know that need never can find redemption at the hands of the changers of money. We begin to know that helpful righteousness is more than restless exploitation.

The reform tendency is not a thing of passing fancies. It is not a thing of a day or of a generation: it is a part of the long, old, inexorable evolution of the utility. From inspirations of regret, perpetuated in the race conscience, spring the sanctities of life. The failure and the pain of the past are factors in the possibility of to-day.

But be not deceived. Persons and words and plans and principles and institutions which conserve the conditions of failure and pain are, now and always, as they that would crucify their Christ. The iron institutions and the cultured follies of to-day are elements in the progress of the race. But woe unto the fools that crucify the sentiment which cries out for a fairer humanity, for purer men and braver women. Woe unto the fools who would build yet greater the stupendous fabric of the existing sophistication! WILLARD PENNINGTON.

REASON AND IMAGINATION.

Editors of The Index:—

Reason is the ability to see the truth. Truth is a conception of things—their qualities, conditions, and relations—as obtained through the senses. Our senses being unable to follow all the varied and intricate operations that make up life, we are apt to take appearances for realities. In case of a meteor, for instance, we may see a tail, frequently of considerable length, attached to the main body. But whether this caudal appendage is due simply to appearance, owing to speed or to friction by contact with the atmosphere, is not always ascertainable, because of the inability of the eye to follow the phenomenon in its great rapidity. Since conception of life, with all its varied scenes and objects around us, is clearly a matter of individuality, truth, likewise, is most correctly treated as such.

Truth may be divided into two great categories, one including such truths as we can demonstrate to others, and the other comprising truths not transferable, but restricted to individual consciousness. To illustrate: By adding to three apples two specimens of the same fruit, I may convince others that I have five apples as the result of the addition. But I could not so easily convince any one of the possible truth that such apples tasted agreeable to me or otherwise, because of the difference of individual tastes. So beauty is said to be in the eye of the beholder. "A truth to you is not necessarily a truth to me," implies the second class of truths, according to the classification just made. All that I may know of the result of any attempt of demonstrating truths in a practical way to other minds is simply an affirmative or a negative statement, or that of non-committal.

Truth is very often used as a term signifying that a certain conception has met with general coincidence, or with tacit acceptance without such. Truth is a conception of life and its facts, which we must earn for ourselves, not simply an effort of the imagination to picture what others have presented to our minds.

Imagination is the power of depicting within our consciousness what has been impressed upon it through the senses. The pictures thus evoked are generally not distinct or faithful, but rather vague,—true in part, but not unfrequently very poor caricatures of life, as a whole. Unless this noble faculty, this artist within the artist, be bridled and governed by reason, we will not wholly avoid the danger of misrepresenting nature in her manifold aspects, moods, and changes. No matter what means we may employ, whether pen or brush, chisel or musical sound, the portrait will be deficient.

Imagination, in absence of reason, has harassed the race with superstitions alike terrific and ludicrous. Reason, the emancipator, to many minds still the threatening iconoclast, come to dethrone the "ideal," must yet thoroughly purify and invigorate the imaginative faculty, so that the outer world may find itself faithfully reflected in the world within, and the latter may enjoy a grander expression through the material without. Imagination gave us the arts, reason the sciences; and like the Siamese twins inseparably should they perform their allotted work. If by the "ideal" we mean what our imagination may hold up before our mental vision, as superior to the reality without, then let us test the phantom within by a still closer comparison with the actualities of life, let us vent the mind upon more thorough observation of life around us, before we relinquish the substance for the shadow. Let us imagine reasonably rather than reason imaginatively. The imagination may, under the dominion of the lower propensities, lead us through indefinite stretches of misery, until reason must come to the rescue, and appealing to our higher manhood and womanhood lead us to moral altitudes refreshing and full of hope.

According to history, reason was formally enthroned, under the reign of terror, during the great French Revolution. Superstition, the offspring of ignorance and imagination, was holding the reason of mankind in abject bondage, by fagot and sword, until like a volcano awaking from apparent slumber, or like a young giant bursting his fetters, reason, then drunken with indignation and revenge, beclouded by hatred and despair, begotten by centuries of oppression, leaped to her legitimate throne. May she sway us all evermore!

SOME REMINISCENCES.

Editors of The Index:—

It is undoubtedly one of the marks of real statesmanship to be prepared for all contingencies, never to be caught in the meshes of unforeseen circumstances,—one of the traits which distinguish the statesman from the mere politician. But this mental attitude is incompatible with that confidence in the intrinsic excellence of human nature which many affect and which some really seem to feel. It is not, moreover, what is called an amiable frame of mind; and yet we very frequently discover, when any genuine test of the matter occurs, not only that the censured caution was the result of superior wisdom, but that the man who has observed a safe and reasonable distrust is really more amiable than the acrimonious censor of censoriousness.

There are many who will remember the indifference encountered by Mr. Elizur Wright when he warned the nation of the impending calamity of the slaveholder's rebellion; and how Mr. Wendell Phillips, a very few weeks before the rebels opened fire on Fort Sumpter, assured us, in a public speech, that the people were suspicious without cause, that "the day of the sword and bullet had passed by, that this was the age of the pen and of ideas"; and how, even after that revolt had broken out, Mr. Seward declared to our ministers at the English and French courts, that it was merely a little family quarrel which would soon be settled without any serious consequences. A reasonable confidence in one's fellow-beings is, no doubt, a very good thing; but then it must be modified by that intellectual quality which, for some inconceivable reason, has been denominated "common-sense." We meet with much in our intercourse with men which inspires us with confidence in the excellence of their motives and the nobility of their characters; but neither here, any more than elsewhere, do we find everything rose-colored, as the French say. There is such a thing as a reasonable incredulity, which is, unfortunately, a consequence of our experiences.

I entirely agree, Mr. Editor, with a recent article of your own on the dangers to be apprehended from the designs of the Romish hierarchy in this country, feeling as thoroughly assured as yourself and one or two of your correspondents who have written upon the subject, that there is no ground for serious apprehension, provided that the people are thoroughly informed as to the machinations, plans, and modes of

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action of that most astute and subtle body of men. But, notwithstanding the repeated assurances that the people are thus intelligent, a large intercourse with them must convince any one that this is not the case; and I coincide perfectly with Prof. Huxley, when he declares his conviction, that the Romish Church is the greatest menace to human liberty in existence. The ablest European leaders are of one mind in this matter, among them Mr. Gladstone, who, a few years ago, demonstrated that no genuine Roman Catholic could be loyal to any but a popish civil government; Michiels, the historian; M. Paul Bert, the republican statesman; and Prince Bismarck, the stern Prussian councillor, who has been forced to take into serious consideration a trip to Canossa. No tolerably well-informed person will attempt to controvert this position, but those who adopt the very common cause of explaining away all evil design at the expense of all logical consistency. Unfortunately, however, we cannot, in the light of notorious facts, allow this plea in favor of the ecclesiastics who control the Romish Church; and in that Church, even more than elsewhere, the body of the people constitute a herd who follow their leaders without question. The illustrious founder of Pennsylvania, who had had a large experience in the matter, solemnly warned all liberal governments against the designs of the popish hierarchy, on the ground that it bred up its subjects in the doctrine of "blind obedience."

It is the fashion just now to assert that Catholicism has nothing whatever to do with the present difficulties in Ireland; but Garibaldi, whose sagacity cannot be doubted, long ago predicted that England would yet find to her sorrow that her great struggle would be with popery in Ireland.

No one who has given even a superficial attention to this subject doubts for a moment that great injustice has been inflicted by many tyrannical landlords upon the miserable peasantry of that unhappy island, —injustice which, like all other injustice, should be remedied as speedily as possible; but who is there, on the other hand, who believes for a moment that if the priestly body, with the Pope at their head, had uttered a stern and honest rebuke of the murders and other outrages against not only the despotic landlords, but also against the tenants who were able and willing to pay their rents, as well as against even the brute beasts which constituted a considerable part of their property,—who is there, I say, who believes that those outrages would have assumed those proportions which have appalled the civilized world, and which have culminated in a stupendous crime that has at last compelled Parnell and his accomplices to utter a tardy disclaimer, and the American Land Leagues to bow to the revolted moral sense of this nation?

The heinousness of these outrages has been increased by the fact that the statesman who is now at the head of the English government has been straining every nerve, and that in the face of the most powerful and persistent opposition, to remedy the evils which all admit have been inherited and accumulated in Ireland from generation to generation. The New York *Tribune* truly says, in speaking of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, that "the very men who most strongly denounce the assassination as an infamous act it is safe to say would utterly refuse to expose and deliver up the assassins to British justice." The same journal no less truly declares the Irish to be "the most unruly and lawless race on earth." And these are not the utterances of one who is unfriendly to the Irish people or who is blind to their undoubted good qualities.

Judge Black, the person who so superciliously attacked Col. Ingersoll in the *North American Review*, has lately been denouncing, before a Fenian meeting in Baltimore, the tyranny of the Irish landholders. This is quite in accordance with his ordinary cheap declamation. Like all the Northern allies of the Southern slaveholders, he affects great gentility,—though himself possessing very slender pretentions to blue blood,—and speaks in lofty style of the lack of "respectability" of the American abolitionists. When one comes to remember that among these were Mrs. Child, Mrs. Mott, Judge Jay, Mr. Edmund Quincy, and Mr. Foster, the dictum becomes doubly amusing.

Judge Black was thoroughly identified with the democratical party through all its infamous career, and never protested against a single one of its most scandalous acts, neither against Judge Torrey's atrocious decision that "a black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect," nor yet against the fugitive slave law which provided for the dragging back of runaways, subject to all the outrages attendant upon the public sales of "slaves, horses, and other cattle," to enforced and unpaid labor, and to prostitution. I think, Mr. Editor, you will agree with me that this is a most remarkable defender of "respectability," and that his sympathy with the oppressed Irish is, to speak mildly, a moral phenomenon. He, Mr. Bayard of Delaware, and a dozen or two others less conspicuous than themselves (though some of them are possessed of greater ability), are the wretched dregs which the combination of Southern slaveholders and Northern democrats has bequeathed to the nation. The key to the mystery of this curious philanthropy is the fact that the Irish vote has been uniformly given to the democratical party, and, consequently, in support of Southern slavery. And this conspiracy of Irish Catholicism and the Southern oligarchy, with its subordinate element of political democracy, has always seemed to me perfectly natural and fitting. How, if it had not been so, it could ever have been formed, I leave for another to explain.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

MR. SAVAGE IN REPLY TO MR. MITCHELL.

Editors of The Index:—

By his persistent misunderstanding,—it *may* be my fault,—Mr. Mitchell compels me once more to do what I do not like: ask a little more of your space and use up a little more of my time.

In spite of my flat assertion to the contrary, he seems determined to have it that in my sermon ("What are Brains for?") I was discussing the scientific relations of mind and brain. As matter of fact, I was using the word *brains* in the popular sense, as synonymous with intellect. So that—as I told him before—the question of materialism, as a philosophy of the universe, was not what I was dealing with at all. But, as he is so anxious that this question *should* be dealt with, I have no objection to saying a word or two on the subject.

I have neither time nor inclination to go over the whole ground of his last article. The *nub* of the whole matter lies in his challenge of my assertion that "*modern science has found it utterly impossible to explain mind either as a part or product of matter.*" That assertion I still hold to, and my present purpose is only to offer a few considerations in support of it. As proof of the contrary proposition,—that is, that matter does *explain* mind,—Mr. Mitchell offers first his own assertion. I shall not attempt to disprove that, but only place alongside of it my own assertion the other way. And, now that I have done that, I will express my private opinion that neither *his* assertion nor *mine* is worth any more than the value of the raw material of breath it takes to utter it.

Let us now turn to the opinions of some men who know more about it than either of us.

1. He quotes Huxley as saying, "Operations of mind are functions of brain, and the materials of consciousness are products of cerebral activity." If Mr. Mitchell will only put in *italics* the two words "functions" and "materials," in the above sentence, he will see that Huxley's meaning is by no means necessarily the one that he gets out of the statement. Pretty soon, I, too, will quote Huxley.

2. He quotes Dr. Ferrier as saying, "The brain is the organ of mind, and mental operations are possible only in and through it." As I do not know of any sensible man who doubts that statement, I have no comments to make upon it.

3. He quotes Virchow as saying, "Man has a mind and rational will *only* in as much and in so far as he has a brain." As I have never seen a man with "a mind" and "a rational will" and who at the same time was without a brain, I have no disposition to contradict that statement.

4. Next, Mr. Mitchell quotes Haeckel as saying, "The spirit and mind of man *are but forces* which are inseparably connected with the material structure of our bodies," etc. See his article for the rest of the quotation. But Haeckel himself, as reported by Du Bois-Reymond (*Popular Science Monthly*, February, 1882), holds to a doctrine of "*atom-souls*" as his explanation of chemistry. He gets rid of the spiritual element, therefore, with a vengeance!

5. Once more, he quotes Claude Bernard, who says, "From a physiological point of view, . . . consciousness, intelligence, etc., . . . *are but ordinary vital phenomena*," etc. All right. I have no objection to that. "*From a physiological point of view*," it is doubtless true. But what of it?

All this array of proof (?) proves only one thing: *that the phenomena of mind are connected with the brain.* And, not knowing anybody who disputes that proposition, I cannot waste my time nor insult the intelligence of your readers by arguing about it.

Let us now turn to the question as to whether modern science establishes materialism as a philosophy of the universe, or whether the foremost scientific men of the age defend it.

I will begin by borrowing a definition from Mr. John Fiske, in the *North American Review* for March last. On p. 263, he says, "Philosophical materialism holds that matter and the motions of matter make up the sum total of existence, and that what we know as psychical phenomena in man and other animals are to be interpreted, in an ultimate analysis, as simply the peculiar aspect which is assumed by certain enormously complicated motions of matter." This, says Mr. Fiske, "is a strictly correct description of materialism, as it was held in the eighteenth century by La Mettrie and as it is held by Büchner to-day."

Now, the question is, Do the best scientific thinkers of the modern world hold such a view? Let me arrange them in order.

1. Mr. Fiske himself declares that "materialism is hopelessly behind the age," and that it argues "a superficial mind" and an "imperfect education" to hold it. He further shows that it is utterly inconsistent with the established scientific law of the "correlation of forces." Not only does he treat the matter in this *North American* article, but also, and at length, in his *Cosmic Philosophy*. In the latter work, he ridicules it as absurd.

2. In the *North American*, above referred to, Mr. Fiske quotes Huxley as having said to him personally that "the latest and ripest philosophic speculation leaves the gulf between mind and matter quite as wide and impassable as it appeared in the time of Descartes."

3. In the *Popular Science Monthly* for March, p. 616, Mr. W. D. Le Sueur speaks of materialism as the refuge of immature minds that have been prematurely freed from the old spiritualism.

4. In the same monthly for February, Prof. Du Bois-Reymond, in his article on "The Seven World-Problems," holds that the relation of brain and consciousness is utterly inexplicable on any mechanical or materialistic theory.

5. In his *Lay Sermons*, p. 340, Huxley ridicules the kind of materialism that Mr. Mitchell defends. In his *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 314, he says, "If I were obliged to choose between absolute materialism and absolute idealism, I should feel compelled to accept the latter alternative."

6. In his *Fragments of Science*, p. 120, Mr. Tyndall affirms, "The problem of the connection of body and soul is as insoluble in its modern form as it was in the pre-scientific ages."

7. Mr. Darwin was not a materialist, as I know through a personal friend who was acquainted with him.

8. Herbert Spencer is not a materialist, as I know both from his writings, from the representations of Mr. Fiske who is a personal friend of his, and also from personal conversation.

These are a few of my "facts" as to the testimony of the *best scientific thinkers of the age*. His alleged facts from Huxley, Bernard, Ferrier, etc., have no bearing on the question; and they are quite as strongly on my side of this little controversy as on his own. Until, therefore, he can make his own facts a little stronger, or can dispose of mine, perhaps he will dispense with any further cheap sneers at "pulpit thunder." It might be well for him to remember that a *free pulpit* has the same opportunity for acquiring a knowledge of the best results of scientific thought as is open to any other modern institution.

M. J. SAVAGE.

June 11, 1882.

MISCELLANEOUS.

IT comes out more and more distinctly that the theological institution at Andover is practically dead. The *Independent* and the *Christian Union* substantially admit that there is no escape from this conclusion. According to the present status, it is held as by a death grapple to the provisional creed of 1808, which nobody believes in to-day; and its faculty and

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trustees have notably failed to extricate themselves from its iron-like grasp. They had but five students in the Junior year last September, when only the Abbott chair was vacant. There are now three empty chairs, with no likelihood that they can be satisfactorily filled; and the Seminary itself is hopelessly stranded, like Noah's Ark on Mount Ararat, upon the hills of Andover. The only chance for the institution, in the opinion of the journals already mentioned, is to fashion it into a theological hall at Cambridge, as the Episcopal Theological School is already established there: and for this purpose there will be needed a fresh and large endowment, which at present is not forthcoming. Thus, it looks as if the Andover school of the prophets were dying, if not already dead. It was founded in the spirit of protest, and its dissolution comes when the children of its founders have quite generally given up the protest.—*Boston Herald.*

REFERRING to the fact that Charles Darwin's mortal remains are to repose in Westminster Abbey, the *Campo Sancto* of Britain's worthy dead, the *Presbyterian* comments thus: "Why not? Dr. Darwin was no greater destructive in his way than was the late Dean of Westminster in his. Moreover, if greatness is to be gauged by eminence, Darwin was great. No man of his generation is more widely known; no man's ability and attainments are more generally acknowledged, no man's personal and literary integrity more fully respected. He has given his name 'Darwinism' to a philosophical theory of the origin of life-forms. He has set in play human thought, and stimulated human inquiry in a measure equalled by few individuals of the human race. If intellectual sluggishness be one of the chief foes of humanity, he has thus far, at least, been a benefactor. As an original investigator, he takes high rank among students of nature; but in this respect he is not only equalled, but excelled, by many naturalists of his own times.... The time has not yet come to prophesy concerning the future position of evolution in the faiths and theories of men. Indeed, the theory has already assumed so many variations that it seems likely to most strikingly illustrate itself by fairly evolving itself into irreconcilable and unrecognizable forms, and so passing by the law of disintegration into dissolution. But it may be affirmed with some confidence that 'Darwinism' proper, or evolution by natural selection, has met so many serious obstacles that its survival is, to say the least, very doubtful. Many of the warmest advocates of the hypothesis have abandoned it; and it is evident that Darwin himself, in his later works, appreciated fully the objections of his opponents. We cannot here, of course, enter upon this point; and we leave it with the remark that the idea to which this great man devoted his life is still an unproved and, we confidently believe, an absolutely unprovable hypothesis."

OF Daniel Webster, Hon. John Wentworth, in a recent lecture, said that "to have seen him once was to have seen him always. There were his ever blue coat, white cravat, and buff vest, his massive and overhanging brow, his raven hair, dark and deep-set eye, portly form, and erect gait. During the session of the Senate and Supreme Court, he walked to and fro much of the time, in the area or lobby, with his hands behind him and under his coat, occasionally bowing to people, but very seldom stopping to converse. People would wonder if he was listening or studying out some great legal or constitutional problem. He had no taste for the details of legislation, and seldom participated in them. One speech, one great and exhaustive speech, upon the general merits of this measure was all that could be expected of Daniel Webster. He could not be called a social man, and especially in the sense that Clay was. Yet he was far from being unsocial. Every one looked upon him with a sort of reverential awe, and had a hesitancy as to any degree of familiarity. He walked to and from the Capitol with the promiscuous crowd made up of Congressmen, Supreme Court lawyers, and visitors. He had a passing acquaintance with the most of them. He never conversed upon personal and local politics. He had no hobby, no specialty, no ism upon which you could excite him, as you could Clay, Benton, or Calhoun. All his conversation was marked with cool deliberation. He would ask concerning eminent lawyers resident where persons were living, or judges in their State whose opinions had commanded his attention. Oftentimes, he would originate a conversation by quoting some abstract principle, generally of law. Occasionally, he would quote from the old Latin authors, and try to bring out discussion. If a great man should do this at the present time, we should think he was trying to dodge the interviewer. But, in Webster's case, it was but showing the natural drift of his mind. He was thinking aloud. I never heard him say one word at which any person could take the least personal offence. He could at all times converse in the most friendly manner with all his colleagues, and was about the only prominent Senator who could do so. He ever spoke to the greatest intelligence of mankind."

BOOK NOTICES.

CLAIR: A Story of Mormon Life and Perfidy. By Hudson Tuttle. Chicago: Donnelley, Lloyd & Co.

Mr. Tuttle, whom we have hitherto known as the author of such works as the *Arcana of Nature*, *Physical Man*, and *Ethics of Spiritualism*, in this work appears in a new rôle, that of a novelist, in which, however, he still bears in mind the instructive principle which permeates all his writings; and the lesson of this story is the fraud and imposture of Mormonism, which he depicts in a lively and an interesting manner. We must confess that some of the incidents draw rather too strongly upon the imagination. Still, the general tone of the book is sensible and true to nature. We give a specimen of its thought from the lips of one of its heroes: "I believe in religion, was brought up to it. I believe in religious freedom. But I don't believe it correct to call acts that, in any civilized land, would send a man to the penitentiary or gallows religion, and then claim freedom to do them at one's sweet will."

MEMORIAL ADDRESS ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JOHN JUDSON BAGLEY. Delivered before the Michigan State Pioneer Society in Representative Hall, Lansing, Mich., by George H. Hopkins, June 7, 1882.

This address gives a very vivid sketch of the life of one who may be considered a typical Western American. Of good New England descent, he inherited strong traits of body and mind, which gave him a good outfit for a brave life of work and enterprise. His mother's influence was very strong, and he might well say: "She is a Roman Cornelia. It is not an easy thing to be a son of such a woman." When her husband thought in regard to slavery, "It will all come out right at last," she answered, "Not unless we shape it." She was a well-educated woman; and she cultivated studious habits and intellectual tastes in her son, as well as high moral principles. She would ask, "My son, what permanent acquisition to your memory have you made to-day?" These "permanent acquisitions" formed the stock of apt quotations with which Gov. Bagley enriched his private conversation and public speeches in after years. In many things, John Bagley might be held up as a model and an encouragement to American youth. In one respect only, perhaps, should his life be a warning to them. In the perfection of his powers, when his ripened judgment and experience would have still better served the family he so loved and the State he so honored, he died before he was fifty years old from a neglect of simple physiologic laws,—not from gross vices, but from careless overwork and neglect of out-door life and exercise. He says of himself, "I have not lived long, but I have lived a great deal too much.... I sprang from childhood into the cares and work of middle age, and have never taken a holiday. Now, I find myself spent before I am fifty, although I started with a capital of vitality that should have lasted me till eighty." We hope that Mr. Hopkins will continue his biographical labors, and give us a full memoir of his distinguished friend, whose life is so identified with the political and reform progress of his own State. E. D. C.

IN the *North American Review* for August, Henry Ward Beecher writes of "Progress in Religious Thought," pointing out the many influences, social, educational, and scientific, which are by degrees transforming the whole structure of dogmatic belief and teaching. T. V. Powderly, the official head of the Knights of Labor, contributes a temperate article on "The Organization of Labor." Archibald Forbes writes of "The United States Army," dwelling more particularly on those features of our army management which appear to him to be most worthy of imitation by the military governments of Europe. "Woman's Work and Woman's Wages," by Charles W. Elliott, is a forcible statement of one of the most urgent problems of our time. The author sees no advantage to be derived from the employment of woman in man's work, whether of brain or of hand. Such employment, he insists, only reduces man's wages, and does not really add to the total resources of the whole class of workers. In an interesting essay on "The Ethics of Gambling," O. B. Frothingham analyzes the passion for play with rare ingenuity. "The Remuneration of Public Servants," by Frank D. Y. Carpenter, gives matter for serious consideration both to the civil service reformers and their opponents. Finally, there is a paper on "Artesian Wells upon the Great Plains," by Dr. C. A. White, of the Smithsonian Institution. The *Review* is sold by booksellers generally.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

CHARLES BRIGHT gave his second lecture at Paine Hall last Sunday afternoon. It was able and eloquent, and was listened to by an audience that was not large, but appreciative, with much interest.

REV. HENRY GILES, a Unitarian clergyman and once widely known as a brilliant lecturer on religious and literary topics, died at his home in Hyde Park, July 10, aged about seventy-five. He was of Irish birth and a Catholic by education, but became a Unitarian early in life.

THE first college in Canada to grant the degree of B.A. to a woman was that of Mount Allison in New Brunswick, at its recent convocation. Miss Harriet Starr Stewart was the fortunate young lady. She wore the usual college cap and gown as she came in with her fellow-graduates, and her well-prepared oration was received with applause.

MR. CHARLES WATTS, editor of the London *Secular Review*, and well known in England as a representative of Secularism, writes us that he has arranged to visit this country, and will arrive in New York in September, and visit Boston in October. He will be pleased to receive applications for lectures from associations or individuals that will make arrangements. Letters may be addressed to him at this office.

GEN. MICHAEL SKOBELEFF, the eminent Russian soldier and statesman, suddenly closed a short but honorable life at Moscow, on the 7th inst., in the thirty-seventh year of his age. The central hope of the Panslavic faction, the representative of "Young Russia," possessed of intelligence, a reckless heroism, a restless activity, and great personal magnetism, his untimely death cuts short a career which promised to be a singularly brilliant one. Gen. Skobeleff's disease was apoplexy.

MRS. LINCOLN, widow of President Lincoln, died at Springfield, Ill., on the 16th, from paralysis. From the shock of her husband's violent death she never wholly recovered, and from that time her conduct has never been that of a perfectly sane woman. At one time, she sought consolation in spiritualism, and imagined that she had communications with her husband and her dead sons, Willie and Thaddeus; but her trouble was evidently that of a "mind diseased," and nothing gave her permanent relief. Her conduct was often the occasion of uncomplimentary criticism by those who did not make allowance for her mental condition. Robert Lincoln, the present Secretary of War, is the only child who survives her; and his filial solicitude and tenderness did not fail in the last years of her life.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston *Herald* writes from Saratoga regarding Anna Garlin Spencer's address before the American Institute of Instruction as follows: "Next followed a paper by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, of Florence, Mass., which was a complete illustration of the theories just advanced as to the possibilities of woman's culture. Mrs. Spencer made an exhaustive analyzation of the causes of the increase of crime among juveniles, throwing much of the responsibility upon the State, that does not get control of the children at an earlier age even than than the primary school, advocating the kindergarten as one of the necessary means. She also advised that handwork should go with head-work from the very beginning, giving as proof the statistics that so few of our criminals know trades. This was a most able production, and full of such condensed thought that no true idea of its scope can be given here."

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 37

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Moral Judgment Against Wrong-Doers, Wm. J. Potter, 38
A Reply to Mr. Abbot, B. F. Underwood, ... 38
Cardinal Newman as Viewed by a Liberal, W. M. Salter, 39
M. Renan on American Popular Instruction, B. W. Ball, 40
Religious Results of Disestablishment, William Clarke, 41

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 41

POETRY.

Mansions and Man, Lita Barney Sayles, ... 43

ESSAY.

How Virtue and Vice are Transmitted, F. M. Holland, . 43

CORRESPONDENCE.

Spirit or Matter,—Which? David Eccles, ... 44
Berlin Correspondence, S. B. Weston, ... 45
The Unitarian Scapegoat, A. W., ... 45
Emerson and Walt Whitman, John W. Chadwick, . . 46

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 46

BOOK NOTICES.

Bird-Bolts: Shots on the Wing, by Francis Tiffany, . . 46
Paul Dreifuss, by John W. Allen, Jr., ... 46
The Catholic World, ... 46
The Atlantic Monthly, Wide-Awake, Our Little Ones, . 47

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 47

CURRENT TOPICS.

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, shows its judicial spirit and capacity for an impartial estimate of one who opposed its faith, by declaring that Garibaldi "was a dime-novel hero, nothing more."

THE Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors decided at Hartford lately that women are eligible to admission as attorneys. The decision was given on the application of Mary Hall of Hartford, who recently passed a satisfactory examination as to her legal qualifications. Decisions like these will help cancel the "blue laws" slander.

THE Cincinnati *Commercial* is credited with the statement that Hubbell's Committee have sent Mrs. Garfield a letter assessing her two per cent. on the late President's salary. This is thought to be very shocking; but in meanness it bears no comparison with sending letters virtually demanding political blood-money from letter-carriers, armorers, and laborers in the employ of the government. Mrs. Garfield with her $350,000 is able to stand an assessment of two per cent. without curtailing her expenses; but the poor employés of the government, who work hard for small pay, and have to economize every way possible to "make two ends meet," cannot pay money for party purposes without taking so much from what is needed to insure the comfort of their families and the education of their children.

WHO says this is a faithless generation, when, in addition to "God's man" Guiteau, we have also John E. Randolph, a religious crank living near Pittsburgh, Penn., who has persuaded himself that the Lord is soon to visit the earth with another flood, and is now busy building an ark after the fashion of Noah's? It is two hundred and twenty-eight feet in length, and forty-eight in width, and will have a capacity of one hundred tons. He expects the flood about the middle of October. He is arranging for the reception of animals, and sending out invitations to those persons he thinks worthy of being saved. If he could secure Barnum's menagerie of animals, it would save him some trouble in collecting the different species. At any rate, Barnum ought to secure him,—that is, if the flood fails to occur.

A STRANGE baptismal scene was that lately witnessed at Frankfort, Ky., where a squad of thirty enthusiastic converts, inmates of the penitentiary, who had "experienced religion" through the labors of an evangelist, were permitted by the sympathetic authorities to undergo the rite of baptism by immersion in an adjacent river. The converts rode in wagons to the river; but each wagon was accompanied by a squad of armed guards, who had orders instantly to fire upon any prisoner or prisoners who should attempt to escape during the ceremony. Such precautions showed a great lack of faith in religion by the prison authorities. But this lack of faith doubtless ensured, better than anything else, the quietness and decorum which accompanied the ceremony. The prisoners were baptized, and then rode quietly back in care of their guards to the penitentiary.

IT is a striking commentary on the intellectual condition of large numbers of religious people in England that a sensational clap-trap organization like the "Salvation Army" should command the support even of many educated persons of devotional feelings. Even the Queen has sent the "Army" a letter of encouragement. And yet the general of this "Army" issues proclamations of which the following is a specimen: Under the heading of "War! War!" everybody is invited to "join in the fight against Old Nick!" Then follows this programme: "Monday, June 5, Salvation Charge; Tuesday, Great Exhibition of Salvation Lasses; Wednesday, Fire and Brimstone; Thursday, Roll-call, Soldiers to deliver up their Cartridges; Friday, Baptism of Fire; Saturday, Rejoicing over Victories won, All-over-the-shop-Meeting; Sunday, June 11, 7 A.M., Knee-drill, ammunition supplied by Quarter-master General; 11 A.M., Descent of the Holy Ghost; 2.30 P.M., Tremendous Free and Easy; 6.30 P.M., Great Charge on the Devil; 9 P.M., Hallelujah Galop."

SLADE, the medium, who has puzzled many people, even men like the late Prof. Zöllner, with his slate-writing feats, was recently exposed at Belleville, Ont.; and the exposure was so complete and undeniable that he confessed his trickery. When reports of the exposure first appeared, our esteemed contemporary, the *Banner of Light*, stated that the individual exposed was not Slade, the well-known medium, who was declared to be in Michigan, but another Slade, and that it was glad to hear justice had overtaken the trickster. "The New York *Sun*," observed the *Banner*, "paragraphs this 'Belleville' business as applying to the genuine Dr. Slade; but its attempt to injure a worthy medium is beneath contempt, and is too absurd to need an answer." But it turns out that the *Sun* was right and the *Banner* was mistaken. Full accounts of the exposure were given in Belleville papers. The *Religio-Philosophical* journal, one of whose representatives had an interview with Slade after his exposure, bearing in mind, evidently, his experience in England, says: "There seems to be something in the atmosphere pervading Queen Victoria's dominions which breeds a cyclone for Henry Slade whenever he inhales it." Why is this so?

WE have had quite a long respite from any Adventist's "scare." Even the notable "yellow Tuesday" of last year did not arouse that emotional sect to more than temporary interest and excitement. But it seems that England's war with Egypt is more full of portents to their minds than any other recent event. The editor of the *World's Crisis* has been studying up the subject, and has come to the conclusion that the European Conference is "another united effort of the Revelator's four angels to hold the four winds." As the *Crisis* people have come to the decision that the "four winds are certainly becoming unmanageable," we, the "worldly people," may as well resign ourselves to an outbreak of startling readings and new constructions of the Books of Daniel and of Revelation, with all that they imply, *i.e.*, "the end of time," insane-looking maps, highly colored explanatory pictures which hopelessly muddle one's brain, "ascension robes," "Gabriel's trumpet," and all the rest of it, with additions suggested by the newer converts to an old delusion. The battle of Armageddon will be fought over, the image of many metals will be repaired and put together, the dragons, etc., of Revelation will be resuscitated, and the camp-meetings of the Adventists will take on a new activity.

THERE seems to be a concurrent opinion, among those competent to judge, that Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* is a unique work of a poetical genius; that, while it contains some passages which violate in a very marked manner accepted canons of taste,—passages that Emerson, while expressing admiration of the "wit and wisdom" of the book, did his best to persuade the author to omit,—the work, taken as a whole, cannot by any rule of literary criticism or by any principle of commonsense be pronounced an obscene publication; and any attempt, therefore, to suppress it by law on account of the objectionable lines is as unreasonable and foolish as would be the attempt for the same reason to suppress any book of the Bible, any play of Shakspere, or any poem of Pope or Byron. Left, as such books usually are, to gain attention by its general merits, the call for the work as heretofore would be chiefly by a class of readers little likely to be injured by the author's offences against good taste; but, advertised by "prurient prudes," like District-Attorney Stevens of this State, who calls attention to its blemishes and creates a demand from a class that, indifferent to its poetic merits, desire to read it only because they hear it contains obscenity,—a demand certain to be supplied by persons who are ready to pander to this class by giving all possible prominence to the worst passages,—*Leaves of Grass* can hardly fail to become a widely read book; and large numbers who read it will purchase it on account of what Emerson severely condemned rather than because of what he praised in the work.

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MORAL JUDGMENT AGAINST WRONG-DOERS.

Last week, we considered the relation of the sentiments of justice and mercy to each other in the moral education of mankind, and dwelt particularly on the wrong done to the erring classes of society by their condemnation without adequate effort to save them. But at this particular period of the world, perhaps, quite as much harm is done by the sentiment of sympathy and forgiveness for wrong-doers, when not adequately balanced by the moral judgment which exacts a just retribution for every wrong. And, on this point, we wish to add some remarks in this article.

The safeguards of society would be at once thrown down, and the whole fabric exposed to destruction, if the vicious were to be allowed, without question, to stand on the same footing and receive the same honors with the virtuous. And, so far as there is any tendency to this laxity of moral judgment, the moral safety of society is imperilled. No greater harm can be done than when, through a fiction of words, immoral persons are counted as moral by relaxing the severity of the public opinion that should condemn them. Without elevating them in the least, the moral standard of the whole community is debased, and they are excused from the effort to elevate themselves. If men are robbers, let us call them so, as much in the United States as in Egypt, no matter how high they may have stood in social or political position: only we are to be sure that they are robbers before we call them so. If men are drunkards and libertines, let us give them those names, though they be members of cabinets or churches and are influential workers in our own party: only let the accusation be established as true before it is repeated. Nothing is so strong an indication of, as well as aid to, the corruption of public morals as the prevalent disposition to cover up flagrant vices and crimes, of a certain nature, under an evasive phraseology. The hard word *theft*, which is as destructive of a man's pretences to morality, if it hit him fairly, as a well-aimed cannon ball is fatal to his body, is too often softened into "defalcation," "irregularity of accounts," "watering of stocks,"—weak paper bullets which do little damage to one's social reputation. If a hungry boy of the street takes a loaf of bread from a baker's window, he is sent to jail as a thief. If a financial magnate of the stock-exchange steals a railroad, he may go at large, and a considerable portion of society will look up to him with admiration for his business ability. If a young man be addicted to intemperance and lust and gambling, he is called "fast"; and younger men and boys are left with the impression that these ways of living are a part of the natural enterprise of a young man.

Now, all such concealment of vice and crime under fine names is weakly to excuse them; and weakly to excuse vice and crime is to put a premium upon them. Let not the sting of a just accusation be deadened by words of velvet. Let us use the plain Anglo-Saxon terms: they are the words that, true and sharp as steel, carry home to a man the real meaning of his deeds. The courtly, diplomatic Latin has been used to tell lies and cover up crime from the beginning of the English language. People should be made to know that sin is *sin*, and not merely a transmission by heredity of attainted blood; that vice is *vice*, and not merely a misfortune of circumstances; that guilt is *guilt*,—something to be got rid of, not by finely worded confessions of penitence, by theories of substituted punishment, nor by putting the responsibility on one's environment, but by real pain and struggle and hearty honest work at reform. It is but a sickly sentimentality which would weaken the force of the old law that "the way of the transgressor is hard." There are times when the greatest unkindness that could be done to a man would be to show him that his errors may be easily condoned. Many a mother smooths the road to moral ruin for her sons, because she overlooks too readily their childish faults. The mistake is not that she has too much love, too much heart, but that her love does not look through the far-seeing eye of moral judgment; her heart is not what is called, in Solomon's prayer, "a wise and understanding heart." The result can but be morally disastrous, whenever any excess of tenderness, public or private, blinds the moral sense to the enormity of wickedness. For very self-preservation, society must wear the ermine and sit in the seat of judgment. No man should be left to feel that the eye of the community is not upon him,—that he can sin and escape the court of public opinion. There may be forgiveness for him, but no wrong-doer should be led to feel that he can be forgiven before he has been brought to trial. The accusation and the sentence and the beginning of an amended life must come before the pardon. If any will waste their substance in riotous living, they should distinctly understand that husks must be their food and swine their company. And this is a law of moral retribution that society should enforce impartially against unreformed sinners of whichever sex or of whatever social position. Poor Jennie Cramer, had she lived, would have found few hearts or homes open to her. Will the Malley young men, who wrought her ruin, if not her death, find the moral judgment of society as inflexible against them?

To sum up our remarks in last week's paper and in this, we may say, in conclusion, that the moral tenderness which overlooks and pardons guilt, and the moral judgment which condemns and punishes guilt, are equally injurious when they are separated from each other. Many are the victims whom society has crushed, apparently, to moral death by the severity of a moral condemnation, just perhaps at first, but upon which no pardoning mercy followed. Equally many are the victims who have been surfeited to moral death by excess of mercy, who have been lured to their graves by over-friendly excuses for their vices. The problem is to combine mercy and severity in healthful proportions, to be at the same time both kind and just. Only thus is the moral health of society safe. In the natural laws of morality, justice and mercy are at concord. Very pitilessly do these laws accuse us, if we violate them; for a yielding pity would be our ruin. Very pitilessly do they condemn and punish us, if we continue to disobey them; for the severity of our punishment is our salvation. Yet these same laws are intent on our benefit. When we turn to obedience, or if we continue in goodness, they are our consolers and healers. While we are scourged, we are blessed; while we are condemned, we are redeemed.

WM. J. POTTER.

A REPLY TO MR. ABBOT.

Last week, Mr. F. E. Abbot favored the readers of this journal with a review of Prof. Bowne's "Metaphysics," in which he pointed out what he regards as some of the fundamental errors of the "so-called 'modern philosophy,'" and indicated what, in his opinion, must be accepted before there can be a "truly modernized conception of the universe as a whole." The article is written in Mr. Abbot's usually clear and vigorous style, in a philosophic spirit, with a large acquaintance with the views of speculative thinkers, with evident disregard of them all as authorities, and with the fullest confidence apparently in the impregnable nature of the positions he has taken.

Having carefully read Mr. Abbot's article, we find it impossible not to dissent from some of the views he has advanced, which he deems of the greatest importance in the construction of a philosophic system. As he is a thinker who invites the closest scrutiny of his principles and reasonings, we feel no hesitation—except, indeed, from lack of ability—in presenting our views in opposition to some of his main positions.

Mr. Abbot maintains that the only logical outcome of the fundamental proposition on which speculative thinkers are agreed—namely, *that the individual mind knows only its own state of consciousness*—is "solipsism or the sole existence of the individual mind,"—an hypothesis which of course involves the notion that the mind "absolutely creates its own objects" or "originates all its own states" of consciousness independently of any objective existence.

Subjective idealism, like that of Fichte, logically carried out, does seem to demand that the individual limit existence to himself, in order to do which he must of course regard all other individuals, in common with the general external world, simply as his own mind, with its modifications due to its internal constitution. But that this palpable and ridiculous absurdity is the logical outcome of the principle that the individual mind knows only its own states of consciousness—in regard to which Mr. Abbot correctly observes, "If agreement has been reached on any one point by speculative thinkers since the modern period began, it is on this fundamental principle of cognition"—is not shown in the article here criticised, and cannot in our opinion be proved by the ingenuity of any man. We know other individuals than ourselves, just as we know all other external objects, by the effect they produce upon us, by the states of consciousness they arouse in us.

But if an individual knows only his own states of consciousness, what reason has he for believing in an external world? Evidently, the same reason that he has for believing that he exists, because primarily he cannot help believing, cannot divest himself of the conviction; because the proposition is one the negation of which is inconceivable, because the conception is one that cannot be expunged from consciousness. Further, states of consciousness come and go independently of volition, involving changes which imply something that produces them as certainly as they imply something in which they occur, something that acts upon as certainly as something acted upon. What we know are states of consciousness. Our conception of the *ego* and the *non-ego* are doubtless the result of the application of the law of causation to the facts of conscious states; but the conditions and aptitudes that predispose to it have become so inwoven in our nature that the conviction of an individual self and of an external not-self has become an intuition, a fact of consciousness, an ineradicable part of our mental nature.

And still further, in order to show that the mind can know only its states of consciousness, we are obliged to postulate objective existence. The principle of the relativity of knowledge cannot be maintained for a moment without the admission of an externality; and the very premise of idealism which is incontestable, is based upon relativity. The phenomenal existence called a rose implies, it can be shown psychologically, sight, touch, smell, etc.; but the conviction is irresistible that, even in the absence of these capacities for sensation, something persists, and that, upon the restoration

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of the subjective factor, the rose as a beautiful, tender, fragrant object will reappear. The reasoning that shows that what we call matter is a congeries of qualities,—resistance, weight, extension, etc.,—and that these are names for ways in which our consciousness is affected by some unknown agency, is based upon the postulate that an objective reality exists, which, whatever be its nature, will, when the subjective factor, mind, is present, give rise to the states of consciousness above named.

"Not a step," says Herbert Spencer, "can be taken toward the truth that our states of consciousness are the only things we can know, without tacitly or avowedly postulating an unknown something beyond consciousness. . . . After finding that the same tepid water may feel warm to one hand and cold to the other, it is inferred that warmth is relative to our nature and our own state. The inference is valid only supposing the activity to which these different sensations are referred is an activity out of ourselves, which has not been modified by our own activities. . . . Hence, our firm belief in objective reality,—a belief which metaphysical criticism cannot for a moment shake. When we are taught that a piece of matter, regarded by us as existing externally, cannot really be known, but that we can know only certain impressions produced on us, we are yet, by the relativity of thought, compelled to think of these in relation to a positive cause. The notion of a real existence which generated these impressions becomes nascent. The momentum of thought inevitably carries us beyond conditioned existence to unconditioned existence; and this ever persists in us, as the body of a thought to which we can give no shape. . . . At the same time that, by the laws of thought, we are rigorously prevented from forming a conception of absolute existence, we are by the laws of thought equally prevented from ridding ourselves of the consciousness of absolute existence, this consciousness being, as we have seen, the obverse of our self-consciousness. And, since the only possible measure of relative validity among our beliefs is the degree of their persistence, in opposition to the efforts made to change them, it follows that this which persists at all times, under all circumstances, and cannot cease until consciousness ceases, has the highest validity of any."

Another position of Mr. Abbot from which we dissent is stated in the following extracts:—

The very existence of science, however, is staked on the doctrine of the objectivity of relations. The starting-point of science is, not the conscious states of any individual *ego*, but the universal experience of the human race; for science was not possible until this experience had become already vast through the accumulation of innumerable individual experiences, and had recorded itself in human language. . . . Logic requires that the things and their relations should exist inseparably, either both in the mind subjectively or both in the cosmos objectively. It is impossible for Prof. Bowne, or any other subjectivist, successfully to defend the position he has taken. . . . Granting that relations can exist only in the relating mind, then the related objects also can only exist in the relating mind; for the relations depend, absolutely and inseparably, on the terms between which they subsist. Any other statement would be totally meaningless. Yet this fundamental criticism reduces all such inconsequent subjectivism as Prof. Bowne's to hopeless contradiction.

If we do not misapprehend the central and, above all others, the significant truth of psychological science, the human mind can know nothing whatever about relations *per se*, relations as they exist independently of intelligence, and can therefore know nothing as to whether the objective order agrees with the subjective order or not. We know objective existence only as it affects us: of it apart from its relation to the conscious mind, we have no experience, and, consequently, no knowledge. But of phenomena, of the objective reality as it appears to us, as it presents itself to and is colored and conditioned by intelligence, as known to us in the only way possible, by the *states of consciousness* it produces, we have experience, and therefore we have knowledge. Beyond the region of the relative,—*i.e.*, existence as it is related to intelligence, existence as it presents itself to consciousness,—we cannot go; for the obvious reason that we cannot know anything of the universe without intelligence and consciousness. The region of the relative is the phenomenal world, and this is the domain of science. Here, we may look for "verification" in the correspondence of the subjective order of our conceptions with the objective order of phenomena, because the former is the expression of our experience of the latter.

"If," says Fiske,—to whom Darwin referred as the most "lucid expositor" he had ever read,—"the subjective order of my conceptions is such that the concept of a solid lump of iron and the concept of a body floating in water will destroy each other rather than be joined together, and I therefore say that a solid lump of iron will not float in water, what do I mean by it? Do I intend any statement concerning the unknown external thing or things, which, when acting upon my consciousness, causes in me the perceptions of iron and water and floating or sinking? By no means: I do not even imply that such modes of existence as iron or water, or such modes of activity as floating or sinking, pertain to the unknown external reality at all. . . . By my statement, I only imply that whenever that same unknown thing or things, acts upon consciousness, or upon the consciousness of any being of whom intelligence can be properly predicated, there will always ensue the perception of iron floating in water; and, in stating this, I only reveal my incapacity for conceiving that, under identical conditions, the unknowable can ever act upon human intelligence otherwise than as it has always acted upon it. In other words, I am showing that I cannot transcend experience [states of consciousness], and I am reaffirming, in the most emphatic manner, the relativity of all knowledge."

It is only when the mind ceases its chimerical search for the "thing in itself," and recognizes the principle of the relativity of human knowledge, and makes the order of the phenomenal world the object of its study, that either science or a "scientific philosophy" becomes possible. The general foundation of science is the experience of the human race; the experience of the race is made up of the experiences of individuals; and the experience of every individual is his own states of consciousness. The changes of consciousness constitute the materials of knowledge, which, classified, we call science.

We entirely agree with Mr. Abbot when he observes, "The only difference between the special sciences and a truly modernized philosophy must be that the former aims to explore the cosmos in its parts and details, while the latter aims to explore it in its unity and universality." In this sentence, he states the view of those who accept what we regard as the "truly modernized philosophy,"—a philosophy which he criticises and would have replaced with a philosophy which is but little advanced, so far as one can judge from his article, beyond the so-called "Common Sense Philosophy" of Reid. John Fiske, in stating Spencer's as well as his own position, says: "While science studies the parts, philosophy studies the whole; while science, in its highest development, is an aggregate of general doctrines, philosophy, in its highest development, must be a synthesis of all general doctrines into a universal doctrine. . . . But, from what has been brought forward, it at once appears that philosophy differs from science in the greater generality, abstractness, and remoteness of the relations which it formulates, and also in its larger and more complex organization of general truths into a coherent system."

It is with this view of its aim and scope that men like Darwin and Huxley, Spencer and Lewes, have been able to redeem philosophy from the reproach brought upon it by those who believing they could find out "the absolute" or "the thing in itself" or could know the objective world as it exists, apart from the percipient mind or the condition imposed upon it in the act of knowing, diverted attention through many centuries from useful studies, and confused themselves and the world with their barren speculations and unintelligible controversies. Practically, Mr. Abbot is in harmony with the men who have enriched philosophy by their brilliant discoveries; but, in our opinion, the doctrine which he defends, that we can obtain knowledge of the objective world, and its relations, whatever they be, as they absolutely exist, or as they exist unrelated to consciousness, *one of the factors of phenomena*, involves a fundamental philosophical error, a step backward, demanding as it does that we disregard the principle of the relativity of knowledge, and opens the door for speculations and controversies such as have, without solving any problem whatever, bewildered the minds of men through more than thirty centuries.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

CARDINAL NEWMAN AS VIEWED BY A LIBERAL.

The sketch of Cardinal Newman in the June *Century Magazine* is an admirable instance of the generous and ever-tender treatment which one person may give another, standing at a pole of thought the very reverse of his own. There is so much unseemly haste in these days in judging of those who differ from us, so much of wanton depreciation of ideas and interests that no longer engage ourselves, that it is a positive pleasure to turn over the pages of Mr. Paul's article, which is not without a quiet charm of style as well as spirit. He is himself, as he tells us, "a Liberal of the liberals, one of those, therefore, falling under Dr. Newman's stern disapproval"; and the subject of his sketch has been in his life one of the most subtle and profound and persuasive foes of Liberalism which this century has seen. Yet he writes with "the affectionate sympathy of a pupil for a master whom he cannot follow" (to quote his own language), and accords Newman the praise of being the one English writer of transcendent intellectual and literary merit left by the deaths of Carlyle and George Eliot.

What is it that has so won Mr. Paul, as indeed not a few who have never known Newman personally and have no sympathy with either his earlier or his later faith, but are somehow charmed with his writings, so that they feel almost a personal affection for him, as they read? Doubtless, it is partly his rare moral purity and earnestness and elevation, but probably also to some extent the singular simplicity and openness of his mind, the feeling evidenced so long as he was running his intellectual career (for he frankly tells us it ended, when he entered the Catholic Church) that there was more to learn, new positions to take, and that there was to be some great goal as the end of all his questions and struggles. In a word, we see in him a man growing: in reading a sermon of his, we seem admitted to the interior processes by which notable intellectual history is made. And of how many men at the present day, or indeed at any time, can we say that they have an ordered and hence a significant mental history? This is not saying that Newman began, as the genuine philosopher must, with a questioning of the most fundamental theological premises: he did not. He seems to have accepted the ordinary Christian doctrines, which Protestant and Catholic have in common, without question. But his keen mind revealed to him soon the various inconsistencies of Anglican Protestantism; and, as he was not to be moved in his fundamental Christian faith, progress and the truth

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could lie to him only in one direction. Protestantism is a compromise between two orders of thought; and honor must be given to the man who reveals this clearly to us, and is clear and consistent in his advocacy of one of those orders, though it be not the one in which our own thoughts move. The story of his change and growth of opinion, as told in his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, which, says Mr. Paul, has become classical and is, or ought to be, known to all students of religious life, of psychology, or of pure and vigorous English. Starting, as already said, with certain presuppositions, he seems to be constantly learning, moving, getting fresh insights; and he does not stop till he is at the feet of an Italian monk, asking reception into the Catholic Church. His mental changes laid him open to many suspicions. J. A. Froude, whose elder brother was one of Newman's dearest friends, and who was himself, as Mr. Paul informs us, in a measure and for a time his disciple, says of Newman: "He is supposed to have been insidious, to have led his disciples on to conclusions to which he designed to bring them, while his purpose was carefully veiled. He was, on the contrary, the most transparent of men. He told us what he believed to be true. He did not know where it would carry him. No one who has ever risen to any great height in the world refuses to move till he knows where he is going."* This last sentence reminds one almost in words of Cromwell's saying, "A man never rises so high as when he knows not whither he is going."

This fine openness of Newman's mind and readiness to follow whither truth should lead are touchingly reflected in his lines beginning

"Lead, kindly Light! amid the encircling gloom,"

written, according to Mr. Paul, at sea, in an orange boat, between Palermo and Marseilles, while seeking a rest from the agitations of life at Oxford. The hymn, for as such the lines have come to be used, is remarkable as containing not a single dogmatic word or phrase, and scarcely a conception to which the freest of thinkers—who have not lost all cause for reverence or aspiration—can take exception. It is so simple and unaffected that we are sure it came straight from the heart of the suppliant, and before we know it we find that we are breathing its aspiration ourselves. It is true that other problems engage us now, that our "encircling gloom" is no longer as to whether the Anglican or the Catholic is the true church of God. It is not even so much as to the nature of deity or the issue of our individual lives as to the more pressing and serious problems of human want and injustice and wrong. Where is the light that shall guide us in *their* solution? By what means shall we cause this thick darkness that must oppress every just and generous human heart to dissipate? We would fain believe that none of human ills are really necessary or irremediable, that a light exists which can guide us in lessening and finally abolishing them, that there is a haven into which human society and every human life can enter, if but the light be sought, wooed, and followed. It is the light to which conscience bears witness, the light of no dogma or speculation or theory, but of a command which imposes upon us the reshaping of each one of our individual lives and the reformation of human society. The command is, respect for the humanity of every man, dare not to use him as a means merely for your own ends, and own as a law for your own life only one that lifts others with you. The ideal must be, as Matthew Arnold somewhere says,

"A *common* joy lifting mankind again."

And, though the special theological opinions of the great Cardinal have little interest for us, the spirit of eager looking which he manifested, his readiness to obey, his willingness to renounce all attachments inconsistent with open loyalty to the light as he saw it, are for our imitation and re-creation, and, in connection with fundamental moral premises,—namely, as to the wrong that is and the right that ought to be,—may make another religious movement, which, instead of fearing and disowning the modern view of life, will supplement and complete it.

W. M. SALTER.

Good Words, copied in Boston *Pilot*, Aug. 6, 1882.

M. RENAN ON AMERICAN POPULAR INSTRUCTION.

In Matthew Arnold's famous article in the *Nineteenth Century* of last month, M. Renan is quoted as saying that "the United States have created a considerable popular instruction, without any serious higher instruction, and will long have to expiate this fault by their intellectual mediocrity, their vulgarity of manners, their superficial spirit, their lack of general intelligence." The trouble both with M. Renan and Matthew Arnold is that they have never seen America nor had any personal experience of things American. To the man who had never smelt a pink nor rose nor violet, no amount of description would convey to him a correct idea or any idea at all of the effect produced on the olfactory nerve by either of the above flowers. So in regard to locomotion by steam, whether by land or sea, it is so great an innovation on the old-fashioned, natural modes of travel that, to one having no experience of it, no mere oral description would convey any but an inadequate idea of it.

In like manner, a great, self-governing people, dwelling on a soil with no traditions of personal government or despotism, civil or ecclesiastical, must be seen and studied to be understood. Even M. Renan, with all his contempt for American popular instruction, must agree that it was a great feat to do away with "the peasant," or barbarian, of civilized society altogether, and to lift entire populations, *en masse*, to such a high average social and political plane as to remove them entirely from the condition of "the lower orders," as they exist in every European country.

We have no lower orders, no peasants, in the European sense of the word,—of native growth at least,—in our common-school States. And their elimination has been due largely, of course, to our system of popular instruction. It is true that average American popular intelligence, from the stand-point of the scholar, idealist, and thinker by profession, is superficial and unsatisfactory. To a man of the cloister or "student's bower," like M. Renan, it is not intelligence at all, but the negation of it,—mere unintelligence. But what is the intelligence of the average European of the higher classes, when put in comparison with that of the professional philosopher, investigator, scientist, and historic student? It is of as low an order and as vulgar as that of the average common-schooled American citizen of respectable character.

The average American citizen is not a scholar, technically so called; but he is sure to be sufficiently literate to cope with all the ordinary exigencies of a life in which he may be called upon to act even as a legislator. His intelligence is not philosophic, scientific, literary, or artistic, any more than is that of the average gentleman of the better classes in European countries; but it is a practical, matter-of-fact kind of intelligence, which renders its subject perfectly competent to deal successfully with the problems of every-day life, to govern himself and his household, and to coöperate in the government of his immediate locality and of his entire country.

The average American citizen of the common-school States, who is of good habits, where he has his way to make in the world,—and most Americans have their way to make in life,—generally succeeds in placing himself and his family in admirable worldly circumstances by his enterprise, initiative, and "smartness," as to residence, dress, food, opportunities of education, and all the apparatus which make life enjoyable, agreeable, and even elegant. Average American citizens, by means of their enterprise and the intelligence imparted to them by our system of popular instruction, have covered New England, New York, Michigan, Ohio, and the great States of the North-west, with innumerable elegant abodes, environed by beautiful, cultivated areas, such as were never in any other country occupied by an average population. They have transformed the vast wildernesses within the memory of living generations into "gardens of a finer race."

In such splendid average homes as they have reared, "the power of intellect and knowledge, the power of beauty, the power of social life and manners" will not fail in due time to exhibit themselves. What communities of his beloved Roman Empire, even under his philosophic and wise Emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, can M. Renan point out, which exhibited a moiety of the prosperity, intelligence, and ind vidual and popular well-being exhibited by the above recently settled American States? The fact is M. Renan is both by race and habit a dreamer of the past. He is therefore incapable of understanding or sympathizing with Americans or American institutions. For the American is essentially the man of the present. He dwells on a continent with no civilized human past, to speak of, to distract his attention from the things, interests, and ideas of the current hour. He is therefore not a sentimentalist. For a nation without a history and dwelling on a vast area of this planet which only became annexed to the domain of civilization and history in the last years of the fifteenth century of the vulgar era, M. Renan can feel nothing but a scarcely concealed contempt. Such a community is to him infinitely prosaic and commonplace. It is in the lands of the past, especially in that land of Adonis with which he has forever linked his own name and that of his sister,—it is in the lands of the past, I say, where M. Renan finds himself most at home, reconstructing in imagination long-vanished social and political systems, and fondly recalling long-perished priesthoods and imperialisms. In such lands, and not in a purely modern country like the United States, where all is in the sap and green leaf and where decay's effacing fingers have left no mark, the genius of the author of the *Vie de Jésus* lives and works *con amore*. M. Renan is of Celtic race, his ancestry migrating from St. Renan in Cornwall long centuries ago. He is of course a liberal Celt, so far as thought and religious belief are concerned; that is, he places the truth above all other considerations.

But M. Renan is not a political or social liberal. He hates the multitude, and he hates an elective government. He is at bottom a genuine Celt, governed by sentiment rather than reason; for the Celt remains forever in love with a far past. His ideal commonwealth is not a free, progressive republic of to-day, full of popular intelligence, prosperity, and liberty of thought, speech, and action; but it is some "isle of saints" of long ago, to which he looks back with an unquenchable longing and desire to reproduce it in the busy, rational, practical, scientific world of to-day. The Celt demands priesthood and royalty rather than liberty, for which he knows himself radically unfitted by his passionate, turbulent, unpractical nature. But his ideals cannot be gratified in the world of to-day.

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"The mechanism of modern progress" is too strong for him; and, therefore, the sooner he gets into line with the strong, practical, freedom-loving Anglo-Saxon race, with which his lot is cast in both hemispheres, the better it will be for him.

B. W. BALL.

RELIGIOUS RESULTS OF DISESTABLISHMENT.

In my last article, I spoke of the influence of disestablishment of the English Church on the political life of the country. What will be its probable influence on the religious life in England? This is not so easy a question to answer as the former, and dogmatism here would obviously be quite out of place. A few detached thoughts alone can be said to be in order. Disestablishment will certainly produce far greater tolerance and charity than exist at present. It is of course too much to expect that the clergy of the Episcopal Church will recognize the ministers of other religious denominations as on a footing of perfect equality with themselves. The Episcopal theory as understood and held in the Anglican Church will forbid that, whether the Church be connected with the State or not. But the Anglican clergyman will have lost by disestablishment that position of social preëminence which at present enables him to look down upon the inferior person who ministers to a non-established sect. From this will result a different and far juster estimate of men than at present prevails,—an estimate, namely, based on ability instead of on social prestige. Of course, any change is to be heartily welcomed, which leads to a more just classification of men; and hence it is that a republic, like the United States, is so greatly superior to a hierarchical country like England, where artificial differences obliterate the true lines of distinction founded on internal qualities and intellectual powers. Then, again, heresy and liberal teaching will have, as it seems to me, a better chance in England, under a system of religious equality, than at present.

There is in the Church of England a very considerable amount of religious liberalism, not only as represented by such eminent teachers as Jowett, Abbott, Haweis, and others, but also among obscure parsons of whom the world is never likely to hear. If one is to credit all that he is told, the leaven of disbelief would seem to have been working widely among the clergy. Now, every clergyman who has inwardly renounced Orthodoxy is in a more or less false position. Some have discovered this; and the finest spirit of the Anglican Church—Stopford A. Brooke—has boldly and manfully withdrawn from a Church which imposed upon him the fetters of intellectual bondage. The liberal clergy in the Church are there mainly because of the laxity of state rule; for our Sadducee Parliament is of course favorable to any condition of things which preserves peace between Liberals and Orthodox. But, when state supervision has given place to spiritual self-government, the earnest religious people of the Anglican Church will probably not care to purchase liberal support at the expense of intellectual insincerity; and they will therefore insist on the creeds being upheld by all the clergy.

Those clergy, therefore, who have really ceased to believe in the creeds in any intelligible sense, may be expected to withdraw from the Church, and to found independent congregations, as Mr. Stopford Brooke has done. It will certainly be well-nigh impossible to maintain union between Evangelicals, Ritualists, and Broad Churchmen; and some secession will, it would seem, become inevitable. The extreme men of each school may therefore be expected to depart from the fold; and the residuum is likely to be, what Anglicanism has always been, practical, moderate, respectable, and somewhat cold. Evangelical dissent will, therefore, probably be strengthened by the accession of some of the Evangelical clergy, while the Church of Rome is almost certain to gain some of the extreme Ritualists. It is of course the knowledge that such things are likely to happen which intensified the feeling against disestablishment of such eminent Broad Churchmen as the late Dean Stanley. They wished to preserve union and historic continuity, but at a price which earnest sincerity cannot tolerate.

But, further, disestablishment, it seems to me, is likely to promote a deeper religious life in England. Religion in England is at present so much an affair of machinery and officialism and public respectability: this is largely, though of course not wholly, caused by state patronage. There is a story told by Henry Crabb Robinson, in his interesting Diary, about Lord Chancellor Thurlow, which well illustrates this official side of Anglicanism. A deputation of dissenters waited upon that not very pious personage, to urge upon him the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. His lordship answered them in these words: "Gentlemen, I'm against you, by G—. I'm for the Established Church, d—n me; but I'm only for the Established Church, because it is established, and, if you'll get your d—d religion established, I'll be for that too."

Happily, England is in a better condition than in the days of Lord Thurlow; and yet this remark of his expresses the real sentiment of the majority of our politicians who support the Established Church, and their spirit necessarily affects the whole body. Now, disestablishment will bring men down from the atmosphere of social fiction to the solid ground of fact and truth: it will compel them to "clear their minds of cant," and so will be productive of real moral benefit. Spiritual union will be discovered to be determined by spiritual affinities, and not by the accident of parish boundaries. Religion will be perceived to be the groundwork of human equality, and the most powerful instrument of social regeneration, — not an affair of Queen, Lords, and Commons, an agent of police, and an appendix to the British Constitution. Religion in England will cease to be political, and will become human. Disestablishment will not immediately produce this, but it will lead up to it; and therefore is it to be welcomed as a priceless benefit to the English people.

WILLIAM CLARKE.

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE address of Wm. J. Potter, until September, is Bass Rock House, Gloucester, Mass.

WE shall print next week an article entitled "A Danger in the Republic," by Miss M. A. Hardaker; one on "The Creed of Science," by John W. Chadwick; and an article on "Prayer," by Capt. Robert C. Adams.

A LONDON clergyman makes a charge of one pound a year to women who want spiritual advice. When such religious consolation takes the form of a simple commercial transaction, it will lose much of its sacredness, as well as some of its romantic allurements for weak, sentimental, and clergy-worshipping women.

SINCE we receive every week advertisements which by the principles of this paper are rigorously excluded from its columns, it may be well to state that no advertisements of quack medicine or of spurious articles of any kind, and no advertisements which there is reason to believe are fraudulent or false in their representations, will be inserted in *The Index* at any price or under any circumstances whatever.

A CONCORD friend makes the following suggestion: "Dr. Bartol has this morning made the common charge, 'Unbelief is not true, because unbelievers are not happy.' Would it not be well for you to invite correspondence from come-outers willing to say whether they and their friends are happy or unhappy, and by and by give the results in a pamphlet, after printing what you can of the letters in your columns as they come in? I can give clear testimony myself, as I know you can."

THE Concord School of Philosophy appropriately devoted last Saturday to a commemoration of Emerson. The exercises were held in the town hall, instead of the small chapel; and the hall, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion, was well filled at both the forenoon and afternoon sessions. Many excellent things were said,—by Dr. Bartol, who read the chief essay of the day; by Mr. Alcott, who read a poem; and by Mrs. Howe, Dr. Harris, Mrs. Cheney, Mr. Albee, and others, who spoke to some point, either of Emerson's books or character. But, after all that has been said and done, nothing as yet seems adequate to commemorate Emerson.

ONE of the journals in this city, the *Investigator* observes, "contains no less than *twenty-eight* advertisements of clairvoyants who profess to reveal secrets; and thousands of people really think that they do. But, if they could, we would not see a statement like the following going the rounds of the press: 'Christian Ross says he has spent $60,000 to find Charley, and has examined over three hundred lost children, but has never heard a lisp of the boy since. Soon after the abduction, the thieves promised to return him for $20,000.' Now, what a chance is here for clairvoyants to convince Mr. Ross that his son is alive or dead; and not only this, but to establish the 'science' beyond a doubt, and obtain a handsome reward besides! But, no: it cannot be done, or at least it is not done. Yet our esteemed spiritual brethren keep saying that clairvoyance is a fixed fact. There must be a mental screw loose somewhere."

THE special Concord correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* writes that "the followers of Hegel" did not disagree with Dr. McCosh when, last Saturday, he "declared that America ought to have a philosophy of her own"; and that "Mr. Alcott spoke in extension of the views of the Doctor on the subject of a distinct American philosophy, which he said the Concord School, in its modest way, was aiming at." Think of that,—America to have "a philosophy *of her own*"! A philosophy manufactured under the stars and stripes and the outstretched wings of the American eagle—speculative native Americanism, or metaphysical Know-nothingism—can alone satisfy the philosophic demands of this country. Now that it is proposed that America have "a philosophy of her own," will somebody move that she have also a *science* of her own? We might begin with constructing an American science of mathematics.

"THE talk provoked by Zola's latest book," says the *Transcript*, "has inspired a delegate to the French Legislature to introduce a bill probibiting the publication of foul literature as a *feuilleton* in a newspaper. The motive of the delegate is unquestionably good, but the difficulty will be to make a clear definition of foulness. As, however, the French are able to check the tendencies of dramatists in any direction considered dangerous to the public welfare, they will doubtless find a way to keep the literature which finds its first public among newspaper readers reasonably clean.

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It is becoming evident to the French themselves that the spot of moral corruption touched on in this proposed legislation is one which must be treated for cure under the republic. The monarchy or the empire in France might co-exist with it, but not institutions absolutely depending on widespread common virtue and self-respect among the units of the State."

EXAMINATIONS of the records of crime show that great obtuseness of the moral sentiment in criminals is often accompanied by strong religious faith. Recently, in France, a woman's paramour was murdered for purposes of gain by the woman, her husband, and a brother-in-law, the woman acting as a decoy for the victim of this base scheme. In her confession of the crime, the woman said that, having an hour to spare before the arrival of the victim at the place of assignation, she "passed the time in prayer in a church near by." Another case is furnished by the Protestant minister who, having killed his wife in order that he might marry another woman, declared, just before he was executed, that he had made his peace with God; and his only regret was that, having killed his wife suddenly, she had no opportunity for repentance, and he would not be able to meet her in heaven, whither he was going. In Guiteau, we had a striking illustration of religious belief and devotional feeling, unaccompanied by moral sensibility.

WE are permitted to state, upon the authority of Prof. Youmans, the editor of the *Popular Science Monthly*, that Mr. Spencer will not sail from England till August 12. It is understood that he will first go to Newport, and remain there till the arrival of cool weather. Then, he will proceed upon his tour throughout the country. Great efforts are being made to have him accept invitations to public and private receptions, but his health is so poor that he is obliged to avoid all social excitement. He is a victim of insomnia, and, unless he is quiet, he loses his sleep to the great detriment of his strength. This is of course extremely unfortunate. Mr. Spencer has hosts of admirers in this country, perhaps more than in England, and they are anxious to show, in the usual way, their appreciation of his great genius. Did his health permit, and were he not averse to all display, we feel sure that few English writers, if any, who have visited this country would receive heartier receptions and ovations than the author of one of the most important works of the age.—*Rochester Democrat.*

"WE observe," says the Springfield *Republican*, "that the stricter orthodox apologists always assume or imply that the rejection of their doctrines argues 'an evil heart of unbelief,' an unwillingness to submit to the authority of God and the strict requirements of his law; and they often attribute the embezzlements and defalcations of the time to the abounding scepticism of the age. If they were right in this, might we not expect to find the vast majority of defaulters and betrayers of public trusts outside the Church, and among the sceptics and liberals? But the fact is certainly far otherwise. Indeed, we hazard nothing in saying that the standard of morals among the rejecters of Orthodoxy is at least as high as it is in the Church itself. But it is none too high among either class, and neither has occasion on this score to cast stones at the other. That there has been an improvement in this respect in the attitude of the churches and pulpits within the last few years must be gladly acknowledged, and we believe still greater changes will come in the near future."

THE Land League is not exempt, it seems, from difficulties that have impaired the efficacy of many organizations: —

We have, says the New York *Tablet*, tried to fathom the reasons that keep valuable men aloof from organizations in the success of which their hearts are enlisted. At the risk of giving offence, we must frankly state that the fault is not so much theirs as that of the men themselves who denounce them for not actively coöperating with them. It is to be regretted that Irish organizations are too often controlled by arrogant, vulgar men, who will not brook opposition, and whose rudeness drives away decent men in disgust. Such men are too ignorant to listen to reason, or to tolerate the opinions of intelligent, thinking persons. . . . The Parnell Land League of this city had among its members wealthy men who gave freely both their time and their money to the cause of Ireland; but, we regret to say, they are dropping from its ranks in disgust at the conduct of a few cranks who want to rule or ruin. To such an extent has this low, vulgar annoyance been carried that at a recent meeting persons whose views did not accord with those of the "gentleman" alluded to were denounced as "swallow-tail gentlemen," "kid-gloved aristocrats," and the like, and were actually threatened with violence.

"NATURE," of July 6, contains an article on "Education in the United States," from which we quote the following:—

The schools requisite to supply education to so widely spread a population as that of America are far more numerous than in our crowded country. Naturally, therefore, it is a great difficulty to find sufficient teachers properly educated and qualified for this important work. It might seem at first that, in a country where, on an average, each individual is better educated than in England, there would be no lack of able teachers: but teaching is an art requiring a technical education as much as any other art; and the work of those who have not had this technical training is as clumsy as most amateur work is, and is found to have the fault of superficiality. The Bureau of Education is simply an office of information and reference. It has no central control over the various States; and one result of this is that no uniform standard of capacity is required of those who present themselves as teachers, and two standards are to be found, not only in the same State, but in the same city. A more unsatisfactory difficulty still is the favoritism and even corruption not unfrequent in appointing and dismissing teachers, who in many cases seem to go in and out of office like the nominees of a government.

AT the opening of the Concord School of Philosophy this month, Mr. F. B. Sanborn read an ode in which we find the following lines:—

"Now, Avon glides through Severn to the sea,
And murmurs that her Shakspere sings no more;
Thames bears the freight of many a tribute shore;
But on those banks her poet bold and free,
That stooped in blindness at his lowly door,
Yet never bowed to priest or prince the knee,
Wanders no m re by those sad sisters led.
Herbert and Spenser dead
Have left their names alone to him whose scheme
Stiffly endeavors to supplant the dream
Of seer and poet, with mechanic rule
Learned from the chemist's closet, from the surgeon's tool.
With us, Philosophy still spreads her wing,
And soars to seek heaven's King,
Nor creeps through charnels, prying with the glass
That makes the little, big,—while gods unseen may pass."

If Mr. Sanborn, with all his devotion to antiquated thought, had given a little time to the study of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, he would at least have been able to avoid downright misrepresentation and gross injustice to one of the world's bravest and best thinkers. Poetic license may cover a multitude of literary sins, but it cannot excuse a man in going out of his way to sneer at a philosophy which he does not comprehend and therefore cannot fairly state. Such allusions to Spencer's philosophy as the above, common enough in orthodox sermons, were hardly to be expected in a production from a Concord philosopher.

IT is an old saw that there is no absurdity of thought or belief which has not been formulated into some philosophic system or theology. Nevertheless, there are philosophies and theories the study of which afford a good discipline to the mind, and brighten it with gleams of truth. There are now admirable digests of the history of reflective thought, which put one compendiously and summarily in possession of a knowledge of it, so that we can learn readily how each historic generation has looked at men and things, and what their theories and beliefs have been. For a long time they were sufficiently absurd,—necessarily so. Master-minds have not been wanting, from time to time, who have shed light on the problem of man and nature. These have been the beacons which are seen flaming here and there in "the dark backward and abysm of time." It was a groping hither and thither in the dark for ages. At last we have emerged from the twilight of the past, and stand on a mount of clear vision. Really, modern live people are remarkable for their reasonableness, openness to truth, tolerance and fairness. It is an excellent mood, and indicative of better and better times ahead. Men have concluded to go to work and "save themselves" right here and now, by the aid of their own intelligence and reason. Knowing exactly what the dead past amounted to, we respectfully but firmly decline to be any longer guided by its farthing candles, with the electric light of truth available to guide us. Some people profess to feel very sad that mankind are fast leaving *en masse* the old glimmering, dimly-lighted theories of the past and stepping out into the daylight; but it is not a questionable or lamentable procedure at all.

THE *Christian Register* remarks that "even the most fervent preachers of the most ardent Orthodoxy cool off about this time, and the revival dwindles into inanition"; but that "the doctrine can still be found by those who hunger and thirst for it," and quotes in proof of the statement the following from the *Treasury of David*, by Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon: "The moral who are not devout, the honest who are not prayerful, the benevolent who are not believing, the amiable who are not converted,—these must all have their portion with the openly wicked in the hell which is prepared for the devil and his angels." There are whole nations of such. The forgetters of God are far more numerous than the profane or profligate; and, according to the very forceful expression of the Hebrew, the nethermost hell will be the place into which all of them shall be hurled headlong." The *Register* adds, "With the moral, the honest, the benevolent, and the amiable in the nethermost hell, the state of society will not be bad, whatever be the state of the atmosphere." The belief in a savage God and eternal torment exists as a sort of theological survival in the most enlightened communities. We heard it preached at an out-door meeting at a popular seaside resort last Sunday; and, from one of the tracts handed us by a weak-faced young man, we give the following sentences: "Who knows whether you may not go from reading this tract to meet your death, and after that an angry God, our God, who is a consuming fire, a terrible, righteous judge? Reader, will that be your lot? Will you be among the number of those who shall want even a drop of water throughout eternity? . . . You are out of hell *to-day;* to-morrow, you may be there *forever.* Settle it now. Not by trying to make *yourself* any better, for that you can never do, but by coming to, oh, *such* a Saviour! that gave *his life a ransom for yours.* . . . Only BELIEVE this word of God, and you are SAVED now, and saved forever." The thought of the preacher was about on a level with that of this tract, and his utterances were received half derisively by many, and seriously by few, if any. At the close of the benediction, some rough fellows shouted, "The circus is over!" and the crowd dispersed.

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The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

MANSIONS AND MAN.

'Tis but the "crumbling ruins of the past"!
Yes, friend; but sacred ruin-stones to me
This fallen heap of moss-grown masonry,
Whose legends golden of its life of use
Enriched my childhood's treasure-house of lore.
For this was part of an ancestral pile
Rearing its walls to meet the smiling heaven,—
Supporting yielding vines and ivies green,
That could not stand without its welcome aid;
Nourishing all the fair domestic life
It held within its bosom, shelt'ring aught
With fear and pain distressed If shades of night
O'ertook the wand'rer on the lonely wold,
Or helpless innocence or maid forlorn
Invoked its genial warmth or grateful shade,
How gladly was bestowed the happy boon!

Rebuild the "crumbling ruins of the past"?
Yes, friend: the waiting blocks are sound and fair,
'Tis but the mortar that hath fallen prone,
Eat by the tooth of Time, that never stays
Its ravages through nature's broad domain.
I'll find me out a death-defying link
To bind again these square, substantial stones
Into their place, and build a mansion brave
That Time cannot destroy nor cause to yield,—
Which shall endure unto eternity!
O marvellous old pile, so noble, grand
In thy belongings,—palace of great worth,
Fair promise of a tower of strength,—and such
Thou wast for ages till the spoiler came,
How art thou prostrate in thy stalwart prime,
Losing, with thy consistency, thy strength!

Rebuild the "crumbling ruins of the past"?
Yes: that were wiser than to pass them by
And freshly quarry-marked material choose.
Scorn not the Wisdom of the ages: grasp
Its fertile aid to help thy future on!
Many foundation-stones are solid there:
Loose not a block, save when a certain flaw
Presents itself, which may impair the strength
Of the eternal Temple we will rear.
When they of old took counsel each with each
And planned, as we, to their most perfect thought,
The Higher Law was not revealed as since.
Now know we Truth and Justice only can
Be bases sure for building: lay them broad and deep
With strong cement of Charity to man,
And wreathe our high fraternal walls in love,
Faith, grace, and sweetness of a grateful heart.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

SHELDON SPRINGS, VT., June, 1882.

I FEAR that what is called religion, but is perhaps pew-holding, not obeys, but conceals the moral sentiment. I put it to this simple test: Is a rich rogue made to feel his roguery among divines or literary men? No? Then, 'tis rogue again under the cassock. What sort of respect can these preachers or newspapers inspire by their weekly praises of texts and saints, when we know that they would say just the same things, if Beelzebub had written the chapter, provided it stood where it does in the public opinion?—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

For *The Index.*

How Virtue and Vice are Transmitted.

BY F. M. HOLLAND.

Different philosophies lead their adherents to solve this problem in various ways, but with similar results. Those who believe the moral sentiment a divine gift, given fresh and pure to every new-born child, will be slow to admit that it can be inherited. Those who consider moral ideas as innate cannot consistently suppose them to be derived from former generations. Those who consider conscience the voice of God must repudiate the idea that it is merely an echo of the past. But even those who hold such views will probably admit that the growth of conscience and the moral sentiments may be helped or hindered by tastes and habits which can be inherited. And writers of the opposite school, while laboring to specify what is inherited, have explicitly maintained that the moral feelings are not. Alexander Bain declares that, owing to its comparative rarity of manifestation, to its great complexity, usually underrated, and to its compulsory nature, "Of all important mental products, the moral sentiment is about the least favorably situated for transmission by inheritance." Again, he states that "There are no moral instincts, properly so called." (*The Emotions and the Will*, third American edition, D. Appleton & Co., 1876, pp. 55 and 56.) But after using the phrases quoted, Prof. Bain goes on thus: "In declaring against the intuitive character of the sentiment, I freely avow that certain powers belonging to us at birth are indispensable to the growth of our moral feelings, which powers, one or all, may have been developed through the cumulative experience of past generations. Into the moral sentiment there enter first and most conspicuously, the ordinary action of will, prompting us to avoid pain and court pleasure; secondly, the power of sympathy or disinterested impulses; and, lastly, the operation of our leading emotions, as fear, love, anger, and others. All these are primitive or inborn powers of the mind, and as such are open to be accounted for by the hypothesis of development. The finishing stroke, in my view, is due to education under authority; which constitutes the moral sentiment a distinctive and peculiar phenomenon, different from all the other exercises of will, sympathy, or emotion, or any compounds of these. Moreover, the growth and working of the moral sentiment largely depend upon intellectual processes unnecessary to specify." (*The Emotions and the Will*, p. 57.)

In other words, we may inherit capacity for developing moral feeling, but not the feeling itself. Similar statements are made by Mr. James Sully and Dr. Maudsley. The latter's opinion is presented with such precision and emphasis that it deserves particular attention. He states it in one of his most recent works, as follows: "As it is with the faculties of the spinal and sensory centres, so it is with the faculties of the ideational centres: they are not innate, but are developed by education. The notion of *innate* idea, in the exact meaning of the word, as connatural or contemporary with birth, is not less untenable and absurd than an innate pregnancy. But if by innate is only meant that, by the necessity of his nature, an individual whose brain is well constituted will, when placed in certain circumstances, acquire certain ideas, then all the phenomena of a man's life, bodily and mental, are just as innate or natural. A civilized person certainly inherits, by virtue of being born of civilized parents in a civilized country, a predisposition to certain modes of conception and feeling, just as he inherits a predisposition to certain modes of perception or walking. In other words, he inherits certain cerebral substrata, which are ready to come into functional activity on occasions of their suitable stimuli at the proper periods of life." (*The Physiology of Mind*, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1877, p. 278.)

Bain's classification of these predispositions to moral feeling which are likely to be inherited in the form of cerebral substrata has been already given, but may, I think, be somewhat expanded as follows: First, he places "The ordinary action of the will, prompting us to avoid pain and court pleasure." But this seems to me to have little moral value until it assumes an intellectual character and becomes prudence. We know that the most prudent people are the least likely to commit atrocious crimes. Solomon thought his readers might be sufficiently restrained from vice and encouraged to virtue by being told that the choice between the former and the latter was also a choice between wealth and poverty, health and sickness, length of days and premature death. Criminals in all ages have thought, as a rule, more of immediate gratification than of ultimate consequences. Simple self-interest, well understood, restrains many people from yielding to gross temptation, and prompts them to do the plain duties upon which their neighbors insist. Such people are not saints, but they may be the parents of saints; and they are very likely to be their friends, patrons, and followers. That prudence and foresight are inherited, especially in certain races and families, will be admitted readily. And, second, I would place sympathy, as Bain does. He and Herbert Spencer have shown conclusively that it powerfully assists the development of moral feeling, and that it is peculiarly likely to be inherited. (Bain's *Emotions and Will*, third edition, pp. 57–67; Spencer's *Principles of Psychology*, vol. II. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1873, pp. 558–608.) In the third place, Bain speaks of "Our leading emotions, fear, love, anger, and others"; and I should suppose that such feelings as distort the countenance are peculiarly likely to be inherited, since Maudsley states that "Any particular passion is rendered stronger and more distinct by the existence of those bodily states which it produces, and which, in turn, when otherwise produced, tend to engender it." (*Physiology of Mind*, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1877, p. 387.) Then, fourth, Bain thinks that "The finishing stroke is due to education under authority." So Mr. James Sully says that "It appears highly probable, after a wide psychological induction, based on the observation of many races of mankind, that the first rudimentary sense of duty presents itself in that peculiar variety of fear which accompanies a recognition of superior will and power in another." (*Sensation and Intuition*, p. 18.) The more virtuous the parents, the more docile must be the mind of the child, just as the colts born on our farms can be broken much more easily than the foals of wild horses. When partridge eggs are hatched under domestic fowls, the young flee away to the woods as soon as they break the shell; and so the children of ferocious savages or habitual criminals are likely to inherit aversion to moral discipline. On the other hand, the aptitude for receiving and following good instruction will usually be inherited so strongly from pious and virtuous parents as greatly to assist the development of conscience.

And, fifth, our willingness to admit the justice of the censures on us of our neighbors is largely owing to a fact on which great stress is laid by Darwin in his *Descent of Man* (Volume I., Chapter III.); namely, that the social instincts are persistent, while the selfish impulses are momentary; so that, after following the latter in preference to the former, we soon come to regret having done so, and to blame the choice. For instance, a savage runs away from the battle where his tribe are fighting. As soon as his fear passes away, his desire to defend his tribe revives in such strength that he regrets not having followed it. His past conduct is so at variance with his present feelings as to cause him to admit that the reproaches of the other members of the tribe are just. His memory of the exhortations to courage previously made by his parents, priests, and chiefs, also leads him to think of his cowardice not only with sorrow but with shame. If in the next battle he conquers his fears, he will join with his comrades in praising himself for doing so. Thus, the enduring character of our social feelings helps to form the habit of praising or blaming ourselves according as we treat our neighbors. And readiness to criticise our past conduct may reasonably be imagined to be inherited, especially as an excessive proneness to do so is one of the signs of morbidness. We may therefore reckon this habit of praising and blaming our past acts as a hereditable predisposition toward the formation of conscience. And, sixth, I need say little about the advantage of self-control. This seems to depend so much on state of nerves and temperament, and to be so apt to take characteristic forms, running through all the members of different races and families, that there is good reason to believe that it can be inherited. Indeed, one of the firmest guarantees of our moral progress is that this power is being handed down from generation to generation, in ever-increasing fulness and force. Already, it has become one of the distinguishing marks

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of really civilized and cultivated people as contrasted with boors and savages. And so the faculty of discriminating abstractions is peculiarly characteristic of members of the highest races and families, while it depends so obviously on the size and condition of the brain that it must be readily transmissible. Evidence that it is so will be found fully given in Mr. Galton's *Hereditary Genius*; and the possession of this faculty must do much to determine the ability to distinguish right from wrong, since these are among the most difficult of abstractions. Philosophers are still disputing about their nature; and this nature must be more readily realized by the children born in our most respectable families than by the offspring of savages, who have no numerals or words for time, space, existence, virtue, justice, or liberty, and who cannot make themselves understood in the dark, because they make less use of words than of gestures. Ability to distinguish right from wrong may therefore be placed among the transmissible predispositions toward the development of conscience. Whether in this mental power, joined with that of controlling ourselves,—that is, of subjecting our passions to the dictates of our principles,—and of the authority of the other members of society, with which forces are to be considered that of the habit of praising and blaming ourselves and also of sympathy and other strong emotions, we have a sufficiently full account of the nature of the conscience to be able to account fully for its well-known sovereignty, is a question which I leave to the consideration of my readers. It is certain at all events that these predispositions do much to give it its power and activity, and also that they are so freely transmissible, and in such different degrees, that the good and bad qualities of the parents thus readily reappear in the child. It seems to me further probable that the high and low degrees are transmitted with substantially equal facility; and thus virtue must be supposed to be just as likely to be inherited as vice, so far as it is thus determined.

There are, however, two passions which are known to be very dangerous and also to be very liable to be inherited; namely, that for intoxication and that for sexual indulgence. Where they are active in the parents, the children are likely to be vicious; but the offspring of people who lack them may not be particularly virtuous, but either weak or commonplace. Considering the force of these passions, it seems to me highly probable that virtue is less easily inherited than vice. This difference would seem much greater, if the superiority of vice in transmissibility were not in great part offset by the constant labor of society to put vice down. Children of drunkards, libertines, and other criminals, are often helped to struggle against their inherited propensities to vice by the sight of the sufferings of their parents. In these and other ways, the tendency to inherit vice is so strictly controlled that I suspect it to be in reality much stronger than would be indicated by statistics.

Before concluding, I must insist on the fact that we have a right to expect that people will act very much as their parents have done in similar circumstances. Indeed, to judge the child by the parents is not only our right, but our duty. It is simply just that the child who inherits a good character should inherit a good reputation also; and this can scarcely be, unless bad parents are allowed to hand their bad reputation down. Not to remember who have had vicious parents wrongs those who have had virtuous ones. Men and women must be judged mainly by their own acts, but children largely by those of their parents, since good education and nurture often merely delay the appearance of evil traits which have been inherited with a force that, after long suppression, finally brings them to the light. Adopting children of bad parentage often results after temporary success in final failure. Such children may indeed be greatly helped by good nurture, but this will be most beneficially given them by those who do not expect brilliant results, nor trust any appearance of sudden change. I would not check philanthropy, but simply observe that it must be prudent, careful, and laborious, in order really to succeed; and that true philanthropy will pay special attention to poor children whose parents are virtuous. Where there can be a choice between adopting, employing, or in any way helping children of virtuous or vicious parentage, it is not only business-like, but also philanthropic, to prefer the former, though the latter should not be utterly neglected. And, in dealing with vagrants, paupers, drunkards, libertines, and other criminals, we should bear in mind the strong probability of their children being like them. To help such people to propagate their kind is to wrong future generations wantonly and dangerously. There can be no real charity to such classes of people, which is not directed toward their extinction. Giving money, clothing, or even food to tramps and other beggars is, in most cases, supporting our enemies in waging war against us. Temperate, industrious, and honest people should be assisted liberally to support themselves; but the lazy, shiftless, and self-indulgent, who are willing to live upon their neighbors, should not be suffered to do so, except in poor-houses, prisons, and other places where they are not likely to perpetuate their evil race. Horrible as is capital punishment, it certainly has the advantage of preventing those who are known to be our worst enemies from increasing and multiplying themselves against us. This prevention may, however, be secured adequately, and with much less shock to our social sympathies, by sufficiently long imprisonment. It is to the workhouse and the penitentiary rather than to the gallows that we must look for the check of hereditary crime and pauperism. And, if any one shrinks from severity in hindering the increase of the bad, he should remember that this is the best way to promote the multiplication of the good.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SPIRIT OR MATTER,—WHICH?

Editors of The Index:—

Modes of thought unconsciously persist long after men have detected their unreliability, and believe themselves free from their influence. Years of mental drilling are required to enable us to reason symmetrically from the developed truths of modern philosophy. These truths come to us in flitting gleams, for habit has not yet secured the consistency of a steady blaze. Habits of language, systems of education, and modes of thought arise in rebellion within us against the latest philosophic intruders, and only in the most serene moments can these be heard without mental distortion.

I am led to reflect thus from the frequency with which I detect men of large attainments, hospitable to the psychological truth that our knowledge of external existence is limited to a knowledge of the sensations wrought within us, revert to the fixed habit of treating these sensations as the outer actuality, and confounding the symbol with the thing. Last week's *Index* furnishes numerous illustrations. A very able lecturer, after conceding that our knowledge is purely a knowledge of conscious states, goes on to talk of the intrinsic "properties of matter," as if he had not recognized the moment before that these are effects wrought within, and not causes without the man. So intensely materialistic are his thoughts and terminology that he does violence to the truth first assumed. To clamor for spirit or to clamor for matter is largely an affair of bias. What can we predicate of either, save being? That which is capable of producing a conscious effect within us is something, called by whatever name. The consistent philosopher realizes that the cause without is neither hard nor soft, heavy nor light, round nor square, sweet nor sour, black nor white. Only by a mental aberration does the educated man fall into the error of attaching these properties to the unknowable. The eternal "something" without may and does exist in such condition as to be absolutely effectless on our system, and not distinguishable from pure space. Only under conditions does the rhythm of being offer, each to each, resistance. So ingrained is our mode of thought respecting matter as an extended, resisting something that we picture this property of resistance as the thing *per se*. Resistance is more of an accident than a necessity of being. The world of non-resistance is infinitely greater than the world of resistance. To define what spirit is is no more difficult than to define what matter is. Stripped of those "properties" which inhere essentially in our own consciousness, both words would stand for the materialist's conception of nothing.

The problem before us is to determine if there is any logical necessity for this dualism,—spirit and matter. The materialist's objection springs from a misapprehension of the elements of his knowledge. We have certain axiomatic truths that the mind spontaneously assents to. One of these instructs us that, from nothing, nothing comes; another, that a thing can neither select nor create itself; another, that nothing can be evolved not previously involved. These axioms necessitate the conclusion that conscious power antedates organism, and is the architect thereof; that the brain exists because of mind, and not mind because of brain. The brain is the instrument selected by a conscious power to aid it in the furtherance of its desires. The alternative, that mind is a function of brain, outrages every one of the above axioms, and presupposes an unconscious thing as selecting itself for a conscious end,—an utter absurdity. As an instrument, the mind is dependent on the brain for the exercise of its powers; but the instrument cannot create these powers. This should be axiomatic. Whether, then, we shall accept dualism or monism depends on how far each of these possibilities is consistent with what we know. All things may be mind, or mind may be associated with matter in complex union; but matter without mind is a barren ideality, utterly worthless as an explanation of things. If mind and matter are phenomenal features of one identity, then physical laws and mental laws must be at bottom one. So long as, in conception, we have two sets of laws, mental and physical, which antagonize each other, so long are we constrained to accept dualism. The only possible way to escape the spiritualistic doctrine of matter and spirit is to fuse these into a common something, whose every phenomena can be reduced to a common law. Can this be done? The task is exceedingly difficult. At one time, I conceived it impossible. Our whole science is empiric and unsatisfactory because of the forced dualism which facts seem to necessitate. If monism is true, the iron necessity of our present mechanics must be abandoned, and the inherency of volition discovered in all motion. Unable to follow motions in their rapid speed through sound and color, men denied their identity, although they fused together at their margins. Once perceiving the identity, they aid each other in the interpretation of phenomena. So must it yet be with idealism, spiritualism, and materialism, if monism is true.

To aid in the reduction of mental and physical phenomena to a common law, I submit the following thoughts: Matter, motion, and mind are our final symbols of being. To matter, we attach extension, form, and gravity; to motion, tendency (reaction), action, and mode; to mind, feeling, will, and memory. Form in matter, mode in motion, and memory in mind are common links to the past. Gravity, action, and will reach for the future. Extension, tendency, and feeling are in the ever-present now. The relations to time here shown are permanent. The evolution of form is the evolution of mode. The evolution of mode is the evolution of memory. They progress side by side. Gravity is a source of material change. Action is a source of material change. Will is a source of material change. They act alike as causes. Extension aggregates with increase of gravity. Tendency aggregates with increase of action. Feeling aggregates with increase of will. They behave alike to forces. The quality or kind of tendency is determined by mode. The quality or kind of feeling is determined by memory. The quality or kind of matter is determined by structure (form). Their properties come in the same manner. Extension makes known its presence by gravity. Tendency makes known its presence by action. Feeling makes known its presence by will. They reveal themselves in similar manners. Feelings of the same kind are from memories of the same kind. Tendencies of the same kind are from modes of the same kind. Extensions of the same kind are from forms of the same kind. Their variations follow a common law. Like substances gravitate to a centre. Like tendencies act to a centre. Like feelings will to a centre. Their principle of action is identical. Form causes mode, mode causes memory; or, conversely, memory causes mode, and mode causes form. Are they not parts of one thing whose relations in time, in progress, in properties, in presentation, in products, in variations, in action, etc., all run perfectly parallel? Such far-reaching uniformities seem to imply this.

That there is an answering mode of motion to every mode of feeling is extremely probable. That certain modes of motion produce certain modes of feeling is seen constantly in the five senses. That certain modes of feeling produce modes of motion is demonstrated by the emotions and the will. Matter acts by motion on mind. Mind acts by motion on matter. That motion should act to produce mind is unthink-

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able, unless the subjective side of motion is will. The crude conception of their relation as cause and effect cannot be entertained by a monist. Neither, from our point of view, can be thought of as the cause of the other, both arising simultaneously, as diverging phenomena of the unknowable. Motion subjectively is mind, and mind objectively is mass in motion. Matter seems to be atomic, and mind we know as individualized. Force inheres in atomic centres, and is not transferable. Nature's changes are exchanges of mode only. Mind must likewise inhere in these centres, or spiritual dualism is true.

Let us not make words stumbling-blocks. Before matter swallows spirit, it must be able to assume the functions of spirit. Our preference for or prejudice against the word "spirit" or the word "matter" must not be permitted to becloud or confound our logic. If we find ourselves able to dispense with one of these terms, we must incorporate in the meaning of the other all that the vanished symbol conveyed. It is a compromise, not a capitulation, between spiritualist and materialist; and the arrogant flaunting of either term, with its former beggarly raiment, bespeaks a small development in the perpetrator. Narrowed down to the respective abandoned "properties" of spirit and matter, it seems to me the materialistic camp have suffered a more radical change of base than the spiritualistic; for, as Spencer says, "it is easier to translate so-called matter into so-called spirit than to translate so-called spirit into so-called matter." DAVID ECCLES.

KANSAS CITY, June, 1882.

BERLIN CORRESPONDENCE.

BERLIN, June, 1882.

Editors of The Index :—

The friends of Free Religion in America will be glad to know that there is a very similar movement under the same name in Germany. For a complete history of the German Free Religious movement, we must go back as far as 1844, and to the Catholic Church. In the autumn of 1844, the Catholic world was invited to Trier to see the so-called "holy coat" which, it was claimed, was once worn by Jesus. This famous coat had been exhibited from time to time; but the repetition of this gross deception in 1844 was met by the earnest protest of a young Catholic priest, named Johannes Rouge, who appealed to the Bishop of Trier to exhibit the spirit of Jesus rather than his coat. Rouge was excommunicated; but his noble protest was heartily responded to by many others, and the result was a "German-Catholic" movement entirely separated from Rome. Immediately afterward, in the years from 1844–46, there was a radical movement inside of Protestantism which resulted in a separation from Lutheranism and the formation of the "Frei Gemeinden." One of the leaders of this movement is now one of the Vice-Presidents of the Free Religious Association, Frederick Schuenemann-Pott. These two movements continued separately, and grew more radical, until 1859, when they were united in an "Association of the Free Religious Societies of Germany." Since 1872 there has been published a "Free Religious Calendar," giving the statistics of the Free Religious societies, the report of the annual meeting of the national organization, and also many interesting facts connected with the history of free thought. The Calendar for 1882 contains ninety-six pages; and from it we learn that there are one hundred and thirty-six Free Religious societies and clubs belonging to the national organization, besides a number which have not yet been enrolled.

There are two such societies in Berlin. One of them maintains a settled speaker: the other has public speaking but one Sunday in the month. In both societies, all the forms of Christianity are discarded, as well as the Christian name. The older and larger society was formed in 1845, as a result of the "German-Catholic" movement. The history of its first years is one of continual struggle against political obstacles. From time to time, the police broke up its meetings, and often ordered its speakers to leave the city on account of some radical political utterance. For some years, the government would not allow either women or children to attend its meetings. From 1859 until the socialistic laws of 1878, the government adopted a more liberal policy, and the society was left to pursue its own course. Since 1878, however, two members of the police have been present at every meeting to prevent the discussion of political questions. The society is supposed to contain some social-democratic elements. Many of its members are workingmen, yet its annual income is 6,000 marks, or about $1,500. The society is now in a quite flourishing condition. It possesses a library which is opened every Sunday. A good supply of free-thought books, papers, and pamphlets is offered for sale in an ante-room before and after the Sunday morning speaking. Herr Schäfer, who has been the speaker of the society for fifteen years, was the delegate of the Free Religious Societies of Germany at the meeting of the German-American "Frei Gemeinden," held at Philadelphia in 1876. His discourses, delivered without notes, are generally upon ethical, social, or educational questions, and are well attended. Herr Schäfer also conducts two classes for the religious instruction of the children every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon. The text-book used by the children is a *Hand-book of Free Religion*, prepared by Herr Uhlich, a former Free Religious speaker at Magdeburg. The book has passed through six editions. It contains nine chapters, entitled respectively "The World," "Humanity," "The Individual," "The Law of Truth," "The Law of Right," "The Law of Beauty," "The Chief Human Relations," "The Future," "Free (Religious) Societies." Most of the chapters are divided into sections, each of which is an exposition of some important truth. Upon visiting one of the classes a short time ago, I found them considering the section in the chapter on "The Law of Right," which treats of our duties to plants and animals; and it was a pleasure to see the marked interest shown by the children in the subject.

Some weeks ago there was a very interesting Sunday service, at which twenty-four boys and girls, from fourteen to sixteen years old, each received a card signifying that they had passed through the *Religionsschule*, and were henceforth members of the society. Several pieces were spoken, and the right hand of fellowship was given to each one by Herr Schäfer. The hall was crowded; and many who came had to go away, being unable to get even a standing-place. It is interesting to know that the first kindergarten in Berlin was founded by this society in 1859. The school was kept up until several similar ones had been established with more means to carry on the work.

The ladies of Herr Schäfer's society have an organization, the purpose of which is "works of practical humanity." Frau Schäfer is one of the active members.

The second Free Religious society of which I spoke is an "Association for the Culture of the Free Religious Life." Social and literary gatherings are held one evening each week, and a public discourse is given the last Sunday in the month by Herr Sachse, the Free Religious speaker at Magdeburg. The society is small, but apparently very earnest.

The Free Religious movement in Germany stands upon the same broad basis of fellowship as the Free Religious Association, but it manifests a greater readiness for organization and propagandism; and this, it seems to me, is not a fault. I am glad to see that the subject of organization is now being agitated by the Free Religious Association. Unless the work of practical religion is to be abandoned, new organizations are necessary. The prejudice of some Liberals against organization arises from a belief that organization implies narrowness and exclusiveness, an unwholesome sectarianism. This, it seems to me, is not a necessary consequence. The societies of Florence and Providence prove that a *unity of purpose* can unite people, when that purpose is ethical and social culture and work, even without unity of thought. There is no doubt that a unity of philosophy would in many ways be a great advantage; but this we cannot hope for, at least, until a genuine scientific philosophy is established. In the only address I ever heard from Emerson's own lips, he said the world was still many centuries too young for a creed. But Emerson always taught that we are already in the possession of moral laws and of all that is necessary for the moulding of character and conduct. Have we not, then, a sufficient basis for organization? And have we not also a sufficient motive? The Free Religious movement, both in Germany and in the United States, as I understand it, is essentially an ethical movement. The best type of what this movement aims at is presented by Prof. Adler's society in New York. Some may deny that such a movement as this is religious; but, call it what one will, there are signs that it will be the successor of Christianity, and that it will work in a far better way for both human salvation and human progress. Whatever new ideas and new sentiments are represented in this new movement, its chief and ceaseless task must be to fulfil better than has ever yet been done the old law of practical righteousness. S. B. WESTON.

THE UNITARIAN SCAPEGOAT.

Editors of The Index :—

The old story was that the sins of the people were put upon the head of the goat, and that he carried them into the wilderness It seems to be essential to all systems of religion to have scapegoats. It has been made very plain by late events who or what is the Unitarian sin-bearer. Upon the withdrawal of Mr. Miln from the Unitarian ministry, the editor of the *Christian Register* said, "See how those men act who come out of the evangelical churches!" Also, when Mr. Wilson, of Bridgewater, made an injudicious statement about Paul, the cry was again raised against ministers coming out of the evangelical churches. Now, we imagine it is something new to the world to learn that the characteristic of evangelical ministers is a want of judgment, tact. Indeed, it is not uncommon to accuse them of having so much tact that they descend to cunning policy. It turns out in the case of Mr. Wilson that he has been a Unitarian for twenty years. Surely, he has been long enough under the influence of Unitarianism to have learned its ways.

To remedy this evil of injudicious conduct on the part of come-overs from the evangelical churches, two remedies are suggested. The one is by the editor of the *Christian Register*, and has been given by the editor several times. It is this: that the minister coming out should go to either Meadville or Harvard Divinity School. Without any controversy on the subject, we take Meadville out of the discussion as not of importance enough to merit notice. But, as to Harvard Divinity School, two objections may be raised. First, the men who come out are past the age of divinity school training. Some coming out are not unequal in scholarship to the learned editor of the *Register*. And it is difficult for us to imagine him taking his place alongside the youths in Princeton or Andover, should he change his views. Not less difficult is it to imagine a graduate of Princeton taking his place with the young men of Harvard who have just begun their divinity studies. Especially is this so when we remember that these ministers have been in charge for years of not unimportant churches.

A second objection is that, if one goes to Harvard, he does not find it suited to his needs. At least, it was not so. It may be, and no doubt is, admirably adapted to the fitting of students for the Unitarian ministry; but it can hardly be said to be the place for a man who was graduated in Princeton and has been in charge of a society to clear up his mind on difficult points. He goes over New Testament textual criticism, church history, Hebrew, etc., as in his own theological seminary. It may be different now: we trust it is. But we question the possibility of making an institution capable of meeting the wants of both young students and the older seekers. We are in great need of just such an institution as the editor of the *Register* imagines Harvard to be,—an institution for the study of theology, taken up where our divinity schools leave off. The writer has pleasant memories of Harvard, for he was kindly treated while there.

It is possible the editor of the *Christian Register* does not keep so distinctly in mind as he should the fact that no unimportant part of our Unitarian ministry is composed of men from the evangelical churches. The sons of Unitarian parents do not take kindly to the ministry, so that we believe few of those in our ministry have a long Unitarian lineage behind them. These ministers from the evangelical churches are doing a great work, and it has a tinge of jealousy in it for the *Register* to make them the scapegoat for ministerial blunders. We doubt whether a more severe and perhaps injudicious sentence was ever uttered by any one than that in Channing's sermon at the dedication of the church in New York, 1826, where he spoke of the cross as the gallows. Injudicious for his time it was, and we understand that in the late editions of his *Works* his words have been modified. Let us not make of any class a scapegoat.

The second remedy is that our parishes do not cull

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men fresh from the evangelical churches. This is not bad advice. But how carry it out? The person who recommended this as a cure for the evil forgets that there lies back of this remedy another; namely, that our parishes first dismiss all members who have come out of evangelical churches, then refuse to admit any more of that sort. Thus, we would have parishes which laid great stress on Unitarian lineage. But, as our parishes now are, they will choose living men and put up with some of their faults. We must not be understood as saying that born Unitarian ministers are not living men; but we do say the evangelical churches have supplied us with a goodly number of active, educated, and earnest workers. The parishes know this, and act upon it; and thus they now make it, and will continue to make it, impossible for those in the fold to keep others out. We are thankful this is so, for it is the tendency of us all to keep our good things to ourselves. We need all the help that will come to us, and we are ready to welcome it; for the fields are white unto the harvest. A. W.

EMERSON AND WALT WHITMAN.

Rev. John W. Chadwick replies to Mr. W. D. O'Connor.

To the Editor of the Tribune:—

Sir,—I have read with interest and with approval in the main, Mr. O'Connor's eloquent defence of Mr. Whitman's poetry. I do not wish to enter here into any discussion of the morality or taste of those sections of his poetry which have excited the holy wrath of Mr. Oliver Stevens. I do not believe that Mr. Whitman has written a line which is not pure and high in its *intention*. At the same time, true art appears to me to be more carefully selective of its themes and phrases than Mr. Whitman has shown himself to be. I yield to few, if any, in my admiration of the major part of all his poems; but, in some particulars, I find him simply nasty and disgusting. But my opinion has not been asked upon this head, and I presume to give it only by way of introduction to the real purpose of my letter.

This is Emerson's birthday, and if on any day in the year we ought to do him simple justice we ought to on this. And it seems to me that Mr. O'Connor's letter does him a great deal less than justice. It is, I am obliged to think, disingenuous to an astonishing degree. I cannot suppose that Mr. O'Connor is not perfectly informed; and, therefore, I cannot escape the feeling he has consciously and wilfully perverted and suppressed the truth, and Mr. Whitman's cause is, I think, too good to need any such doubtful measures of support.

The principal object of Mr. O'Connor's letter is to bring forward Mr. Emerson as the unqualified sanctioner of Mr. Whitman's poetry in general, and especially those parts that have made it liable to legal interference. He quotes Mr. Emerson's letter of 1855, and says that "never, to his undying hour, did he retract or qualify it in any way whatsoever." Surely, Mr. O'Connor has read the later productions of his "good gray poet" much less carefully than some of the rest of us, if he can make such a statement honestly. Whitman himself is much more honest. In a number of the *Critic* published a few months ago, Mr. Whitman reports an interview he had with Emerson. I am sorry that I have not the paper at my hand to quote his exact words, which would be more to my purpose than any paraphrase. They walked together on Boston Common; and Emerson's talk was an arraignment, in no dubious fashion, of all that part of Whitman's book entitled "Children of Adam," which contains the greater part of all that with which Mr. Oliver Stevens is offended. His argument, says Whitman, was most thoroughgoing and convincing, and after he had finished I was more than ever determined to go my own way.

This statement of Mr. Whitman's is absolutely final, and it is directly contradictory to Mr. O'Connor's that he "did not qualify in any way whatsoever" his letter of 1855. He qualified it so far—Mr. Whitman himself our witness—as entirely to destroy the force of Mr. O'Connor's letter, and to make it hereafter impossible for any one who knows the facts to speak of Emerson's "absolute indorsement" of Mr. Whitman's poetry. His admiration of its average quality was great, and justly so; but his disapproval of those things which have got Mr. Whitman into trouble was severe and unmistakable. So much, on Emerson's seventy-ninth birthday, it is only fair and decent for all just men to allow.

Yours truly, JOHN W. CHADWICK.

BROOKLYN, May 25, 1882.

P. S.—I have hunted up the *Critic* of Dec. 3, 1881, containing Mr. Whitman's statement, and it is herewith appended:—

Up and down this breadth by Beacon Street, between these same old elms, I walked for two hours, of a bright, sharp, February mid-day twenty-one years ago, with Emerson, then in his prime, keen, physically and morally magnetic, armed at every point, and, when he chose, wielding the emotional just as well as the intellectual. During those two hours, he was the talker and I the listener. It was an argument, statement, reconnoitring, review, attack, and press-in hose (like an army corps in order, artillery, cavalry, infantry) of all that could be said against that part (and a main part) in the construction of my poems, "Children of Adam." More precious than gold to me that dissertation,—I only wish I had it now, *ve batim*. It afforded me, ever after, this strange and paradoxical lesson: each point of E.'s statement was unanswerable, no judge's charge ever more complete or convincing, I could never hear the points better put,—and then I felt down in my soul the clear and unmistakable conviction to disobey all, and pursue my own way. "What have you to say then to such things?" said E., pausing in conclusion. "Only that, while I can't answer them at all, I feel more settled than ever to adhere to my own theory, and exemplify it," was my candid response. Whereupon, we went and had a good dinner at the American House.

J. W. C.

BROOKLYN, May 27.

—*New York Tribune.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

IN a published discourse by a prominent Spiritualist (Mr. J. M. Peebles) on "The Eclipse and Decline of Darwinism" occurs the following:

The fact that Darwinism is posited upon a miracle is enough of itself to throw suspicion upon the whole hypothesis. . . . These are Mr. Darwin's words *verbatim*: "Life was originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms, or into one; and whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning, endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved."

Now, it is not true that "Darwinism is posited upon a miracle." It is not true that Darwin affirms belief in a miracle as the origin of life on this globe. The quotation given by Mr. Peebles (from some unfair opponent of Darwinism, second-hand, probably, *is a garbled quotation*. Darwin does *not* say, "Life was originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one." He does not affirm *any* theory as to how life originated. But in his *Origin of Species*, written more than twenty years ago, he attempts to allay religious prejudice by saying in substance what is quite true that the origin of life is a mystery which his theory leaves unexplained; that this fact is not a valid objection to his theory; that the development of species from a few forms or from one is in no way derogatory to the character of Deity; that, on the theory of direct, divine action, the idea of God breathing life into a few forms or into one and evolving therefrom, according to law, all the organic forms now on the earth, is quite as grand as the idea that all species were created by miracle. But it is best to give, on this point, Darwin's own words, including the sentence which is garbled in Mr. Peebles' lecture:—

It is no valid objection that science as yet throws no light on the far higher problem of the essence or origin of life. Who can explain what is the essence of the attraction of gravity? No one now objects to following out the results consequent on this unknown element of attraction, notwithstanding that Leibnitz formerly accused Newton of introducing "occult qualities and miracles into philosophy." I see no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious *feelings* of any one. It is satisfactory, as showing how transient such impressions are, to remember that the greatest discovery ever made by man—namely, the law of the attraction of gravity—was also attacked by Leibnitz as "subversive of natural and inferentially of revealed religion." A celebrated author and divine has written to me that "he has gradually learned to see that it is just as noble a conception of the Deity to believe that he created a few original forms capable of self-development into other and needful forms, as to believe that it required a fresh act of creation to supply the void caused by the action of his laws." (*Origin of Species*, p. 429, fifth edition. 1870. D. Appleton & Co.)

After mentioning the laws of growth, reproduction, inheritance, variability, struggle for life, and natural selection, Mr. Darwin adds:—

Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the highest animal, directly follows. *Thus there is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.* (Ibid., p. 437.)

BOOK NOTICES.

BIRD-BOLTS: SHOTS ON THE WING. By Francis Tiffany. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. 1882. Price 75 cents.

Mr. Tiffany has done well to put into more permanent form in this little volume the pieces which he has from time to time contributed to the Boston *Sunday Herald*, *Christian Register*, and possibly other journals. There is a good deal of more pretentious writing that gets into books that is not half so worthy of it. Mr. Tiffany is one whose eye is always open and mind alert to catch the significance of the humblest and homeliest as well as sublimest events in human experience, and the articles here reprinted are the result of this habit. They are full of wisdom and wit. They will make the reader laugh and set him thinking at the same time. The drollest illustrations and most comical conceits mingle with the sharpest critical analysis of prevalent social customs and of dangerous tendencies in modern life. It is an excellent book to put into the pocket or satchel for vacation-time. Here is one of its suggestive sentences, taken from one of the more serious chapters. "If there be anything in the wide universe man has a divine right to abhor and surge against, it is mere units,—units in the landscape, units in the family, units in the State and Church; unblent, unfused individualities, angular, sharp-cornered, fitting as parts into nothing larger, richer, grander than themselves."

PAUL DREIFUSS. His Holiday Abroad. By John W. Allen, Jr. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, publisher.

This tastefully bound and nicely printed volume seems to be the literal record of a holiday passed in England and France by a genial, thoughtful, kindly-natured elderly gentleman, who in a leisurely way took notice of many things unknown to, or overlooked by, the ordinary tourist. He seems to have made an especial study of the politics of the two countries visited, and his remarks thereon are replete with good judgment and common-sense. The work is written in a readable and entertaining style, though it is not at all sensational; but is a liberal-minded, restful, and apparently truthful record of travel.

AMONG the most interesting articles in the *Catholic World* for August we count "St. Monica among the Philosophers," by Rev. F. C. Kolbe, and a sketch of "Denis Florence MacCarthy," whom the writer, T. F. Crane, declares "Ireland's greatest poet since Moore." Rev. J. F. Callaghan, D.D., discusses "The Cincinnati Pastoral and its Critics," defending the former. The tone of this essay can be inferred from such statements as these: "Liberty never did exist except under the shadow of the cross. Equality has no home except at the altar on which the shadow of that cross falls. . . . Take the Catholic Church out of the world, and liberty would sink into an eternal grave. If Protestant nations are free, it is because they once were Catholic. If a republic was built in this New World, Catholic principles were the architect." The other articles are "A French Country Family in the Seventeenth Century," by Elizabeth R. Barker; "The Irish in Chili," by C. M. O'Keefe; "St. Peter's Chair in the First Two Centuries," by Rev. A. F. Hewitt; "Was St. Paul in Britain?" by Rev. S. M. Brandi; "The Revival of Italian Literature in the Eighteenth Century," by Hugh P. McElrone; "The Word *Missa*, Mass," by Rev. J. E. Keller. There are also two continued stories. In the review of new publications there is a very fair notice of the late Henry Giles' book, *Human Life in Shakspere*, in which, however, occurs this statement: "Years ago, Cardinal Wiseman made it tolerably clear that Shakspere was a Catholic. There is one argument, however, that ought to be sufficient. It is this: Shakspere lived and wrote in Elizabeth's time, and, to a certain extent, for Elizabeth's court. Yet, though he distorted history in favor of the Tudors, and though it was the fashionable thing at court to rail against Catholicity, there is

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not, from one end of his works to the other, anything that, if rightly understood, is in opposition to Catholic dogma. Shakspere's religion, which is everywhere present in his serious works, is undoubtedly Christian and Catholic. The cultivated Catholic, in fact, finds meanings in Shakspere that are continually missed or ludicrously misunderstood by the most learned of Shakspere's non-Catholic commentators. One great defect, indeed, of a certain German school of Shaksperian commentators has been that it has striven to measure the morality of Shakspere by an atheistic fatalism."

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for August has the following table of contents: "Two on a Tower," by Thomas Hardy; "At the Summit," one of O. W. Holmes' sweetest poems; "Across Africa," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Some Account of Thomas Tucker," a strong character story, by Rose Terry Cooke; "The Weather-vane," a poem, by Edith M. Thomas; "Studies in the South"; "New Faiths," short poem, by S. W. Weitzel; "Dr. Zay," by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; "A Study in Sociology," a discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of capital and labor, by Miss M. A. Hardaker; "The Gods said, Love is Blind," a poem, by H. H.; "The House of a Merchant Prince," by W. H. Bishop; "Ralph Waldo Emerson," a careful study of his character, philosophy, and genius, by his friend, Prof. W. T. Harris. There are, in addition, several short articles on literary topics unsigned, and a supplement containing a detailed account of the garden party recently given Harriet Beecher Stowe, by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

"WIDE-AWAKE" for August is at hand. Mrs. Louisa T. Craigin contributes a true and charmingly told story of a Fourth of July "Floral Procession," which will be read with deep interest by Boston children. Mrs. Lizzie W. Champney takes us through a delightful picture gallery in telling us how "John Angelo visits the Water-Color Exhibition," in which she gives thirty-one *fac-simile* illustrations of a recent exhibition in New York. Over fourteen pages are devoted to the words and music of an operetta, "The Rebellion of the Daisies," by Louis C. Elson; "A Youthful Martyr" is a very taking poem, by M. E. B. The illustrations, as usual, are very fine, and all the reading matter inviting. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for August has a list of eighteen articles, seven of them in verse, including a song with music, and all accompanied by one or more beautiful and appropriate illustrations. Boston: Russell Publishing House, 36 Bromfield Street.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

IN a volume of Emerson's works greatly treasured by Prof. Tyndall, he has written the words, "Purchased by inspiration."

IT will surprise many to learn that Eliza Cook, the poetess, is still living. She has been for the past eighteen years blind and infirm.

GEORGE H. ELLIS has just issued in neat form Mr. Frederic A. Hinckley's timely address, entitled "Thoughts suggested by the Death of Jennie Cramer."

IT is reported that John Bright will visit America during the recess of Parliament, and it is not unlikely that he will deliver addresses in many of the principal cities.

ANOTHER of Carlyle's diaries has come to light,—that of his journey to Paris after the revolution of 1848. It is said to contain many sketches of notable Frenchmen.

SOME one writing of Emerson says finely of him that he "did not help his hearers by coming down to their level: he raised them by always standing higher and *lifting them up*."

MISS EDITH SIMCOX, author of the philosophical work *Natural Law*, has just published in London a volume of short stories, entitled *Episodes in the Lives of Men, Women, and Lovers*.

QUEEN VICTORIA has just completed the forty-fifth year of her reign. Only three other English sovereigns have exceeded this: Henry III. reigned fifty-six years, Edward III. reigned fifty, and George III. sixty years.

HABLOT KNIGHT BROWNE, better known as "Phiz," the illustrator of Dickens's later works, is reported dead, by a cable despatch from London, at the age of sixty-seven. He was a successful caricaturist, well known in English literary circles.

EX-GOVERNOR WASHBURN'S will was filed at La Crosse, Wis., last week. It bequeaths $375,000 for the establishment and maintenance of the Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum at Minneapolis, and $50,000 for a public library at La Crosse.

THOMAS JEFFERSON is at last to have a monument erected over his grave at Monticello, Va., Congress having appropriated $10,000 for that purpose, and the Secretary of State having last week approved the design submitted by Col. T. L. Casey. It is to be of granite, eighteen feet in height. The following inscription will be cut upon the obelisk, "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia." On the die will be inscribed, "Born April 2, 1643, O.S.; died July 4, 1826." These inscriptions were selected by Jefferson himself.

THE Newport correspondent of the Boston *Traveller* —presumably, from the initials, Miss Lilian Whiting —writes thus of the new pastor of the Channing Memorial Church in that city: "Mr. Wendte has grown up from boyhood in and around Newport, and his return now to scenes endeared from early association is mutually pleasant to himself and the friends who greet him. A man of profound learning, of fine classical attainments and a literary taste that goes far beyond the appreciative into the creative force, of swift sympathies, of broad directive power, and an unfailing intuition, Mr. Wendte is indeed peculiarly calculated for the pastorate of the Channing Memorial."

MISS FANNY PARNELL, sister of the Irish agitator, Charles Stewart Parnell, died very suddenly of paralysis of the heart, at Bordentown, N.J., on Thursday, P.M., July 20, aged twenty-nine years. Miss Parnell has been one of the most active leaders of the Ladies' Land League in this country, her sister Anna being as active in Ireland. Both were in thorough sympathy with their brother. Miss Fanny possessed fine poetic talent of a high order. Last week's *Independent* contained a beautiful poem from her pen, entitled "Shalōm Lâchem"; and her poems in the *Pilot* and other organs of Irish sympathizers have done much to inspire Irish patriotism and awaken enthusiasm for the cause to which her brother has devoted his services. Her death will be greatly deplored and regretted, even by those who had no interest in her enthusiastic sympathy for Ireland's wrongs.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS, of New York, has been in this city a week, stopping at Hotel Union, where he informs us he has held two or three parlor meetings which were attended by thinkers and radicals of different schools. Mr. Andrews, who is generally regarded as mystical, or at least difficult of comprehension, as a writer, is never otherwise than clear before the public or in private conversation. The difference, he says, is due to the fact that in the great body of his voluminous writings he is engaged in expounding universology as a rigorous science, requiring its own technicality as much as chemistry, while in his conversations he deals generally with more common subjects. During a visit to *The Index* office a few days ago, Mr. Andrews gave us as the basis of his philosophy, which he terms Integralism, the following terse sentence, which he calls the platform motto: "In things proven, unity; in whatsoever can be doubted, free diversity; in all things not trenching upon others' rights, liberty; in all things, charity."

A PROMINENT member of the Melbourne Society of Spiritualists writes to the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* that "Thomas Walker has settled down into a materialist lecturer, denying his own mediumship." On which, the *Journal* remarks: "This was to have been expected, inasmuch as the Toronto (Canada) Spiritualists proved him several years since to be a fraud, cheat, and trickster. His accomplice, as well as himself, got badly burned with phosphorus while trying to show lights and materialized forms in a dark séance. Materialists and Secularists are welcome to their convert." It is fair to inquire whether this Mr. Walker was known to be a "fraud" by the editors of Spiritualistic journals before he renounced Spiritualism, and, if so, whether they made known his character and repudiated him as a representative. The reports of Mr. Walker that we have seen in these journals have been invariably favorable to him; but, if all this time he was known to be "a fraud, cheat, and trickster," the public should have been acquainted with the fact.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	49
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Enlightened Reverence, Wm. J. Potter,	50
Iconoclasm and Art, Moncure D. Conway,	50
A Danger in the Republic, M. A. Hardaker,	51
The Creed of Science, John W. Chadwick,	52
Prayer, Robert C. Adams,	53
EDITORIAL NOTES,	54
POETRY.	
Phædra, B. W. Ball,	54
ESSAY.	
What Form of Agnosticism may become the Religion of the Future? William Frey,	55
CORRESPONDENCE.	
A Correction, B. W. Ball,	57
MISCELLANEOUS,	57
BOOK NOTICES.	
Natural Religion,	58
Christian Thought, by Albert Walkley,	58
Christianity Outside of Christendom, by Rev. E. L. Rexford, D D.,	58
The Century Magazine, St. Nicholas, Baby-Land,	58
PERSONAL ITEMS,	58
RELIGIOUS CULTURE OF THE YOUNG, F. A. H.,	59

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE latest we have seen from Dr. Jones of the Jacksonville, Ill., Plato Club and Concord School of Philosophy, is the following: "Instead of man's being developed from lower creatures, the best and most ancient history proves exactly the reverse, and that savages are the 'fag-end,' not the beginning, of civilization."

"IT is a little strange," remarks the *Independent*, "that the leaders of the Irish cause, from Curran to Parnell, have so many of them been Protestants. Miss Fanny Parnell, the poet of the cause, who died last week, was a most devout writer; but yet her religious faith, we suppose, was too liberal to be even 'evangelical.'"

PUBLIC schools have been established in Belgium. Until recently, the Catholic Church has had entire control of the schools in the kingdom, and the priests are now bitter in their opposition to public schools. Fortunately, the liberal party has a majority in Parliament. A movement has been started, the object of which is to disendow the clerical schools.

THE Concord correspondent of the *Transcript* writes: "Mr. Alcott thought that, when we are asleep, the mind leaves the brain and goes back into the various memories of the past, and that this accounts for the vagaries of sleep. Mr. Sanborn said that last night he dreamed he was the guardian of Queen Elizabeth, and that he would like an explanation of it, to which Mr. Alcott observed that the dreamer had only made a mistake in time."

THE widow of a Methodist minister, who died lately in England, wished to be buried beside her husband. This the vicar would not permit, but consented to the burial of the body in an unconsecrated part of the cemetery, on condition that the procession should not go in at the ordinary entrance, "because," says an exchange, "the passing of the non-conformists over consecrated ground would hurt the feelings of churchmen." What tender feelings churchmen must have!

THE prohibitory liquor law of Iowa, strictly enforced, would, it is stated, prevent the purchase of wine for sacramental purposes; and the churches are now in doubt as to their duty in the matter. Some of them use unfermented grape-juice; but the Presbyterians of Vinton, determined to have something, in commemorating the Lord's Supper, a little more pleasant to the taste and warming to the stomach than "unfermented grape-juice," have voted to defy the law and to indemnify the druggist who sells to them.

EVERY day adds to the complications of the Egyptian question. The Sultan is evidently displeased with the action of England, hesitates to denounce Arabi Pacha as a rebel, or to make known the course he will pursue. The situation has led to a crisis in France, where President Grévy is trying to form a new cabinet. Meanwhile, Arabi's forces are said to be increasing in numbers; and at a meeting held at Cairo last Saturday, composed of prominent Egyptian leaders, the course of Arabi was sustained, and the judgment of the conference is to be submitted to the Porte. What will be the outcome of this trouble nobody can tell.

"THERE is much to be learned," observes the London *Inquirer*, "from the 'Salvation Army' and its success. It calls strong attention to wants and needs that will be met somehow; and, though an orgy of degraded theology is better than a drunken revel. the two things should not be regarded as necessary alternatives. It would be absurd to expect the cultured and the uncultured, refined natures and coarse ones, to think and feel alike upon religion or upon any other matter; but we cannot conceive it to be other than a grave error when religion is lowered to suit the meanest capacity, instead of being held aloft as the highest to which man aspires."

AT a meeting of the Jersey City branch of the Freight Handlers' Union, the following from Prof. Felix Adler was read by the president of the central body of the strikers: "Permit me to express the earnest sympathy which I feel for your cause. I am convinced that justice and policy alike demand that labor in this country shall not be subjected to the degrading condition to which it has been reduced elsewhere. I admire with my whole heart the moderation which the freight handlers have displayed in the assertion of their just claims, and believe that, whatever the result of the present movement may be, the example you have set will long be remembered to your credit, and will serve to conciliate public opinion in your favor. Enclosed, please find contribution of $100 to your fund."

A CONVENTION of free thinkers is to be held at Watkins Glen, N.Y., August 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27, under the auspices of the New York Free Thinkers' Association. Everybody is invited to attend; and any speaker who desires to present his views, on any subject we presume, will be afforded an opportunity. Last year, the Secretary of the Association wrote us that "the free lovers were conspicuous by their absence, to the satisfaction of many of us,"—a representation which proved untrue, but to which we replied in *The Index* thus: "We will only remark on this point that the platform of a convention called for no specific purpose, designed only to afford an arena for the discussion of matters in general, should be as free to free lovers as to any other class of agitators." It is certain that class will not go unrepresented this year, the person who wrote us as above having taken pains to engage several well-known apostles of free-love doctrines.

W. C. GANNETT laments in *Unity* a lost opportunity to Western Unitarianism. The opportunity was to put the words "freedom, fellowship, and character in religion" into the articles of incorporation of the Western Unitarian Conference, which might then have decidedly witnessed that *Western* Unitarianism, at least, stands "for a method and a spirit and a moral purpose rather than for any intellectual beliefs whatever." The words were adopted, however, as a motto for the seal of the Conference. For the articles, they were thought too "sentimental" and "unbusiness-like." Mr. Gannett asks what then is the Unitarian "business," if not the accomplishment of the ends expressed in those words. His comfort is in holding the Unitarian "communion" to be broader than the Unitarian "denomination"; and he persists, with a persistence more creditable to his heart than his understanding, in hoping that the day may come when the two things will be one. An historic movement that has gone decidedly in one direction is not likely to reverse its steps. The bearers of the idea for which Mr. Gannett contends are few and scattered. Would that *they* might come together, and perhaps another movement would come!

THE New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is, according to a report printed in the *Tribune*, accomplishing a much needed work in behalf of those living in tenement houses, who, says Howard Potter, president of the association, are in many instances "the victims of a white slavery more oppressive and more degrading than was that of the negroes in the South," being afraid to make complaints against their landlords, however bad be the condition of the houses in which they live. Many of these old dwellings are in a condition that imperils the health and lives of tenants. Cellars, containing wet, offensive mud caused by leakage from backyards, waste-pipes not ventilated, leaky roofs, halls dirty and not whitewashed for years, chimneys at the top leaning and dangerous, vaults full and closets foul, are among the defects found in buildings owned by wealthy individuals or corporations and occupied by tenants. Many of these dwellings are owned by the Trinity Church Corporation. Their attention has been called to the disgracefully bad condition of some of their tenement houses, and they have taken steps to remedy the evils. The Association proposes to advertise in the New York daily papers a list of such houses as have been inspected and reported to the Board of Health three or more times without being remedied.

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ENLIGHTENED REVERENCE.

In the sentiment of reverence, whether in religion or elsewhere, fear has hitherto been a dominant element. In religion, the Being himself who has been presented as the supreme object of worship has been generally invested with such terrific, fear-inspiring attributes that the fear has naturally been transferred to the places, books, institutions, customs associated with him. The prevailing Hebrew and Christian delineations of Deity have given to the universe a ruler against whom all the better sentiments of human nature, when capable of acting freely, would instinctively rise in revolt. It is very intelligible why some modern sceptics should bitterly hate, as they appear to do, the very sight of a church, a clergyman, and a Bible. It is because these are all associated in their minds with memories of hours when, on Sunday, in their childhood, they were compelled to listen to doctrines about God which sent such a terror into their young hearts that, though they no longer believe the doctrines, they have never been able wholly to escape from it.

Reverence may well spare this element of fear, which has been so powerful an ingredient in it. And, sometimes, reverence itself may seem to be vanishing because of the decrease of the fear in which it has so largely consisted. But the constituent parts of a much higher and finer kind of reverence remain. With fear as a predominating element of it, reverence is a semi-physical emotion,—an instinctive shrinking of the nerves from the demonstrations of an apparently hostile, vindictive, and destructive power. But, as fear goes out of it, reverence rises into an intellectual and moral emotion. Then it is not so much the power itself as the inner significance of the power that is felt,—the vastness of the time through which it has worked, the grandeur of the results, in great and in little, which it achieves, the far-reaching and noble purposes it holds in aim. And the fear de parts before enlightenment. Fear is the natural ally of ignorance and superstition. It is born of mental darkness. It belongs to the night-time of the human intellect, when things are seen dimly and out of their true proportions, and the imagination conjures up baneful mysteries. The daylight of knowledge comes, the reality is seen, and the fear vanishes. But reverence may consist with reality. This is the lesson which nineteenth century knowledge is teaching us. The objects of reverential emotion may be changed, the sentiment may be elevated and widened in its grasp, and its practical operation be much transformed; and yet the sentiment itself may abide. The real object of reverence is the veritable *truth* of things. Nothing, certainly, that the finite human mind can by its power of imagination conceive of the universe should be so fitted to excite wonder and awe and the grace of modest humility as the stupendous grandeur of the real universe itself. It is *truth* that properly excites the emotion of reverence,—truth in all its vast and wonderful actuality as it comes within the domain of man's existing knowledge, and truth in all the infinite immensity of its possibilities as enfolded within the universe yet beyond man's knowledge.

Science, certainly, is not irreverent. The genuine man of science often, indeed, loses himself in wonder and becomes a rapt worshipper, as he traces the workings of the mighty power in nature through the pathways and byways by which he, in thought, travels after it in the phenomena he is investigating. If man could stand with reverence before nature when he believed that genii and spirits dwelt immediately within all natural phenomena as their vital impulse, shall he have less of reverence when his own investigating intellect has discovered that all nature's energies and laws and operations are but modes in the activity of one supreme force which, beginningless and endless, is ceaselessly shaping the universe, from its minutest atoms of dust to its most splendid galaxies of planets and suns? Science guides reverence away from the debased shrines of an ignorant and grovelling worship, but thereby saves instead of destroying it. It was the philosopher Kant who said that two things filled him with reverence,—the starry heavens and the moral nature of man.

And the latter part of this remark points to another most important constituent of an enlightened reverence, namely, the moral element. And it is reverence for *man* that represents this moral element; not man as he always is, but man in all the magnitude and glory of his capabilities. In material nature, in its laws, forces, majestic forms, and gigantic operations, we have, so to speak, the intellectual side of the universe presented. But, until the universe brought forth man, there appeared in it, so far as concerns human cognizance, no moral consciousness. It is man who completes and reveals the fulness of nature's aim by translating her truth into virtue. Reading her law and purpose, man consciously and voluntarily confesses his allegiance to that law and purpose, and brings the new force of his personality to pushing them into larger activity. Nowhere, therefore, in all the universe which man's eye gazes upon, with all its magnificent wonders, all its mysteries of power and beauty, from the "starry heavens" above him to the tiny flower of perfect harmony of form and color that blooms at his feet, is there anything more entitled to call forth his reverence than what he finds in the possibilities of his own nature. In all the scene gazed upon there is nothing more wondrous than the power wrapped in the gazer himself. There is no mystery more profound than that man's sentient frame, itself a marvel of nature's art, made of the dust-atoms of the earth, should be consciously thinking and working out the world's thought. Nowhere else does man seem to get so near to the mysteries of the secret creative power that is the life-force of the universe.

The things, then, that are most worthy to receive and that will receive the homage of enlightened reverence are the things which man himself represents in the universe and inherently reveres when he stands at his highest level of mental and moral attainment: not so much power as the wisdom and goodness that control power; not so much office as the character in the office; not so much even gray hairs and old age as that "wisdom which is the gray hairs unto men, and that unspotted life which is old age"; not so much achievement and skill as achievement and skill put to beneficent ends; not so much mystery in itself as a mystery that is ever unfolding into a finer order, a more harmonious beauty, a nobler virtue, a more abounding completeness and felicity of life. The objects of enlightened reverence in religion are not the imperfect conceptions, the creeds, the institutions, the Bibles, the shrines, which at any time have been associated with man's strivings to express his homage, but they are the realities themselves behind these transient faiths and forms, which these have only dimly shadowed. They are truth, right, goodness, or the things that forever and evermore make up *righteousness of character*. No being, of however ancient and holy religious name, that does not have this entire righteousness of character can have man's enlightened reverence; and every being that has this righteousness of character is to that extent worthy of man's best homage. And if this enlightened reverence does not attach itself so closely as once it did to creeds and so-called sacred books and forms, it is because it is seeking the deeper word of truth that is ever above and back of them. If it does not always enter the old churches, it is because it finds them too confined for all the fulness of the truth to which it gives its devotion. If it is leaving the venerable shrines of ancient familiar saints, it is because it is looking for the actual sainthood that may be revealed in the familiar lives of men and women to-day.

WM. J. POTTER.

ICONOCLASM AND ART.

I cannot agree with my friend Prof. Adler that an organization like the Free Religious Association ought to incorporate itself in institutions, however practical and benevolent they may be; but do think with him that means should be provided, when and where possible, to train men and women for the work of diffusing Free Religious ideas and principles. It should not be forgotten, however, that this can only be done by resolutely adhering to and cultivating the ideas themselves. If practical embodiments of the ideas be made before the ideas themselves have been matured, and before they have won the sympathy and confidence of those who represent the old institutions, there is danger that the new forms will be crude, unattractive, and injurious. Let any one read Emerson's Divinity College address of 1838, and then ask himself what near prospect there is of seeing that gospel embodied in any visible institutions. It contemplates an organization coextensive with the New World. All the poetry and sentiment, the hearts and homes, the art and devoutness, have got first to be won over to that new colony before the fair City of Man can be built. But for this we certainly do require that young minds should be trained in the art of persuasion, that they should be cultivated in taste, eloquence, and in knowledge, so that the symbols of the past shall be seen by their worshippers as mere scoriæ of the treasure they are really seeking.

The English secularists are just now going through experiences which bear on this point. I had occasion recently to defend them in your columns from a rather wholesale charge that they are "an ignorant and prejudiced body of men, who give Sunday concerts and cheap lectures." I mentioned several who are educated and able lecturers, and said that, as a body, they examine their lecturers with care. Nevertheless, it must now be admitted, on the other hand, that this precaution has come as the result of dearly-bought experience, and that it has come too late to save them from being compromised by the crude elements in their organization. When they were organized, many years ago, they were a good deal less discriminating in the people they put forward and the books they published than they would be now if they had the same thing to do over again. A result appears as I write. On Tuesday, July 11, the proprietor, editor, and printer of the *Freethinker* were hailed before the Lord Mayor of London for having published a blasphemous libel in that paper. I have not read the "blasphemy" complained of, but the paper in question, though edited by a man of ability (G. W. Foote), has a reputation for admitting coarse and violent articles which repel those who ought to be enlightened. The real object of the prosecution, however, is not to suppress blasphemy, nor even to punish the men who are arraigned,—it is to get at Mr. Bradlaugh. Under the 9th and 10th William III., cap. xii., two convictions would render him "forever" incapable of sitting in Parliament. At present, Mr. Bradlaugh is kept out of Parliament illegally, by sheer brute force. It was hoped, by a prosecution for having sat and voted in Parliament without taking the

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oath,—which he was not allowed to take,—that he might be made bankrupt, which would have legally disqualified him from taking his seat. But his adherents paid the money. Now, his bitterest enemy, Sir H. W. Tyler, M.P., has instituted these proceedings against the *Freethinker*, because it is printed in the same office as the *National Reformer*, hoping to draw Bradlaugh into it. He has a fair prospect of success. Already, a summons has been issued against Mr. Bradlaugh, although Tyler has found nothing to assail in his own paper or writings. The National Secular Society has resolved to support the defence in every way they can, and can hardly help it, though it brings their educated and careful writers into a position beside the illiterate and reckless, which misrepresents them. Such a prosecution is of course a two-edged sword. One edge lays bare Christian meanness and hostility to free speech; but the other edge wounds the cause of free thought by advertising all the crude and coarse elements that adhere to it. And corresponding to these two edges are the two morals: 1. The danger of too much practical organization in an immature movement, especially of the kind that invests it with pecuniary interests; and, 2. The need of sufficient organization to secure a refined and artistic expression and development of the ideas represented in the movement.

While these managers of the *Freethinker* are on trial, and not unlikely to be sent to prison,—for, haply, no free thinkers ever succeed in equalling their opponents in stupidity,—a much more radical and sweeping work than any they ever conceived is enjoying an unopposed circulation, and this simply because it is a work of art. The title of it is: *The Trinity. A Nineteenth Century Passion-Play. The Son; or, Victory of Love.* It is preceded by a quotation from Locke, "God, when he makes the prophet, does not unmake the man." It is the first work of a young man named Pearson, a graduate with honors of both Cambridge and Bonn. He is a Fellow of Trinity at Cambridge, where his dramatic poem is printed. He is also a law student at the Temple. The work lacks some of that "external perfection which can neither be commanded nor described," but every line of it is freighted with force and feeling. There is a "Prologue in Chaos," where the Spirit of Negation summons his Demons of Doubt, Ambition and Lust—who each defend their function in the world,—and sends them forth to tempt the new-born prophet who will endanger the growth of the human mind. Jesus passes every ordeal to the last. Here Mary Magdalene appears on the scene, a beautiful genius, with every charm of person and mind, representing the ideas of Goethe and Schopenhauer blended. Trampled by a world to which she is superior, appealing for sympathy, exalted by her recognition of the prophet as the one man worthy of desire and admiration, she at last finds him at a moment of depression, of hopelessness for his cause, and kindles in him a glowing vision of love and happiness on earth. With delicate art, the poet secures the quick flash of feeling between these two from even a suggestion of vulgar passion. The burning words pass at the instant of parting. They look to the joy of a human heart rising from the ashes of a vain world-dream. Mary, triumphant, at the same time loving, dreams of a coming joy which shall turn all her horrible past to purity and beauty. Jesus presses out into the wilderness and there confronts his forsaken ideal as a Satan, armed with all terrors. The struggle between the prophet and the man is told in a masterly manner. When next Mary meets him, she has drawn near to a crowd he is addressing. Then he speaks of the right hand that must be cut off if it cause one to stumble; and, looking toward the Magdalene, says, "They that have ears to hear, let them hear!" Mary sees that her victory has ended with its first pæan. There is another scene between them, and she parts from Jesus with bitterness. After other scenes, once more they are together, when he protects her from death. Thenceforth, she lives for him alone. The touching scenes related in the New Testament are finely intertwined, and gain pathos from the romance; and there is one scene that is remarkably beautiful: Jesus is asleep at eventide beside Jacob's Well. The Magdalene enters, and noiselessly places a flask of wine and food near him. She gazes sorrowfully upon him for a moment, and then steals away. She knows that the end is near. Jesus awakes and soliloquizes; his tone gets more despairing, and he cries:—

"All, all is false!
Nothing accomplished, not one jot achieved!"

Then he perceives the bread and wine. He drinks of the wine, and says:—

"Nay, nay, not all is false! At least one soul
Is saved, one purer joy at least is won.
Such deed alone is worth a life of woe."

When Jesus is fainting under his cross, the Magdalene wipes the sweat from his face. Jesus says to her, "Mary, remember me." Mary answers, "I cannot live without thee, Lord!"

The poem fills two hundred pages. I can merely give part even of the scheme of it. You will see that it is an able work; but it is more interesting as a promise than as a performance, and still more as a promise of our time than as that of its author. I doubt not he will have an eminent career; but it is a happier hope that, as the young intellect of our time is educated out of the old superstitions, it will turn them into poetry, transmute them to truth, break up the chain into charms. It is about time for the leathern-girt iconoclast to make way for the artist.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

A DANGER IN THE REPUBLIC.

Those who have noted the very optimistic political philosophy of Gov. Long's Fourth of July oration at the Boston Theatre, especially readers of hopeful, impressible, and sympathetic mind, will have found it hard not to fall in with its pleasant prophecies. The general tenor of Gov. Long's review of the unfortunate tendencies in our nation is that such have always existed, and that prophecies of danger have always been rife; but that we have nevertheless overridden the storms and have still a prosperous present and a promising future. This optimism, which we would so gladly indorse, is the historic continuation of that which has controlled us in the past. Starting with a fairly sound national constitution, we have acquired the germs of disease by bad diet. The civil war was a thing by itself due to our political inconsistency. Two other evils have hung over us,—one the possibility of a religious war due to the overgrowth of Catholicism, a possibility which all good observers now admit to be past; the other, social and political disintegration due to low ideals, love of show, and greed of gain. To the latter evil, we are now so thoroughly awake, and have become so completely ashamed of it as viewed both in the sight of other nations and of ourselves, that there is a likelihood of our gradually outgrowing it.

Our greatest present danger is from another cause. Warnings of it are plentiful in the strikes that have been occuring in all the more densely populated States for ten years past. Unless a greater wisdom than has yet been available be applied to the evil, a tremendous organized conflict of labor against capital or of poverty against wealth will arise in the United States within the next decade. It needs no deep student of our national characteristics to foretell the shape which this new movement will take. It will undoubtedly be a political movement. We shall see the flags and mottoes of the "labor party," and its creed will be substantially that of European socialism. The socialistic scheme of government has a special fascination for immature and superficial minds. Such minds, we shall be obliged to confess, in keeping with Matthew Arnold's criticism, make a large proportion of our people. The more pliant of the so-called religious liberals manifest peculiar susceptibilities to new political and social theories. It has been often noted that social heresies follow upon the heels of religious heresies with astonishing celerity. Yet it is perfectly possible that religious rationalism might be intolerant of political rationalism, and that the largest free thinker in religion might be narrow in politics. Hence, a theory should be put upon the stand, should be thoroughly inquired of and made to undergo the severest cross-examination. Experiments tried upon human society are costly things, and if tried upon a grand scale, as almost always happens in American experiments, are likely to involve needless loss of time. If, out of already existing experience, we can reason to probable results, we are bound to avail ourselves of such help.

The socialistic theory of society has no unknown elements. All the materials for a conclusion are at hand. In the first place, more than forty communistic experiments have been tried in America, and nearly all have been utter failures. The main hindrance was that they could not keep out of debt. The good things constantly divided among so many grew discouragingly less. The consumers outstripped the contributors, and no will and intelligence were made authoritative enough to organize the rest into a successful bread-winning body. These small experiments ought to show convincingly that a reconstruction of society upon the co-operative basis is hopeless in the present development of human nature. In a manufacturing community, it is the planning of a few good heads that enables the less able members of society to attain reliable means of support. But the good organizers can do this only by having control of funds and methods. The socialistic idea is the legitimate offspring of our axiom of political equality. If every man have a voice in the general administrative policy of the country, why should not every man help determine the economic and industrial interests of the people? and why should not those interests be lumped together and the functions of government be extended to include them? If governments could only be induced to assume the obligation of assuring prosperity to all their citizens, then indeed would this bugbear of poverty disappear and our social millennium would begin. The proposition is a very tempting one; and the serious danger is that in this country, at least, enough of the Christian philosophy of the obligation of the strong toward the weak is lingering to win for the plan many disciples among the refined and sympathetic who have not made careful studies of social causes and sequences. Modern socialism as developed by Rousseau is an undeniable sympathetic excrescence. Suffering himself and seeing suffering about him, and being of gentle and earnest nature, without a powerful will or reason, he worked out this remedy. Civilization was to call a retreat, and the horrible words "mine" and "thine" were to be abolished. Rousseau is responsible for French communism and German socialism, although his ideas have been variously supplemented and modified by later reformers. These schemes for improving the condition of the impoverished and fettered masses have arisen out of a cheap and faulty

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reasoning upon the causes of poverty. Is there any reason for expecting exemption from these schemes in this country? Our greater prosperity alone has thus far saved us. As soon as population overtakes subsistence, or wherever a false distribution of population occurs, the cheap European remedy will appear here. It has already appeared in individual advocacy. Ours is the country, above all others, wherein ideas may be rapidly disseminated. The average reasoning power is not above that of Europe; and the majority of workingmen have but the faulty intellectual equipment derived from centuries of Old World degradation. Such a new political movement would perhaps be led by Americans of more ambition and vanity than patriotism or common sense, and its rank and file would be the undisciplined and hungry millions of foreign extraction who regard this country as a good place to live in while wages are high, but who become clamorous, unreasonable, and defiant, as soon as the "hard times" appear.

The socialist imagines that some governmental device can save him from the consequences of his own incapacity. The plain cause of honestly acquired wealth or power is *personal development.* Let men be exacting toward themselves instead of toward governments or toward other individuals. With the hundreds of thousands of examples of fortune and power attained in this country by individual effort, the secret of success is surely an open one. European problems are being repeated here. As the country grows older, the inevitable division into rich and poor grows more marked, and the inevitable discontents arise. The political education of the American citizen has nurtured an aggressive, self-asserting individuality, and his common school has given him a command of methods which he is certain to use in his own favor. In other words, the moral discipline of the American commoner is deficient, while his low reasoning power makes him the ready victim of crude political theories. Even the supposed "better-class" American is so morally distorted that he is more ashamed of failing to make a good appearance than of failing to pay his debts. All classes of Americans are in sorest need of a lesson from stern old Carlyle, who lived for years upon oatmeal and potatoes in the solitude of Craigenputtock rather than become any man's debtor for a pound. The spirit which impels to self-development is the only spirit which makes a country worth living in. As soon as the people, not content with simple freedom, turn upon a government and demand that it shall create for them conditions of success, social prosperity is checked. The radical vice of the matter is in putting the coöperative in place of the competitive philosophy of development. The incompetent are always too ready to make demands upon the capable; and the whole socialistic scheme simply converts governments into grand organizations for the propagation of pauperism. The present loud cry of socialism is for the nationalization of land. A secondary demand is the abolition of the right of testamentary bequest. The earth and all that is upon it, it is said, is the proper possession of the men now living upon it, and no dead man's hand should be stretched out to control what he has left behind. It is expected that enthusiasm for the common good will incite everybody to industry and accumulation as completely as under present arrangements. A wrong premise vitiates the whole plan; namely, that the competent are bound to assure the comfort of the incompetent. Let teachers arise who will impress upon the common classes the imperativeness of that self-denial and self-discipline which thousands of refined and self-exacting Americans impose upon themselves. Instead of cherishing any high ideals, he lapses into a theory of animal comfort, erects his family establishment, and rebels against society when his income falls below his selfish requirements. As a comment on human nature, the spectacle is disheartening. Ignorant and uninstructed, the man of low powers cannot see his way out of his difficulty except by calling on society to save him from consequences. But society will always have the same problem to deal with until it makes a radical study of causes.

M. A. HARDAKER.

THE CREED OF SCIENCE.

I desire to call the attention of those who love good reading to a book written by William Graham, and published by C. Kegan Paul & Co., London. Its title is *The Creed of Science.* I have not read so sincere and earnest a book for many a day. It has strengthened in my mind a conviction which has for some time been considerably operative there; namely, that for all the wonderful achievements of our modern science,—achievements which it would be quite impossible to overrate,—its result, conscious or unconscious, with reference to many of the higher problems of existence, is exceedingly meagre, and not only meagre, but depressing, if certain theories which have the authority of distinguished men of science on their side are capable of confirmation. There are those among us who never speak of the scientific revelation, save in the most cheerful and exuberant, not to say hilarious, manner. I have often wondered whether a strict construction of the established truth of science, to say nothing of those theories to which I have already alluded, would justify all this exuberance and hilarity. I have questioned whether something of individual temperament or something of philosophy or poetry is not added to the purely scientific result, whereby its attractions are not a little enhanced. Mr. Graham's book has a distinct and luminous bearing on this class of questions. The writer is no partisan. His emancipation is complete from every form of supernatural religion; but he is able to appreciate the good which Christianity has done in spite of its tremendous limitations. He holds a brief for neither science nor metaphysic. His book is an honest effort to discover exactly what the bearing of science is on those religious, moral, and social problems which overtop all others.

Mr. Graham's book is made up of three parts: I. The Creed of Science, Religious and Moral; II. The Gospel and the Social Creed of Science; III. The future of Religion and Morals. In the first part there are five chapters, the first of these on "The Creation and God." We have here an admirable discussion of the nebular hypothesis. The theories of Kant and Laplace are distinguished from those of Thomson and Helmholtz; and it is shown how far from certainty we are in these fields of inquiry, where even the most rational hypotheses still labor under many difficulties. Spontaneous generation is discussed, but left an open question, though with a manifest inclination to the affirmative side. Coming next to the Darwinian hypothesis, Mr. Graham is less inclined to be entirely satisfied with it than the majority of those, even the more orthodox, who since Mr. Darwin's death have set forth his relation to religion. It is not enough for him that Mr. Darwin in set terms acknowledged an original Creator. Was he justified in doing so by his own principles? Mr. Graham thinks not, and considers those his most consistent disciples who have refused to follow him in this particular. A Creator in his system seems introduced rather for ornament than for any serious work he has to do. He is "a monarch that reigns, but does not govern." What governs is "natural selection," which is but another name for chance. Given some slightest accidental alteration of conditions at a critical moment, and the course of things upon the earth might have been entirely different. Man might never have appeared. Some "mute, inglorious" elephant or hippopotamus might have been the crowning work of time. Herein, he finds the radical defect of Darwinism and of evolutionism in general, as scientifically expounded: it denies expressly or by implication all or any Final Cause or Purpose in the Universe. Mr. Graham is quite certain that we shall not rest in this conclusion. We may give up every anthropomorphic and personal idea of God, but we shall still believe there is a Purpose in the trend of things. "The origin of species *by means* of natural selection": yes, if these "means" are means employed by a Supreme Intelligence with reference to some end; no, if natural selection is itself to be regarded as the First Great Cause.

Mr. Graham's second chapter recalls a recent controversy of Mr. John Fiske and Mr. William James; and he is heartily with Mr. James in his belief that the creed of science is not sufficient to account for human progress, that natural selection must be supplemented by the action of great men upon society. A chapter on "Human Nature and its Capacities for Virtue" is much more harmonious with the creed of science than the chapters which precede it. The want of scientific knowledge has been the principal cause of failure heretofore with the makers of ethical systems. Man's natural sociability is set down as the happiest discovery of evolution. Mr. Graham's hero-worship—it is of a very sensible and quiet sort—here once again appears. The great and good have made humanity beautiful for us, and the love of humanity possible. Best of all is his arraignment of the ethical system of Kant, never more needful than at the present time, when indiscriminate "retreat upon Kant" is almost as fashionable as "Boston blue."

A chapter on "Free Will and Man's Automatism" is one of the most interesting in the book. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Graham distinguishes between the orthodox creed of science and the unorthodox; *i.e.*, the well established and the rashly hypothetical. The theory of man's automatism he discredits as only a fresh and an exaggerated instance of the strong tendency in men and philosophers in all ages to try to explain all phenomena by the particular class of phenomena with which they are habitually conversant. It is to psychology, not to physics or biology, that we are to look for the true creed of science as regards the problem of the human will This creed is necessarian. Mr. Graham frankly accepts it as such. His statement of the necessarian position is one of the most lucid I have seen. His arguments against any freedom of the will—that is, autonomy—are clear and strong. At the same time, he contends for a certain directive power in the Man which is not in the Will. We have an undoubted and a great capacity for working toward certain distant ends. We thus possess a practical freedom, the freedom of working toward a desired end. And this practical freedom is increased by every fresh discovery of natural laws. The New Testament saying, "The truth shall make you free," finds here a noble illustration.

A couple of chapters on Immortality will probably be read with more avidity than any others in the book, if not with greater satisfaction. I read them first myself; and many others will, no doubt, be as impatient to discover what they impart. In the first chapter, the negative argument is stated with remorseless brilliancy and force. The counter-thesis of the succeeding chapter will afford but

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little satisfaction to the average man who craves belief in immortality. The result at which the author arrives is hardly more attractive than the doctrine of complete annihilation. He concedes to science that memory is an affair of physical organization, and that therefore we can have no memory of our former selves in a future life, no consciousness of personal identity. We may have no consciousness at all. Evidently, Mr. Graham wears his immortality with a difference so great that it would smell as sweet by any other name. The creed of science will be hardly less acceptable to hearts that ache with sorrow for their dead.

Mr. Graham's Second Book, on "The Gospel and the Social Creed of Science," begins with a chapter on pessimism and positive science, for the former of which he has no word of commendation, but to the latter he accords a generous meed of praise. A succeeding chapter on the message and promises of science to mankind is the most eloquent and comprehensive statement of this message and these promises that I have ever seen. Especially those sections which treat of knowledge as the emancipator and deliverer are exceedingly noble and impressive. Wonderful is the showing of the multitudinous ills of body and of mind that have succumbed to science,—ills over which the theologian and the metaphysician had no power. This chapter conducts us naturally and easily to the next, which treats of science and socialism. The positions of the socialist and sociologist are clearly stated, and, if compelled to choose between the two, Mr. Graham would certainly choose the sociologist. But, while the creed of socialism is as little made for human nature as the ethics of Immanuel Kant, the sociologist requires of us an impossible patience. We must and can accelerate the processes of natural social evolution, and he endeavors to point out the way of victory.

In Book III., we have first a chapter on the "Materialism of Atoms and Forces." It is well done; but poor Materialism has come in of late for so many salutary lessons that our natural sympathy with the under dog begins to show some signs of self-assertion. A second chapter continues this discussion. A third treats of "The Developed Conception of God." To a considerable extent, this conception, as interpreted by Mr. Graham, coincides with the Absolute Being of Herbert Spencer. But the Unknowable of Spencer is considerably known. We can know its existence, infinity, eternity, universal agency, and efficacy, and its final utter incomprehensibility. Moreover, we can know the sides of his nature that he has turned to us, the manifestations of this transcendent Power both in ourselves and in the external world. This is the creed of science, and it is not a godless creed. It is only not sufficient because it does not predicate purpose of the ultimate reality. This we must predicate, says Mr. Graham, if for no other reason than because the alternative is too grotesque and horrible to be believed.

A couple of concluding chapters treat of the Evolution Ethics. It does not seem to me that Mr. Graham brings to these so keen a penetration as is elsewhere characteristic of his mind. The sense of duty is not at the mercy of our speculative opinions. It is a spontaneous expression of hereditary convictions in regard to the qualities of certain actions. But, were it otherwise, I do not see that the moral law of evolution is any more a man-made thing than the moral law of the Christian supernaturalist. It is the inevitable outcome of a moral universe.

Thus, all too briefly, I have indicated the character and teachings of a book that I have found remarkably suggestive and impressive. Such a meagre account does it the scantiest justice. I can only hope that some of those who read my article will be led to get the book and read it carefully. So doing, I am sure they will be grateful for my word of commendation.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

PRAYER.

If all events are the effects of preceding causes, and God, the supreme power in the universe, acts only through natural laws, prayer in the form of petition is irrational and useless, unless it can be proved that prayer is a natural force.

Upon the orthodox ideas of God, petition to him to vary the successions of cause and effect is unreasonable and wrong. It is asking for blessing which involves suffering to others. The sailor who prays for a fair wind really asks that other sailors, equally deserving of prosperity, may have a head wind; and, supposing that sailors pray, God is daily besought that the wind may blow from every point of the compass. How can he grant any of these petitions without injustice, even if the direction of the wind was not determined by natural laws which God has never interrupted? The flour merchant, praying for a rising market, asks God to do that which will make the laborer pay more for his bread. The laborer prays for cheap flour. How can God answer both prayers? The prosperity of one often means the adversity of another, the success of one the disappointment of his perhaps equally deserving fellow. How can a just God discriminate in the bestowal of answers? We narrate deliverance from shipwreck and accident in answer to prayer; but an honest consistency would oblige us to tell of shipwrecks in answer to prayer, and of misfortunes traceable to the following of "indications of Providence" succeeding prayer. Jesus had a wise conception of the limitations of prayer. The Lord's Prayer deals largely with desires for God's glory and man's moral improvement, its only material request being for daily bread, which every one would seem to have a natural right to possess. But it is more rational to work for it than to pray for it; and that this is the more effective course is proved by the popular proverb, "God helps those who help themselves."

Prayer is not only usually futile, but it is oftener injurious. It concentrates the mind upon itself and promotes selfishness. The calm of the evening subdues the throbbing brain of the business man; but, as he kneels by his bedside to pray, all the desires connected with his unfinished schemes are aroused, he often changes prayer into a renewal of his schemings, and, in utter forgetfulness of his purpose, calls back the trials and difficulties of the day, and his excited brain defers the approach of sleep. To some temperaments, the prayerless pillow brings the sweetest sleep. Prayer leads to trusting to God what should be sought by our own efforts. A landlady was overheard to pray imploringly that God would fill her house with boarders and bless her dog "Gypsy"; but she left her room and scolded so much at her servants that her boarders left her; and she stuffed her dog into an apoplectic condition. Prayer has been the resort of laziness, and has often paralyzed efforts and lost the attainment of desires, while the devout person was "waiting on the Lord" instead of using his best efforts for himself.

Prayer has an even chance of being answered or of failing, except that we usually pray for what is unlikely to happen. Most of the reputed answers to prayer are just this chance of having desire correspond to natural results. But there are some cases where prayer has really produced effects by its reflex influence: the will and faith of the devotee have affected the nervous organism and produced the desired result. The effect follows prayer to demons in Asia, to the Virgin and saints in Europe, and to Christ in America, and is therefore purely the action of physical laws. The shaking of the Joss-sticks in China, the whirling of the prayer-wheel in Burmah, the seven daily prostrations of the Mussulman, the counting of beads in Rome, and the prayer-meetings of Protestants, are alike in their measure of success or failure. Dr. Hammond, in the *International Review* for March, 1881, in a valuable article upon this subject, describes a cure effected by Croton water, labelled "Lourdes Water," after genuine Lourdes water labelled Croton had failed to produce effect, proving that the power lay in the imagination.

Perhaps, it may be found that prayer is sometimes effectual in another way. One or more persons sometimes "will" that another shall do certain things, and the acts are performed. This is believed to be a "psychological" influence; which only means that it is produced by a natural force that as yet we know but little of. In the *Nineteenth Century* for June, an article entitled "Thought Reading" gives most interesting facts of this character, with suggestions of explanation; and the editor adds a note containing a theory that "brain-waves" are produced by mental efforts, and sometimes affect others at a distance with a consciousness of the thought that caused them. Many visions, apparitions, and impressions would be explained by this theory, if it could be established. A man in a prayer-meeting felt an intense impulse to give a stranger five dollars. He did so with great diffidence, and learned that the stranger had been praying throughout the meeting for that sum, in order to bestow it upon a distressed person. This was narrated as an answer to prayer, and so it was. But, instead of its being the direct action of the Being invoked, is it not as well or better explained by the supposition that an intense desire may sometimes influence the mind of another person, or even affect natural forces in other ways, and thus produce the answer? If so, it is the feeling, and not the petition to God, which has brought about the result. Principal Dawson, in his latest work, *Facts and Fancies in Modern Science*, says, "The bleat of the lamb will not only meet with response from the mother ewe, but will even exercise a physiological effect in promoting the secretion of milk in her udder. . . . In the case of animals there must be a certain relation between the one that prays and the one that answers." He argues for prayer to God, but such facts better illustrate the effects of desire upon natural resources.

When men become good and wise enough to "will" with benefit to themselves and others, we may find that the power of nature to produce results has also enlarged, and it may be found that the instinct of prayer was a dawning conception of a grand force to become available for man's use in a more developed state. As people meet now in a circle to "will" that a table shall move, the prayer-meeting will perhaps be succeeded by a gathering of intelligent persons who shall effectually "will" for results more useful to man, in certain directions where the possibility of success has been scientifically determined.

Meantime, the area of prayer will gradually be narrowed, as men learn to trace results to natural causes. They cease to ask God for things as fast as they learn nature's laws. No one prays that the sun may rise or that the seasons may change; and men are ceasing to pray for rain and wind and all other events, in proportion as they see that they are as inevitable as the sunrise, or else can be directed by their own knowledge.

But many rationalists, either from early habit or

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inherited impulse, while abandoning direct petition to God for specific material needs, delight in prayer as communion with the Power and Goodness which they perceive in nature, which they in a measure personify as God, and toward which or whom their spirit of thankfulness and wonder is outpoured. This it is not intended to criticise. The remarks made apply only to petitional prayer. Worship of God can do good only as it elevates the mental faculties to aspire toward a superior conception. Reverence for the powers of nature and an enthusiasm for the progress of humanity may produce as good effects upon the mind, and may lead to better results for the world.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE paper by Mr. Frey, which we present to our readers this week, can hardly fail to attract the attention of earnest thinkers.

WE print this week the last of Mr. Hinckley's contributions on the "Religious Culture of the Young." The series can be had complete in the form of printed slips at this office. Price 28 cts.

REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, who has an extensive acquaintance with orthodox ministers, makes the following statement: "I wish to record my own conviction, drawn from a pretty extensive knowledge of journalists and of clergymen, that the average editor is a little more fair and Christian in his dealings with truth and in his treatment of those who differ from him than the average parish minister." And yet the "average parish minister," although he has less knowledge of the world, is commonly believed, and not without reason, to have more faith in Christ and more reliance on prayer than the "average editor." Why is he less fair and truthful in dealing with opponents?

IT was at Concord on Emerson Day. After a morning with Bartol and Alcott and Mrs. Howe, the spiritual gave way to the mortal, and the sustenance of life became infinitely more important than the sublimity of death. "I was thinking," said a venerable college president, "as I looked among your audience, that there were no young men there, and with none but old men your school would soon die with them. By the way," he continued, addressing a distinguished authoress, "will you tell me what is your definition of a philosopher?" "My idea of a philosopher," was the instant reply, "is of a man up in a balloon, his family and friends holding the ropes which confine him to earth, and trying to haul him down." —*The Transcript.*

LAST Sunday, Rev. J. S. Breckenridge, in a sermon preached in the Sands Street Methodist Church, Brooklyn, said: "Sects are in many respects like insects. Let a lot of insects hover around an elephant, and each one sees it in a different way. One crawls up its leg, and reports to the others that an elephant is a tall, cylindrical, black body. Another has alighted on the elephant's tusk, and declares that the monster is a hard, white mass of ivory. A third sits down under the elephant, looks up, and vows that an elephant is a black cloud which overshadows the heavens. While a fourth perches on its back, and cannot be convinced that an elephant is not a vast level plain. No one religious sect can comprehend or represent the whole Jumbo of truth in itself."

SO GREAT is the dislike of the Boston literary correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* (Mr. F. B. Sanborn) to Herbert Spencer that he can find nothing but "elaborate triviality" in *Political Institutions* (Part Fifth of the *Principles of Sociology*) just published, although even the orthodox *Congregationalist* feels forced to admit that "it is a full and careful treatise, rich in facts and suggestions, and candid in temper. "We have been specially interested," adds this journal, "in the last chapter, in which Mr. Spencer indicates what he thinks are to be the outlines of future political institutions; and we are glad to see that he anticipates the spread of republican ideas. We also have read with special attention the note on pp. 640–642, which is a stingingly sarcastic criticism of British social, political, and religious shortcomings. It is an utterance which every honest man must approve, but which he also should lay to heart as regards his own nation, whatever that may be."

PRINCE LEOPOLD, in an admirable speech at the English Press Fund Dinner, said:—

The direct social and political power of the press is a fact which we are none of us likely to forget for a day. And yet it is the indirect, the educative power of the press, which is, I think, the greatest of all. The most pervading effect on mankind is produced not by the arguments of the press on points on which the various journals differ, but by the instruction given and the tone assumed by the press on points on which all journals concur. For, after all, the main function of the press is to be the contemporary and authentic record of the progress of the world; and the world's progress is not marked so much by the changing triumphs of one or other party, by the shifting predominance of this or that school of opinion, as by the steady increase in the mass of knowledge and experience on which all civilized men are agreed, and which each generation inherits, almost unconsciously, from its predecessor. And what it gives me most pleasure to observe in the press is the increasing completeness with which this world-wide record is kept,—the increasing accuracy and fulness of the picture which the press presents to us of all the complex life and thought and action which are going on upon the surface of the globe.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Springfield *Republican*, referring to Harriet Martineau's avowal of sympathy with the abolitionists in 1835, writes:—

When Miss Martineau, the gifted author, the friend and peer of English statesmen, before whom members of Parliament laid their schemes of political reform for her approval, she whom America had fêted and honored, whom even slave-holders had royally entertained, took this decisive step, she knew that henceforth every door in America, except that of abolitionists, would be closed against her, that her further travels must be circumscribed, that she would be in constant danger from lynching; yet in her nobleness of soul she writes: "I am held up in the good company of Mrs. Stowe and Mrs. Chapman to the abhorrence of the South. If I am proud of my company in one sense, I am ashamed of it in another. Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Stowe have really sacrificed and suffered, and thrown their whole future into the cause, whereas mine is so cheap a charity that I blush to have it associated with theirs. By their side, I am but as one who gives a half-penny to a beggar in comparison with those who have sold all their goods to feed the poor." The newspapers of Boston and the press of the whole country anathematized the fearless woman; but to-day an earnest reformer in another field, Mrs. Livermore, through the Boston press, pays homage to the woman of genius; and, with tardy justice, Fame at last recognizes Harriet Martineau, the large-souled, rarely gifted, and philanthropic woman.

AMONG those who are to speak at Watkins Glen this month, somebody, we hope, will have the courage to denounce the deception and trickery by which the New York Free Thinkers' Association was made auxiliary to the National Liberal League. The obstacle to this affiliation was the policy of the National Liberal League in regard to the repeal of all postal laws against obscene literature. The difficulty was removed by a *compromise*, and *such* a compromise! The leaders of the League "gave assurance that they would do all in their power to make the League acceptable to all"; and "there appeared to be a desire manifested by all parties for concession by each, so far as it could be made consistently with honor." The impression was produced designedly that the League would so modify its policy regarding postal laws as to enable all in favor of State secularization to join it without sacrifice of principle. At the next convention of the National Liberal League, held in Chicago, the fraud was consummated by the adoption of resolutions inviting to membership all who believe in State secularization, but reaffirming the resolutions of the previous year, which pledged the organization to the total repeal of all postal laws against the transmission of indecent literature through the mails.

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, in a lengthy reply to the article in which, under the caption "Confusion worse Confounded," we pointed out some of the errors into which that journal had fallen respecting the Free Religious Association, informs us that it obtained its information from a reporter it sent to "the 'head-quarters, No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston,' to make the necessary inquiries; and it was there that the information, so new and interesting to us and to our readers, was obtained, and some of the valuable and extremely amusing, not to say edifying, documents of the Association secured for our future use; so that, if there be any error in our report, it is certain not to be laid at our door." We are quite ready to credit the *Review* with sincerity, when it declares that it "has not the slightest disposition to misrepresent them [the writer and his *confrères*] in the least particular"; but it is none the less true that the errors we exposed admit of no dispute or doubt among those acquainted with the Free Religious Association, and could not have been conveyed to a reporter by any person connected with it or competent to give information concerning it. And no such "information" was given at the "head-quarters, No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston." What our able contemporary says in regard to "the fault of the movement" we have marked for future comment.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

PHÆDRA.

[Free Translation from Euripides.]

Forth to the air my languid form convey:
Where roams the blithe bee I would fain be straying,
Or on the breezy mountains far away,
Where round my love his deep-mouthed hounds are straying.

There speeds the dappled fawn, the pine tree there
Its keen aroma ever is exhaling.
Let loose the tresses of my auburn hair,—
Here pent and caged, I feel my life-pulse failing.

Lay my parched lips where under alders flowing
The dewy fountain pours its taintless stream;
Where o'er the meadow fresh young grass is growing,
And thousand blossoms woo the summer beam.

But chiefly for the mountains yearns my heart:
Therefore, my form uplifting, thither bear;
My beauteous prince his keen, unerring dart
In woody gorges wild is plying there.

Minion of Dian, he from men afar
A vestal youth in forest shades is leading;
Upon his leafy couch gaze moon and star;
His ears are deaf to love-sick passion's pleading.

Would I an Oread were in Dian's train,
Huntress of deer, in arrows keen rejoicing!
Then glimpses of the loved one I might gain,
Where nymphs and hounds the chase's joy are voicing.

B. W. BALL.

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The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 3, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index.*

What Form of Agnosticism may become the Religion of the Future?

BY WILLIAM FREY.

Can Agnosticism be a Form of Religion?

The first half of this article explains why the pure agnosticism, as advocated by Herbert Spencer, cannot be a form of religion. The second half will represent how agnosticism, being supplemented by some unavoidable conclusions, may harmonize all the controversies about the future form of religion, and become the Religion of the Future.

Let us take for our starting-point the statement made by the editor of *The Index* (see his article in *The Index* of Feb. 16, 1882) that the source of religious feelings lies in man's dependence on the universe and its vital forces. The history of religion and the researches of our best thinkers prove that all religions have sprung from the same source,—that the feeling of our insignificance in comparison with the grand and mighty cosmos, and the sense of our dependence on the vital forces of the universe must forever remain as a basis for the future religion.

The display of stern and inflexible forces operating on primitive men during untold ages has made the religious sentiment intensely predominant over all other feelings. The undisputed superiority of the mighty Power excites in men the feelings of submission, awe, and terror, and have a tendency to establish the relation which exists between slaves and their master. But they could never build the relation which exists between children and their loving father; they could never stir the feelings of gratitude, hope, love, and reverence, which constitute the greatest bulk in religious sentiment, which warm our hearts and control our actions. The sympathetic feelings can be stirred and developed only by human forms and activities: and religion could affect them only by personification of nature and its forces.

Conceding that our dependence upon nature was the chief and primary impulse in our conceptions of Deity, it is none the less clear that man felt always the necessity of shaping this conception into tangible, concrete, human forms and activities. And the religious sentiment was built up in its completeness by the simultaneous influence of the two essential elements in every religion, of which the human element was at least as important as the element of the Infinite.

The personification of nature and its forces, as depicted by poets and the loftiest minds, is but a mirror of the highest human ideals at the time when religion starts into existence, and cannot fail to produce a beneficial influence on the masses. And we know that, long after the religion is firmly established and accepted, the character and conduct of men are moulded by the character and conduct of their Deity.

Herbert Spencer fully admits the great influence of the human element in past religions; but he thinks this element loses gradually its importance, because the deities of each successive religion recede more and more into the abysses of space and time, and become less concrete. He concludes that now, when our intellect outgrows all the fables and personifications attached to the forces of nature, we must recognize the existence of the Inscrutable Power, and submit ourselves to the stern necessity of obeying its laws. But, at the same time, we must bear in mind that, as finite and relative beings, we cannot comprehend the Absolute and Infinite, and that the laws of nature cannot be obtained through the direct communication with the Unknown.

"In Science," says Herbert Spencer, "we have the only veritable revelation. It is the duty of every one to verify this disclosure so far as in him lies, and, having verified, to receive it with all humility."

Men are put now face to face with the impenetrable mystery. They must reject any attempt at personification. The agnosticism of Herbert Spencer is but a last stage of the gradual process of purification of Deity from the gross human conceptions, and, as such, can stand the severest verification by science, and fully conforms with the spirit of the time. But is this a sufficient claim to become a religion? Can religion be based on the element of the Infinite, with the utter disregard of the human element?

Oh, yes! confidently answer the agnostics. If the nebulosity of personal gods in the latter religion did not diminish the strength of religious sentiment, then, certainly, the complete purification of Deity from all foreign attributes will only intensify the grandeur and sublimity of the Infinite, and may form a solid basis of religion for at least those who are grown up to accept the inevitable.

Now, in the name of truth, I protest against such answer, and I will briefly show

1. That, although the evolution of the idea of the Infinite is a constant and unavoidable process of purification from human elements, yet the human element of religion, instead of decreasing, grew up stronger with the increase of nebulosity of the personal God.

2. That agnosticism, as advocated by Herbert Spencer, disregards this fact; and, being devoid of one of the essential elements of religion, can never become as such.

To prove the first point, it is sufficient to see the evolution of monotheism in Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.

The Jehovah of the Hebrews is almost devoid of high and mysterious attributes which are implied in monotheism. He easily takes the shape of men, and mingles with them; he sometimes gets tired and weary with his work; he communicates to men his complaints and griefs; he even wrestles with men; he is constantly on hand in any emergency, and attracts the attention of men to himself rather than to his mediators and prophets.

The God of the New Testament becomes more invisible. He ceases to enjoy the trivialities of human life; he acts only through the mediator.

But, in proportion as the mysterious element of Deity predominates over the human, the religious fervor of men is excited less by nebulous conception of God and more by the human excellences of the mediator. And the strength of the Christian religion of to-day is not in the idea of one God and Creator, but in the man Jesus dying on the cross. In Christianity, we see the beginning of the separation of mysterious and human elements; and, while God is preëminently the representative of mystery, the Christ is preëminently the representative of the human elements of religion. Of course, this separation is not complete. The human mind cannot be changed abruptly. The imagination of men continues to envelop in the clouds of mystery the great teachers who claim to be the mediators between God and man. Crishna among the Hindus, and Jesus among the Christians are still regarded as Sons of God, as parts of Divinity. But, even in such a case, the hearts of men are kindled not so much by the divine origin of these great teachers as by their human excellences.

In the last monotheistic religion of the world, the separation of mysterious and human elements is more complete and more instructive for us.

Mohammed never claimed to be a son of God. So high was his regard of Deity that, even in the fits of hallucination, he never pretended to be in direct communication with God, but said that his Koran had been received from the archangel Gabriel.

God of Mussulmans is enclouded in deep mystery, while Mohammed, with his novel idea of monotheism, with his ability to organize the scattered tribes into a powerful nation, with his Koran full of wise and noble utterances, becomes the most prominent figure in the religion of Islam, and excites the most fervent enthusiasm among the Arabians.

The affection for Mohammed was so great that, even during his simple and unassuming life, he was regarded as an immortal being. We know what an indescribable grief spread over Medina when Mohammed died. Nobody was willing to believe in it. Only the influence and moderation of Abubeker appeased the tumult. "Mohammed is dead," said he to the multitude; "but *the God of Mohammed*, whom you must worship, liveth forever." Since that moment, and up to the present time, the God of Islam takes a secondary place, becomes a derivative from Mohammed, and the chief motive power of the religion rests on the personality of the prophet and mediator. Medina has been sanctioned by the death and burial of Mohammed. His name is inseparable from that of God. "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet," is on the lips and in the thoughts of every true believer in the Koran several times a day. And all these adorations are paid to a man! Even the most fervent admirers of Mohammed, and inventors of miracles, dared not to ascribe to him a divine origin. We see that in this last monotheistic religion the idea of Deity or God became more nebulous, while the human elements of religion acquired more intensity and clearness by being grouped around the great teacher and benefactor of the race. God becomes a perfect mystery. Mohammed becomes a perfect man, an embodiment of all human excellences, a source of religious enthusiasm for his followers.

And this complete separation of the mysterious from the human element only strengthens the religion. Islamism now is a proselyting power, while Christianity must soon yield to the advance of modern civilization at home, and loses its charms abroad. Whenever the missionaries of the two religions have competed with each other, Bible and cross have been obliged to give way to Koran and crescent. The plain separation of the mysterious and human elements is more acceptable to the minds of the masses than the mysticism of Christianity, with its borrowed notions of the trinity and divine origin of Christ from the Virgin Mary.

This fact of the gradual separation of the mysterious and the human elements in religion is entirely overlooked by agnostics. They see that the human element loses its strength and concreteness in connection with Deity, but they fail to see that this very element is gradually gaining strength and intensity in connection with the great teachers of religion, the mediators between God and men.

The religious enthusiasm of the latest religions retains its vigor, not because the idea of God becomes more nebulous, but because the human element becomes stronger and clearer than ever before. True, the human element is transmitted from the Infinite to the human beings; but, in its new and proper place, it continues the same function as before, *i.e.*, excites the sympathetic feelings of man.

The agnostics look only at one side of the evolution of religion, and come to the erroneous conclusion that the human element is coming to the end, that a mere recognition of Inscrutable Power and the implicit obedience to its laws are sufficient for the Religion of the Future. They overlook the other side of the same evolution, which shows that the human element becomes stronger and clearer in each successive step, and that no religion of the future can exist without the fullest and most imposing display of this element.

Now, let us see to what result we may bring this one-sided conclusion.

First of all, Herbert Spencer himself says that the necessity of representing the Infinite in a concrete form is deeply rooted in the human nature, and cannot be neglected. "Very likely," says he, "there will ever remain a need to give shape to that indefinite sense of an Ultimate Existence which forms the basis of our intelligence. We shall always be under the necessity of contemplating it as some mode of being; that is, of representing it to ourselves in some form

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of thought, however vague. And we shall not err in doing this as long as we treat every notion we thus frame as merely a symbol, utterly without resemblance to that for which it stands." (*First Principles*, p. 113.) This symbol must necessarily reflect back on our conscience and influence our conduct. Now, with the full stretch of our imagination, we fail to build up a symbol which could stir our sympathetic feelings.

This Inscrutable Power, stern, inflexible in its mysterious way, requiring a complete submission to its will, punishing every transgression of its laws, may be compared with an autocrat who shows no partiality, puts everybody on the same footing, and inflicts the same punishment on his best subject as on the meanest. Such a power may enforce humility, terror, and awe,—the very same feelings which were so prominent among primitive men,—but never excite the sympathetic feeling. Children may love the parent only when conscious of being loved and protected by him during their helplessness and in time of trouble. The cold, stony-hearted, immovable Power of agnostics cannot excite in man the feelings of love, self-sacrifice, and devotion. Men cannot bestow their love and life on "cold and careless nature which acts with such fearful uniformity: stern as a fate, absolute as tyranny, merciless as death, too vast to praise, too inexplicable to worship, too inexorable to propitiate; having no ears for prayer, no heart for sympathy, no arms to save." Is there any wonder if slaves become as cold and heartless toward each other as their master is?

Science is our revelation and our guide in life, say agnostics; but such assertion sounds like a mockery, as long as men have no stimulus to follow the dictates of science, no guide when science leaves them helpless. We know how incomplete and contradictory is science in its highest branches,—psychology, sociology, and ethics. We know that there is no absurdity which is not covered by the authoritative name of one or another famous scientist. To go to science without having a guiding ideal is the same as to pick up everything which may suit one's fancy or propensities. The most selfish man may unhesitatingly accept all the deductions of Herbert Spencer, recognize the supremacy of science, and remain as wicked as ever. The struggle for existence, the survival of the fittest, being the discoveries of modern science, can approve his most outrageous acts.

The Unknowable of Herbert Spencer cannot excite the sympathetic feelings which form the greatest bulk in the complex religious sentiment. Having lost the common fatherhood, men cannot be united in one brotherhood. True, it may be said that man has emerged from mystery, and is its child; but so has emerged a drop of water or a grain of sand. Such conception, grand as it is, will not improve our morality, our relations toward our fellow-men. It has rather a degenerating influence, because it equalizes men to other unanimated things, and the struggle for existence, according to it, may be applied alike to everything which exists. Such conception may create only fratricide and moral chaos. The motto, "Each for himself, and let the devil take the hindmost," may not be recognized openly by agnostics, but is the necessary result of their theory. The agnosticism as established by Herbert Spencer cannot bind men together: it will promote only enmity, competition, and divergences. It becomes preëminently the religion of individualism. It may stand for a while as a shield and exponent of our age of decomposition; but, if destined to become a religion of the future, it can only tend to the degeneration of men.

Happily for mankind, the religions are not made: they grow from the preceding ones. Each containing the same elements, only presenting them in a shape more acceptable to the moral and mental development of man.

Herbert Spencer has shown us the evolution of man's conception of Deity. With marvellous erudition and great force, he worked up the intellectual part of religion; but he entirely neglected its other part which warms the heart, gives strength to follow the dictates of science, supports and consoles our lives. We know that the beneficial influence of every religion is based mostly on its human element. We have seen in the evolution of religion that the human element is not in a decay, but grows stronger, and becomes a necessity for the development of our sympathetic feelings, for uniting us into one spiritual body. Hence, we may safely con clude that every form of agnosticism which excludes the human element can never become a religion of the future.

The Religion of the Future.

To correct the one-sided conclusion of agnostics, let us draw attention to the greatest discovery of the nineteenth century, made by a man equal to Herbert Spencer both as scientist and as philosopher.

"Between the man and the world, we find humanity," said Auguste Comte, about forty years ago; and in the existence of humanity, he foresaw the possibility of reconciling religion and science.

Both orthodox and liberals united to oppose this great idea of his. The former wanted to insult the man who had killed outright the supernatural and revealed religions; the latter felt that with the new religion comes the end of their selfish looseness or their metaphysical vagaries. They both ridiculed the great discovery of Auguste Comte. They called it the product of an insane mind. They are trying even now to sneer and laugh at it, but with what result? The stigma of insanity may rest on the great thinker; but his ideas are taking such a strong hold on the minds of men that even his avowed opponent, Herbert Spencer, unconsciously contributes the most weighty and conclusive proofs that humanity is a living and growing organism. To gather all these arguments, to demonstrate the existence of humanity, to give to the reader the full and clear conception of this imposing Being, is the object of another long discourse, whose appearance in the columns of *The Index* may be justified only by the degree of interest aroused by this article.

Suffice to state here that the proofs of the existence of humanity are within the reach of science; that men of science can no longer ignore a being, supreme to all known to us, who is subject to the same laws of evolution and growth as any other organism, and of which we individuals are but molecules.

Of course, before men of science shall have been compelled to recognize the existence of humanity, thousands of common people will accept this grand idea. Like many other great discoveries which revolutionized the world, the discovery of humanity is first hailed not by the sceptical *savans*, but by the open-hearted, unpretentious men who instinctively respond to the truth before they begin to analyze it. They are the first to perceive the sublime image of the Supreme Being, endowed with the same characteristics and continuity which are seen in every living organism. They see that humanity carries within herself and accumulates all the knowledge and aspirations of mankind, for the benefit of living men, exactly in the same way as an individual preserves and develops his own individuality, and, notwithstanding the constant change of molecules, carries within himself the experiences of the past for the benefit of his body in the present. Such an image teaches us that we, as molecules, are compelled to live for the good of the whole organism, whether we wish it or not; and that misery and sufferings result from our ignorance or neglect of this imperative law of organic life. On the other hand, this image represents humanity as an organism endowed with high spiritual characteristics. We see in humanity a source of all our blessings, because from her we obtain our knowledge and aspirations; only by and with her can we live and perfect ourselves. And as our material bodies, which are fed upon the earth, do not perish, but return to the earth and live forever with it, so our achievements, activities, and influences which are obtained from humanity do not perish, but return back to humanity and live forever with her, having their share in her future development.

Viewed in such a light, humanity ceases to be our master only; it becomes our protector and comforter also. And the sense of gratitude, combined with the sense of duty, compels us to pledge our life to its improvement and perfection.

The conception of humanity as a living organism gives a key for the solution of the most difficult problems of ethics. It explains rationally why personal happiness (which consists in obedience to the laws of nature) is not attainable unless man fulfils his duty toward humanity, and lives for others. It tells us that morality has a much deeper foundation than was ever supposed by metaphysicians, because it is based not on free will or the fatalist's theory but on the instinct of self-preservation with which humanity like any other living organism is endowed. With a clear conception of humanity, we may introduce order in place of confusion or sentimentalism; we may harmonize the conflicting opinions in regard to almost every question of vital importance; we are able to systematize our knowledge of history, sociology, and ethics. But, great as is the effect of this discovery on the progress of science, still greater is its effect on the development of a religious sentiment.

Humanity ceases to be a sentimental abstraction: it is a reality, a supreme being, an embodiment of all human perfections which may be conceivable at present. To this superior being, we must cling in expectation of all benefits. Its corporated knowledge, embodied in science, is constantly revealing to us the laws of nature, and is ever increasing the source of the moral and material welfare. Its corporated sense of beauty, expressed in works of art and poetry, gives us the ideal of the Perfect, and stirs our emotions with the desire to approach to it. Its past life, as recorded in history, presents us the beautiful examples of great and noble lives which exalt in us the desire to imitate them. It gives us also the assurance of progress in the future. Its vast magnitude and superiority over the individual overwhelm our intellect and arouse our highest emotions.

Truly says John Stuart Mill that this highest organized being, who ascends into the unknown recesses of the past, embraces the manifold present, and descends into the infinite and unknown future, appeals to that feeling of the Infinite which is necessarily associated with our religious sentiment.

Humanity affects our sense of sublimity, charms our imagination, warms our hearts with gratitude, hope, devotion, gives us strength to fulfil our duties and to withstand temptations. Humanity supports us in days of great affliction, prompts us to self-denial, unites us into one spiritual body which is animated by the same principles and is working for the same end. In short, the effect of humanity on our religious sentiment is exactly the same in kind, although stronger in degree, as the effect of human elements attached to the past religion. And, if more than a third of the human race prostrates itself before Buddha, if millions of Christians worship a good man hanged as a criminal, if a still greater number of Mussulmans get their inspiration from Mohammed, well may we bow in admiration and love before humanity as a galaxy of all great men and all noble thoughts and actions which ever stirred the human soul. We can worship humanity without the slightest conflict between the intellect and emotions, because we have no need of the artificial adornments and mythical stories which were grouped around the individuals worshipped in other religions. Humanity, unadorned, includes all the attributes which were ever ascribed to any individual.

Some of the ardent followers of Comte are so dazzled with this new conception that they are trying to put humanity in the place of God. In their zeal, they forget that the extremes of adoration may ridicule the object adored, that humanity as substitute for the Infinite and Inscrutable Power becomes a ridiculous thing. Herbert Spencer says, "No such thing as humanity can ever do more than temporarily shut out the thought of a Power of which humanity is but a small and fugitive product, a Power which was in course of ever-changing manifestations long before humanity was, and will continue through other manifestations when humanity has ceased to be." (*Study of Sociology*, p. 312.)

And he is right. However sublime and grand may be humanity in comparison with an individual, it is almost nothing in comparison with the mysterious Power existing in the universe. A true function of humanity is to be a mediator between man and mystery.

We must acknowledge the existence of the Inscrutable Power, and our complete dependence upon it. We know now that in the strict obedience of its laws lies our salvation from miseries and suffering. We, as agnostics, need not to degrade the Infinite by ascribing to it human elements; we cannot deceive ourselves any longer with the belief in the direct communication with the Mystery. We differ from the pure agnostics of Herbert Spencer's stamp only when we come to the solution of a burning question which always was preëminent in every religion.

Who will reveal to us the laws of nature? Who will be our saviour? is asked by every earnest soul. Agnostics refer to the abstract science, and thus work up only the mysterious element of religion. We refer to the concrete, living, superior being who is the

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purest and highest representative of the human element of religion. The blank left in our souls by the omission of a personal God is filled now with the image of humanity as our protecting and guiding father, who not only reveals to us the secrets of nature, but warms our sympathetic feelings and kindles in us a desire to follow the dictates of science. We worship humanity as the mediator between man and the Infinite for all the ages to come; and in serving humanity we have all that is needed to unite persons of the most diversified tastes, temperaments, and dispositions, into one religious brotherhood.

Thus, by the simple addition of humanity, agnosticism loses its repulsive traits and becomes a noble and inspiring religion.

In giving a particular name to this religion, we must obey the same impulse which is silently working through all times and between all nations, and which compels men to name every monotheistic religion not after the ideals of Deity which it involves, but after the name of its recognized teacher and mediator. If the followers of Buddha are called Buddhists, if the worshippers of Christ are known as Christians, if the admirers of Mohammed style themselves Mohammedans, then, certainly, the religion which can satisfy the spiritual thirst of men of the nineteenth century must be called the Religion of Humanity.

The religion whose outlines are shortly represented in this article is not a fabrication. Containing all the elements which ever constituted the past religions, it brings them only to the present standard of our moral and mental development. It is an inevitable result of the evolution of religion and science, which were diverging for a while, but now come into the most complete and harmonious union with each other.

The religion of humanity is preëminently the Religion of the Future. The pure agnostics may safely cling to it, because humanity is not a product of sickly imagination, but a fact, subject to a scientific verification. True, the religion of humanity restricts selfishness and prompts altruism; it kills wandering in the clouds of metaphysics, and draws our attention to earthly affairs. This religion may be disgusting to all loose individuals who regard themselves as the lords of creation, and draw the rules of conduct from their tinged intuition; but men of common-sense and of altruistic disposition will cheerfully submit themselves to the inevitable corrections and changes which are introduced into the pure agnosticism of Herbert Spencer by the addition of humanity.

On the other hand, there is nothing objectionable in such religion to those positivists who exalt humanity to the utter disregard of the mysterious element of religion. In fact, they cannot deny that all men are under the control and management of the Inscrutable Power; that humanity itself is one of the manifestations of the vital forces of nature. They cling to humanity because they have lost faith in theological and metaphysical speculation, and see in humanity the only source of all the rules of conduct and of all the blessings of life. But they must not be afraid of the coming change. Humanity will forever remain as the only source of our inspiration and knowledge; and the intense feeling of gratitude and adoration which they feel toward humanity will become only deeper and stronger, if humanity be regarded as mediator between men and the Infinite, because then will come into play the strongest chord of religious sentiment,—*i.e.*, man's yearning for the Infinite. In humanity, then, we will see not only a being imposing in itself, but, for us, the only conceivable image of the Infinite; and the laws of morality which we derive from our relation to humanity become a reflection of the supreme laws of the universe, which all must obey who wish to escape punishment.

Right here lies the bridge over the chasm which now separates the followers of Herbert Spencer and Auguste Comte from the third group of liberal-minded and generous-hearted men who are also in search of religion, but try to find it in the depths of their individual souls. Men belonging to this group reduce religion to a working out of one's moral ideals. They do not trouble themselves with the dogmatic part of religion: they act, they put the main stress on self-improvement, and leave behind them the traces of lasting goodness. They may be the most sympathetic of all who try to solve "this," as Tyndall says, "question of questions of the present hour," and yet they are the most erring group of the three just mentioned. They are invulnerable when they confine themselves to ethical culture; but when they appear as teachers of religion, and claim to find a new philosophy of life, they fail miserably. That which these moralists regard as philosophy is but the promptings of their noble souls. They mistake in the supposition that every man can obey the dictates of inner nature just as easily as they do, or that he will follow the same direction of activity which they choose. They forget that the moral nature of every man is tinged by one or another of evil propensities, which he inherits together with the good ones; and, when he attempts to arrive at some definite conclusions by the dictates of his soul, he unconsciously becomes a victim of his inclination. Moreover, the moralists overlook the fact that there are many whose inner nature is in a state of lethargy. It is not enough to awake such a man from a spiritual slumber,—it is necessary to keep before him a certain standard of morality, so as to enable him to educate his conscience before he will consult it.

Evidently, such a standard of morality must be clothed not in abstract ideas, but in tangible, concrete forms. It must be embodied in something which is beyond the individual man, free from his propensities, and strong enough to conquer the heart of the most forlorn man and to kindle in him a desire for perfection. The greatest mission of religion has always been in working out and holding before men such a standard of morality. Revealed religions have nobly performed this mission in the past, and only the religion of humanity can perform it in the future.

Every true teacher of morality shall bear in mind

(1) That morality has always been and will always be based on religion as on our strongest inheritance from the past, our most powerful sentiment.

(2) That religion is a clinging of helpless individuals to the concrete, but not to the abstract; that it necessarily includes the recognition of authority in something higher and superior to individual man.

Starting from these premises, the teachers of morality will cease the equilibristical performances on the rope of metaphysics. They will find that the only standard of morality which may be safely put before all men is that which is found in our subserviency to humanity as a great living organism. They will easily see that, in submitting to this standard of morality, each man will find also a harmonious verification of his own moral nature; because all is one, and everything is subject to the same laws of the universe. The moral laws of humanity are the same as the moral laws of individuals, being only clearer from individual corruptions and therefore easier to be found and understood.

The teachers of ethics must become the teachers of the religion of humanity; and this change of basis is less difficult for them than for the other two groups, because they are already the most faithful servants of humanity. Unconsciously to themselves, they realize the most urgent need of this Supreme Being; they *do* good instead of preaching it. The acceptance of the religion of humanity will not change their activities, only add a new and strong stimulus to their actions, and above all will give them a tremendous power over the others, as nobody can resist the combination of natural goodness with the solid, intelligible, and ennobling philosophy.

In conclusion, let me say that the religion of humanity is the only form of agnosticism which can stand the severest tests of sceptics, and is able to continue the mission performed by the past religions. Let us not be afraid to indorse it. It will forever remain an embodiment of progress, because, being based on science, it has no stationary dogmas which may be outgrown in the future. The religion of humanity is the only safe anchorage for those who are tired both of metaphysical rambles of idealists and of sophistical arguments of the selfish. Under its banner will come all who are in search of true religion, all who are craving for spiritual food in our age of dollars and cents, all who find in their experiences how futile are the best planned reforms if not illuminated and sanctified by the religious sentiment.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CORRECTION.

Editors of The Index:—

In an article in *The Index* of April 13, I spoke of one of the old Greek philosophers, Theodorus by name, as having been expressly called "atheos," or the man without a God. But it was really another contemporary philosopher, namely, Diagoras, the Melian, who was thus called. Theodorus was a Cyrenaic philosopher. Cicero, in his essay *De Natura Deorum*, the best theological treatise, by the way, extant, couples Theodorus with Diagoras, and says that they were the only two Greek speculative thinkers who dogmatically affirmed that there were no gods.

Other Greek philosophers would neither affirm nor deny the existence of gods. Protagoras, of Abdera, the subtlest thinker of his time, at the beginning of one of his works wrote, "As for the gods, I have nothing to affirm as to their existence *pro* or *con*." But the pious Athenians would not allow Protagoras to remain in such a state of philosophic suspense, but burned his book and banished him from their city and territory. Doubtless, the philosopher considered himself lucky in escaping combustion himself. In fact, Athens was, in that day, a nest of bigotry and intolerance, with all its wit, art, and wisdom. The Areopagus was as vindictive toward rationalists as was the Spanish Inquisition later along. The theological spirit was as intolerant in the ancient Athenian polytheist as it ever has been in the Christian monotheist or tritheist since. The brilliant and popular Alcibiades, for farcifying the Eleusinian Mysteries and mutilating the statues of the god Hermes during a revel with a lot of youthful comrades, would have been put to death, had he not escaped in a galley from the siege of Syracuse to Sparta. So that Gibbon's assertion that ancient polytheism was tolerant is false. All the little Greek city-states were bigoted and exclusive to the last degree.

Their citizens personified and deified their cities, and worshipped them. The Greek citizen had no rights as against his own city or State, which could offer him as a human sacrifice to propitiate the angry gods or send him forth to be slain in battle. The Roman Republic, and later the Roman Empire, after having subdued the civilized world of that day, treated the gods and religions of the conquered nations all alike, with an impartial tolerance and magnificent indifference. It was the Roman Empire in its grandeur and the magnanimity of its rulers which first allowed perfect freedom of opinion and religious belief, so long as their own political supremacy was not questioned. If the early Christians were persecuted by the Roman authorities, it was because they were regarded as the common enemies of the human race, as Nihilists and Communists are now regarded by all conservative people at least, and as entertaining notions and a belief utterly subversive of the political and social order of the pagan world. B. W. BALL.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ST. JAMES' CHAPEL at Elberon, N.J., can boast of having the wealthiest sexton in the world, as the benevolent G. W. Childs, of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, officiates there in that capacity. He is said to be also one of the most accommodating and good-natured sextons, as well.

THE Concord school of philosophers, now meeting under Mr. Alcott's apple-trees, are falling into too morbid a mood this summer. Not satisfied with bemoaning the generally decrepit and halting condition of the modern mind as compared with that of Concord seekers after truth, they now deplore the decadence of the world from "some prehistoric race, who probably were as gods compared with us." The thing is not certain, say they, but it may be so. Civilization, Mr. Alcott laments, may be retrograding instead of advancing, as we suppose. Miss Peabody, too, is inclined to complain because the present race of men are so contemptible compared with even the works of past ages, as in European cathedrals. What would the chubby babies of good Miss Peabody's kindergartens say to her heresy? One such school is a proof of a sounder humanity and higher civilization alive and at work than all the cathedrals built in Europe by the ignorant, half-starved paupers of the Middle Ages. As for Mr. Alcott's search for a mythical race of godlike men before history, we wish him success. The cave-man, however, we fear, will not help him out very far in his theory. At least, it is certain, from the shape of his skull and other indications of his raw-meat-eating propensities, that his civilization would not have qualified him eminently to enjoy the metaphysical speculations of the Concord school.—*New York Tribune.*

WHAT changes are going on in the old strongholds of the Christian faith! An American priest writes

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from Rome to the *Catholic Review* that "the number of Catholic papers as compared with those of their enemies is very small; and the few that are published are so feeble in their defence of the Church that their influence is hardly felt. Here in Rome, the very heart of the Church, are numberless papers sold at one cent apiece that are continually vilifying the Church; while, on the other hand, you find two or three weak-voiced sheets that are the only weapons of truth, and all these but one are sold at two cents. This difference of a cent in price goes very far with an Italian; and hence you will see men who call themselves great defenders of the Pope buying the bad paper, because the one that is the friend of religion costs too much. . . . Not to mention France, I saw in Madrid, the very capital of most Catholic Spain, papers that appeared every day with the most shocking caricatures of even the Pope himself. And, strange to say, the demand for such papers could hardly be supplied. There was no voice raised against it. . . . No people may read such papers for a long time without imminent danger to their faith. The men who are doing this deadly work in Spain are a mere handful. They have done their work well in France. In olden times it was said, with a great deal of truth, *gesta Dei per Francos;* but nowadays we find another name substituted for that of God. . . . You cannot conceive the apathy of the Italians in this respect. They allow the revolutionists to say and to do what they like, in the vain hope that some miracle or other may set all things right. I cannot describe to you what pain it gives a priest to witness such a condition of things, and what contempt he must entertain for those who can so easily defend themselves, but who have not the moral courage to do it. Up to the present, the revolutionists in Italy do not represent more than one-fourth of the population, and hardly as much; but there is, literally speaking, no one to oppose them, and they are gaining ground every day."

BOOK NOTICES.

NATURAL RELIGION. By the author of *Ecce Homo.* Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882. pp. 251. Price $1.25.

A new book by the author of *Ecce Homo*, who is now known to be Prof. John Robert Seeley, must attract wide attention from all who are interested in independent religious discussion. This work, or much of it, appeared four or five years ago as essays in *Macmillan's Magazine;* but it has been entirely recast, new matter added, enlarging the scope without changing the general tenor of the articles as they were first published. The author holds that there are important truths in religion outside the region of ordinary discussion, and some of these truths it is the object of the work to present. Every chapter contributes some fresh thought, or presents some old thought so luminously revealing unfamiliar aspects of truth that it has the appearance of newness. The author dwells on the fundamental resemblances between systems that are popularly supposed to be diametrically opposite in their essential teachings. For instance, science and theology are in harmony in recognizing universal self-existent Power upon which all phenomena depend. "I say," remarks the author, "that man believes in a God who feels himself in the presence of a Power in the contemplation of which he is absorbed, in the knowledge of which he finds safety and happiness." He is by no means disposed to regard men as atheists, if they fail to see proof of benevolence or personality in the all-embracing Power; and he denies that "supernaturalism is necessary either to the idea, or the practical vigor, or to the popular diffusion of religion." "It may no doubt," he observes, "produce perplexity, when the name of religion is given to that which wants some of the leading characteristics, which, not at some times or in some places only, but all over Christendom and from the primitive times of the Church, have been supposed to belong to religion. As described here, religion does not brood over a future life, but is intensely occupied with the present. It does not surmise something behind nature, but contemplates nature itself. It does not worship a Power which suspends natural laws, but the power which is exhibited in those laws. It does not shrink from political organization, but is itself the soul of all healthy political organization. It does not damp enjoyment, but is itself the principle of all rich enjoyment. It is not self-conscious or self-absorbed, and does not make us anxious about our own fate, but *is* the principle which destroys self, and gives us strength to rise above personal anxieties." If a supernatural can be proven, let it come in, the author says, as a supplement to a natural one; but it can never properly be the "mainspring."

In this work, the author is bolder than in *Ecce Homo.* His style is vigorous and clear, and his spirit is that of a broad thinker and a candid man.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. Four Sermons by Albert Walkley, Unitarian Church, Keene, N.H. 1882.

This is a tiny pamphlet of thirty-one pages, yet it contains four sermons on such topics as "The Death of Socrates and the Death of Jesus," "Paul on Mars Hill," "Greek Philosophy and the Gospel of John," "Roman Thought and Christian Theology." There is one evident thread of intent running through the series,—to show how Greek and Roman ideas and habits of thought mingled with the Hebrew stream to produce Christendom. This is a large theme; and, though these sermons do not treat it profoundly or exhaustively, the preacher shows himself quite well at home in the subject, and treats it in the best way, probably, for a popular congregation,—a way that is instructive, at the same time that it is sketchy, vivid, and sometimes tending to the dramatic. Mr. Walkley considers Christianity from an entirely rationalistic stand-point. The parallel—which is also in part a contrast—drawn in the first sermon between Socrates and Jesus is suggestive of the change that is going on in Unitarian theology. To couple the name of Jesus with that of any other human being used to be regarded twenty-five years ago as blasphemous. To do this now may not be common, but congregations are not shocked by it as they once were. Mr. Walkley not only brings the two names and characters side by side as two equally human beings, but, while on the whole awarding the superiority to Jesus, he clearly indicates that on some points of a complete manhood the advantage was with Socrates. The author of these sermons, we understand, came into the Unitarian ministry from the Episcopal Church. He is certainly a "Broad Churchman" now.

CHRISTIANITY OUTSIDE OF CHRISTENDOM. Lecture Sermon. By Rev. E. L. Rexford, D.D., pastor of the Universalist Church, Detroit.

This discourse shows the spread of broad Free Religious principles among the organized Christian churches. If such is the tone of the Universalist pulpit, it will deserve its grand name better than ever before. The discourse gives an account of the Brahmo Somaj movement in India under the leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen, well known to the readers of *The Index.* Dr. Rexford takes strong ground against the exclusive claims of Christianity, saying, "I submit that the time is come in the history of religious inquiry to assume that the problem of religion is the problem of humanity, and not a mere side issue in which only a small sect or party is directly concerned." When we see the part which religious prejudice still plays in the world, causing bitter race hostilities, intensifying the war spirit, and shutting us out from the benefits we might gain from equal intercourse with men of other faiths, the spread of these views is of direct practical importance to humanity; and we hail with welcome this new fellow-laborer in the good cause.

THE *Century Magazine* for August is the midsummer holiday number, and a large share of its contents is of the breezy, out-of-door character appropriate to the season. Alice Fenn has a delightful descriptive paper on "The Border Lands of Surry" (with charming illustrations by Harry Fenn), a delicious bit of English country, "whose rural quiet and beauty have attracted many people who are prominent in the literary and artistic world. George Eliot, Tennyson, White (Gilbert) of Selbourne, and Thomas Hardy, Alma Tadema, Boughton, and Birket Forster have sojourned or lived on these border lands." In "The New Northwest," E. B. Smalley describes the Dakota Wheat Regions, the Bad Lands, and the Yellowstone country. Good reading for the seaside is found in "Steam Yachting in America," by S. G. W. Benjamin; "An Aboriginal Pilgrimage," by Sylvester Baxter; and "The Phantom Sailor," a story by Noah Brooks; while John Burroughs' fine description of "A Snow Storm" is very refreshing reading these hot days. "The Lambs" is a unique serio-comic Wall Street "tragedy" by the author of *The Little Tin Gods on Wheels.* A striking portrait of Richard Wagner adorns the first page, and John R. G. Hassard tells "How Wagner makes Operas." "The Personal History of Garibaldi," by E. D. R. Bianciardi, is a timely and interesting article. L. B. Bulkly, in "Dinah Morris and Elizabeth Evans," shows pretty conclusively that Mrs. Elizabeth Evans, an aunt of George Eliot, was the original of the sweet, sincere character of the woman preacher, Dinah Morris, as portrayed by George Eliot in "Adam Bede." There are dramatic instalments of both the continued stories, "A Modern Instance," by Howells, and "Through One Administration," by Mrs. Burnett. In the "Aboriginal Pilgrimage," which describes in detail the visit of the band of Zuñis under Frank Cushing's charge to the "Ocean of Sunrise," it is related that the Zuñi chiefs, being told while in Salem of the hanging of the witches there, expressed their hearty approval of such vigorous action against witchcraft, in which they have a firm belief. The magazine contains various other articles of interest, and the illustrations are as usual numerous and in the highest style of the art.

THOSE subscribers to *St. Nicholas* who have no opportunity to spend their vacation away from home are not to be very much commiserated, so long as they have the August number of this lively magazine for young folks to read; for they can thus have many of the pleasures with considerable of the knowledge gained by travel, without any of the hardships or inconveniences consequent thereon. Among the "bits of travel" which make this essentially a vacation number, we instance the following: "Mrs. Peterkin in Egypt," by Lucretia P. Hale; "A Visit to the Home of Sir Walter Scott," by Mrs. P. I. Collins, with eight fine illustrations; "The Mysterious Barrel," a story of several foreign curiosities, by Paul Fort; "How a Hoosier Boy saw the Tower of Pisa," by A. H. Fretageot; "Summer Days at Lake George," by Lucy A. Millington; "How Joe Bentley won a Bouquet from the Queen of Portugal," a story founded on fact of a Yankee boy's daring adventure at a bull fight. Besides these, most of the other stories and poems have a strong foreign flavor. "How Bart went Whale-hunting," by H. H. Boyesen, is a story of a Norwegian fisherman's adventurous son; "Hassan's Watermelon" is a characteristic Turkish story, by David Ker; "The Cloister of the Seven Gates" is a tale of life in Servia; and, in "Stories from the Northern Myths," James Baldwin tells anew the story contained in the "Nibelungen Lied"; "The Punjaubs of Siam" is a story in verse, of which Jumbo ought to have been the hero; Celia Thaxter's beautiful poem, "The Nightingale," is charmingly illustrated, as are most of the articles; "Sea Baby Houses" is an instructive and interesting lesson in seaside natural history, by Mrs. H. M. Miller. *St. Nicholas* is published by the Century Co., 33 East 17th Street, New York, at $3.00 per year.

THE sunflower has made its æsthetic way even into the baby's magazine; for the lovely picture of "Kitty and her Parasol," which adorns the front page of *Baby-Land* for August, represents a sweet little girl who, in walking out, has taken a sunflower for her parasol. The verses and pictures entitled "In a Swing," as well as those which tell of the adventures of "A Greedy Cat," will be highly appreciated by all the little ones for whom the magazine is intended. D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

GEORGE P. MARSH, our Minister to Italy the past twenty-one years, died suddenly at Vallambrosa, July 24. He was eighty-one years old. His contributions to literature were voluminous and varied.

MRS. EMERSON, of Concord, widow of Ralph Waldo Emerson, is eighty-three years old, and retains her powers to a remarkable degree. She was Miss Lidian Jackson, and lived in Plymouth, Mass., before her marriage.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S new home in this city is on Common Street, an old, unfashionable locality; and, in hot weather, he goes for a month or two to Waverly, an inland village, rural, dull, and unfrequented by city visitors.

FRANCES POWER COBBE, in a recent letter to the London *Spectator* regarding the uses of rest and physical exercise for literary workers, says: "Not having overtasked myself too early, I was able from the age of five-and-twenty to five-and-fifty to write at any

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time under pressure nine or ten hours a day without any ill consequences."

MR. R. C. SPENCER, of Milwaukee, well known to the liberal public in connection with the movement for State secularization, missed his little son Earnest one day last month; and after a week of terrible suspense and anxiety, during which it was feared the little boy had been kidnapped, the body was found in Lake Michigan. Such an occurrence excites the sorrow and sympathy of every heart.

LILIAN WHITING, writing of the Newport Unity Club, says: "Among the speakers who have addressed the immense audiences of the Unity Club lectures have been Prof. Richard Proctor of England, Prof. Morse of Salem, Mrs. Livermore, Rev. Mr. Savage, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Miss Mary F. Eastman, George Jacob Holyoake of England, and other notable men and women. These courses of lectures contributed in a greater degree than will ever be known, perhaps, to the intellectual growth of the community."

DR. PUSEY, the celebrated English divine, will attain his eighty-second year in August. In spite of his advanced age, he is very well, and is still giving his three lectures a week at Oxford, where he has been professor for many years. Dr. Pusey is the second son of the late Philip Bouverie, half-brother of the first Lord Radnor, his mother having been Lucy, daughter of Robert, fourth Earl of Harcourt, and widow of Sir Thomas Cane, Bart. She assumed the name of Pusey by royal decree in 1800, the year of Dr. Pusey's birth.

AN American writing from London refers to Moncure D. Conway and his chapel thus: "Around the ceiling in illuminated letters are the names of the different men whom the congregation admire. Over the reading-desk is the name that has no divinity to them,—the name of Jesus. On either side of this are Socrates and Shakspere, and beyond these are Voltaire and Moses. Mr. Conway reads passages from Confucius or Herschel or anybody he admires: his people sing poetry from Shelley, Wordsworth, Shakspere, or Adelaide Procter; and Mr. Conway never prays. He worships only truth."

AN American committee, of which Prof. Asa Gray is chairman and Prof. Alexander Agassiz is treasurer, has been appointed to join with the English executive committee in the work of the Darwin memorial, which will probably include an endowment for a scholarship to carry on biological research, though its exact form has not yet been decided upon. The membership of the American committee takes in some of our most eminent scientists and educated men, such as ex-President Woolsey, Prof. O. C. Marsh, President Gilman, President Eliot, Prof. James D. Dana, and Prof. Charles Eliot Norton; and, if the Longfellow memorial is worthy to be pushed as an interest of international importance, much more should the Darwin memorial receive attention on both sides of the Atlantic. American subscriptions may be sent to Prof. Agassiz, of Cambridge.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE OF THE YOUNG.

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

THE MINERAL KINGDOM.
THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM.
THE ANIMAL KINGDOM. (Except man.)
MAN.

Study 27.—The Animal Kingdom. (*Except Man.*)

Mammals. (*Except Man.*)

Text-books, Wood's New Illustrated Natural History and Hooker's Illustrated Natural History.

We have now studied about what three orders of the Vertebrates?
What is the next higher order called?
Why?
Is this the highest order known?
What is the highest animal in this order?
Do we include him in this study?
Why not?
So, when in this study we talk of Mammals, we mean what?
Into what four great divisions are these Mammals divided?
What animals are included in the Quadrumana or four-handed class?
Which is the largest of the Quadrumana?
Which is the smallest?
What is a Bat?
To which of our great divisions does he belong?
Why so called?
Is this division a large one?
How are Quadrupeds divided with respect to their feet?
What examples can you give?
Can any Quadrupeds live in the water?
Why do we call *them* Quadrupeds?
Do the Seals and the Whales belong to the same order?
What differences can you mention between the two?
How many kinds of Whales are there?
How large are Whales as compared with other animals?
What is a Dolphin?
How do the Mammals differ with respect to teeth?
The reason for these differences in the teeth then is what?
How do Mammals differ with respect to the covering of their bodies?
How do Mammals move?
Do all the walkers walk in the same way?
Notwithstanding these differences, what points can you mention in which all Mammals are alike?
How in these respects do they compare with other Vertebrates?

SELECTIONS.

The fidelity of the dog should shame men who are forgetful of benefits.—*Chinese.*

The coat of the buffalo never pinches under the arm, never puckers at the shoulder: it is always the same, yet never old-fashioned nor out of date.—*Parker.*

The shoes of the reindeer and the ox wax not old upon their feet.—*Parker.*

Ask now the beasts, and they will teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee; and the fishes of the sea, and they shall declare unto thee.—*Job.*

O man! there is no kind of beast on the earth, nor any fowl which flieth with its wings, but the same is a people, like unto yourselves.—*Mohammed.*

Suggestions to Leader.—Of course, it is impossible to show actual specimens of the mammals. The illustrations in Wood are remarkably good; and a visit to a good menagerie, should opportunity offer, may be made instructive.

Study 28.—Conclusion.

We have now studied about what portion of the world we live in?
For convenience, we have divided our study how?
What are these called?
Which is the oldest of the three kingdoms?
How do we know?
Which comes next?
How do we know that?
The mineral kingdom treats of what?
What do we mean by the crust of the earth?
Of what is this crust composed?
All the rocks of the earth may be divided into what three classes?
Why are these classes so named?
Give examples of each class.
What changes has the earth's surface undergone?
The next kingdom to the mineral is what?
Of what does this consist?
What two kinds of organs have plants?
What are the organs of growth?
By means of these, the plant does what?
What are the organs of reproduction?
By means of these, the plant does what?
Describe the growth of a plant from the seed?
How many kinds of plants are there?
How are the herbs divided?
Mention some of the flowerless plants.
The next higher kingdom is what?
What is the first natural division of this kingdom?
What are they?
How have the invertebrates been subdivided?
Describe each of these classes.
Give examples of each.
How have the vertebrates been subdivided?
Describe each of these classes.
Give examples of each.
In what respects do the invertebrates differ?
In what respects do they agree?
In what respects do the vertebrates differ?
In what respects do they agree?
Are the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms independent of each other?
What relations do they hold to each other?
What relation do they hold to man?
Which is the more beautiful and useful, the whole of a thing or a part of it?
Which is the more beautiful, a whole orange and a whole apple or half an orange and half an apple stuck together?
Why?
Which is more beautiful, the whole world or a part of it?
A world with things in their places or out of their places?
The world we live in then looks most beautiful to us when?
Mention some respects in which we can see that this is so.
What, then, may we say of everything in the world?
What did Pope say about this?
[All are but parts of one stupendous whole.]
What did Emerson say about it?
[Have the group read Emerson's poem "Each and All."]

The World we Live in.

THE MINERAL KINGDOM.		THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM.		THE ANIMAL KINGDOM (*except Man*).	
		Organs of Growth.		*Invertebrates.*	
Sedimentary Rocks.	Conglomerate. Sandstone. Shale.	Roots—Tap-roots, Rootlets. Stems—Cellular Tissue, Woody Fibre. Leaves—Blade, Footstalk, Stipules.		Protozoa.	A simple cell or aggregation of cells.
				Radiates.	Parts radiating from a common centre.
		Organs of Reproduction.		Articulates.	Jointed, but without a backbone.
Organic Rocks.	Coal. Limestone. Chalk.	Flower.	Calyx. Corolla. Stamens. Pistils.	Molluscs.	Bodies covered with a soft envelope, most of them having shells.
		Fruit.	Skin or Outside Covering. Pulp.		
		Seed.	Seed Coats. Kernel (Embryo, Albumen).		
		Kinds of Plants.		*Vertebrates.*	
Igneous Rocks.	Granite. Lava. Tuff.	Herbs.	Annuals. Biennials. Perennials.	Fishes.	Live in the water, and breathe by means of gills.
		Shrubs.		Reptiles.	Creeping animals and inhabitants of rather warm climates.
		Trees.		Birds.	Covered with feathers, warm-blooded, and possessed of wings and beaks.
The Crust of the Earth.	Raised Beaches. Submerged Forests. Coal-Pits. Crumpled Strata. Origin of Mountains.	Flowerless Plants.	Ferns. Lichens. Sea Mosses.	Mammals.	Animals which nurse their young.

F. A. H.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	61
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Mr. Beecher's Latest Theological Manifesto, Wm. J. Potter,	62
New Testament Teachings regarding Woman, B. F. Underwood,	62
Faith Miracles, Rowland Connor,	63
A Word about Prof. Lotze, W. M. Salter,	63
A Singular Remark of Goethe, B. W. Ball,	64
A New Proof of the Immortality of the Soul, William I. Gill,	64
EDITORIAL NOTES,	65
POETRY.	
On the Heights, Walter L. Sawyer,	66
Optimist, Caroline A. Mason,	66
ESSAYS.	
Annihilation, D. C.,	67
Extracts from Sophocles, selected by F. M. Holland,	67
CORRESPONDENCE.	
One Phase of Free Thought, Clay Neville,	68
Truth against Faith, Charles Ellis,	68
The Index and the English Unitarian Press, H. N.,	69
Prof. Adler and the F. R. A., M. M.,	69
Faith Cures, or Modern Miracles, John Dixwell, M.D.,	70
MISCELLANEOUS,	70
BOOK NOTICES.	
For Girls, by Mrs. E. R. Shepherd,	71
The Art Amateur, Unitarian Review, Herald of Health,	71
PERSONAL ITEMS,	71

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE *Christian Register* exclaims: "Poor Darwin! What a mercy he died before learning of Mr. Alcott's crushing refutation of his theory at the Concord School of Philosophy: 'Mr. Alcott, referring to the decay of all the ancient nations famed in history, said that man did not work up to his present state from a beginning in barbarism. He had his beginning in the sky, and through vice and degradation had slipped to the lowest plane, from which he was now struggling back again.'"

THE Arrears Bill has been so saddled with amendments in the House of Lords that its provisions the most relied upon to improve the condition of Irish tenants are virtually destroyed. Mr. Gladstone refuses to compromise; and, unless the Lords consent to drop these amendments, their action will probably force the resignation of the ministry and the dissolution of Parliament. But the Egyptian war may have the effect of harmonizing the discordant elements on the Irish question.

A BOY crossing a field near Toronto, on Sunday, was shot by a rural constable, and died from the wound. The officer says he drew his pistol merely to frighten the boy, and that the discharge was accidental. A coroner's jury was not satisfied with the explanation. Meantime, a clergyman writes to the *Globe* of that city that, as the boy was violating the Sabbath, the shooting was justifiable. This is what Ingersoll would call a "hellish kind of justice." The clergyman is generally and severely condemned for his defence of the Mosaic law.

IN order to render inoperative disfranchisement and other penalties against polygamy, the Mormon leaders have adopted measures to secure apparent conformity to law; and polygamists in office have resigned, and Mormons who are monogamists in form, if not in fact, have succeeded them. It is declared that, when the commission arrives, it will find nothing to do. But polygamy under the ban, and merely as a clandestine relation, can hardly fail to lose its respectability and consequently its religious associations among the higher class of Mormons.

A MINISTER, who preached at a Staten Island camp meeting recently, said: "In a few weeks, Tug Wilson and Sullivan will meet each other with gloves, and the one that endures the trial will get the money. So it is in the Christian religion: the man who contends manfully with his foe, the devil, and conquers him, will receive the reward." An exchange asks if it is wholly just "to liken the beaten man to the devil, especially if the preacher has no money on him." Perhaps not; but a speaker's allusions to current topics in illustrating his thought are something of an index to his intellectual and moral character.

THE *Christian Statesman*, after referring to "the injurious secularism of our public schools," quotes approvingly the following "vigorous sentences" from *The Workman:* "At the present day, the educators of India, Japan, and China in the public schools teach their youth and young men the doctrines and precepts of their several religious systems. We, however, the aggressive Christian nation of the world, while spending immense sums to instill Christianity into the minds of the children of these dark lands, look with strange unconcern at the colossal machinery of our common schools yearly producing, if not educated heathen, at least what is worse, a nation of callous materialists."

"THE Roman *Index*," says the Boston *Herald*, "has rendered a service to M. Renan in condemning his recent treatise on Ecclesiastes, for which the brilliant Frenchman and his publisher cannot be too thankful. Very often, in these days, a timid author will send copies of his book around to the literary notables for a liberal estimate of its merits, but who among the tribe of French, English, or American writers would venture to disturb his Holiness in this way? Happily for M. Renan, the Pope has been interested enough in his latest book to turn literary critic of his own accord, and give such a free-handed criticism of the work as to increase the interest in it a thousand-fold. Everybody will wish to read the book to see whether his Holiness, who is infallible in matters of faith and morals, is really infallible in condemning M. Renan as an immoral writer.... The Roman *Index* has immensely increased the circulation of the books it has condemned, from the Reformation down to the present time, and has for centuries been the guide of the private studies of modern heretics."

AT one of the "faith meetings" held at Old Orchard Beach, Me., last week, three hundred invalids were brought forward, anointed with oil, prayed over, and, the despatch adds, "Those that had faith were cured." The Boston *Herald* thinks that "such incidents tend to diminish men's respect for Christianity." "The hasty inference drawn is that this is a part of the teachings of the Bible; and, as all human experience shows the immutability of law, and that suffering is common to both the good and the wicked, the conclusion arrived at is that the Bible is not to be trusted." Such fanaticism the *Herald* thinks more disastrous in its effects on Christianity than the lectures of Col. Ingersoll. It is certain that the "inference" that the belief and practice of the "faith" people are a part of the teachings of the Bible is an inference that is entirely correct, and it is equally certain that in the reports of these meetings there is a strange mixture of truth, which belongs to the province of psychological science, and misrepresentation due to credulity, superstition, and fraud.

THE *Christian Intelligencer* laments the increase of Sabbath desecration as exemplified by Sunday excursions, and Sunday trains in summer, and visitors to summer resorts, who, "away from home, drive, ride, stroll, saunter, gossip, and flirt through the sacred hours, apparently restrained only by a dim and fading traditional reverence from boldly playing lawn tennis or base ball on Sunday as they would on Saturday." In addition to this shocking depravity on the part of summer tourists, the *Intelligencer* also deplores the growing indifference to Sabbath-keeping in many professedly religious homes, and declares that "the taking of a Sunday newspaper is the entering wedge which, with nine out of ten, secularizes the reading and lowers the spirituality of the day." As a remedy for all this, it recommends that we "get back to the purer, more excellent, and, we confess, Puritanical and Calvinistic ideal of the Sabbath." It is perhaps fortunate that the *Christian Intelligencer* does not represent the intelligence of the majority. Sunday papers have become a necessity, and we are pleased to see that Sunday excursions are becoming more popular every year.

SAYS the London *Spectator:* "The Salvation Army is developing a somewhat unspiritually belligerent spirit in some of its officers. Its "captain" at Salisbury appears to have declared that, "but for the grace of God," he would "pull the noses" of "the bobbies, magistrates, or mayor of that city," toward whose authority he had expressed the utmost indifference. The "grace of God" had evidently not worked very powerfully in its restraining effect upon him, when he uttered this bellicose threat; and, of course, the consequence is that in Salisbury the Salvation Army is regarded as a sect hostile to the established authorities. But this is, we think, the tendency—hitherto manfully held down—of the whole military organization. The physical excitement which is the basis of the whole business must stimulate the physical passions of soldiers of the Army; and, whenever they get such a captain as they seem to have got at Salisbury,—one who goes as far as physical threats, even though he does not venture to go so far as physical violence,—they will be strongly tempted to outbreaks of violence against their foes. It is impossible to regard their hitherto very effective discipline as in the best sense either moral or spiritual."

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MR. BEECHER'S LATEST THEOLOGICAL MANIFESTO.

Henry Ward Beecher does not write anything which, for criticalness of scholarship or for logical clearness and profundity of thought, is worthy of much attention. But by his native vigor of intellect, his broad human sympathies, his close acquaintance with the common facts and experiences of human life, and his brilliant gifts as an orator and rhetorician, he has won a large popular following in the Evangelical Church, and, though an erratic leader, is certainly one of the representative powers of modern Orthodoxy. As such, his utterances have a value apart from themselves. Moreover, though Mr. Beecher is not technically a scholar, he instinctively imbibes the results which modern thinkers and scholars and scientists are working out, and keeps himself *en rapport* with the intellectual movements of the age. His own thought and beliefs, which he still presents to the public from a nominally orthodox pulpit, have been very largely shaped by these movements. He is a modern man, though still training in a Church that counts Calvin among its chief apostles. From this point of view, his article in the August number of the *North American Review*, on "Progress of Thought in the Church," will receive deserved attention. As a sign of the times, it is deeply significant. It is a manifesto of the most advanced Orthodoxy.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that this article totally repudiates the Calvinistic theology, both in form and in substance. Mr. Beecher, as he has shown by previous utterances, accepts the doctrine of evolution. But not before has he affirmed with such candor and boldness the logical consequences of the doctrine in the domain of religious belief. He calls it "the most revolutionary tenet ever advanced." He says: "To admit the truth of evolution is to yield up the reigning theology. It is to change the whole notion of man's origin, his nature, the problem of human life, the philosophy of morality, the theory of sin, the structure of moral government as taught in the dominant theologies of the Christian world; the fall of man in Adam, the doctrine of original sin, the nature of sin, and the method of atoning for it." If the belief of Christendom on all these points is to be revolutionized, it is certainly hard to see what shred of the Calvinistic system of theology will be left. Further, speaking of the doctrine of the Bible as the guide to right belief and practice, Mr. Beecher says that, though "in an important sense the sacred Scriptures are of God, . . . they have authority only concurrently with educated human reason and rational moral sense," which is plainly to put Bible teaching to the test of man's reason and moral intelligence. Of the change going on in creeds, he says, "Men no longer preach doctrines to which they swore in their ordination vows, or they give to them new meanings *at variance with historic fact*." The italics are ours. His arraignment of the Calvinistic conception of Deity as a monster of injustice and inhumanity is very much in the vein of Ingersoll, and might almost be quoted from the pages of that trenchant iconoclast.

In this statement of views, Mr. Beecher departs farther from the old standard of Orthodoxy than did Channing and the old Unitarians: indeed, he goes farther, probably, than even some modern Unitarians would follow him. Yet such a proclamation of views will now make no split in the Orthodox church, for the reason that evolution has now taken the place of revolution in the progress of religious thought. Naturally, however, such views will not be received by Orthodoxy everywhere with equal favor. The *Congregationalist* combats them in a long and elaborate article, in which it takes advantage of Mr. Beecher's weakness in logic and in theological learning. The *Christian Union* welcomes them as the utterances of one who is "by nature a prophet," and flatteringly urges him to follow up this "interpretative" article with another, which shall "tell us what the rising revelation is," and sketch at least "a prophetic outline of his conception of the probable theology of to-morrow."

But it is doubtful if Mr. Beecher is adequate to the task to which the *Christian Union* summons him. He certainly is not, if he still adheres as tenaciously as he has heretofore done to the doctrine of the special Deity of Christ; and on this point the article in the *North American* does not give us much light. The theology that is coming, he says, is "a theology consistent with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ," which is a vague generality that may mean much or little. Radical as his manifesto is, apparently he has yet to see that the doctrine of evolution cuts under the Christology of Orthodoxy as destructively as it affects every other part of its theology. Yet, while Mr. Beecher's views have a certain representative value, personally his authority is not what it once was; for unfortunately, whether justly so or not, his name, in the estimation of a vast multitude of people, is still under the shadow of a darkened reputation.

WM. J. POTTER.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHINGS REGARDING WOMAN.

In referring to a tendency to "depreciate extremely the character and position of women" in the early ages of Christianity, Mr. Lecky says that we "may detect in part the influence of the earlier Jewish writings, in which it is probable that most impartial observers will detect evident traces of the common Oriental depreciation of woman." This is no doubt true; and Christianity perpetuated and extended that influence by maintaining the divine authority of these Jewish writings, and making errors they contain fundamental parts of its creed. Who can compute the evil consequences to woman that have resulted from the fable that, through her influence, man fell from a state of innocence and incurred the wrath of God? Yet it is as essential a part of Christianity as that man is restored to God's favor and saved from sin through the sufferings and merits of Jesus Christ. The New Testament plainly teaches the inferiority of woman, and enjoins her to be in subjection to man. Man is spoken of as the head of woman, even as God is the head of Christ. A woman that prayeth or prophesieth is required to have her head covered, as a sign of her subjection to man: the man is required to have his head uncovered, as a sign of his God-like authority over the woman. And this authority of the man over the woman is grounded on the statements that the woman was made out of the man and not man out of the woman, and that woman was the first to sin. Wives are required to be obedient to their husbands in all things, to act toward them accordingly, and to yield them the same obedience which the Church is required to yield to Jesus Christ. The teachings of the New Testament in regard to woman do not raise her above the common sentiments of the times in which its various books were written. Her inferiority is plainly taught. No wonder, then, that the estimate of woman was low in the Christian empire. "Woman was represented as the door of hell, as the mother of all human ills. She should be ashamed of the very thought she is a woman. She should live in continual penance on account of the curses she had brought upon the world. She should be ashamed of her dress, for it is the memorial of her fall. She should especially be ashamed of her beauty, for it is the most potent instrument of the demon. . . . Women were even forbidden by a provincial council in the sixth century, on account of their impurity, to receive the eucharist in their naked hands. Their essentially subordinate position was continually maintained." So says the author of the *History of European Morals*. We are not surprised, therefore, to read in Lecky: "Wherever the canon law has been the basis of legislation, we find the laws of succession sacrificing the interests of daughters and of wives, and a state of public opinion which has been formed and regulated by these laws; nor was any serious attempt made to abolish them till the close of the last century. The French Revolutionists, though rejecting the proposal of Sieyès and Condorcet to accord political emancipation to women, established, at least, equality of sons and daughters, and thus initiated a great reformation of both law and opinion, which sooner or later must traverse the world."

It is a popular belief produced by the teachings of the clergy that all advancement in the condition of woman, during the past eighteen hundred years, is due to Christianity; that before this religion was preached there was in the Pagan world nothing worthy to be regarded as chastity, or monogamic marriage, and no recognition of any rights of woman that man was bound to respect. Yet the conceptions of chastity were essentially the same among the ancient Pagans as in Christendom; and Lecky says that it "may be questioned whether the inequality of the censure which is bestowed upon the two sexes is not as great as in the days of Paganism, and that inequality is the cause of the most shameful and the most pitiable injustice." "The character of the seducer, and especially of the passionless seducer," this writer continues, "who pursues his career simply as a kind of sport, and under the influence of no stronger motive than vanity or a spirit of adventure, and who designates his successes in destroying the honor of women his conquests, has been glorified and idealized in the popular literature of Christendom in a manner to which we can find no parallel in antiquity."

Antoninus Pius, in issuing a condemnation for adultery against a guilty wife, by the request of the husband, added, "provided always it is established by your life that you gave her an example of fidelity. It would be unjust that a husband should exact a fidelity he does not himself keep."

Monogamy prevailed in Rome from the earliest times, and historians are agreed that Roman influence was one of the chief causes that made this type of marriage dominant in Europe. Divorces, which in the earlier age were rare, none having occurred, it was said, for five hundred and twenty years, were in the empire undoubtedly frequent; but the right to separate belonged to the wife as well as to the husband. The word "concubine" among the Romans represented one of the forms of marriage. This union, which the clergy have frequently stated was little, if any, better than prostitution, was strictly legal and honorable. It was contracted between men of patrician rank and freed women who were not permitted to intermarry according to the other forms,—the "*confarreatio*" and the "*coemptio*." But cohabitation under this form made it impossible for the man to contract a union with another woman without being legally guilty of adultery. Under this form of marriage, woman's position in the Pagan empire was one of social dignity and legal independence. Woman could hold property in her own right. Inheriting a portion of her father's wealth, she retained it independently of her husband, and at one time a

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large amount of the wealth of Rome was in the possession of women. Despite the evils that grew out of this form of marriage, it recognized rights of women for which men like Higginson and women like Mrs. Stanton are pleading to-day. "No society," says Maine, in *Ancient Law*, "which preserves any tincture of Christian institution, is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on them by the middle Roman law."

Tacitus has given us an account of social life among the ancient Germans, in which he represents that the German women were remarkable for their chastity, that adultery was very rare, and that women were treated with great respect. "The old Teutonic tribe," says Mrs. Child, "had always been remarkable for the high consideration in which they held their women, and the respect with which they treated them. Teutonic tribes married but one wife, and fully acknowledged the equality of men and women, both in matters religious and matters political."

"Only," says F. W. Newman, "in countries where Germanic sentiment has taken root, do we see any marks of any elevation of the female sex superior to that of Pagan antiquity. And, as the elevation of the German woman in her deepest Paganism was already striking to Tacitus and his contemporaries, it is highly unreasonable to claim it as an achievement of Christianity."

It is not denied that Christianity gave to certain moral truths and requirements an emphasis which was greatly needed when it appeared; nor is it denied that, as defined and interpreted in later times, Christianity has in a few respects been favorable to woman. But this fact does not change the real character of the teachings of the New Testament regarding woman, nor justify the claims commonly made by theological writers that the present elevation of woman is due to them.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

FAITH MIRACLES.

Dr. Cullis, a Boston physician, has long been known as a man of faith, a believer in direct answers to prayer. For the past six or eight years, he has been healing the sick by a literal following of the method prescribed by James, and his practice has grown recently to huge proportions. According to newspaper reports, in the presence of hundreds of people at Old Orchard Beach, a popular summer resort in Maine, he and some helpers have made addresses upon the power of faith, songs of faith have been sung, and then the sick have been invited to come forward. They have been anointed with oil, a separate prayer has been offered for each one, and many have been cured. Those not cured or not relieved are supposed to be wanting in faith.

I have no hesitation in expressing my belief in the reality of the cures reported to be made by Dr. Cullis, and by his predecessors and imitators, who are somewhat numerous just now in this country and in Europe. I do not doubt for a moment that many persons have been temporarily relieved and some permanently helped by these men and women of faith. To any rationalist who may object that this admission may logically require me to admit also the miracles of Lourdes and the healing power of dead saints' bones, I reply that the logic seems to me to be perfectly correct. I believe, as thoroughly as Dr. Cullis, or any pious Catholic, or even Dr. Tyng of New York, that faith in the water of Lourdes and faith in dead saints' bones have wrought in the past many wonderful cures, and will probably work in the future many others equally wonderful.

Furthermore, I have talked with intelligent men and women who were familiar with Mormonism in its early days, before the introduction of polygamy, and they assure me that miracles of like character were of common occurrence among the primitive Latter Day Saints; and I believe them. Dr. Cullis may lift up his hands in holy horror at my credulity, which thus seems to surpass his own. Can the despised Mormon work miracles? Yes, as truly as Dr. Cullis.

But the full extent of my belief has not yet been indicated.

Recently, in a Western city, I was an interested observer of the actual performance of analogous miracles. In a public hall, I saw crowds of men and women operated upon by one who had even less piety than Dr. Cullis or a Mormon elder. Pains of many years' duration were instantly relieved, the lame walked, the bowed-down rose upright, and the deaf heard. And these last miracles of faith were wrought not by an elder or a deacon, but by the stroking of the hand and the punching of the fist and the shouting of the voice of a long-haired and vulgar-mannered "quack," — a self-styled doctor without an M.D., an adventurer whose miracles were abruptly terminated only when one wife too many appeared upon the scene of action and claimed him for a husband. He ran away, but is probably working his profitable miracles somewhere else. His cures were without question as genuine and as complete as those of Cullis, although Cullis prays and my long-haired hero did not pray.

I believe still more. I believe the statement of Dr. Hammond that, in the New York hospitals, pious Catholic patients, who have begged to be stroked with a saint's bone, have been stroked and cured,—positively cured,—although, no saint's bone being at hand, a piece of the broken handle of an old tooth-brush was used instead; and that similar cures were brought about by the use of the supposed water of Lourdes, which was really Croton water drawn from the plumber's faucet. Do I believe too much? But the evidence in all the above instances is equally good. I must believe all or none, and I believe all.

What is the common factor in all these cures? Faith. Faith in God and in a divine answer to prayer, according to Dr. Cullis; faith in the new dispensation, according to the Mormon elders; faith in the Virgin and the saints, according to the Catholic; faith in some mysterious power possessed by the quack, according to those whose cure I witnessed while out West. All other factors may be eliminated because they contradict or cancel one another. The old tooth-brush cancels the old saint's bone, Croton water cancels the water of Lourdes, the unrighteous quack cancels prayer. Faith alone remains, and the particular object of faith becomes wholly unconsequential.

This faith is translated by Dr. Hammond as "expectant attention," and it may be described also as an intense nervous excitement which brings all the powers of the system to bear upon the atrophied or diseased organ, and there initiates a normal in place of a long-continued abnormal action; and the relief is temporary or the cure becomes permanent according to the amount or energy of the reserve force so applied, and the peculiar condition of the diseased part. The stimulating atmosphere of Old Orchard Beach, the additional nervous excitement consequent upon being placed on a platform before a crowd of people, the novel consciousness of being the centre of attraction of hundreds of eyes, and other attending circumstances, are secondary, although sometimes important factors, in these cures.

That "expectant attention" (in which phrase all the above elements are included) is the real secret of these cures might be inferred from the fact that the diseases alleviated are always such as can be immediately affected by nervous action. Spinal affections, hip-disease, paralysis, neuralgia, heart-disease (supposed), and other more or less obscure nervous ailments, or local ailments, directly referable to abnormal nervous action, are the only diseases cured. Persons not cured are said to be lacking in faith. Not so, however; but their disease has reached a stage, or is of a kind, which puts it beyond the possibility of alleviation or cure by direct nervous stimulus. Very many ailments, therefore, and some of a very simple sort, cannot possibly be reached by faith. Dr. Cullis is said to have made recently as many as two hundred and fifty prayers for as many different persons in one day; but not ten times two hundred and fifty prayers concentrated upon a single person can ever relieve an ingrowing toe-nail, or remove a mole or a freckle or even the tan of the summer's sun, or set a fractured bone, or stop the progress of any kind of zymotic disease. Malarial affections, diphtheria, typhoid fever, small-pox, and measles are beyond the reach of prayers or old bones or mesmeric passes, whatever the amount of accompanying faith.

One important fact must not escape recognition. Those who are cured by faith are always ignorant persons. I care not how gentle or pious or lovable they may be, they are always ignorant when tested by the knowledge essential even to a comprehension of the causes of our best civilization. No intelligent person was ever the subject of a faith miracle. But, if the ignorant may be cured of some wretched diseases by possessing the requisite amount of faith, may we not then argue that ignorance is to that extent a blessing? By no means; and for the simple reason, as I believe, that no intelligent person ever needs to be thus cured. All that can be done by faith in prayers or bones or holy oil or fantastic manipulations he has already done for himself. The curative power in these cases is internal, not external; and the intelligent man can summon all his forces to the rescue of a diseased organ (or, more often, prevent the first coming of the disease) without awaiting the bidding of a medical quack or the repeating of a pious or mystical shibboleth.

The faith-fancy is efficacious in direct proportion to the decay or non-development of more important faculties. Its intensity is measured by the energy of superstition. It annuls self-reliance, and disheartens investigation. The effort of man to perfect himself is what we need, not a blind repose in mystery. These faith miracles therefore, whatever little temporary benefit they may confer upon a few, are, in the long run, exceedingly mischievous. They help to perpetuate the errors against which our whole civilization wrestles,—errors which, given up to, would drag us back to the Dark Ages, errors which must be wholly overcome before we can hope for that Golden Age of humanity, to the bringing in of which our noblest efforts are consciously directed.

ROWLAND CONNOR.

A WORD ABOUT PROF. LOTZE.

The late Prof. Lotze began some years since the publication of his philosophical ideas in systematic form. First came the *Logik*, and then the *Metaphysik*. The third volume, as we learn from Prof. Baumann, Lotze's colleague at Göttingen (*Philosophische Monatshefte*, xvii. Band, ix. and x. Heft), treating of practical and religious philosophy and æsthetics, will probably have to be gathered from the lecture notes of students. That it should not come from his own hand is the more to be regretted, since certain leading ideas, to which frequent reference is made in the earlier volumes, would here receive for the first time a detailed

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treatment; *e.g.*, his teleological view of the world, and the doctrine that the ultimate reality is a personal spirit. Though, from a literary point of view, the *Mikrokosmus* (three volumes) is his leading work, philosophical readers will be compelled to resort to his later volumes for a close and thorough treatment of principles; which in it are, as it were, taken for granted. Lotze did not regard it possible, however, to form a closed system after the old fashion, and so founded no school, though inciting many an investigator. He advised young men, who wished to become philosophers, to cultivate some special line of research (*Fachstudium*), and held philosophizing to be fruitless without the preparation of a mathematical and scientific training. For those interested in practical philosophy, he approved the study of the Roman law, political economy, statistics, and *Culturgeschichte*. Prof. Baumann tells us he admired independence in his students, and looked with a kind of astonishment on those who professed entire agreement with him. And, when he recognized real talent in any one, he was anxious for nothing more than that the person should preserve his own mental individuality, even if the tendencies shown were those he could not wholly approve. Prof. Baumann shows by quotations the unity of Lotze's thought from the beginning of his intellectual career. His earliest subjects were physiology and pathology, and his latest metaphysical ideas are revealed here and there in his treatises upon them. That there are ends which ought to be realized, that there are individual existences capable of realizing them, and that there are general laws according to which such existences do or may realize them,—these are some of Lotze's fundamental propositions. Even metaphysics and logic wear to him a teleological aspect, and the only ultimate thing is the idea of the good. Dr. G. Stanley Hall, in *Aspects of German Culture*, announced a change in Lotze's later thought in the direction of assumption and dogmatism. Prof. Baumann does not seem to be aware of any change; and the writer of these lines knows not where a better instance can be found of the modest, tentative way of treating philosophical questions than is exhibited in the pages of his last volume, *Metaphysik*. It is to be wished that a translation of some of Lotze's works might appear; but the rage for dogmatic systems, like Hegel's on the one hand and Spencer's on the other, would have to abate somewhat before there could be much appetite for them. W. M. SALTER.

A SINGULAR REMARK OF GOETHE.

Apropos of the Second Adventists, as certain religionists of the popular sort are styled who are expectant of the end of the world in connection with the reappearance of Christ, the student of human history and the reflective observer of current events, who has traced the tragi-comedy of man from the earliest periods downward, is sometimes inclined to ask, in moments of despondency, How much longer is it going to last? *Cui bono?* Sometimes, to the middle-aged man, the annual round of the seasons, with its reiterated bloom of spring, ripeness of summer, sereness of autumn, and suppression of all vegetable growth of winter, becomes wearisome with its repetition of precisely the same seasonal phenomena year after year. We are told that the famous German philosopher, Lessing, actually became morbidly weary of the recurrence of the beautiful green of spring. It seems as if a certain number of reproductions of exactly the same results would suffice. The nature of things, from the stand-point of a single life, seems bent on sameness and monotony rather than progress. As soon as a man has the experience which makes him wary and capable of success, he either finds his physical powers declining or he is withdrawn from activity by death.

The profound sage who, with a longer lease of life, could scale the very heights of knowledge, finds his life and his investigations abruptly terminated, while people who are of no account are permitted to vegetate for an indefinite term of existence. Generations full of experience and knowledge and wisdom are continually removed to give place to raw recruits, so to speak, who in their thoughtlessness, intensity of passion, and inexperience, are mere marplots, and constantly committing all sorts of follies and indiscretions. The question is, Toward what kind of a goal is the world moving? Is there to be any adequate outcome from all these endless repetitions of birth, growth, maturity, decay, and death in the vegetable, animal, and human kingdoms? Goethe said to his disciple, Eckermann, in 1828: "Mark this: the world will not attain its goal so speedily as we expect and desire. There are always retarding demons, who start up in opposition at every point, so that, although the whole progresses, it is but slowly." "The development of mankind," said Eckermann, "appears to be laid out as a work of thousands of years." "Perhaps millions," said Goethe: "who knows? But, let mankind last as long as it may, it will never lack obstacles to give it trouble, and never lack the pressure of necessity to develop its powers. Men will become more clever and more acute, but not better, happier, and stronger in action, or, at least, only at epochs. I foresee the time when God will have no more joy in them, but will break up everything for a renewed creation. I am certain that everything is planned to this end, and that the hour and time are already fixed in the distant future for the occurrence of this renovating epoch. But a long time will elapse first, and we may still for thousands and thousands of years amuse ourselves on this dear old surface."

Thus was Goethe an eschatologist, or a man with a doctrine of the end of the present *natura rerum*, or of its transformation and renovation. It is evident enough that the present world is not yet finished, and that its possibilities and capabilities are not yet exhausted. For instance, civilization has got to raise all the various races of mankind and every individual of those races to the plane of humanity, of properly developed human beings with cultivated minds and shapely bodies and uplifted foreheads. This task will require several centuries for its accomplishment. Then, the air is to become the region of locomotion.

Meantime there will never be a joy more intense than that of the love of the sexes; and the blight of death will always continue, in spite of human progress, *to seem* to mar the life of each individual, and make it at last appear a farce, a useless endeavor, and a futility. B. W. BALL.

A NEW PROOF OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

I think, if we adhere to the popular notion of the non-egoistic nature of the sensible world external to our bodily organism, we have less support for the doctrine of personal immortality than other ages have enjoyed, because arguments once reasonably relied on are now in a good measure nullified. When dualism (of mind and matter) could make a respectable showing in its favor, the survival of the personal mind after organic dissolution was quite probable. But this argument is utterly destroyed by the very thorough proof of monism furnished by the advancing science and thought of the present age. If the external world is non-ego, and if all individual forms of life are evolved from the world, one with it, only so many various modes of the one force, then, individually, we exist only as such modes, and, with our organic dissolution, our individuality and personality are necessarily ended. They began with our organization and end with its extinction, because in this organic form and action consists their essential nature or essence,—a peculiar complex mode of the world force.

But there is another side to monism,—the subjective, the egoistic; and this, we are beginning to see, swallows up the other. Directly and immediately, we never know aught but self. Whatever is immediately known is self only. This has been so often asserted without contradiction, and is so generally recognized, that we shall take no special pains to prove it. It is never questioned that all the known secondary qualities of body are subjective states only; and that includes all the visible world, whether of earth or heaven; all the world of odors; all the world of sounds, whether of nature, music, or speech, and the cries of animals; all the world of tastes of every variety and degree. Whatever is seen, heard, smelled, or tasted is ourselves only and always. Thus, nearly all the known universe at once disappears in the ego, or rather appears only in the ego and as the ego. The sense of touch and pressure, which yet remains, is then surrendered by the best minds as nothing else than a *sensation* of touch and pressure, and the object and subject of such sensation are one, a mode of the ego. We can never find aught but self within the range of experience. If there is aught beyond, called matter, it is unknown and unknowable; and therefore, as true agnostics, we should say nothing about it. At all events, we have nothing to do with it here, because we are speaking only of the known world, which without dispute is wholly and only ego. This we shall now assume.

How, then, do we know the existence of aught but ourselves? We do not know it in the same way as we know the phenomena of self,—and all phenomena are self. This knowledge is experiential. All other knowledge, so called, is inferential, either deductive or inductive. It is only thus we know that there are other men, and the principle on which the inference is made is a sematic induction. Since the publication of Berkeley's *Theory of Vision*, we have all known that the visible phenomena which we designate as other men are only modes of self; but we have taken them, without dispute or question, as signs of the existence of other men in certain relations to ourselves. Into the philosophy of this, I cannot now enter, though I am prepared to do so in the proper connection. Enough, at the present, that I indicate the ground and procedure of all men who have any scientific knowledge. I am simply appealing to acknowledged facts and truths, that I may plant myself firmly upon them, and thence draw what appears to me a reasonable inference in favor of personal immortality.

In the light of these facts, we see that our personal individuality cannot be evolved from any known external, non-egoistic, impersonal world; for there is no such world, and therefore it cannot lapse into any such world; and what we call death, a modal change of our personal forces, must find some other explanation.

Personality, it is hence seen, is not the product or exclusive constituent of our bodily organization. That organization is simply one of an innumerable number of the complex modes of the ego, which includes all phenomena and all possible phenomena, each and all being just as really a constituent of the ego as is the organism or any of our interior experiences.

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Hence, again, the ego is not limited or confined to the organism. It cannot be less than commensurate with all its many modes, and these are commensurate with the knowable universe and constitute that universe.

We thus see that the ego, every person or self-conscious individual, is an almost infinitely grander and sublimer thing than it has ever heretofore been thought to be, since it includes all the phenomena and all the forces (which are one) of the known and knowable universe, and therefore of all time, so called, as well as all space.

The extinction of so vast a reality is no trifle. It is not the fall of a leaf, as it has been often called. It is the fall of the universe and the annihilation of its distinctive individualistic being or force (which are one); for every person or individual is himself a universe, the only universe known or knowable to him, all of which is but a grand cosmic series of subjective phenomena, our individual transvolitional force thus and thus acting and self-manifested. The extinction of such a being has never been conceived by man, for such a conception of man has never been definitely attained, still less entertained; and no one has ever believed in the annihilation of the essential material or force of the known universe. Such a thing, if believed, must forever remain without proof or a grain of probability. (Unless God, the Infallible, declared it, if there is such a Being.) No sound mind, therefore, ever will entertain such a belief: so that whoever once clearly grasps and accepts the notion of human individuality which our exposition has indicated will never believe in its extinction. To such a one, belief in our personal immortality will be a psychological imperative.

Of course, this involves many other things, great and extraordinary, on which we cannot here dwell. If we enter into details as to what are the probable personal changes experienced in the event we call death, we may seem to belittle the subject. Yet the human mind necessitates such an inquiry, and we will risk one or two suggestions.

The death of others, so far as it is immediately known to us, is only a change in our own modes and experiences. But it is an index of some event that has transpired beyond my universe, an event of no small importance to a member of my race,—that is, a fellow-being, constituted like myself, who undergoes a constitutional change, so that he no longer belongs to my race or sustains his former relations with it and its universes. Let us look at the indicators of the nature and extent of this change, which are to be found in the changes we experience. These changes are all confined to that class of phenomena which we call the body or animated organism. The indication, therefore, is that the person whom we describe as dead has undergone the change of losing that organism, and nothing more. He has simply ceased to be the subject of certain sensations which he had before; for the body is only a complexus of sensations, lexically associated with other sensations and with super-sensual operations, which associated powers and operations are presumably left intact. On the old and popular theory that the ego is confined to the organism, we know nothing of the former apart from the latter, and we could have no scientific proof that the two could exist apart, or that they are not one and the same exclusively and throughout. According to our analysis, we *know* better. We know that the animated organism is but an infinitesimal fraction of our being, because the ego is identical with the entire knowable universe. To remove the body is therefore to remove only a very minute portion of our being, and perhaps to our advantage indefinitely. Though our analysis has already refuted the supposition, yet it is probable that many will think that the dissolution of the body will destroy all other sensible phenomena, because these all come to us, it is said, through the organism. This is erroneous. It is not, as we have seen, the body properly that sees or feels or tastes or smells: it is the man, the soul or spirit, call the conscious ego what you will, that is conscious of the body under the form or sensation of touch and sight, and equally of all objects beyond, which are called visible and tangible. It is not the organic eye which sees external objects: it is the soul itself only that sees, in lexical relations with certain other sensations, which for the sake of distinction are classed as organic. The soul may therefore know the universe with which it is now familiar, even though the organic phenomena of the animated organism disappear; and, for aught that appears to the contrary, the knowledge may be fuller, clearer, and more easily acquired and retained. Everything favors this view. The body has always been regarded as a clog and as an element of weakness and the source of low temptations. It is the link of connection and the badge of alliance with the brute animal world; and, so far, it makes us animals, with animal propensities and passions and grovelling appetites and tendencies. In losing the body, therefore, we lose much that is base and evil and belittling, and I see not that we lose anything else. All known wear and tear and actual waste of life are of the body. Hence come the necessity of food and sleep and rest and warmth, clothing and shelter against the elements. Here is the seat of disease, and to this also the operation of death, the consummation of all physical evils, is confined. Thus, nearly all known infirmities and all painful burdens and necessities are confined to the body, and with the dissolution of the body they pass away. And as these obscure the intellect, and often dwarf the intellect by the animal passions asserting so much sway, and by the necessity of devoting so much time and attention to the body, it appears that death must be an immense intellectual advantage. And it must also be equally a moral advantage to those in whom the spirit is willing, but the flesh weak; that is, to all the pious in purpose and wish and prayer. To them, "death" is "the crown of life."

The phenomena of somnambulism and hypnotism show us the human mind, in the exercise of powers of perception independent of the usual known laws and recognized senses, in clear, indisputable, and multifarious forms. It is certain that persons in such states see with their eyes shut and in perfect darkness, and discern distances, forms, elevations, and depressions, and even concealed objects, with a directness and accuracy and assurance far surpassing what is possible to them in their so-called normal condition. They have been known thus to write with perfect regularity along the lines of the paper, and to dot the *i*'s and *j*'s on a whole page with perfect accuracy, and to fill pages with figures in mathematical calculations, marshalling them with a precision and compactness to which the waking vision would scarce be competent. They have been known to walk in very dangerous places, as on precipices, and the ridges and counterscarps and parapets of lofty buildings, with perfect ease and assurance, though they would not be safe there an instant in the usual condition, with the full exercise of their senses. And I remember one instance where a sister had followed her somnambulistic brother quietly to watch him, but who, on seeing him get in such an apparently perilous situation, uttered a loud cry of terror, which awoke him and caused an instant and fatal fall. In one recorded case which we remember, the family, to prevent one of its members from going out in a somnambulistic state, concealed the key of the door in a vessel of water; and he, a young man, was *seen to go straight to where the key was deposited*, and proceed to take it out. Under the names of "mesmerism" and "clairvoyance" there have no doubt been much charlatanry and imposture; but, notwithstanding this, certain facts in this connection, of a very extraordinary character, have been indisputably established to the effect that, in accordance with some unknown law, certain persons have at times displayed a power of perceiving material phenomena which far transcends any known power of sense, and that, too, without the exercise of any of the recognized senses. We do not believe in any "odic force" or "mesmeric fluid." We pretend not to explain the mode; but the facts are patent that there is not only an exaltation of certain senses, but in some subjects an action which is above them. Such are some of the somnambulistic phenomena already mentioned, the clairvoyant reading of unopened letters in various positions relative to the body, and the discernment directly of the vital and pathological conditions of other persons, and also events at a distance both in place and time. All of which and many other things equally striking are certified unanimously by a committee of nine men of learning and science, appointed by the French Academy, which committee had the subject under advisement five years before they published their verdict in 1831, reversing a previous judgment of a committee of three, which had been more hastily pronounced, and when there was less evidence on the subject than at the latter date,—evidence which has never been rebutted successfully, though some of the theories connected with it have; while the simple facts have often since been certified and verified by numerous witnesses of the most competent and authoritative character. Such facts as the foregoing make it easy for us to conceive that bodily dissolution does not destroy, but exalt and augment, the powers of perception even of the material world. Indeed, all the facts taken together seem to indicate that death is truly an evolution into a higher order of existence. There has been an order of progress from the lowest forms of animal life, till man, while yet an animal, becomes also something immeasurably above all brute animals. Death strips him of his animal part, and, as we infer, lifts him immeasurably above his present condition and powers.

WILLIAM I. GILL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

REFERRING to the Emerson Day at Concord, the *Christian Union* remarks: "It would have been better to have secured a more representative group of speakers rather than to select from Emerson's immediate followers and disciples; for it is coming to be recognized, as is invariably the case, that the noblest impulses received from Emerson are being wrought out not by those who have caught and keep repeating his accent and inflection, but by those who, having been started by him, are taking their own individual courses."

"WHAT," asks Emerson, "is the scholar, what is the man *for*, but for hospitality to every new thought of his time? Have you leisure, power, property, friends? You shall be the asylum of every new thought, every unproved opinion, every untried project which proceeds out of good will and honest seeking. All the newspapers, all the tongues of to-day, will, of course, at first defame what is noble; but you, who hold not of to-day, not of the times, but of the everlasting, are to stand for it, and the highest compliment man ever

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receives from heaven is the sending to him its disguised and discredited angels."

"MEN of experience will tell you," said Carl Schurz before the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa, "that you will render the most venomous defamer harmless by letting him disdainfully alone. Or, if it gives you pleasure and you have time to spare, you may expose him for the public benefit and amusement. But necessary it is not. Public opinion is always just in its final judgments. Unscrupulous slander and unjust vituperation carry their antidote with them. An honorable character, well built up by honest conduct and patriotic service, can safely defy wanton attempts to destroy it. It will issue from the contest with greater brightness and also with just pride. For a man of genuine, well-founded self-respect will be rather proud of the fact that scoundrels are his enemies."

THE annual State camp meeting of the Kansas Liberal Union will be held this year at Bismark Grove, the finest grove in the State, beginning Sunday, August 27, and lasting nine days. The Committee of Arrangements announce that good speakers and good music have been engaged, and that those who attend will find ample accommodations on the ground and in the city, with "facilities for boat-riding on the broad, beautiful, and still waters of Kaw River." Ex-Governor Robinson, one of the officers of the Union, is endeavoring to secure reduced rates on all the railroads; and no efforts are being spared to make the meeting a large and successful one. All inquiries concerning the Bismark Grove Meeting will be cheerfully answered by Mrs. Anna L. Diggs, Lawrence, Kansas.

THE *Jewish Messenger*, which has vigorously promoted the fund to aid Russian Jews, uses plain language in regard to a certain class of immigrants:—

"People ready and willing to work," it says, "are always welcomed in America, and no questions need be asked as to nationality. But shiftless, lazy families, who evidently expect to be lodged and boarded at public expense, are not wanted here. Refugees from lands where persecution has been rampant deserve our sympathy; and they should be kindly received, and made to feel that they will have the country's warm help in their efforts to support themselves. But after the excitement of arriving in a new country has worn away, and investigation shows that some of these arrivals are evidently bent on being supported by the public and doing nothing for themselves, they should be told in distinct terms that the country will not harbor such people."

THE Concord correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* writes of Dr. Jones:—

The object of his course of lectures is to show that man has always existed the same as he exists now; that there is in history a permanent element; that man was made in the image of his Maker a full man, not coming up from lower forms of matter through different stages of development to his present eminence as lord of creation, but perpetually growing, and then decaying and dying, as does the individual man in the earthly life. If we examine any of the older civilizations, we shall find that these dead peoples had the same life and the same development as we have to-day. Only the experiences differ. The Hindu civilization of India has been found to have equalled any of those of modern times.

This sounds like a voice from the tombs. Yet it comes to us in the name of philosophy from Concord, where Emerson lived and where evolution found in him a defender a quarter of a century ago.

AN absurd claim has been made by a few faint-hearted preachers that he (Emerson) was a Christian. But, unless by a confused jargon of terms we call every man a Christian who does not lead an immoral life, and whose writings are not condemned by the authorities as publications unfit to be sent through the mails, then he was no more a Christian than is any Mongolian disciple of Confucius in this city or in China. It is a fact that more of gospel truth and a nearer approach to a system of Christian ethics can be found in the works of Confucius or Plato or Cicero than in those of the sage of Concord. Emerson was in no sense whatever a Christian, but was in all respects a pagan. As a pagan writer and teacher, his works will meet with the same treatment as that accorded to the productions of the illustrious pagans of the past: the truth will be sifted out of them and cherished, and the errors will be silently condemned and retired into obscurity.—*Occident.*

THE following paragraph is from the pen of a gentleman of considerable literary ability, who was acquainted with both Emerson and Thoreau:—

Never was man born who had better reason for exclaiming, "Save me from my friends!" than Thoreau. His was "a fugitive and cloistered virtue," and it is no kindness to him to drag him from his Walden cabin into the glare of public examination and criticism. As a poet and naturalist, he is vastly overestimated by his Concord admirers,—a conspicuous example of the exception to the text in Matthew xiii., 57. Of the three conditions which Milton declares to be essential to all true poetry,—namely, to be simple, sensuous, passionate,—Thoreau possessed but the first, and in no mean degree. His prose writings would be more delightful if we could eliminate from them his egotism, his struggles for originality, and his fondness for paradox. When he remarked to his sister "that there was as much comfort in perfect disease as in perfect health," . . . our faith in his good sense receives a shock; and when he went to prison rather than pay his tax, we cannot help thinking his love of notoriety surpassed his love of liberty. One name only immortalizes Concord,—the name of Emerson. The rest are ephemeral, including the whole faculty of its far-famed "School."

WHEN Joseph Cook said in one of his lectures, "My friend Mr. Fiske is a brilliant man and an agnostic," he probably had not learned Mr. Fiske's estimate of Joseph Cook, which was pretty plainly expressed in an article in the *North American Review* on "Theological Charlatanism," in which "my friend Mr. Fiske" says: "If we were to go through with Mr. Cook's volume in detail, we should find little else than misrepresentations of facts, misconceptions of principles, and floods of tawdry rhetoric, of which the specimens here quoted are quite sufficient to illustrate his 'fundamental method of procedure.' I have not treated him seriously or with courtesy, because there is nothing in his matter or manner that would justify or even excuse a serious method of treatment. The only aspect of his career which really affords matter for grave reflection is the ease with which he succeeded for the moment in imposing on the credulity and in appealing to the prejudices of his public." It is worthy of note that Mr. Fiske's opinion of Joseph Cook's manner of treating subjects that require careful thought and accuracy of language coincides with that of educated natives of India who have commented on his recent lectures in that country.

WE shall give in our next number an essay on "Emerson and Parker" and a contribution from Colonel Higginson on "Modern Asceticism."

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

ON THE HEIGHTS.

The misty veil that hides the dawn
Floats back, and, by an unseen hand,
From silvern sea and brightening land
The sombre robe of Night is drawn.

Looking adown this wooded height,
I mark the careless world below,
And sigh to think it may not know
When comes the joyous morning light.

Men share with me both sun and cloud,
Yet are not given their course to see.
All is of good comes first to me:
For me, the purpled heavens are bowed!

* * * * * * * *

So he who toils with voice or pen
'Gainst evil and for right and truth—
In ripened age or earnest youth—
Is lifted o'er his fellow-men.

They note effects: he knows the cause.
They see the end: he finds the way.
The sun shines for him night and day:
For him are changed e'en Nature's laws.

All things to him a lesson tell;
All love is his, by right of place;
All goodness goes before his face:
The gods come down with him to dwell!

WALTER L. SAWYER.

For *The Index.*

OPTIMIST.

A perfect God, he must have planned
A perfect scheme: his wisdom scanned
His embryo world; his forming thought
Outran the centuries as he wrought.
He gauged it all,—each seeming flaw,—
The dreadful fact of sin; the law
Of sad heredity, whereby
The innocent for the guilty die;
Truth's birth-throes; martyr stings and pains;
A dusky continent in chains.
He gauged it all: he saw that wrong
Would often win; he knew the strong
Would hurt the weak, and honest worth
Become sweet food for knaves; that dearth
Would blight the land, swift lightnings mar,
And great floods whelm it; schism and war
Keep bloody carnival above
His slaughtered laws of truth and love;
That sickness with its legion brood—
Rheums, fevers, palsies, taints of blood—
Would plague the race. Ah, wherefore, then,
Project a world of suffering men?
Why stayed he not his forming hand?
Why issued he that dread command,
That awful fiat, "Let there be"?
O graceless, vain philosophy,
That seeks with finite grasp to span
The boundaries of infinite plan!
Enough for our imperfect thought
That perfect Love and Wisdom wrought:
That not one atom of the whole
Stupendous scheme but has for goal
A gracious outcome, hidden, sealed
Perhaps, but sure to be revealed;
That sin and suffering have their place
In God's economy of grace.
Ay, sin! we know not why or how;
But, since his wisdom could allow
This alien offshoot on the tree
Of healthy being, who are we
To hurl thereat our puny doubt,
And murmur, "It were best left out"?
Nay, cavil ye who will or can,
"Let God be true and every man
A liar." Is there other creed
Can serve us at our direst need?

Thus far our quest, if that be quest
Which ends where it began. At best,
We travel in a circle when
We scan God's wondrous ways with men.
Still, still we find his boundless love
The pivot on which all things move.
Still, focus and circumference
Are radiating centres whence
All good evolves,—and evil still
But the blind agent of his will.

All glory, then, to him who knew
Whereof he wrought. All glory, too,
To that transmuting power which brings
Such sweetness from such bitter things,—
Good still from evil, bliss from bane;
From weakness, strength; from losses, gain.
All glory! Let the stars outpour
Their praiseful song as once before,
When, at the first, creation stood
Complete, and God pronounced it good.
All glory! Let the sons of God
Still shout for joy, and tell abroad
Their gladness from each heavenly hill,
"All, all is good!" proclaiming still.

CAROLINE A. MASON.

FITCHBURG, MASS.

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The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 10, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

No WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

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For *The Index.*

ANNIHILATION.

BY D. C.

Probably there is no word in our language that, when used in reference to a possible condition of the human race after death, is held in such abhorrence among English-speaking Christians as "annihilation." As the term signifies the utter extinction of individual consciousness, and complete obliviousness of the past, present, and future, it is not surprising that it should be so regarded. Yet, when the whole question of a possible future state is calmly reflected upon and considered from all points of view, there will be found, I think, many forcible reasons for a modification of this general aversion. It is however unquestionably true that the thought of an endless hell, with all the horrors that the term implies, does not convey to the evangelical Christian such an overpowering sense of wretchedness as annihilation. For from the former there is provided, according to his religion, a door of escape, to which each believer complacently flatters himself that he holds the key.

Judging from the tenacity with which these Christians cling to the dogma of rewards and punishments in another world, it is evident that, to many of them, the contemplation of a mode of existence wherein a small fraction of the race will be supremely happy, and the larger remainder extremely miserable, is a most agreeable one. Heaven is regarded as a sort of celestial clearing-house, established for the balancing of mundane accounts, and the settlement of old scores. Should it turn out at last, however, that with this life all ends, there certainly will be no opportunity afforded the righteous to exult over the wicked, however depressing the thought may be; nor will the Lazaruses, who fancy they have had a rather hard time of it in this life, experience the felicity of "getting even" with their more fortunate terrestrial neighbors. Considerations such as these undoubtedly have their weight in causing many to shrink with disgust from the thought of annihilation. But it would be disingenuous to attribute the general desire of immortality to such low motives.

The truth is, old conceptions of a future life have been modified immensely, and are in a fair way to become obsolete. It is being more generally admitted that, in all speculations concerning the hereafter, there must necessarily be an element of uncertainty, and that possibly the shrewdest dogmatizers and the most astute philosophers will find themselves as much mistaken in their opinions as were the medical experts who attended President Garfield, as to the location of Guiteau's bullet.

The only escape from the possibility of disappointment lies in the *bête noire* "annihilation,"—a term which, as it implies neither more nor less than *absolute repose*, need not inspire one with peculiar dread. But, unfortunately, this word, as a rule, is misinterpreted. Many persons, probably a large majority, absurdly conceive it to signify a mode of being in which we shall be forever *conscious of our unconsciousness.* Indeed, nothing is more common than to hear it spoken of as a state of despair. Such conceptions are not only erroneous, but unphilosophical. Although the thought of annihilation, or a state of unconsciousness, may not inspire much enthusiasm, it is both unscientific and unreasonable to regard it with special aversion.

Contrasted with the average Christian conception of a future state, it is infinitely more consonant with our benevolent instincts. If, also, we reflect a little upon the full, and, it might be added, fearful import of the term *eternity*, we shall, I think, be more reconciled to the thought of a condition in which we shall experience neither pleasure nor pain. With regard to another existence, however, we know absolutely nothing, and our conceptions of one can never be more than purely fanciful.

But of what annihilation signifies we have many important hints. Arguments drawn from analogy, and facts of individual experience, prove that a state of unconsciousness is by no means one from which we need recoil with horror. Certainly, we suffer nothing from the recognition of the fact that we are not conscious of having had an existence in any form before we were born into this world. This is significant, to say the least.

Again, persons who have remained unconscious for days and weeks together, by reason of skull fracture and consequent pressure on the brain, have not, after removal of the pressure and return to consciousness, reported having experienced sensations of any sort, agreeable or otherwise. In fainting fits also, and in cases of resuscitation after partial drowning, we have similar reports. We sometimes hear of delightful sensations felt at the moment immediately preceding unconsciousness, but never of pleasant nor unpleasant experiences during the period of suspended animation.

A few days before his death, Lord Macaulay had an attack of fainting which lasted for several hours. In writing to a friend, a day or two afterward, he alluded to it, and expressed regret that the state of unconsciousness into which he had fallen was not prolonged indefinitely. This is a noteworthy fact, considering that Lord Macaulay was a man who, as men are estimated, had a large stake in immortality. But hundreds of similar experiences are recorded. A still more conclusive answer to the argument that a state of unconsciousness is the condition after death most awful to contemplate is that our daily experiences contradict it. Healthy individuals, who are temperate in eating and drinking, whose digestion is good, and whose mental state is serene, spend a considerable fraction of their lives in a state of unconsciousness. This is not a condition forced upon them against their will, but one toward which, after the fatigues of the day, they look with pleasure. Especially is this obliviousness agreeable to invalids. Of course there is much force in the argument that it is the expectation of awaking to a state of consciousness with a renewed appetite for the pleasures of life that reconciles one to this temporary death. But all that this proves is that it is the *thought* that we shall not awake, and not the *fact* of unconsciousness, which disturbs us. So, when we are about to die, the expectation that we are to have another existence where we shall meet and recognize the dear ones who have preceded us is comforting, and one that may be indulged in without the least possible harm, even though it be a delusion.

The writer is not attempting to disprove the theory of the soul's immortality, nor does he deny it. He is only desirous to show that a state of unconsciousness, or, in other words, annihilation, is very far from being the bugbear that it is generally represented to be. At the worst, it cannot be other than a state of *perfect rest*, a state for which we instinctively pray when sickness and suffering have made us weary of life. It is certainly true that in many cases, probably a large majority, the dying view death as an event that will bring to their sick and weary bodies rest, rather than as the portal to Elysian fields. Chronic invalids more frequently think and speak of death as a release from pain than as the gate that conducts to paradise.

To such as these there is no word in their vocabulary so pregnant with joyous anticipations as *rest.* Yet this is only another name for annihilation. Now, since we know absolutely nothing concerning the future, and the unanswered invocation that

> "Some courteous ghost would blab it out,
> What 'tis they are and we must shortly be,"

is likely to remain unanswered, and since the reasons for non-belief in a future existence are as cogent, at least, as the arguments for immortality, does it not seem to be the dictate of sound philosophy that, in forecasting the *probabilities*, we should also give due consideration to the *possibilities?*

There is altogether too much dogmatizing relative to the soul's immortality, and the pulpit is forever ringing with audacious and groundless assumptions concerning it.

By what superior right do men, whom it is sheer irony to style "divines," prate so authoritatively respecting a matter of which they are as profoundly ignorant as nursing babes? The agnostic, with more modesty, and quite as reverently, confesses that the problem is "far beyond our utmost reach of thought." Recognizing, however, the probable fact of the indestructibility of all things, he concedes the possibility of another life, though refusing to accept as logical the arguments mainly used in support of the dogma. He finds it quite easy to account for the belief that is so general, though by no means universal, in the soul's immortality, without recourse to miraculous revelations or metaphysical subtleties. It is, as he conceives, the legitimate offspring of that hope which

> "Springs eternal in the human breast,"

and will not down, though

> "Man never is, but always to be blest."

Without this attribute of the mind, though in life's experiences so often and so painfully proven to be a mere will-o'-the-wisp, beckoning us onward from one disappointment to another, man would be a malorganized being, wholly unable to grapple with the conditions into which he was born. Therefore, the real value of *hope* as a factor in the solution of the problem of immortality may be easily estimated. However, since the pleasures of this life are so largely made up of delusions, and as the imagination plays so important a part in its prospective delights, it would seem to be unkind to attempt to dispel the one or to place obstacles in the way of the fullest play of the other. Certainly, the writer has no disposition to disturb beliefs in which others find comfort, well knowing that in all matters purely speculative every man must be a law unto himself, and that he who claims infallibility of judgment is but little else than a contemptible bigot.

Indulging in no fanciful dreams of a blissful hereafter, neither in gloomy forebodings of his destiny, he will endeavor to await the outcome of this life with philosophic decorum, not doubting that, whatever change death may bring, it will be in obedience to laws over which, fortunately, we can exercise no control. And, while not wishing to impose his own, quite possibly erroneous, theories upon others, he feels that he is not demanding anything unreasonable when he insists that, surrounded as we are by so many unmistakable manifestations of beneficence, all our conceptions of the future shall be cast in a benevolent mould, and that our views respecting the source of the

> "Light and life
> Of all this wondrous world we see"

shall be broader and higher and grander than any yet formulated in church creeds or that can find adequate expression in human language.

For *The Index.*

EXTRACTS FROM SOPHOCLES.

SELECTED BY F. M. HOLLAND.

"Then does man's life become one vast disease,
When once they seek their ills by ills to cure."
—*Fragment* 98; *Plumptre, II.*, 263.

"Oh that my fate were fixed
To live in holy purity of speech,
Pure in all deeds whose laws stand firm and high,
In heaven's clear æther born."
—*Œdipus the King*, 852; *Plumptre, I.*, 38.

"'Tis better not to be than vilely live."
—*Fragment* 436; *Plumptre, II.*, 270.

"We should not joy in pleasures that bring shame."
—*Fragment* 665; *Plumptre, II.*, 275.

"The man who yields to wine
Is void of understanding, slow to wrath,

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And loves to babble many words and vain,
Full loath to hear what eagerly he spoke."
—*Fragment* 668; *Plumptre, II.*, 275.

"Full many a threat and many an idle word
Spoken in wrath have made men cower for dread;
But, when the soul is master of itself,
The threatenings vanish, and are seen no more."
—*Œdipus at Colonus*, 660; *Plumptre, I.*, 97.

"Evil mood
An evil issue finds forevermore."
—*Œdipus at Colonus; Plumptre, I.*, 121.

"Man's worst ill is stubbornness of heart."
—*Antigone*, 1242; *Plumptre, I.*, 203.

"But still the gods love those of ordered soul."
—*Aias*, 132; *Plumptre, II.*, 137.

"It brings some pain, I know; but one must try,
As best one may, to bear the ills of life.
Needs must we find some healing from these things."
—*Fragment* 236; *Plumptre, II.*, 266.

"Chance never helps the men who nothing do."
—*Fragment* 302; *Plumptre, II.*, 267.

"Be of good cheer. Speak thou the truth, and then
Thou shalt not fail."
—*Fragment* 513; *Plumptre, II.*, 513.

"To thrust out a friend of noble heart
Is like the parting with the life we love."
—*Œdipus the King*, 610; *Plumptre, I.*, 28.

"Still, the good man feels,
Or ought to feel, the memory of delight,
For gracious thanks beget more graciousness;
But, if a man forgets the good received,
His soul wears not the stamp of noble birth."
—*Aias*, 520; *Plumptre, II.*, 152.

"Be sure no lie can ever reach old age."
—*Fragment* 59; *Plumptre, II.*, 261.

"To hide the truth is evil, and beseems
But ill the soul of one of noble birth."
—*Fragment* 100; *Plumptre, II.*, 264.

Odysseus says,—
"Thou neither speakest wise things nor devisest."
Neoptolemus answers,—
"If they be just, then are they more than wise."
—*Philoctetes*, 1245; *Plumptre, II.*, 246.

Again, Neoptolemus says,—
"I wish,
O king, to miss my mark, as acting well,
Rather than conquer, acting evilly."
—*Philoctetes*, 94; *Plumptre, II.*, 197.

"All things are noisome, when a man deserts his own true self."
—*Neoptolemus in Philoctetes*, 903; *Plumptre, II.*, 231.

"I know
None pleading well all causes, and yet just."
—*Œdipus at Colonus*, 805; *Plumptre, I.*, 103.

"He is no longer reckless nor unblest,
Who, having fallen into evil, seeks
For healing, nor continues still unmoved."
—*Antigone*, 1025; *Plumptre, I.*, 194.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ONE PHASE OF FREE THOUGHT.

Editors of The Index:—

Many persons who have thought much about the origin and destiny of man have given up the problem as utterly insoluble. They feel that the subject is not only now beyond the comprehension of the highest human intellect, but that it will always be overshadowed by the mysteries of the unknowable. These persons do not longer talk about the whence and whither of the human race, not because they have no interest in the question, but because they feel too deeply for words that all attempts to part the veil which shrouds the eternal mystery are vain and childish. Who that has had his mind penetrated by the intricacy of this problem which the sphinx of life proposes has not felt a sense of helplessness too intense for utterance? To use an algebraic figure, we have one indefinite and unyielding x representing all the essential factors in the problem, and from this stubborn symbol of ignorance we can deduce no rational equation. Thus, baffled in every effort to bring the question within the province of rational thought, the investigator frequently retires from the unequal contest with the unknown, refusing to affirm or deny beyond the cradle or the grave.

This seems to me to be the attitude of mind which will more and more prevail, for a time at least, among a large class of thinkers. Absolute ignorance respecting the whole subject will prevent credulous spiritualism on the one side and pronounced materialism on the other. *I do not know* is all that many who face this mystery can say. This state of mind is called wilful unbelief by the Church and cowardly hesitation by some of the champions of decided materialism; but it is the only honest position many thinkers can occupy. They cannot affirm that life is eternal in its individual consciousness, nor that death is everlasting oblivion. They see in both the cradle and the grave a mystery which makes doubt quiet and reverent. Over neither of the gateways of life do they inscribe any dogmas affirming or denying the existence of what hope and fancy may sometimes discern in the shadows beyond. They mutely gaze on the outlying mystery, and wait for the light or darkness to which death leads the pilgrim of earth.

Religion has taught us to indulge too much a childish credulity. We have been fed on dreams and fancies, and, like children enchanted with fairy stories, have learned to prefer delusion to reality. It is hard for the child of faith to accept the limitations of knowledge, and live on what the mind can firmly grasp. To a nature long accustomed to the intoxication of religious fancy, the mental condition of the agnostic seems cold and dreary. Like the emotional child of the nursery that finds the facts of life in harsh contrast with the fairy-land of its youthful day-dreams, the religious enthusiast, when once impressed with the inevitable limitations of human knowledge, when reason refuses to credit as authority all that traditional credulity has gathered from the hopes and fancies of the past, then to live by sight and not by faith appears hard and unsatisfying. And unless an enthusiasm for some tangible good can be substituted for the faith thus surrendered, unless the heart finds itself entering with closer sympathy into the life-efforts of our common humanity, there will be no compensation for what the believer gives up. A true life must have its religion, whether it finds its object in heaven or on earth. It must have some lofty ideal for its inspiration, whether that ideal be found in the divinity of faith or in the highest aspirations of our own struggling race. Happy are they who, though denied the knowledge of man's whence and whither, find duty still speaking in tones of supreme authority, sympathy for all that is beautiful and good, tender, and strong, and faith in the continued elevation of earth's ideals earnest and constant.

CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, MO., July 22, 1882.

TRUTH AGAINST FAITH.

Editors of The Index:—

In a recent editorial printed in the *Journal* of this city, I found the following statement: "It is the people with a positive and searching faith who set themselves to the most unselfish labors for their fellows. The more intense the faith in God, in communion between God and man, and in a life beyond the present, the more intense and earnest the purpose to do something in the service of humanity, because such service is felt to be supremely worth while. . . . Just in proportion as you undermine the faith of man in God and the future, just in that proportion you diminish the estimate of the dignity of mankind and reduce the motives which prompt to noble living and sacrifice for the sake of others."

This may be good "Orthodoxy," but it manifests a supreme disregard of the truth. The fact is that just in proportion to a person's "faith in God and a future life" (I mean that conception of them which is held by the *Journal*) will be his desire, not to benefit his fellow-mortals in this life, but to save their souls for the future life in which he has faith. A man who possesses a genuine, old-fashioned faith in God and the future has no faith in this life worth mentioning. To him, this world is a vale of tears, an indiscriminate hodge-podge of total depravity, natural enmity against God, a lure of Satan, and a very dangerous existence on the brink of the bottomless pit where the worm is said to be immortal and the fire never to go out. The whole tendency of the influence of such a faith is to make those possessing it attempt to restrain and coerce those who have it not. The believer would compel the unbeliever to believe,—not to make him happier here, not to make him more intelligent, more truthful, more honest in this life, but simply to save his soul from the heated term in the life to come. The gentlemen who established the Inquisition had an abundance of this faith in God and the future, and it made them very inhuman. In fact, I am at a loss to see how the Inquisition, offspring of faith and engine of malevolence, can be regarded as anything other than an institution of human monsters. Certainly, they would be so regarded to-day who should attempt to revive that method of increasing the happiness, the "noble living," of humanity. Taking Guiteau as a sane man, he is a reversion to that old faith in God that made murder, in God's name and for the pretended good of mankind, a deed of glory. But the universal detestation of this wretch, despite all his protestations of inspiration and divine commission, shows how deep and wide is the change that has gradually opened between the faith of men in God two hundred years ago and the faith of to-day. If God had established that sanguinary faith as the condition of man's escape from eternal woe, it could not have changed. Sunshine and rain have never withheld their blessing, our planet has never ceased to bring us her changing seasons that we may have life and abundance here and now. Why, then, should God deceive us by allowing the faith which alone can bring us joy hereafter to fall into decay and weakness? If God were really the author and finisher of such faith, he would restore it to its strength of the days when it ruled the world. What has wrought the change? Civilization has taken from the faithful their power to coerce, to enslave, to burn, to starve, to kill men, women, and children in the name of God. Perhaps the *Journal* would argue that it was this very faith in God and the future that made civilization possible. Such, at least, is the argument used by advocates of the *Journal's* type of faith. But the argument is a sort of boomerang. It comes back to the thrower to apply itself. If faith in God and the future life is the source of civilization, and civilization is the death of the power of faith over men, then faith in God and the future life is killing itself. No lesson is more clearly conveyed by advancing civilization than that general knowledge—not of the future life, for we do not know any more, if indeed as much, about that now as people thought they did generations ago, but of the present—is steadily weakening the hold of faith in God and a future life, and proclaiming and establishing on demonstrated facts the faith of mankind in this life and this world and the material universe. There are larger charities to-day and more leniency toward opinion, because men and women possess larger minds, because want appeals to an increasing benevolence, which is not expressed as formerly by the cold and excluding influence of theological creeds. With men and women of generous impulses, the question is more and more becoming, not "What does this person believe?" but "What are his or her conditions and needs?"

"Organized charities" are by no manner of means the only charities in existence. Few people there are who do not in one way and another in these days answer demands upon their charity just as fully in private giving as organized charities do in public on the street corners. It is therefore no test of the wisdom or value of a principle that it does not organize for clothing and feeding beggars. The wisest and best service to humanity is that which educates it, and thereby decreases the birth of paupers. Hence, knowledge, wisdom, truth, are better than faith in God and a future life. The former will in time establish heaven here: the latter, despising this world and this life, is compelled to postpone all realization of happiness indefinitely. Emerson founded no school of charity, established no hospital for incurables: but the splendid legacy of his mind has enriched and elevated the whole world of man. Darwin, spending his long life in patient, persisting toil to learn the truth concerning the world of life of which he felt himself to be a part, did a work for the improvement and elevation of mankind, the worth of which it would be utterly impossible to represent in dollars and cents donated for relief of the poor. It is fact, not faith, that elevates and strengthens humanity to-day. If knowledge leads to uncertainty in regard to the existence of God and a future life, as conceived by theologians, or even if it leads to conviction of their non-existence, which is noblest, to accept the truth with a quiet assurance that the truth is best, or to deny it, and pretend a faith in what we cannot believe? Is the gift of heaven to be the reward of

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hypocrisy? People can honestly believe only in accordance with the evidence they have, and lack of evidence is the secret of the incurable consumption of "faith." Just as surely as mind outgrew the mythology of ancient paganism and barbarism, just so surely is it outgrowing the mythology of Christianity; and just as surely as mind is growing in the world, just so surely is mankind becoming greater, better, nobler, than it was when "faith in God and a future life" made it a crime to doubt the apostles' creed or the inspiration of the Bible.

CHARLES ELLIS.

"THE INDEX" AND THE ENGLISH UNITARIAN PRESS.

Editors of The Index:—

All the English Unitarian journals have done me the honor to notice my criticism of the Liverpool Unitarian Conference, which appeared in your columns a few weeks ago; and considerable correspondence has taken place upon some of the points which it raised. This general notice is gratifying for two reasons. First, it is pleasant to know that *The Index* is read in English Unitarian circles; second, since English Unitarians have a great respect for American movements in liberal religion, there is a possibility that one may exert some slight influence when they discover the fact that

> "A chiel's amang ye, takin' notes,
> And, faith, he'll prent it."

But, on the other hand, these notices are disappointing, because they make no attempts to reply to a single statement of my letter, but denounce it as consisting of "sneers" and "scoffs," giving misrepresentations of its contents in order to justify these and similar expressions.

The English Unitarian journals are the *Inquirer*, the *Unitarian Herald*, and the *Christian Life;* and I think the three ways in which they have received your article may not unfairly represent to your readers their respective theological tempers. First, because least, comes the *Christian Life*. This was started by the Rev. Robert Spears at the time when he felt himself compelled to resign the secretaryship of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. It holds a position which can hardly be distinguished from Orthodoxy, except by the fact that it indulges in the language of denunciation to an extent to which orthodox journals no longer frequently descend. In a somewhat different sense from the old proverb, "Beware of the man of one book," we may say, Beware of the newspaper in which one man forms the staff of editors and contributors,—a state of things understood to be characteristic of the *Christian Life*. It describes my letter as follows:—

> The Boston *Index*, the organ of the American Free Religious Association, has an article descriptive of our National Conference at Liverpool. The tone of the writer's criticisms may be judged from the fact that he sneers at the Conference having been opened by the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which he considers to be a circumstance of "sad significance," and that he scoffs at our own remark that our Unitarian Churches are "not going to give up Christ." The estimate which we place upon scoffs and sneers depends altogether on the quarter from which they come, and we need hardly say that we hold very cheap the criticisms of one who characterizes as "dreadful cant" our desire to honor the Son of God and to follow his guidance.

Although I am crushed by the consciousness of being held cheap by the staff of the *Christian Life*, I have a few words to say in reply to these three statements. In the first place, what I said of the Lord's Supper was that it was "a very false note"; and "I cannot help regarding the circumstance as having a sad significance." There is here no suggestion of a sneer: the word "sad" accurately describes my own feeling. Again, referring to the statement that "our churches are not going to give up Christ," I said, "This, with the communion service for a key-note, is an admirable summary of the results," and afterward quoted the well-known passage from Lessing's *Nathan*. There was no suggestion of a scoff. Third, I did not "characterize as 'dreadful cant' *the desire to honor the Son of God*." I should deeply regret if I had been guilty of so ill-judged a proceeding. I specified distinctly, using marks of quotation, that the expression "dreadful cant" was applied to the following passage of the Rev. W. H. Channing's speech: "The time had come. They were being revived. It would go on to glory. In the first place, their duty was *to rally round this blessed Son;* next, to teach the scientific men," etc.

In view of the above facts, I do not think it is too much to charge the *Christian Life* with deliberate misrepresentation of the spirit and statements of my letter.

The *Unitarian Herald* has a long editorial on "Three Voices on the Condition of Unitarianism," the voices being those of Dr. James Freeman Clarke, the Rev. Panton Ham, and your correspondent. In describing my letter, it begins with a little mild misrepresentation (*e.g.*, "He did not like the Lord's Supper, for it cannot, he says, be shown that Jesus commanded this rite," thus implying that the denial of the command of Jesus was my principal reason for disapproving of the communion service, whereas in fact I dismissed that reason in a parenthesis of two lines, and devoted half a column to other reasons), and then makes the following remarks, which I will take *seriatim:* "We fear H. N. has got his mind biassed or his temper soured, and that he looks at the meeting with opaque spectacles."

This needs little comment. It goes without saying that, if you differ with any one about matters of religion, it is because your mind is biassed. Theological dissent is, in the mind of the opposite party, the result of one of two causes, malice or ignorance. *Tertium non datur.* Dr. Clarke, agreeing with the views of the *Unitarian Herald*, is credited with a "noble sermon." The Rev. Panton Ham, differing with the same authority, is recommended to go somewhere to recruit his health. "If it approve itself to the reason of Unitarians, why should not they prefer the leadership of Christ to that of Herbert Spencer?"

It seems to me to be bad taste to make a bold comparison between Christ and Herbert Spencer, and none such is to be discovered in my letter. We should be only too glad to have the Unitarians follow any leadership that recommends itself to their reason: our chief ground of complaint is that they frequently do not use their reason at all, but are content to follow the leadership of unreasoning custom or authority. "Does not H. N. himself concede all that Unitarians would ask from him, when he speaks as he does of Jesus Christ as among the noblest of figures of men to guide and inspirit us?"

This question is delightfully *naive:* it would be much better answered by some other English Unitarian. Certainly not. Unitarians ask that we should speak of Jesus as *the* noblest of men, not as *among the* noblest; that we should avow ourselves exclusively his disciples; that we should rally round him; that we should take his commands for our rules of conduct, and a score more things too well known to need enumeration. Indeed, as if to furnish me with further arguments, the editor himself says in closing, "If any one is disposed for a moment to listen to either [Mr. Ham or your correspondent], we earnestly beseech them to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free." If so slight a concession would make good Unitarians of us, how soon the ranks of Unitarianism would be swelled! "Why should he question their consistency in preferring the Christian name and Unitarian associations to joining a Free Religious Association with Frederic Harrison or Mr. Conway as its leader?"

I did not question their consistency at all. The only foundation for the above paragraph is my simple statement there is no such body in England as the Free Religious Association, and that Mr. Conway stands alone. To refrain from the charge of deliberate misrepresentation in this last instance is—to quote the old saying—only to spare the morality of the *Unitarian Herald* at the expense of its intelligence.

The London *Inquirer*, a much larger and more expensive paper than the others, as well as a much more liberal one, merely describes my letter as "somewhat caustic," and then reprints the latter half of it. Considerable correspondence has taken place with regard to my statement that Mr. Conway stands alone, and that his writings represent himself only, there being no organized body which he and they can claim to represent. A correspondent says:—

> In the article on the Liverpool Conference, copied from *The Index* into the *Inquirer* of the 17th inst., with which in the main I agree, there is one statement that seems to me to need some qualification. The writer, lamenting some supposed reactionary tendencies in English Unitarianism, says, "Mr. Conway stands alone, and, admirable as some of his writings are, they represent himself only." This is, I rejoice to know, far from being strictly correct. There are many of our ministers, and many more of our laity, who are in hearty sympathy with some of Mr. Conway's opinions, and are admirers of his writings, and of the free, reverent, and earnest spirit in which he carries on his isolated ministerial work. Many of these do not share his objection to the Christian name, and regret that this conscientious objection on his part prevents his being more closely identified with the Unitarian body; but, notwithstanding this nominal obstacle, Mr. Conway has on several occasions occupied our pulpits, and within the last few months has conducted the services in at least two Unitarian chapels, and would, as I happen to know, be warmly welcomed in others, did his engagements permit him more frequently to accept the invitations of our ministers and congregations.

It is, of course, pleasant to receive fresh proof of the fact that Mr. Conway has many friends and admirers wherever his work is known. The above argument, however, does not refute my statement in any way, but rather strengthens it by the writer's unconscious reference to Mr. Conway's "isolated ministerial work." Of course, this letter, too catholic in its tone to suit most Unitarians, has been promptly repudiated by several other correspondents, one of whom says that "the writer in *The Index* got unreasonably angry, but he at least accepted facts as such." So there is no occasion for me to reply.

As I said at first, it is good to have roused the Unitarians to reply, but disappointing to find that they make use of the wordy weapons from the old theological armory rather than bring forward plain arguments to show what I, for one, would so willingly see proved; namely, that my previous estimate of them was a mistaken one.

H. N.

ENGLAND, July 15, 1882.

PROF. ADLER AND THE F. R. A.

Editors of The Index:—

I have been deeply moved and interested in the position recently taken by Prof. Adler toward the Free Religious Association and in the criticisms made thereupon. It seems to strike the key-note of difference between thought and deed.

The friends of labor have often told me that I need never look for help from the Free Religious ranks, that they are men absorbed in other and foreign subjects, with no understanding or inclination for this cause. This I could not believe; for it seemed to me that, of all men, they with their broad culture and education, their deep faith in human nature, and hearts alive to the welfare of the race, were just the ones to furnish heads and hearts ready and able to battle with the situation. Therefore was I loath to accept the assertion as truth; but, after years of anxious watching and waiting, I have been obliged to admit that it was truth. And just as I point proudly and triumphantly to the President of the Association, feeling that his work justifies my old faith in the Free Religious friends, he steps out of their ranks, and, alas! for the reason that he fails to find there the help which he had a right to look for and expect; while many of the criticisms made upon the step which he has taken only go to show still more plainly how little is the situation understood or appreciated. The critics fail to see that his is the larger outlook, that he grasps not only their field of vision, but goes beyond it. The crying need of the day is this question of poverty. The Woman Question means poverty, the Temperance Question means poverty, War means poverty, and the Chinese Question most emphatically means poverty; and yet the culture, education, and influence of the day neglect this problem, instead of looking it squarely in the face and trying to find its solution. It is as culpable for men of brains and influence to ignore this question to-day as it was twenty-five years ago for such men to ignore the slavery question.

"It is the only question, as Carlyle thinks, for wise men, instead of art, and fine fancies, and poetry, and such things, to address themselves to the problem of society." "The real poem for a man at present," Carlyle said to Cooper, "is to make a bit of *Cosmos* out of the horrible practical chaos round us." It costs nothing in this day to be a Free Religionist, it is respectable, one is in good company, the battle is half won, the most bitter struggle is now going on in another part of the field, and the rebuffs are keenest felt in other lines.

I do not fail to appreciate the great and glorious work the Free Religionists have done and are still doing. To me personally, it has been as a haven of rest for many years; it has been as my bread and staff. Week by week, through the columns of *The Index* there was sure to come noble thoughts and words, which could not fail to lift one into a higher life.

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Feeling this as I do most keenly, and also realizing that few of us are capable of doing more than one thing really well, I yet cannot but regret that, when one of their number does combine the ability to both *think* and *act*, instead of its being hailed with glad acclaim, and eager effort made to meet the new demand, there is no adequate response to a noble appeal.

Most peculiarly inappropriate do some of the criticisms appear, which are made by your Cambridge correspondent of June 13. As for instance, "A poverty of ideas seems not to concern him." How can such an assertion be made, when one thinks of the lectures given every Sunday, week after week, full of food for mind and heart, for those who are able to listen to him. Even though we set aside the Sunday work, which we have no right to do, still there is a most grand and noble thought at the basis of the week-day work.

It is a truth that, until you feed the hungry and clothe the naked, it is of no use to preach to them high ideas, which they can neither attain unto nor understand.

An empty stomach cannot grasp the thoughts which come from a life of culture and liberal sympathy. It needs a certain degree of education and refinement for such thoughts to find an answering echo in the mind of a listener.

Take the beautiful essays which are published in *The Index:* how many of the masses read them, or would be benefited by them, if they did? They would not understand them, they would not touch them, they do not even know of their existence.

That reform is upside down, which expects to accomplish anything with ideas, first, for the masses. The race must first be fed and clothed, be lifted out of the horrible poverty and oppressive toil which now degrade them, before there will be soil rich enough for you to expect your noble ideas to take root and grow; they must first be lifted up to the level of those ideas. Nothing more proves the brotherhood of man than the fact that, while the favored few are filled with enthusiasm over the beautiful life which opens before them, as high thoughts and new ideas inspire and elevate, they cannot make much headway therein, so long as the dead weight of suffering humanity is ignored.

Because man can live on six cents a day in China, we in America must suffer for it; and it is right that we should, so long as we simply think and say that man is our brother without making it verily so in act and deed.

M. M.

[Our correspondent does injustice we think to Free Religionists, who are generally "friends of labor," and many of them active workers in movements which aim to improve the condition of the working classes. A very large proportion of them are interested in the reforms of the day mentioned above, with which indeed not a few of them are identified as generous supporters and prominent representatives. If, as members of the Free Religious Association, they give prominence to questions directly related to the purpose of the organization without discussing matters that belong specially to the province of other societies, the fact is as little to their discredit as the fact that the Woman Suffrage Association do not include in their proceedings discussions, for instance, on the origin and growth of Judaism or Christianity is to the discredit of that body. Widely separated and members of different organizations, in connection with which they sustain reforms and charities in which they are interested, why should Free Religionists all resolve to convert the Free Religious Association into a general Reform Association or an association for the distribution of charity or for the education of the poor? The work of mankind cannot be done without a division of labor, and this is as true of the work of reform as of the general work the performance of which is necessary to supply the daily wants of the race. To "feed the hungry and clothe the naked" is a laudable work, but that is not the work for which the Free Religious Association was formed, and its failure to engage in this work is no reason why it should not continue to encourage the independent study and fearless discussion of subjects concerning which the majority even of educated men have yet narrow and one-sided views.

Our correspondent confessed to having been lifted "into a higher life" by "the noble thoughts and words" published in this journal. We have received many assurances of this kind; and they encourage us in our work, even though there are many in this country, as well as in Africa, who are not directly benefited by the essays we print, because "they would not understand them, they would not touch them, they do not even know of their existence." Although we do not agree with our correspondent that the "reform is upside down, which expects to accomplish anything with ideas, first, for the masses," yet we are in sympathy with the philanthropic spirit of the above article, and admire the noble work Prof. Adler is doing. At the same time, we recognize his method as but one of several, and his work as detracting in no way from the value of the work performed by Free Religionists individually or through various organizations, in intellectual culture or practical charity in different parts of the country, as well as through the work of the Free Religious Association.—ED.]

FAITH CURES, OR MODERN MIRACLES.

Editors of The Index:—

As it is far too well-known a fact to need demonstration anew that faith in remedies, or in individuals giving alleged remedies to the sick, often accomplishes results which, to the mind not accustomed to examine such cases, seem little less than miraculous, the writer only wishes to present a few instances to help direct attention away, if possible, from assigning to the recently widely published alleged cases of wonderful cures of really sick persons by "prayer and anointing" in the presence of admiring audiences.

And, to premise briefly, let it be remembered that the more ignorant of a subject persons are, the more readily are they deceived; and the more such ignorance pertains to the bodily comfort of persons, the more are they eager to obtain relief and hope against long odds for success.

A year or more ago, during the regular service at the Boston Dispensary, there applied to the writer an ignorant washerwoman for relief from a chronic trouble, which called for a laxative treatment simply. In order to demonstrate to some students (who were in a discussion as to the effect of the mind on the body) how far faith in a remedy given would go, a powerful *sedative* was given, with careful directions as to use and warnings as to evil results of exceeding the directions, lest too great an action, the reverse of the real effect, would be caused. The patient returned in about ten days to report, as ordered, and requested that she be given more of the above-named remedy, as the effect *which she desired* had been caused. Thus, the mind, having been directed, overcame the chronic trouble, and also overcame one of the most powerful drugs known, causing a veritable modern miracle, in short. Again, two strong laboring men, one a longshoresman, the other a bricklayer, applied in like manner. The one complained of utter loss of appetite and great weakness; while the other asserted that, for weeks past, he had had but little unbroken sleep. Neither of these men would for a moment be supposed to be of a very imaginative turn of mind, but the contrary. Both were given carefully written prescriptions for clean water, and minute directions were furnished them as to use. Both reported in due time as well, and were profuse in their thanks for the powerful remedy given them.

Such cases to a large number are recorded. Should a "believer in the efficacy of the prayer and faith cure" argue that these cases are indeed faith cures, the reply is evident—that faith in man and drugs is not identical with faith in an unseen, unknowable, mysterious power called God.

Given a clearly diagnosed case of phthisis in the third stage, which in short is consumption as generally known, or heart disease involving the mechanism of the valves, which has been or can be relieved or cured by prayer, then the writer will forget how little effect all the prayers said for President Garfield prior to his death had; and he will "believe" ardently. Till then, the "thousand natural ills that flesh is heir to" must not depend on prayers or other relics of the past, as much as on honest inquiring men, for relief.

JOHN DIXWELL, M.D.

BOSTON, Aug. 5, 1882.

MISCELLANEOUS.

IT is too common for individuals and committees arranging for public meetings to announce, among the speakers engaged to address the meetings, persons of reputation from whom have been received no intimation whatever that they will be present. So far has this dishonest practice been carried that a list of great names no longer attracts a crowd, unless back of the announcement there is *character* to vouch for its correctness. Circulars and letters have been sent out by the Secretary of the New York Free Thinkers' Association, designed to give the impression to the public that the meetings will be addressed by speakers who there is really no reason to believe will be present, who, in some instances to our knowledge, have expressed indignation at the unauthorized use of their names. In one of these circulars, dated July 28, is the statement that the committee "hope to procure the attendance of Herbert Spencer, who has just arrived in this country." It matters not to the author of the circular that Spencer is yet in England, and does not sail for this country for some days, and that the statement has been made, on the authority of Prof. Youmans and others, that, owing to impaired health, the distinguished philosopher will avoid all public meetings and social excitement, and spend his time, until cool weather arrives, at the seaside. It was thought his name would give strength to the circular; and it was used on the principle, probably, that the end sanctifies the means. How much better is this than the practice of the Christian Fathers, so justly condemned by Liberals, of using falsehood to promote the interests of their faith! "The cause" is not in need of any such tactics; and *The Index* will not allow circulars like this, issued in the professed interest of free thought, to pass unnoticed.

THE French Chamber has finally passed the judicial oaths bill after a long and bitter discussion. At the final debate, Bishop Freppel and the reactionaries advocated the maintenance of the oath, with the infliction of fines on those who refused to take it. The government recommended a dispensation for persons entertaining or affecting scruples; and the committee proposed a uniform secular oath or declaration. Jules Roche, in a trenchant speech in favor of this last course, inveighed against Roman Catholicism as having for centuries arrested human progress, established and maintained itself by violence, and deluged France with blood by the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the edict of Nantes. There were murmurs on the right at some of the passages of his denunciation, but silence on his describing the persecution of the Huguenots as a great crime, from whose consequences France still suffered. M. Roche also drew a contrast between the morality of Roman Catholic casuistry and that of sceptics, like Montaigne and Voltaire. Bishop Freppel, in reply, repelled the charge that Roman Catholicism sanctioned mental reservations, and accused Pascal, that "pamphleteer of gamins," of garbled quotations on this point. He urged, moreover, that, even if individual casuists had gone astray, Innocent XI. had condemned mental reservations He twitted freemasonry with wishing to expunge the name of God from the code, "as it had done from its own constitution," and cited Robespierre's vindication of theism as an answer to this attempt to bring back the time of Hébert and Chaumette. A proposal designed to meet the objection to an oath by defining it as an attestation upon honor and conscience, implying no profession of religion or philosophic belief, was lost by 220 votes to 205. The formula, "On my honor, faith, and conscience, I swear," was then adopted by 338 votes to 108. The existing phrase, "before God and man," was expunged by 313 to 96 votes. A clause forbidding the erection of religious emblems, crucifixes, and pictures of the crucifixion in courts of justice, was carried against the government by 210 votes to 197, and the bill then passed by 263 to 137.—*Springfield Republican.*

A DAUGHTER of Victor Hugo has been for many years an inmate of a private insane asylum near Paris. She was a beautiful girl in her youth, but married against her parents' wishes a young naval officer, who soon after deserted her, leaving her penniless and without the power to prove the marriage legal. This blow unsettled her reason. She was twenty when this occurred, and she is now fifty.

M. LITTRE, the famous French dictionary-maker, was the son of parents who were both types of the republicans of ancient Rome; and he himself shared their views. He was fond of telling how, when his mother, a little woman, old and feeble, was walking with him in Paris, she was brutally pushed down by a working-man. When Littré, deeply indignant helped her up, she said with a smile, "My son, one must love the people very much to remain on their side."

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BOOK NOTICES.

FOR GIRLS: A Special Physiology; being a Supplement to the Study of General Physiology. By Mrs. E. R. Shepherd. New York: Fowler & Wells. 1882.

This is a plain treatise on subjects connected with woman's physiology, which are treated in a sensible, straight-forward, and chaste manner. The book is more particularly fitted for the information of mothers of girls than for girls themselves, and gives to such excellent hints as to the best development of healthful conditions in their young daughters.

THE *Art Amateur* is devoted to the cultivation of art in the household. The number for August will be a welcome guest for the spiciness of its articles and for the amount of valuable practical information which it presents. The designs form a very important part of the work, and in general we can commend them highly. In this number, the birds and the apple blossoms are very natural and pretty. But "the design for a tile fireplace-facing" seems to us neither pleasing nor appropriate. The nude figure in it approaches too nearly "the brink of all we hate" in modern French art to be used in household adornment, and the same may be said of "The Sultan's Favorite." Montezuma, the English correspondent, makes the interesting statement that "the public here [in London] is ready to believe in everything American which is artistic. The admirable wood engravings in *Harper's* and the *Century* apparently are known to everybody in London and in Paris, too." We should give more weight to this praise, if it did not end in a puff of the *Art Amateur*, a journal which is making its way so fast that it can dispense with self-praise.

THE *Unitarian Review* for August opens with a thoughtful and well-written article on "The Religious Outlook" from the Unitarian stand-point, by Rev. F. B. Hornbrooke. Rev. David H. Montgomery interestingly describes, "The Book of Doom,"—the Domesday Book of England compiled by order of William the Conqueror eight hundred years ago. "Scholastic Theology," by Rev. J. H. Allen, is concluded in this number. Rev. James T. Bixby traces back many of the fables and pseudo-historic tales current in our own day to their source in "Buddhist Birthday Stories"; and Rev. Robert Collyer, in "Meditations on my Birthday," gives us one of those bright, off-hand, gossipy moralizations which are so characteristic of this writer. The editorial department and reviews are as usual interesting and readable.

THE *Herald of Health* for August contains a very entertaining description of "The Hygienic Habits of the Hindus" by one of that faith, Raj. Coomar Roy. "Some Facts concerning Rural Wells" should be carefuly read by all those who live or visit in the country. This number also treats briefly and sensibly many other hygienic and sanitary topics.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

A GRANDSON of Henry Clay is on the editorial staff of the *Youth's Companion*.

JAMES PARTON, the biographer, with Gen. Butler and party, has sailed for a cruise along the Dominion coast. The party go as far as Halifax.

MRS. FREDERICK DOUGLASS, the wife of the celebrated orator, died yesterday at her home in Washington, of paralysis. Mrs. Douglass was sixty-nine years of age, and was a resident of New Bedford when Mr. Douglass married her, in 1838 or 1839.

JOHN C. HAMILTON, the last surviving son of Alexander Hamilton, died at Long Branch, N.J., on Tuesday, at the age of ninety years. He was the author of the life of his father and the history of the United States. His funeral will be held at Trinity Church, New York city, to-morrow.

GEN. "ABE" BUFORD has become associate editor of a new and promising sporting paper, published at Louisville, Ky. It is understood that he will make use of its columns to advocate his theory of the relations of the turf to the Church, the first number containing an editorial article on that subject from his pen.

THE only humorous sentence we ever read in the *Presbyterian* is the following: "Mr. Joseph Cook proved himself to be a man of weight among the Japanese, in various ways. He impressed the intelligent men with the massiveness of his argumentation, and he broke the springs of nearly every Japanese carriage into which he entered."

CARLYLE'S opinion of Daniel Webster, expressed to an American: "The most remarkable man in appearance I ever saw,—great, shaggy, taciturn, having the gift of silence, yet knowing how to talk,—a great thing that, to know when to hold your tongue,—evidently of great reserved power. I shouldn't like to fall into his claws, when he is excited."

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN is still living in New York, where he is considered in the light of a harmless lunatic. For five years, he has sat daily in Madison Park, bareheaded, surrounded by children, whom he treats to candy and playthings. He has not spoken to a man for an entire year. His skin is very dark from exposure, and his hair is white as snow.

DR. SCHLIEMANN began this year at Hissarlik a new series of excavations, which until recently did not uncover anything of special importance. But it is just announced that he has been again successful. In the lower portion of the hill of Hissarlik, he has opened a series of holes, corridors, and vaults which, according to his confident belief, are ruins of the citadel of ancient Pergamos. Dr. Schliemann adds that the researches he has recently been prosecuting have convinced him that the views he has hitherto held respecting the site of Ilium, and of many of the relics he formerly discovered, will require very considerable modification.

OF John James Ingalls, the Senator from Kansas, the New York *Sun* says: "As a general debater, Mr. Ingalls approaches nearer in style, in manner, in logic, and in keen repartee to the late W. P. Fessenden than any other member of the Senate since the death of that eminent statesman. If Mr. Ingalls has a fault in controversy, it is the want of self-restraint in punishing a prostrate adversary. He pursues the object of his ire, even when resistance cannot be vigorously made. Could he temper resentment or forego opportunity for biting sarcasm, Mr. Ingalls would rank with the very foremost in debate; for, to natural gifts of a high order, he adds scholarship and a large store of valuable information."

PROF. ERNST HAECKEL of Jena, has lately returned to his university after a six months' journey in India and Ceylon, undertaken in the interests of science with the object of providing additional data in support of the theory of evolution, of which he is the most able and best-known exponent in Germany. The veneration which he constantly expresses for Mr. Darwin, of whom he may be said to have been the first and perhaps the chief disciple on the Continent, would of itself suffice to give his opinions and observations weight in this country. No one, however, who has read the series of letters now being contributed by Prof. Haeckel to the *Deutsche Rundschau*, can fail to find them on their own merits both delightful and instructive. They are written in a popular form, but contain traces of profound scientific knowledge, combined with great quickness and freshness of observation and an almost boyish exuberance of delight in the presence of nature's wonders.

PROF. STUCKENBERG says in the *Independent*: "Whatever Du Bois-Reymond writes is sure to attract the attention of scholars. He has attained an enviable place among the leading scientists of the day, and is the permanent secretary, as well as one of the most prominent members, of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. As a professor, he is so popular that there is not a lecture-room in the University of Berlin large enough to accommodate the students and others who crowd to hear his more popular lectures. He differs from many specialists in the universality of his knowledge. He has by no means limited his studies to the various departments of physics, but has also included metaphysics and ethics, and is well versed in general literature. In his popular lectures to the students, he speaks without notes, has a pleasing style, draws illustrations from all departments of literature, intersperses wit and anecdotes, and has the happy faculty of combining the popular and the scientific. . . . He is far from being a theist, still less is he a Christian. Only last winter, I heard him speak before five hundred students of "The Cruelty of the God of the Jews, whom the God of the Christians imitated."

TO MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE F. R. A.

The Executive Committee of the Free Religious Association beg leave to call your attention to the following plan of work adopted at the late annual meeting:—

Resolved, That this Association herewith instructs its Secretary, acting with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, to superintend the following work for the ensuing year:—

1. The preparation, as thorough and exact as possible from data furnished by the State correspondents and other sources, of the following memoranda of information, namely:—

(*a*) A complete list of the names and addresses of members of the Free Religious Association, classified according to States, towns, and cities, and a similar list of well-known persons in sympathy with the Free Religious Association, not members.

(*b*) A full list of organizations, State and local, whose constitution and methods are in substantial conformity with those of the Free Religious Association, with names of officers and description of form of union and of work appended to each.

(*c*) A brief statement of the needs and conditions of each State in relation to the Free Religious movement, compiled from the returns of the State correspondents, so far as reported.

2. Aided by these memoranda of information, the Secretary, with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, shall choose not less than two (2) nor more than six (6) States which in their opinion present the most favorable conditions for the spread of our principles and their local organization, as the immediate field of work.

3. The Secretary, or some one selected by him with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, shall visit the selected States, and call in each, by letter and personal interview, a private conference of our members and friends, for the purpose of stimulating their interest in our cause, and urging them to pledge pecuniary and moral support sufficient to secure either a successful convention or a course of lectures by the accredited speakers of the Free Religious Association in the most promising centre of liberal thought in said States, the choice between the two methods of work being left with the Association's representative on the ground and the local friends.

4. When the local friends are unable to raise all the money necessary for this work, the Executive Committee shall be empowered to aid, in cases promising good results, as hereinafter provided.

5. The Secretary, or person representing the Association, thus visiting a State for the purposes indicated above, shall, if possible, be present and speak at the convention if such be held, or, if the lecture course be given, shall, if possible so to arrange it, deliver the first or last lecture, and in either case shall present the principles and objects of the Free Religious Association, and the need, the possibility, and the most practicable methods of organization for State or local work.

6. In order to carry on this work for one year, it is desirable that $2,000 be raised; and the Executive Committee are hereby instructed to take immediate steps to secure that sum. And whatever amounts shall be received for that purpose or used from the funds in the treasury shall be appropriated under the direction of the Executive Committee.

7. That the office of State correspondents be continued, and effort be made to secure one in all States not now represented by such an officer, in order that the memoranda of information be kept as complete as possible.

In accordance with this action of the Association, it becomes our immediate duty to appeal for contributions to the fund of at least $2,000, which it is deemed wise to raise for putting this plan into effect.

Cash subscriptions or pledges, large or small, may be forwarded to the Secretary at the office of *The Index*, or to the Treasurer, John C. Haynes, 451 Washington Street, Boston. Upon the sum placed at our disposal will depend the character and amount of the work to be done.

There are earnest men and women throughout the land to whom life is sweeter, truer, diviner, because of the ideas for which Free Religion stands. Many such have large means, many more have a competence; and all feel, we are sure, a desire to help carry to other souls the glad tidings which have come to their own.

We not only solicit, therefore, but we look forward with confidence to an early and a favorable response to this appeal.

For the Committee,

WM. J. POTTER, *Pres.*

FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y.*

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Frothingham's Sermons.

The sermons are neatly printed in pamphlet form, and our friends who wish to do missionary work for the Liberal cause will find them admirably adapted to that purpose. To such as order them in lots of 25 or more, the price will be reduced to 3 cents. Single copies 5 cents.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 73

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Reserved Forces of Virtue, Wm. J. Potter, ... 74
Modern Asceticism, T. W. Higginson, ... 74
Sympathies and Antipathies, Sara A. Underwood, . . . 75
Mental Impressions as a Means of Cure, E. D. C. . . . 76
Self-Denial and Agnosticism, B. F. Underwood, ... 76

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 77

POETRY.
A Tribute to Emerson, Mont E. Collins, ... 78
The Silent-Flying Land, W. S. Kennedy, ... 78

ESSAYS.
Emerson and Theodore Parker, Edwin D. Mead, . . . 78
The Moods of Mankind, B. W. Ball, ... 80

CORRESPONDENCE.
Socialism, F. Harmer, ... 81
Comteism,—Does it Solve the Question? A. N. A., . . 81
The Western Unitarian Conference, C. W. W., ... 82
A Letter from Lilian Whiting, Lilian Whiting, ... 82

BOOK NOTICES.
The Revue de Belgique, ... 82
Schmeitzner's Internationale Monatsschrift, ... 83
The Sanitarian, The Sunday Review, ... 83

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 83

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE failure of the freight handlers' strike and other similar movements in various parts of the country ought to set workingmen to thinking of the extreme difficulty and almost impossibility, as we remarked when these strikes commenced, of getting wages raised on a falling market.

TEN car-loads of excursionists left Northampton on a recent Sunday to attend the Lake Pleasant Spiritualist camp-meeting. Some of the more rigid religious people of the town were "greatly exercised in mind" because of this; and a Methodist minister at Williamsburg, one of the railroad stations on the route, appeared on the depot platform, and prayed unavailingly that something might happen to prevent the sacrilege.

THE power of the press is seemingly appreciated in Turkey, where an American journalist, James Gordon Bennett, who happened to be cruising near Constantinople in his new steam yacht, was beseeched by the Sultan to visit Arabi Bey and persuade that gentleman to come to Constantinople and hold a consultation with him (the Sultan) on Egyptian affairs. This extraordinary mission it is said Mr. Bennett promptly accepted. We have not yet learned the result.

THE *Christian Union*, in reply to a correspondent who wishes to know where he can "attend a course of lectures designed to expose the evil tendencies of modern infidelity," states that "the American Institute of Christian Philosophy is arranging for such a course, to be delivered in New York city this winter." Such a course of lectures will be welcomed by all genuine free thinkers who know that the truth can never be worsted by investigation and discussion, which always awaken thought, and, in the long run, help the truth.

A CREMATION society has been formed in New York; and its members intend to erect a crematory upon some shady knoll overlooking the Hudson River, where they propose to cremate bodies at the rate of about fifteen dollars each. The *Sun* speaks rather favorably of the plan on sanitary and economic grounds, and says, "When the crematory overlooks the Hudson, from a knoll shaded by trees and embellished with flowers, it may prove the best missionary in the cause, and bring this method of disposing of the dead into greater favor."

TWO QUEBEC clergymen, pastors of St. John and Levis churches in that city, have publicly prohibited their parishioners patronizing a woman dentist who has lately gone into business there, after being duly qualified by a course of study. They base their objection to her on the ground that dentistry is not a proper calling for a woman. We don't know how the Canadians will act under such priestly pressure; but, in the States, we are sure such a prohibition would serve as the lady's best advertisement, and she would soon be overwhelmed with business.

WHEN in a State like Connecticut, celebrated throughout Christendom, because of its strict Sunday laws, as the most orthodox State of orthodox New England, we observe such palpable indecencies sanctioned as the recent hilarious reunion at Savin Rock of a jury of "twelve good men and true" at the scene of the death of the fair young victim of wealthy lust, whose misleaders were set free by the verdict of this jury of Connecticut men, it gives the truly pious, the merely moral man, and the doubter alike, a prejudice against mere Orthodoxy, which not even Connecticut persecutions of Sunday excursionists can overcome, and sets philosophical moralists to thinking seriously how far our present jury system is efficacious in furthering the ends of true justice.

COL. HIGGINSON, although well known as an advocate of woman suffrage, does not agree with those whose preference for candidates is based solely upon their favorable attitude toward this reform. He writes in the *Woman's Journal:* "But it must be remembered that there are always other questions at stake besides woman suffrage; and that, however important and desirable it may be that the governor elect should represent correct opinions about this, it is also essential that he should be an upright and high-minded man, who will not be scheming for himself or his friends, but will be steadily looking to the honor and prosperity of the Commonwealth. . . . We must remember, too, that there is no man to whom the pledges of reform come more easily than to the demagogue."

THE Boston *Sunday Herald* recently called attention in a couple of columns to the good work being done in the cause of public-school education in the South by Rev. A. D. Mayo, whose missionary efforts for the past year or two have been devoted to the object of awakening the Southern people to their needs and duties in this respect, and who has, we are pleased to learn, met with encouraging success, as "the Southern people have taken him to their hearts and given him unbounded and unprecedented confidence." In an editorial on the subject, the *Herald* very sensibly remarks: "It is to be hoped that his success in enlisting the different religious denominations at the South in the common education of the whole people, both white and black, may be carried to the point where the Southern religionists may see the way to the removal of the difficulty under which they have previously labored, and out of which they are now beginning to lift themselves. Before the war, all education at the South was parochial and under religious direction. It was not, perhaps could not be, common. Now, it is rapidly becoming common and free to all. The difficulty has been, and perhaps it still exists, that the different classes of religionists are not always able to see that all honest education is ethical in its tendency, and that it is better to educate the whole people ethically than a portion religiously, with the remainder left to grow up in ignorance."

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, has an article on "The Catholic Church and Human Aspirations," which begins with a quotation from a letter of Rev. James Freeman Clarke, from Paris, to the *Christian Register*, in which that gentleman goes into ecclesiastical raptures over the beauty and majesty of "the vast proportions and lovely details" of the Catholic churches of Paris. He also speaks of "the atmosphere of worship" pervading the churches in question, which "suits the mood and calms the excitement of great multitudes," and refers to Romanism as "a religion of sentiment, of feeling and aspiration." This testimony to the sublime influence of the religion and architecture of the Catholic Church — qualified, however, with the statement, "It does not help the progress of man"—by a distinguished Protestant divine, gives the *Review* great comfort. A certain degree of ecclesiastical dilettanteism is to be expected and excused in a New England Unitarian minister, of conservative tendencies, beyond the seas on a vacation tour; but, in our opinion, a little, wooden, New England meeting-house standing on a village green, and painted white with green blinds, and surrounded by the comfortable, elegant residences of the free, intelligent, orderly, well-to-do citizens who worship inside of it, is, from a moral, social, and political stand-point, a far sublimer edifice not only than the Madeleine and Notre Dame churches of Paris, but than St. Peter's at Rome, and the vast cathedrals of Milan, Cologne, and the famous old Spanish cities. The Yankee meeting-house marks a vast moral, social, and political popular advance. Around it, you find industry, thrift, order, and cleanliness; while, in the shadow of the great Roman Catholic monsters of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, you find beggary and ignorance, and a most unhealthy moral, social, and political atmosphere. Roman Catholic Church architecture was partly intended to awe ignorant mobs and to set off the tiaraed and crowned figures of kings and high priests to the best possible advantage, to make the ignorant masses get upon their knees and do obeisance to them. Thus was the sublime mediæval cathedral architecture, however great a triumph of art, a symbol of popular ignorance and servility and ecclesiastical despotism.

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THE RESERVED FORCES OF VIRTUE.

In the conditions of modern society there is very much that is unsatisfactory, whether from a social or a moral point of view; and philosophy, in consequence, is in no little danger of passing from the extreme of optimism to that of pessimism. In view of the flagrant vices and crimes that infest civilization, the moralist is at times tempted to despair of the moral progress of the race. The philanthropist is almost overwhelmed with the ceaseless and importunate demands made upon his sympathy, and hopelessly perplexed with the social problems that are pressed upon him for solution. The preacher has no occasion to go to the far-off times and scenes of the Old Testament for examples of gross depravity and rebellious disobedience to divine commands. He finds the depravity and rebellion no mere theological theory of antiquity, but a very palpable fact all around him; and yet he is humiliated and disheartened by perceiving that his appeals for repentance seem to be as little heeded by the ears of living sinners as by the long-ago-dead Amalekites and Philistines of Hebrew times.

But, as an offset to this dark picture, there are not infrequent intimations of a reserved power for virtue in human nature, which promises in all great exigencies to be more than a match for all moral evil. There have been several times in the history of our own country when, so morally apathetic was public opinion in the presence of great dangers, and so selfishly absorbed in their own interests seemed even the best classes of society, it looked as if everything was going to destruction. But, before the last fatal moment has arrived, the sober thought and the latent moral sentiment of the great mass of quiet citizens have been aroused and the impending perils averted. The secret of this happy turn of fortune has been that in human society there is a reserved moral force beyond what is drawn upon in the ordinary experiences of life. The moral instincts of the great majority of people are sound, and will rightly respond when genuinely and deeply touched. The heart of humanity is often veiled and muffled, yet it beats in healthy sympathy with the right and true.

This principle of reserved power is taught in the operations of nature. It is the principle by which healing and restoration are effected after any damage to her aims and processes. Nature's vital resources are not all used just for sustaining the passing methods of life. A portion is held in reserve ready for any extraordinary demand that may be made upon the vital energies for repairing the waste made by some untoward accident or disease. Were it not for this accumulated vitality, the processes of life in the material world might at any moment be overwhelmed by some sudden catastrophe and extinguished. In respect to man's physical constitution, it is a misfortune which forebodes coming disease or premature old age, if persons habitually live so as to use up day by day all the stores of physical sustenance which they receive, and nothing is laid by to meet a future demand. And, again, the instinct of accumulating property is nature's provision against the caprice or calamity of circumstances. Neither an individual nor a nation needs to be plethoric in wealth in order to be strong. But pauperism is always weakness. There must be a goodly reserve of property beyond the daily necessities of existence to insure national or individual prosperity.

In intellectual capacity and service, a similar rule holds good. It is the comparatively small and poorly equipped intellects that work up to the full limit of their ability and resource in the strain of their habitual effort, and such cannot be depended upon when the calls come for extraordinary mental achievements. They have accumulated no materials for these exceptional exigencies. It is, indeed, one of the chief differences between the really great man and the man of mediocre talent that the former, behind all the necessities of his constant achievements, has reserve funds of knowledge, of thought, of mental facility and power, that are scarcely drawn upon in the ordinary routine of life's work, but are ready to be spent upon any unexpected great mental labor which may suddenly be thrust upon him; while the mediocre man is exhausting his meagre intellectual stores on the demands of each day's work, anxious and calculating at that, lest his resources shall fail him with even his ordinary tasks unaccomplished. The security of mental strength and progress is in the accumulated and reserved resources of intellect.

Now, this same principle is regnant in the domain of morals. People are morally weak, and the moral effect of their lives will be comparatively slight, if they have only just enough of conscience to go round the routine of an ordinary day's demands. When they have to calculate to learn whether they would be morally justified in doing this or that, they are already on dangerous ground. They may, possibly, have morality enough to last through the day, but hardly enough to last over night to meet the demands of another day. They have not enough to meet life's surprises. The great temptations, the hard trials, come to human beings by surprise; and the moral test of character lies in its ability to meet these surprises without being overcome. When the moral instincts of people have become so pure and true and firm that they no longer have to turn a moral question over in their thought and to deliberate and hesitate upon it when the hour for action arrives, but, when that hour calls, the right action comes, as it were, of itself, then people are morally safe; and they are not only safe themselves, but, from the reserved strength of their virtue, they are able to render important moral service to mankind around them.

And it is a most encouraging fact that, when these great trial hours come, more people are really prepared to meet them than we might beforehand suppose to be possible. Giddy girls have suddenly waked to noble womanhood when some severe disciplinary experience has touched the deeper places of moral sentiment within them. Wayward young men, tested by some new responsibility thrown upon them in an hour of bereavement which has stirred their better natures, have exhibited powers of wisdom and self-reliance that were a surprise to their fellows. Women who have appeared only as vines clinging to an oak, bereft of the strong props on which they have been wont to lean, have often found an unsuspected strength within themselves, which has carried them safely over obstacles which, looked at in advance, they had declared impassable. Men, suddenly overwhelmed by a calamity that has taken them for a moment off their feet, have succumbed only for the moment: the next, they are up, working on that reserve of mental or moral force that retrieves the day against all disaster.

So, in general, in communities as in individuals, there is a reserve of moral power, an accumulated strength of virtuous impulse, which, when once appealed to, is equal to the conquest of any threatening evil. And the fact that, in spite of the world's ills, humanity has morally progressed, proves that hitherto this moral power has not been appealed to in vain. May we not trust that the same power will be adequate to any future emergency?

WM. J. POTTER.

MODERN ASCETICISM.

No sentence of Thoreau's, perhaps, is oftener quoted than his very reasonable remark that he did not wish to practice self-denial, unless it was quite necessary. Needless self-denial is asceticism, and asceticism was for ages held one of the highest Christian duties. I do not see how any one can read the writings of modern agnostics or mingle much in their society without seeing that extremes meet, and that some of this estimable class only substitute a new form of sterner self-denial for the old. Not that they imitate the hair-cloth and the bloody whips; but those were only the trappings and the suits of ecclesiastic woe. It was in the crucifixion of the affections, the crushing down of the natural sympathies, that the true sting of the old self-discipline was found. And it seems to me that in many cases the modern rigorists equal, or surpass, the ancient. Let us take two sacrifices which many of them feel bound in consistency to make,—that of the belief in personal immortality and that of the theory of mutual benevolence. Did any sacrifice made by ancient asceticism surpass these?

Let us consider the first. The mediæval ascetic, consistent with his creed, perhaps shut his only daughter in a convent, and left her beneath the black veil for life. He lost her for all time, but retained her, as he believed, for all eternity, never doubting that death would restore her to him again. The modern ascetic keeps his daughter for this life, if he can, but resolutely puts away the hope of ever meeting her again, should she be taken from his arms to-morrow. It may be a confession of great weakness—though I do not think so—but, for me, the modern asceticism would be the hardest to bear. I do not wish to practise such self-denial, unless it is quite necessary.

Whether it is quite necessary is not a matter to be argued here. I only wish to point out the fact of the sacrifice. The modern ascetic, like the ancient, is governed by duty, and accepts what he thinks the legitimate consequences of his creed. I do not impeach, but rather admire, his courage and his faith. They are as admirable as those of the man who consistently flings himself before Juggernaut, or of the fakir who spins on his iron. And some such ascetics have the frankness to admit this sacrifice. Some of the ablest and most cultivated agnostics of my acquaintance have admitted to me that, after the loss of a mother or a child, the most ignorant believer in personal immortality might be envied by the wisest who disbelieved in it. But the renunciation of what might make us happy is asceticism. It may be our clear duty to practise it, if our creed compels; but I think we ought not, in fairness to others, to represent that creed as a glory and a joy for the human race. We ought rather to label it, as Winwood Reade honestly christened his gloomy book, "The Martyrdom of Man."

And so again with mutual benevolence. The Roman Catholic writer Digby says that the moderns have found out a new way to spell the word honour [honor], but not a new way to practise it. So the modern scientific school has found a new word for unselfishness,—altruism; but I do not see that their extreme representatives leave any place for anybody to practise it. To them, what they contemptuously call "the Christian philosophy of the obligation of the strong toward the weak" is the mere survival of a pitiable weakness, which interferes with the strict course of social competition. That the competent should strive to assure the comfort of the incompetent is honestly regarded by such writers as indicative of weakness, not of wisdom; or at any rate a practice to be de-

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precated, not encouraged. The inevitable ideal under this theory is the successful accumulator,—the Stewart, the Vanderbilt, the Gould,—not the man who has lived frugally for himself that he might live generously for the weak. Grant this theory correct, yet look at it on the other side, consider the formidable asceticism of it. What constitutes the greatest enjoyment of life? One of these enjoyments certainly consists in helping those weaker than ourselves. Wordsworth finds no delight so great as

> "That largest portion of a good man's life,
> His little, nameless, unremembered acts
> Of kindness and of love."

Even modern philosophy baptizes it into a sort of respectability, as has been said, by giving it a name, and then prohibits from practising it,—like the proverbial Ensign Stebbins with the prohibitory law. Even the most conscientiously selfish men cannot wholly keep clear of its satisfactions. I suppose that Baron Lionel de Rothschild kept as far from any concession to the infirmities of the weak as anybody; and yet even he advised a friend sometimes to give a penny to a beggar, "it was so amusing."

Now, it may readily be admitted that neither society nor the individual can live upon the principle of unlimited "altruism" any more than on that of self-interest alone. The true philosophy must lie somewhere between. It is not, however, my object to expound that philosophy, were I competent, but simply to point out the profound asceticism, and indeed the crucifixion of our deepest emotions, in which the so-called utilitarian theory ends. Suppose two brothers, who have taken wholly different paths. The one finds himself early charged with a great weight in the shape of the "incompetent." He has to look after the comfort, let us suppose, of a brother who lost his health in the war, but was treated in such a thoroughly business like and common-sense way by the government that he never had a cent of pension; of another brother, affectionate and lovable, but born feeble-minded; of a sister who lost her health in nursing their mother through an illness; and of another sister whose husband was unfortunate, and died, leaving her a widow with numerous children. All these persons our friend has to support; and finds in toiling for them joy, peace, and a loving household. And one reason why he has to support them is that his brother, being thoroughly enlightened in the most recent views, has entirely outgrown the delusion of "the obligation of the strong toward the weak," and has never in his life given a dollar to one poorer or feebler than himself, though the recipient be brother or sister. That brother is now a pitiable millionnaire without a human tie or obligation. His vast wealth, which in other times he would have attributed, piously or impiously, to the peculiar blessing of God, he now attributes, with more insidious self-flattery, to his own rare powers alone. He calls it "personal development." "The way is open," he says: "the secret of success is plain. Do as I do."

But to live up to his theory implies a perpetual crucifixion of all generous impulse. If he was born with a human heart, his asceticism is more complete than that of any fanatic mediæval saint. No matter: he vindicates the competitive theory. Let us admire his self-devotion, if we must; but anything more calculated to make us all mediævalists through sheer pity, I cannot conceive. Saint Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar may excite our compassion for the saint, especially if the weather was cold and the cloak small. But Saint Gradgrind, occasionally feeling the impulse, he being strong, to care for the infirmities of the weak, but crushing down this impulse as unworthy a modern man,—this is a sample of scientific self-martyrdom which affects me more profoundly. Not that the Gradgrinds know the philosophy of their own existence, or what fine names have been devised to elevate their supposed selfishness into a vindication of great principles. But tried by the standard of sheer happiness, if they have bought their success by acting on the principle that the strong have no duties to the weak, they are men profoundly to be pitied. Instead of mortifying the flesh, they mortify the natural sympathies, which is worse. I should rather not make that sacrifice, "unless it is quite necessary." T. W. HIGGINSON.

SYMPATHIES AND ANTIPATHIES.

The earnest, humble student, who has already discovered the narrowness of the area of research, is often struck with amazement at the tone of arrogant assumption and self-satisfied dogmatism adopted by others in imparting to the world the modicum of positive knowledge or even of half-truths which they have been able to glean or guess at. In the face of the many unsolved problems of life and being which discouragingly mock the most patient and toilsome efforts of investigation, it seems strange to him that one can assume the air of a masterful teacher when he so well knows how comparatively unimportant the discovered truths of the universe are in comparison with the undiscovered truths, or those of which he has gained but the merest inkling.

Even to those of us who are but tyros in this search, the least successful of amateurs, the fact is already patent that there are many mysteries by which we are surrounded in our daily lives,—mysteries which, we are assured by those far in advance of us, are still unsolved, and some of which, it is asserted, will remain forever insoluble to human knowledge.

One of the most common of these mysteries, one whose manifestations occur daily and hourly in our lives, and one which, in varying forms, seems to permeate all nature, animate and inanimate alike, is that of those feelings which are always coëxistent, and which we call sympathies and antipathies, or attractions and repulsions. One of the strongest forces of nature, one of the most powerful determinants of whatever is, one of the chief sources of our happiness and our misery, we yet know comparatively nothing as to the how, the why, or the wherefore of it, although these questions are forever tantalizingly arising to demand solution, while at the same time mockingly defying our power to solve them.

If we confine ourselves to the manifestations of this feeling in humanity alone, what problems it presents, what mysteries of inconsistency surround it! It is the unconfessed source of our business relations, our friendships, and our loves; for no man, however obtuse, would or could enter into intimate business partnership with a person toward whom he felt an undeniable aversion, however ill-founded in reason that aversion might seem to be. No one could entertain a real friendship for another whose society was a positive pain to him. None can love where the secret sympathy which first induces love is absent. The sensitiveness to this feeling varies greatly in different individuals; and, good gift as it sometimes proves, unhappy is he or she who is unusually endowed with it, since the sympathy is so strong in some cases as to be unreasoning and dangerous because of the partiality felt for unworthy objects, while the antipathy may be so intense as to aid injustice and encourage wrong-doing. The strength or the weakness of this unexplained, unanalyzable feeling determines, in a greater or lesser degree, every act of our lives. The man least influenced in his judgments by it is, nevertheless, though unacknowledged to himself, in part governed by it in all his words and acts. The most unimpressionable of us are never in company with any human being for ten minutes at a time without measuring him or her by this unacknowledged standard. Those most sensitive to its influence take violent likes and dislikes on first sight,—likes and dislikes which often fatally color and shape their whole after life. The least sensitive are so far guided by this feeling as to allow it often to bias their judgment of men and things, though imperceptibly, perhaps, to themselves.

Among Maria Edgeworth's charming moral tales for children there is one on the subject of these unreasoning antipathies, in which her aim is to show that they are founded on partial knowledge and ill-natured guess-work. I knew a child with strong inherited moral principle, but born also with this unfortunate dower of unreasoning sympathy and antipathy, who, reading this story of Miss Edgeworth, pondered long and deeply upon the moral inculcated by the story of Rosamond and the old woman in the poke-bonnet, resolving to profit by it and overcome its unconquerable aversion for certain people, and foolish attraction toward others less worthy. The only known result of that childish effort was to make it hate more heartily and love more fiercely those whom it should not.

Long ago, somebody voiced this feeling in the well-known, often-repeated doggerel lines: —

> "I do not love thee, Doctor Fell,
> The reason why, I cannot tell:
> But this alone I know full well,
> I do not love thee, Doctor Fell."

It is not alone toward the strangers whom we meet or to whom we are introduced, some of whom we feel inclined to grasp by the hand and greet with the warmth of tried friendship, while we touch coldly and shrinkingly the extended hand of another, and feel a sense of pain in addressing with the cordiality demanded by social custom, that we have this feeling, but toward those also, bound to us by ties of blood or gratitude and acquaintances of years' standing. And, though reason frequently gives sanction to these sympathies and antipathies, it is by no means universally the case; for often those whose presence is a delight, and whose hand-clasp a pleasure, are those whom our moral sense condemns or whose untrustworthiness is well understood by us, while we hold aversion for others in whom morally and intellectually we can discover no important flaw.

Another of the contradictions of this mysterious sense is that it is not by any means always reciprocal. Those whose touch and tone make the dearest joy of our lives may be, and often are, utterly indifferent to us, or may show unmistakable signs of repulsion; and, among those who love us most faithfully and seek us most constantly, may be those from whose touch we shrink, and whose presence we would gladly avoid, if we could do so without giving pain.

So, while we talk glibly of our discoveries and drag language out of its proper sphere to torture it into giving meaning to the phantasms of our brain which we dub philosophies, we stand dumb and servile before a mystery of our daily lives, which we have not, so far in our research, been able to catch, verify, and label. Efforts to do so have not, however, been lacking, ranging in merit from the Baron von Reichenbach's theory of "odic force" to the "aura," or individual "atmosphere," of other theorists, and the unsystematized vagaries in regard to it of various mesmerists and spiritualists.

But the majority, finding these "explanations"

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as hard to understand, at least, as the force which they undertake to unravel and explain, are obliged to acknowledge their evasive character; and we grow weary of the vaunted knowledge which assumes so much, but which fails to unravel for us this overwhelming, omnipresent mystery of our daily lives. SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

MENTAL IMPRESSIONS AS A MEANS OF CURE.

I am very glad to read the articles of both Mr. Connor and Dr. Dixwell in regard to the late alleged faith cures at Old Orchard beach. Whatever opinion we may hold of Dr. Cullis or any other person professing to perform cures in this manner, it is very important to recognize the value of mental impressions as means of cure; and that is the secret of the effect in all these cases. We need not suppose intentional hypocrisy or deception on the part of any one. The late Dr. Littré, in an excellent work,—*La Médecine et les Médecins*,—has an essay which treats this subject very carefully. He analyzes the reports of celebrated miraculous cures performed at a certain shrine in France (I write from memory), and shows that there is every reason to accept the accounts as sincere and trustworthy. He describes the class of diseases relieved and the amount and permanence of the good effect produced, and shows that both are precisely what might be expected from a sudden and strong mental impulse, whose effect is well known to science. In the New England Hospital for Women, there have been several cases of patients, who supposed themselves to be utterly unable to rise from bed, who have been cured only by the simplest hygienic care and a proper exercise of authority or influence in persuading them to use their own muscles. They seemed to be cases not of imposture or laziness, but of incapacity of self-control.

Now there are great evils in such a display of superstition as that which took place at Old Orchard, and great harm is done by reliance on miraculous help to the neglect of reasonable means of cure; but yet who would scruple to have recourse to them, when other means failed?

The practical question I would like to ask is, How can science produce the benefit without the evil? Dr. Dixwell reports the success of the administration of pure water. Can he tell when it would be safe to trust to that alone? Is there, in short, any test or measure of the influence of such mental impressions, and can they be produced in any rational way, so as to relieve the community from dependence on the accidental and perhaps intentionally false influences which may produce such benefits? Very great moral evils are often connected with such excitements.

We all know the story of the bed-ridden woman, who rose and walked when the house got on fire. Must we burn our houses down to cure our patients, or can science and reason show us how to exercise a control over ourselves and others which will cure our diseases?

This is especially a Free-Religious question, for we can discuss it without fear or favor. E. D. C.

SELF-DENIAL AND AGNOSTICISM.

According to an article printed in *The Index* this week from the pen of Col. Higginson,—a valued contributor, whose force and felicity of expression impart interest, and whose ability and reputation give weight to whatever he writes,—"needless self-denial is asceticism"; and, therefore, one who denies himself the pleasure of believing in personal immortality is an ascetic, and the asceticism of such a one seems to him harder to bear than that of the devotee who denies himself rational enjoyments in this life that he may thereby secure greater and more enduring enjoyments in a life beyond the grave. Does asceticism thus defined include the sacrifice of certain beliefs, even though it be demanded by intellectual honesty and be made from a sense of duty? Certainly; for Col. Higginson says, "The modern ascetic is governed by duty, and accepts what he thinks the legitimate consequences of his creed." The "needless denial" of the modern ascetic consists, then, in his giving up of beliefs which, if he could honestly retain them, would contribute to his happiness. But, if this be asceticism, all who are unable to accept rose-colored but unfounded theories, all who have abandoned faiths and fancies which once gave them pleasure,—in short, all who have come to distinguish between what they are compelled to believe and what they wish or have wished to believe,—are or have been ascetics, and the whole history of human progress is a history of asceticism. Theodore Parker must have felt this deeply when he wrote: "To oppose the institutions which your fathers loved in centuries gone by; to sweep off the altars, forms, and usages which ministered to your mother's piety, helped her bear the cross and bitter ills of life; to sunder your ties of social sympathy; to destroy the rites associated with the aspiring dream of childhood and its earliest prayer and the sunny days of youth; to disturb these because they weaved chains, invisible but despotic, which bind the arm and fetter the foot and confine the heart; to hew down the hoary tree under whose shade the nations played their game of life, and bound in death the clod of the valley sweet to their weary bosom,—to destroy all this because it poisons the air and stifles the breath of the world, it is a sad and bitter thing."

But the self-denial of the millions who in every age experience the pain of giving up long-cherished errors,—errors from which generations of men have derived consolation,—and of reluctantly accepting after stubbornly resisting unwelcome truths in conflict with inherited tendencies and acquired beliefs, and apparently with all that is most precious in their faith as well as the general weal, is not a "needless self-denial," but a self-denial which, in spite of the sorrow and suffering, "the crucifixion of the affections, the crushing down of the natural sympathies" involved, is imperatively demanded by the law of intellectual development, is an indispensable condition of progress, and is essential to the continued and increasing happiness of the race. Such self-denial cannot properly be called asceticism. Experience and philosophy prove that truth is the friend, not the enemy, of the race, because it is favorable to human happiness, whatever individual pain or temporary social disturbance results from its conflict with error long established and venerated as divine. "Philosophers unite," says Samuel Bailey, "in regarding truth as inseparable with human happiness, and error as essentially hostile to it." This is implied by the maxim, *Fiat justitia, ruat caelum*.

The abandonment of pleasant beliefs that are not susceptible of proof, from the conviction that they can never be realized, is not asceticism. He who deprives himself of rational enjoyments here to secure thereby happiness hereafter, sacrifices what is known to be good and attainable for that of which he knows nothing. He who does not believe in immortality loses whatever pleasure the belief might afford him. Yet, although in the absence of satisfactory proof, he is forced to reject it, at the same time he seeks enjoyment in this life, the only life known to him and the only one the enjoyments of which at present are possible to him. He may reasonably hold that, if death is but the entrance to another state of conscious existence, man will be adapted to his condition in the future as he is in the present, and that the best way to secure the possible enjoyments of the other world is to live in a natural and rational manner in this world.

Doubtless, "some of the ablest and most cultivated agnostics," in the bitter anguish of their bereavement, when death has deprived them of "a mother or a child," have "envied the most ignorant believer in personal immortality"; but how much more significance is there in this fact than in the fact that the philosopher, perplexed and distracted by the great problems of the universe, often envies the confidence and self-satisfaction and freedom from mental weariness of the most ignorant man who does not know enough ever to doubt in regard to what is beyond the range of his senses? "The most ignorant believer" is more to be envied in the presence of death than the most enlightened believer,—that is, from Col. Higginson's point of view; for the former is likely to be free from doubts which must disturb the latter.

The agnostic's position is not determined by choice or preference, and his views have not been adopted because of their pleasantness or their unpleasantness; yet, when put in contrast with the beliefs that have for centuries prevailed throughout Christendom regarding the future of the race, he might, influenced by *benevolence* and *affection*, regard the prospect of an everlasting rest for every human being as "a glory and a joy."

We have not here assumed that personal immortality is or is not a fact; but, whether it be or not, the spirit of the following quotations from Emerson regarding the question is admirable:—

> Here we drift like white sail across the wild ocean, now bright on the wave, now darkling in the trough of the sea! But from what port did we sail? Who knows? Or to what port are we bound? Who knows? I at least will shun the weakness of philosophizing beyond my depth. What is the use of pretending to powers we have not? What is the use of pretending to assurances we have not respecting the other life? If there is a wish for immortality and no evidence, why not say just that? If there are conflicting evidences, why not state them? If there is not ground for a candid thinker to make up his mind yea or nay, why not suspend the judgment? I weary of these dogmatizers. I neither affirm nor deny. I stand here to try the case. Who shall forbid a wise scepticism, seeing that there is no practical question on which anything more than an approximate solution can be had? Now shall we, because a good nature inclines us to virtue's side, say, There are no doubts,—and lie for the right?
>
> I think all sound minds rest on a certain preliminary conviction,—namely, that, if it be best that conscious personal life shall continue, it will continue; if not best, then it will not; and, if we saw the whole, should of course see that it was better so.... I was lately told of young children who feel a certain terror at the assurance of life without end. "What! will it never stop?" the child said. "What! never die? *Never*, never? It makes me feel so tired!"
>
> I confess that everything connected with our personality fails. Nature never spares the individual,—no prosperity is promised to *that*. We have our indemnity only in the success of that to which we belong. *That* is immortal, and we only through that.
>
> There is a drawback to the value of all statements of the doctrine; and I think that one abstains from writing or printing on the immortality of the soul, because, when he comes to the end of his statement, the hungry eyes that run through it will close disappointed.
>
> We cannot prove our faith by syllogisms. The argument refuses to form in the mind. A conclusion, an inference, a grand augury, is ever hovering; but attempt to ground it, and the reasons are all vanishing and inadequate.
>
> Future state is an illusion for the ever-present state.... It is strange that Jesus is esteemed by mankind the bringer of the doctrine of immortality. He

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is never once weak or sentimental. He is very abstemious of explanation. He never preaches the personal immortality, whilst Plato and Cicero had both allowed themselves to overstep the stern limits of the spirit and gratify the people with that picture."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

SAYS the *Age* (formerly the Seymour *Times*), "When a great cause is persistently diverted from its legitimate purpose to the puffery and profit of individuals, and to the business of offensively pushing forward its self-appointed and unsavory advocates, it is in a bad way."

IN reply to Matthew Arnold's remark that "the Protestant idea of heaven is that of a glorified, unending tea-meeting," the *Christian at Work* suggests that Matthew Arnold's idea of heaven probably is that "of a place where a select coterie of literary gentlemen can criticise Almighty God to all eternity."

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Independent* writes: —

A man has simply to do something outlandish or unusual, and he is famous at once. A man plods along the even tenor of his way, doing brave and faithful work, and nobody notes him. A Wilde writes a few verses, puts on knee-breeches, wears long hair over a velvet jacket, gazes fondly on the sunflower, and dines off of a lily, and the æsthetic craze is fully inaugurated.

SCIENTISTS tell us that pigeons and rabbits will live long after their cerebral hemispheres are removed, if food is placed in their mouths; but they will make no effort to supply their wants, and, if unfed, will die of starvation, though surrounded by plenty. Exact illustration of the condition in which the Church has often placed man: tell man that he must not reason, remove the mental dome, he will sit still and swallow what the priest offers: the spirit will starve in the midst of a universe full of truth and beauty.— *Unity.*

WE find the following paragraph in the *Popular Science Monthly:* "In reference to his conversion, Sir Charles Lyell says: 'The question of the origin of species gave me much to think of, and you may well believe that it cost me a struggle to renounce my old creed. One of Darwin's reviewers put the alternative strongly by asking "whether we are to believe that man is modified mud or modified monkey." The mud is a great come-down from the "archangel ruined." Even in ten years, I expect, if I live, to hear of great progress in regard to "fossil man."'"

IT is conceded that the attendance upon the Concord School this summer has been very small; but Mrs. Shattuck, who has written interesting reports of its essays and discussions for the *Transcript*, says: —

I am able to assert from knowledge that there is no truth in the rumor that the Concord School is going to migrate, the only foundation for it being that some friends have extended to the faculty a very urgent *invitation* to go to Chicago some time for a season of philosophy. An invitation to go somewhere is not the going there, and one does not accept all the invitations one receives.

THE orthodox *Congregationalist*, referring to Dr. Cullis' "faith cures," says that the "whole business" is not "merely a delusion and a sham, but a misfortune and reproach to the cause of rational religion in this Christian land in this nineteenth century.... The Scriptures warrant no such procedure." And yet, in James v., 15, we read: —

Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up: and, if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him.

FROM a report in the Chicago *Weekly Magazine* of an interesting Emerson memorial service held at Madison, Wis., we clip the following: —

The choir then sang,

"All before us lies the way."

It will interest our readers to know that Miss Ellen Emerson in a private letter to Miss Woodward (Auber Forestier) states that her father denied having written this hymn when it first appeared, some twenty-five years ago, over his name, and, whenever it was spoken of to him, always asserted that it was written by another Emerson. Not long before his death, it appeared somewhere in print with his full signature, R. W. Emerson, which annoyed him. It seems that Mr. Crooker expressed serious doubts regarding the authenticity of the poem, but they were overruled by those who had seen it printed with the full name. It is said, however, that at a memorial service of the Free Religious Association it was sung as a hymn by Emerson."

THE Constantinople correspondent of the New York *Tribune* writes: —

One hears a good deal in America about religion that has no trade-mark of good deeds. But the full capability of the race in this respect can only be seen under Eastern skies. Here, you can see a man who thinks no more before committing robbery than before picking a ripe plum from the tree,—a man who can kill a neighbor with as clear a conscience as he can wish him good-morning,—a man who can tell to a hair the number of blows with a club that will kill and the number that will merely stun, and who understands how to pad a club with sand so that it will kill without breaking the skin; and you will find the same man talking to you about love to God and about diligence in prayer, producing conscientious scruples about eating his mutton unless it has been butchered in a peculiar way, groaning in spirit when by accident he kills a flea, and calling a servant to remove a bedbug from his wrist, lest his own less skilled fingers might mangle the gentle insect.

THE London *Standard*, in its review of *Democracy*, observes: "To laugh at the absurdities or eccentricities of one's countrymen is fair enough: it may even be useful. In a more serious mood, to lift up one's voice to testify against the vices which most easily beset our own people may be a religious duty not to be shirked. But these 'genteel' attacks on the social shortcomings of their countrymen, in which it is so much the fashion for American novelists nowadays to indulge for the amusement of foreigners, are consummately vulgar. They will give more pain to those persons who have had occasion to know and love Americans than to Americans themselves. Few right-thinking people of either nation will fail to say to themselves in thought, if not in words, when they have finished the perusal of *Democracy*, 'There is no doubt some amount of truth in the author's satire; but "A lie that is half the truth is ever the blackest of lies."'"

AN able editorial in the Boston *Transcript* on "Faith Cures" concludes as follows: —

All well-attested "faith cures" are either of purely nervous diseases or of organs closely dependent upon the nervous system. Of the four authentic cases of cure at Old Orchard, two were spinal affections, one sciatica and one heart disease. But most so-called heart disease is a mere nervous derangement; and, if this case were such, all four cases were nervous affections. All nerves centre in the brain, and may be acted upon through the brain. This is best shown in mesmerism, but the fact is indisputable. A very powerful brain stimulus, an idea or conviction, an expectation even, or disappointment, will communicate itself to the whole nervous apparatus. The idea that the Great Spirit of the universe is exerting itself in his or her behalf must create a powerful excitation in a credulous mind. Bones are not set by prayer nor by any nervous stimulation. No contagious disease is ever cured by miracle. Diphtheria, fevers, small-pox, and malaria are not influenced by faith. Freckles and sunburn, any disease of the hair or nails, in fact disease in any portion of the body not supplied with sensitive nerves, refuses to yield to the most devout faith.

REV. DR. WECHSLER, of St. Paul, Minn., a well-known rabbi of liberal views, when visiting Montreal recently, was invited by the Board of Trustees of the St. Constant Street synagogue to preach to that congregation. He delivered an able discourse, in which he said that the "present age is essentially the era of reform, and that all classes and religions must yield to the influence prompting the world in this direction." Whereupon, one member of the congregation arose and ordered the preacher to stop or refrain from any similar expressions during the remainder of his address. Several others rose to express dissatisfaction, and the excitement soon became such that a messenger was despatched for a policeman. It appears that the congregation has for some time been divided on the subject of a reform in the Jewish ritual,—one party desiring to make it more consistent with the liberal views of the age, while the other strenuously oppose any attempt to deviate in the slightest from ancient usages. And this latter, "the orthodox party, say that they firmly believe Dr. Wechsler, known to be a reformer, had been expressly sent for to preach reform to them." Therefore, they took occasion to openly resent the attempt.

FROM the report of the standing committee on the condition of education, read at a recent meeting of the New York State Teachers' Association, it appears that, while the population of the State is increasing, the daily attendance upon the public schools is decreasing. The *Scientific American* says that the lessening number of children in school is not peculiar to New York or to factory towns, that it is more or less visible throughout the country; but, instead of deploring this condition of things, it sees in it an indication of "the spread of juster views than formerly prevailed of what is proper for youthful culture." There is, especially among well-to-do people, a growing feeling in favor of putting off longer the beginning of school life, which is likely to continue while school work is planned and regulated as it is now. What the *Scientific American* says in regard to the cutting off of the other end of the school period is worthy of thought, and we quote it entire: "When the free school system was first developed, the belief was general that schooling was the one thing needful to enable young people to get on in the world; and it was a common thing for parents to make great sacrifices to keep their children year after year in school, only to find in the end that their sons were too old to do boys' work, and too proud to begin at the bottom of any trade or other industrial calling and work up. They must do something more genteel, and crowded into the towns and cities in pursuit of clerkships and *quasi*-professional engagements, in which a little present salary was accompanied with extravagant expectations seldom or never to be fulfilled. Others as unwisely pressed on in their school course, mortgaging their future to prepare themselves for learned professions, vainly seeking to win fame and fortune in places for which they had no real fitness. The condition of much schooled but ill educated girls was, if anything, still worse. A natural reaction against this misdirection of youth and natural result of the failure of the public schools to shape their work to meet the practical wants of the multitude is the disposition to cut short the school period early to begin in earnest what seems to be the real business of life. Though

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ninety-nine in every hundred youth cannot hope to go to college, their educational needs are largely sacrificed to make the school a possible tributary to the college. Time which the majority of youth need for practical preparation for their life's work is thus very largely given to studies of value only in their relation to a subsequent college course which is never to be enjoyed. It is no evidence of popular unwisdom, as most teachers seem to think, that there is an increasing popular indisposition to surrender so much of youth's precious time to such unpractical work. There is nothing so valuable to youth as education, but unhappily schooling and education are yet far from being synonymous; and, if the schools are declining in favor, it is because the intelligent public see this fact more clearly than the mass of school officials do"

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

A TRIBUTE TO EMERSON.

"Like the towering mountain rising
Far above the clouds and storm,
Round its breast the tempest gathering,
On its brow eternal calm,"
Thus above us he had risen
To the realms where storms no more
Swept across his raptured vision,
Though beneath he heard their roar.

Circling systems burn and glitter
In the thoughts he gave to man;
Gems and pearls lie flashing round us,
Burnished by a master hand;
"Spirit Laws" and "Compensation,"
"Love" and "Friendship," ne'er can die.
He has found them, taught and lived them,
Set them in the vaulted sky,—
There like stars to burn forever,
Lighting nations yet to be;
There to guide the wand'rer homeward,
As he sails life's shoreless sea.

Deep from mines of rarest treasure,
He has brought us golden ore;
In one sentence couched the wisdom
Of the centuries gone before.
He has rent the veil of Isis,
He the siren's voice has stilled,
Swept at morn the harp of Memnon
That ten thousand hearts has thrilled.

He has voiced the thoughts of millions
Who their thoughts could never speak,
Since the yearnings of earth's children
All in his one soul did meet.
Strew his grave with fairest flowers,
Deck the sod that wraps his breast:
Holiest memories,—these are ours;
His,—Nirvana's dreamless rest.

MONT E. COLLINS.

MONONA, IOWA, July, 1882.

For *The Index*.

THE SILENT-FLYING LAND.

In each tall flower of that land
There lurks a silent human eye,
Deadly-weird.
Subtle-drowsy heavy perfumes
Fill the air;
And, glassed in sluggish stream,
The poppy sleeps in dim reflection
Lurid-red.
Oh, masked and muttering somnambules,
Whither away?
Beware of the pitfalls of death,
Stay, oh, stay!

W. S. KENNEDY.

The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

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For *The Index*.

EMERSON AND THEODORE PARKER.

An Address delivered in the Church of the Unity, Cleveland, June 4, 1882.

BY EDWIN D. MEAD.

In 1838, several things happened. The daguerreotype was invented. I wish that the first sensitive plate could have been uncovered, not in Westminster Abbey, where, on a midsummer day in that year 1838, Victoria was crowned queen,—the gew-gaws, consecrated by traditions of the Conqueror and Richard Lion-Heart and Harry Tudor and real kings, brushed up once more by the rather ghostly bishops who wore the robes of Stephen Langton and Joseph Butler, and a galvanized crown blessed once more by a galvanized Church,—not there, but in the little chapel of the Divinity School of Harvard University, where, on another midsummer day of that same year, a little crowd of men and women was gathered, and an earnest man was speaking simply some simple, earnest words. We should all like a picture of that scene, I think; for this man was the real king, and this scene was more impressive than the other to him who sees deep. Ideas alone have royalty and divine right in this noon-time of the world, and so we count this little gathering at Harvard the most important thing of that year 1838.

The speaker was Ralph Waldo Emerson. The name did not mean much on the morning of that day. The small world to which it was known at all knew it as the name of a young man who had left the pulpit of the Unitarian Church half a dozen years before, because he could not conscientiously join in the sacrament of the Supper, who had been to Europe since and hunted up Thomas Carlyle in the solitude of Craigenputtock, and had just now published in Boston Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. He had written a little book of his own, too,—*Nature*,—and had given lectures in Boston and the towns about, which had drawn to him the attention of the thoughtful people He had retired now from the rush and roar of Boston to the quiet of a Concord farm-house to spend his life.

"Good-by, proud world! I'm going home,"

he had said to the fawning flattery and upstart wealth of the town and the insincerities and old clothes of the Church.

"When I am stretched beneath the pines,
Where the evening star so holy shines,
I laugh at the lore and the pride of man,
At the sophist schools and the learned clan;
For what are they all, in their high conceit,
When man in the bush with God may meet?"

He had been meeting with God in the bush, standing on the holy ground with the shoes off his feet; and he was come now to tell the college and the Church what the voice had said. He spoke of the beauty of nature. He spoke of spiritual laws, of which all nature that we see is but the clothing and the symbol. He spoke of the more overpowering beauty of the sentiment of virtue, which teaches us that we are "born to the perfect." "The laws of the soul execute themselves," he said. "He who does a good deed is instantly ennobled: he who does a mean deed is by the action itself contracted. If a man is at heart just, then in so far is he God. If a man deceive, he deceives himself. Thus is man made the Providence to himself, dispensing good to his goodness and evil to his sin."

This sentiment, he said, lies at the foundation of society. Its absence is the presence of degradation. Let this primary faith depart, and the very words it spake become false and hurtful. The doctrine of inspiration lost or the oracle made second-hand, and the Church falls, and the State, art, letters, and life.

Such a time, said this new prophet, had come in the history of the American Church. Its prayers and dogmas were grown as fabulous as Dante's *Inferno*, wholly insulated from anything in the life and business of the people. None believeth in the soul of man. Tradition, said Emerson, characterizes the preaching of this country: it comes out of the memory, and not out of the soul. It is assumed that the age of inspiration is past and that the Bible is closed. But it is the office of a true teacher to show us that God is, not was; that he speaketh, not spake. The true Christianity, a faith like Christ's in the infinitude of man, is lost.

Jesus Christ, said Emerson, was true to what is in you and me. He saw that God incarnates himself in man, and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of his world. He said: "I am divine. Through me, God acts; through me, speaks. Would you see God, see me; or, see *thee* when thou also thinkest as I now think." But the understanding caught this high chant from the poet's lips, and said in the next age, "This was Jehovah come down out of heaven." The idioms of his language usurped the place of his truth; and churches are built, not on his principles, but on his tropes. The preachers do not see that they make Christ's gospel not glad, and degrade his life and dialogues by insulation and peculiarity. Let them lie, as they befell, alive and warm and part of human life. To aim to convert a man by miracles is a profanation of the soul. That which shows God in me is what fortifies me. Dare to go alone. Dare to love God without mediator or veil. Thank God for all good men, but say, "I also am a man." Yourself a newborn bard of the Holy Ghost, cast conformity behind you, and acquaint men at first hand with God.

This Harvard address of Emerson's marked an epoch. It was the first clear, uncompromising utterance of rational religion in America. It showed all men at once what the new faith was and what it meant to do. It fell into the camp of the stiff and proper Unitarianism of Boston like a thunderbolt. It was a touchstone. It compelled every man to define himself, and speak out somehow or other; and it divided the Church in two. "There are now two parties among the Unitarians," wrote Parker: "one is for progress; the other says, 'Our strength is to stand still.' Dr. Channing is the real head of the first party: the other has no head." Channing, who was less than almost anything else in the world a "Channing Unitarian," stood by Emerson, said, indeed, that he could discover no difference between Emerson's address and the sermon he himself had preached at the dedication of the school. He found that he himself "could not draw a long breath in Boston." Soon after, indeed, he died. Had he lived ten years longer, with his great prestige and power, he would have saved the Unitarian Church in America half a century.

But, in the general Unitarian camp, "one shouted," said Parker, "'The Philistines be upon us!' another, 'We are all dead men!' while the majority called out, 'Atheism!' The Dean of the Divinity School said, 'That part of it which was not folly was downright atheism.'" Mr. Norton, the high priest of the Church in those days, very much as Dr. Bellows has been in these latter days, opened his mouth and preached upon the "Latest Form of Infidelity." No miracles, he said, no religion: the miracles of Jesus are the only evidence of the truth of Christianity. Henry Ware told the young men that, if there appeared to them any contradiction between the reason of man and the letter of the Bible, they "must follow the written word." "Reason," said another, "must be put down, or she will soon ask terrible questions."

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Harvard College, in the person of one who still teaches a sound philosophy there, had already pronounced Emerson's thoughts "fantastic and unreal"; and Prof. Felton himself soon found that they were "full of extravagance and overweening self-confidence, ancient errors disguised in misty rhetoric, and theories which would overturn society and resolve the world into chaos." Such being the voice of Harvard College and of the Unitarian Church, you can picture for yourselves the reception accorded the new prophet in other religious circles and by the world at large.

But amid all this uproar there was one young man, not thirty years old yet, who had sat quietly through the address in the Harvard Chapel, and, going home, had written, "It was the most inspiring strain I ever listened to, so beautiful, so just, so true, and terribly sublime! My soul is roused, and this week I shall write the long-meditated sermons on the state of the Church and the duties of these times." This young man had graduated from the Divinity School two years before, studying under Ware and Norton there, and was now settled over a little parish in West Roxbury. He was born in Lexington. His grandfather was the captain of the minute-men who gathered on Lexington Green on that morning of the 19th of April, 1775, and with his own hand had slain the first British soldier in the Revolution. The young man's name was Theodore Parker.

Theodore Parker was already a suspected man, known among his fellows as a man of ideas; and, during the next three years, he did much thinking. In May, 1841, at an ordination in South Boston, he sounded his full key-note in a sermon on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity." He showed the evils of an appeal to any external, prescriptive authority in matters of religion. He showed that there is no reason why moral and religious truths should rest for their support on the personal authority of their revealer any more than the truths of science on the authority of him who makes them known first or most clearly. "If it could be proved," he said, "that the Gospels were a fabrication and that Jesus of Nazareth never lived, Christianity would still stand firm and fear no evil. In an age of corruption, Jesus stood and looked up to God. There was nothing between him and the Father of all. And we never are Christians as he was the Christ until we worship as Jesus did, with nothing between us and the Father of all."

You remember the result of this. The Church dropped him. "So far as the ministers are concerned," he was compelled to say, "I am alone." But the blood of his Lexington grandfather was in him, and he said, "I will go about and preach and lecture in the city and glen, by the roadside and field-side, and wherever men and women may be found. I will go eastward and westward, and northward and southward, and make the land *ring*. And if this New England theology, that cramps the intellect and palsies the soul of us, does not come to the ground, then it shall be because it has more truth in it than I have ever found. What I have seen to be false I will proclaim a lie on the housetop; and, fast as God reveals truth, I will declare his word." And then, while every pulpit and every newspaper in Boston was vilifying him, while some of his clerical friends would not speak to him in the street and refused to take him by the hand, in their public meetings left the sofas or benches where he sat down, and withdrew from him as Jews from contact with a leper,—then a little company of gentlemen met together, passed one resolution, and went home: "*Resolved*, That Theodore Parker shall have a hearing in Boston." To my mind, that was one of the most remarkable church councils ever held. The Council of Trent didn't accomplish as much as that in its whole six years.

I speak to you of Emerson and Parker to-day, while the flowers laid on the grave of Emerson are still fragrant, for several reasons. I wish to invoke the influence of this solemn hour and its eloquent suggestions to impress more deeply upon every soul of us the duties of openness to new ideas, of scorn of compromise, and of self-reliance. I wish that, in this hour, we may realize more gratefully how dense the darkness was into which these great souls let in the light by which we walk; and, in the end, I wish that, turning from our secularities and societies and strifes, our minds may be more seriously fixed upon the infinite God, the immortal life, and the eternal right, in the consciousness of which they reposed and made true religion to consist, and to consist alone.

I link the names of Emerson and Parker here, because in the things of religion they cannot be separated. They stand for the same thing. Emerson was Parker writing books. Parker was Emerson's truth in the pulpit. When there was almost no warm hand for Parker in Boston, it was his wont to visit Emerson often at Concord; and he always returned to his work quickened and inspired. It was Emerson who fed his lamp, he said. And Emerson said that, be the lamp fed as it might, it was Parker whom the time to come would have to thank for finding the lamp burning. "He is the soldier whom God gave strength and will to fight for him the battle of the day." "Emerson," said Parker, "has a more glorious history than any American of this generation. He has touched the deepest strings on the human harp, and, ten centuries after he is immortal, will wake music which he first waked." He dedicated to Emerson his *Ten Sermons of Religion*. And when, at last, all broken in the fight, he sailed away in search of the health which he should never find, his greatest comfort was in saying, as he sat on the deck on Sunday morning, "Emerson is preaching at Music Hall to-day." When he died there at Florence, no churchman's voice was heard at the funeral in Music Hall, but the words of Emerson and Phillips. "He has gone down in early glory to his grave," said Emerson, "to be a living and enlarging power wherever learning, wit, honest valor, and independence are honored."

"The vice charged against America," he continued, "is the want of sincerity in leading men. It does not lie at Parker's door. He never kept back the truth for fear to make an enemy. It was his merit, like Luther, Knox, Latimer, and John Baptist, to speak tart truth when that was peremptory and when there were few to say it. As a reformer, he insisted beyond all men in pulpits that the essence of Christianity is its practical morals: it is there for use, or it is nothing; and, if you combine it with sharp trading or private intemperance, or successful fraud or immoral politics, or unjust wars or the cheating of Indians, it is an hypocrisy, and the truth is not in you," and no love of religious music or praise of John Wesley or of Jeremy Taylor can save you from the Satan which you are.

"Ah, my brave brother!" cried Emerson, in closing, "it seems as if, in a frivolous age, our loss were immense, and your place cannot be supplied. But you will already be consoled in the transfer of your genius, knowing well that the nature of the world will affirm to all men, in all times, that which for twenty-five years you valiantly spoke; that the winds of Italy murmur the same truth over your grave, the winds of America over these bereaved streets; that the sea which bore your mourners home affirms it, the stars in their courses, and the inspirations of youth; whilst the polished and pleasant traitors to human rights, with perverted learning and disgraced graces, rot and are forgotten with their double tongue."

After Parker's death, his society desired Emerson, the next autumn, to give the first sermon for them in Music Hall. The treatment Parker had received had alienated Emerson more than ever from the Unitarians, and he had long before abandoned all thought of ever preaching again. But he said that he could stand where Parker had stood; and he not only preached on that first Sunday, but spoke in Parker's pulpit many times for several years. He was the only man large enough for that place, the one man who stood roundly for the truth which Parker preached. These two Americans seem to me the two greatest religious teachers and reformers of our century, incomparably beyond Döllinger and Hyacinthe and that class of reformers, whose work was really all done three hundred years ago; greater far than Beecher and Stanley, whose new wine already spills from the old bottles which it was foolish to use; greater than Carlyle, by so much as their faith in essential humanity was greater than his.

I have said that the first use which I wish to make of this subject, as we stand by the fresh grave of our great teacher, is to impress the duty of openness to new ideas. Very feeble here are any words of mine beside the emphasis of history itself and new events. I have thought that it must be impossible for any man who has lived in these last years, and learned two of their great lessons, ever again to be a bigot. I have lived only some thirty years in the world, but a much briefer time than that has seen the outcome of the careers of William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Darwin. I can remember a time when Garrison's life was not safe on Boston Common. Many here, not old men yet, can remember when great rewards were offered for his arrest, when he lay in jail in Baltimore, when he was dragged by a rope, half-naked, through the streets of Boston. We can remember, too, how, just as John Brown's musketry was rattling at Harper's Ferry, a book was laid on the library table, called the *Origin of Species;* and we can remember the noise that followed, much louder than John Brown's musketry, for almost twenty years. "Darwinism" was the butt of *Punch's* jokes, the target of all satire, the object of all the venom and vituperation of the pulpit. I suppose that half the sermons that many of us younger men have heard in all our sermon-hearing Sundays have been on "Christianity and Darwinism," and in most mouths the phrase meant about the same as "God and the Devil." If a preacher confessed Darwinism, he was a doomed man; if a professor confessed Darwinism, his college days were done; if the theological student were caught reading the *Origin of Species*, it were better for him that he had never been born.

Well, we saw Garrison borne to the tomb amidst the reverence and tears of a nation which, if it should build a monument to-morrow to commemorate its new life and salvation, would place his figure at the front, as the bearer of the redemptive idea. And yesterday, while the bells tolled and the white-robed boys sang anthems, England laid Darwin to rest in Westminster Abbey, beside Newton and Macaulay and Chatham and Chaucer and those whom she delighteth to honor. The mockers and satirists of ten years ago are the elegists and eulogists of to-day. There is no man of science who has not now placed Darwin's truth alongside the fundamental theories of Newton and Copernicus; and no pulpit has yet been heard from, which, if not manly enough to join in the hearty panegyric, has been base enough to echo its old follies or is not busy in the work of reconstruction and new accommodation. I cannot think that these two lessons will easily be forgotten by this generation. I cannot think that those of us who study politics and science, or venture to speak of them at all, will ever, after witnessing this abuse, and then this apotheosis of Garrison and Darwin, be hurried to condemn any man unheard; and I think that the Church will be cautious before it again compromises itself with serious men, swells the bad reputation of caring more for its creeds than for the truth, and damages the cause of religion itself, as it has done in the Darwin controversy.

As the crown of thorns and then the laurel wreath to Garrison and Darwin in the realms of politics and science, so in the realm of morals and religion the rejection of Emerson and Parker forty years ago, and the glory which is theirs to-day. I suppose there has been no so conspicuous case of persecution in the American religious world this century as that of Theodore Parker, and no man ever who was the object of bitterer malice and misrepresentation and execration in his lifetime than he. He was a man who had no delight in controversy. He was not by choice or first nature a fighter, though certainly a better fighter never lived. He was a scholar, with all the scholar's shyness and love of quiet and retirement. He was a man whose whole warm, affectionate nature craved love and sympathy and the good opinion of his fellows. Yet he was forced, by the rank abuses of the times and by the infidelity of those on whom he thought to trust, into lifelong conflict; though, in that conflict, he never once shot back a poisoned arrow, never once opened or engaged in a personal controversy, but fought and conquered simply by preaching straight on, regardless of criticism or abuse on the right hand or the left, the great positive principles of his irresistible gospel.

The treatment which Parker received from those who advertised themselves as "liberal" and from those who did not was much the same. The Unitarians of forty years ago, as Parker's biographer has said, were "about as complacent a set of Christians as ever took ship for the kingdom." Aside from Dr. Channing and half a dozen others who might be named, the clergy seem to have been an altogether petrified and asphyxied set of men, as destitute of all red blood as the pre-Raphaelite saints. If they had any positive maxim, it was, to use a phrase of Emerson's, "By taste are ye saved"; but for the most part, as Emerson himself said, their creed was only a "pale negation." Their principal theological occupation

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was to deny the divinity of Christ, a very melancholy business; and they had not yet learned that Christ was human. Parker's persuasion, moreover, was that no body of men was ever more completely sold to the sense of expediency. They were, indeed, "the advance guard of the Church militant in America." They had been "the movement party in theology," and had done a praiseworthy work. Directly, or by the support they gave to Channing, they had repudiated creed subscription, and declared the right of each man to investigate for himself in matters of religion. But a reaction was now springing up. A Unitarian orthodoxy had been tacitly agreed upon, and the main endeavor of the bishops and elders seemed to be to prevent any sort of commotion, and to keep things decent and in order. When a man like Theodore Parker came into such a circle as that, an honest man and a rugged, a man who could not compromise, but who must and would speak out the truth that was in him, a man whose every word had been "fierily furnaced in the blast of a life that had struggled in earnest,"—when such a man, I say, came into such a circle, there could be but one result. The controlling men of the denomination said, "This young man must be silenced!" They closed their pulpits and their periodicals to him, they tried to alienate his little congregation, they wrote abusive letters, they refused to occupy the same platform, to trade at the same shop, to remain in the same room with him. They excommunicated him, put him out of the Church. Many of the brethren had said to him before, "You are right, you say the truth; but it won't do, don't preach it. He that spits in the wind spits in his own face: you will ruin yourself, and do nobody any good!" And, when the trial came, man after man on whom Parker had reckoned for countenance fell back upon the old guard, and was silent. "Alas," he wrote, "for that man who consents to think one thing in his closet, and preach another in his pulpit! God shall judge him in his mercy; but over his study and over his pulpit must be written, *Emptiness;* on his forehead and right hand, *Deceit, deceit!*"

If these things were done in the green tree, what was to be expected in the dry? Parker was the special object of the prayers and maledictions of the American churches for twenty years. Priestly malice, as Phillips said, scanned every inch of his garment; but it was seamless, it could find no stain. He saw men stare at him in the street, and point and say, "That is Theodore Parker," and look at him as if he were a *murderer*. Prayer-meetings were held on his particular account. During the great revival of 1858, it was recommended that men and women, wherever they might be in the shop or on the street, should pray for Parker daily when the clock struck one. "We know that we cannot argue him down," they said; "but, O Lord, put a hook in his jaws, so that he may not be able to speak! If he will still persist in speaking, induce the people to leave him; and come up and fill this house instead of that!" "Hell never vomited forth a more wicked and blasphemous monster than Theodore Parker," said one of the noted evangelists; "and it is only the mercies of Jesus Christ which have kept him from eternal damnation already." And then he prayed, "If this man is a subject of grace, O Lord, convert him, and bring him into the kingdom of thy Son; but, if he is beyond the reach of the saving influence of the gospel, remove him out of the way, and let his influence die with him."

And Parker himself, through all this? It did not surprise him, for he knew human nature. He knew that in no country and in no age would he have encountered so little persecution as he did encounter. He knew that this bitterness and falsehood were but the natural fruits of the hard and dark theology against which he rose to do battle. "I knew all this would come," he said. "It has come from my religion, and I would not forego that religion for all this world can give. I have borne sorrows that bow men together till they can in no wise lift up themselves. But my comfort has been the joy of religion: my delight is the infinite God, and that has sustained me." "If I fall and die," he said, as he sailed away, "let mine enemies rejoice as much as they will at the thought that there is one feeble voice the less, rebuking the vice of the Press, the State, the Market, and the Church, one voice the less to speak a word for truth, freedom, justice, and natural religion. Let them triumph in this, but let them expect no greater result to follow from my death. For, to the success of the great truths I have taught, it is now but of the smallest consequence whether I preach in Boston and all the Lyceums of the North, or my body crumbles in some quiet, nameless grave. They are not *my* truths. A great Truth of Humanity once set a-going, it is in the charge of humanity. Neither State nor Press, nor Market nor Church can ever put it down: it will drown the water men pour on it, and quench their hostile fire. Cannot the Bible teach its worshippers that a grave is no dungeon to shut up Truth in? It is one thing to rejoice at the sickness and death of a short-lived heretic; but it is another and a different to alter the constitution of the universe and put down a fact of spontaneous human consciousness, which also is a Truth of God."

When he lay dying there in Florence, he said earnestly, in one of the gleams of light that came at intervals across the weakness: "There are two Theodore Parkers now: one is dying here in Italy, the other I have planted in America. He will live there, and finish my work." And, as the sun looked down upon the half-dozen mourners and the friend who read the Beatitudes over his grave on the banks of the Arno, the same sun lighted up the arches of Music Hall as his dearer friend stepped into his own desk and opened one of his own sermons to the text, "Have Faith in God." I came to Florence from the Alps one gray November Saturday, despondent over many things, homesick and heavy-hearted, in some things, maybe, faithless. But, early on the Sunday morning, I remembered Parker's grave; and, while then even Giotto's Tower and San Giovanni's Gates were not beautiful to me, I hurried there, and in that still half-hour, the stern gray stone by the green grave made my heart stout again, and told me strongly to *have faith in God*. And as I turned back into the city, the streets, before so cold and unresponsive, were now all eloquent with history and beauty, and I walked with Dante and Michel Angelo. And here, this hour, as I have pictured thirty years ago, with the blindness and hard-heartedness that make us sick, I pause and remember how upon the table of every thoughtful minister of religion in the land, be he called "Liberal" or "Orthodox," the Prayers of Parker lie, to stimulate and voice devotion, and feel, through door and window, the air pulsating still with the universal benediction falling on the grave of Emerson. And I say to you, when hearts seem cold and the fight is long, and the false seem strong and the day is weary, *have faith in God*, and know that one is a majority with him.

"Oh, blest is he to whom is given
The instinct that can tell
That God is on the field, when he
Is most invisible.

"And blest is he who can divine
Where real right doth lie,
And dares to take the side that seems
Wrong to man's blindfold eye.

"Oh, learn to scorn the praise of men!
Oh, learn to love, with God!
For Jesus won the world through shame,
And beckons thee his road.

"And right is right, since God is God;
And right the day must win:
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin."

I know of nothing that can impress more deeply the duties of openness to new ideas, of scorn of compromise, and of self-reliance, than the story of these two lives. I know of nothing grander than Parker's pulpit, as it stood there for twenty years, amid the shuffling and truckling of those times, thundering of righteousness and judgment to come. I should like to have been of those earnest thousands who, Sunday after Sunday, went up to Music Hall to hear him preach. No trumped-up, twenty-minute speeches those, confectional and condimental, such as some of our weak-backed congregations sit through with difficulty even, but solid sermons of an hour, or two hours if need was, that sent the people home with their ears tingling for a week. No place that for a lazy head. Ministers told him that he was "preaching over the heads of the people"; but none ever had to tell him that he was doing that much commoner thing, preaching under their feet. Not a school for the more exquisite graces of etiquette, perhaps, Parker did not assume to be a rival of the dancing-master. Boston had exhibitions plenteous of *suaviter in modo:* his business was with *fortiter in re*. "You never made me your minister," he said, "to flatter or to please, but to instruct and serve." Those who wore soft raiment, in those days, dwelt in king's houses: he wore camel's hair and a leathern girdle, and the words fell from his lips sharp and rugged as from the Baptist's,—"Repent! Wrath to come!" He preached against the errors of the popular theology more than upon any other form of wrong, for he felt that they were most fatally mischievous of all. But, like all those New England transcendentalists, he had much to say upon all the burning questions of social reform. The Church was here in the world for nothing at all, if not to hold up a higher standard of life and create a better society. Intemperance, covetousness, ignorance, the wrongs of woman, war, political corruption, above all slavery, like grape-shot were the sermons rained upon them all. As it was Garrison who fought slavery with the newspaper, and Phillips on the bema, and Whittier with the poem, and Sumner in the Senate, and John Brown on the scaffold, and Lincoln with the sword of State, so it was Parker who fought it with the gospel in the pulpit, while the churchmen of good and regular standing, whose heads had felt the bishop's fingers, shivered before the bullying of the slave-holders, chattered about Onesimus, and whined, "Cursed be Canaan!"

(*Concluded next week.*)

For *The Index.*

THE MOODS OF MANKIND.

BY B. W. BALL.

The human race has its moods as an individual has his or her moods. We are at one time grave and serious, at another gay, and so on. The different moods of the race constitute periods or eras of history. The race was in its darkest, gloomiest, and most dejected mood in the Middle Ages, or ages of faith, as they have been called. In those ages there was an almost universal belief prevalent among Christian mankind that the world was in a state of decline, and near its end. Christianity, in its literalness, was believed and practised. The noblest life which could be led, according to the belief of the ages in question, was that of the squalid, idle, superstitious monk, who neglected all worldly duties and lived as a mendicant, and was constantly on his knees with crucifix in hand.

"The eternal life beyond the sky
Wealth cannot purchase, nor the high
And proud estate.

"But the good monk, in cloistered cell,
Shall gain it by his book and bell,
His prayers and tears."

Dirty, monkish lazzaroni were in fact the moral men of the ages of faith. Holy idleness, shiftlessness, and squalor, with prayers and tears, were the marks of their spiritual superiority and contempt for an evil and lost world and of their fitness for a better one. Finally, a belief that the *Dies Irae*, or Day of Wrath, and conflagration of all things was at hand, pervaded the minds of all classes throughout Christendom,—a wild and fanatical conviction, the result of ages of theological teaching and priestly sway, which completed the wretchedness, shiftlessness, and gloom of mediæval mankind. Everything went into the coffers of the Church, and theology and the priesthood were all in all. There was utter mental and moral stupefaction paralyzing the human mind throughout Europe. Ignorance, pestilence, and religious fanaticism had culminated. There was no lower deep to be sounded. Either the human race, or that portion of it which constituted Christendom, had got to recover its manhood, self-respect, pluck, and enterprise, or sink into general and hopeless idiocy and imbecility.

Well may the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the centuries in which the European man began to vindicate his nature and extricate himself from the strangling coils of theological superstition—be called the period of the Renaissance; that is, of the rebirth or re-creation of humanity. A dayspring of light and knowledge, of mechanical invention and terrestrial discovery, dawned. The printing-press was invented and set in motion; the New World was found beyond the Atlantic Ocean, which had been up to that time known as the *Sea of Shadows;* Luther set at defiance the supreme authority of the Church; and, above all, the old manly Greek poetry, philosophy, and history, with their stalwart ideals of a free and free-thinking

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manhood, were recovered, and fascinated European scholars, causing them to despise monkish ideals of abject humility, holy indolence, self-abasement, and unquestioning submission, and to take for models of character, instead, the heroes of Greece and Rome, who were full of resolution, a noble pride, and a dauntless spirit of resistance to tyranny of all sorts. Men began to say that this life and the world are good things to be enjoyed to the utmost.

The Europe of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries began to glow with the spirit and genius of the great ages of Greece. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as it were, shook hands across the intervening gulf of time with the old Greek heroic age and with the ages of Themistocles, Pericles, Pheidias, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, and the Ptolemies. The higher classes in Italy, even the popes,—*e.g.*, Leo X.,—became paganized. Free, reflective thought after the manner of the old independent Greek thinkers and seekers after truth began to take the place of the futile subtleties of the Schoolmen, of Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas.

In the language of Taine, "After the terrible night of the Middle Age and the dolorous legends of spirits and the damned, it was a delight again to see Olympus shining from Greece: its heroic and beautiful divinities once more ravished the hearts of men," and made them turn away in disgust from "the mediæval images and paintings of the attenuated Christ,—a miserable, distorted, and bleeding earth-worm,—the pale and ugly Virgin,—a poor old peasant woman, fainting beside the cross of her son,—from ghastly martyrs, dried up with fasts, with entranced eyes, and from knotty-fingered saints with sunken chests." Art was revived in the Grecian spirit; and the theatre and drama were revived, resulting in England in that unparalleled Shaksperean drama, which still delights and instructs the world, and will do so forever. For Shakspere belongs to the Renaissance as well as Luther and Columbus.

Thus did European man in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries arouse himself from the stupor of the Middle Ages, and begin to reassert his manhood and intellectual and moral rights of free thought and free inquiry.

After a lapse of nearly four hundred years, the world has reached another renaissance or period of rebirth and re-creation, when society is visibly undergoing a process of reconstruction on entirely new bases, moral, social, political, and intellectual. Now, not this or that form of speculative belief and opinion is discarded or modified or reformed; but men refuse to be guided by speculative beliefs altogether, and will conform to nothing but the light of positive knowledge. They neither affirm nor deny anything in regard to an alleged future state of existence, in regard to the controlling power of the universe and other theological subjects; but they say that they are here concerned with the present life solely, and that their aim is to make man and society what they ought to be, according to the dictates of the higher reason. This means intelligence, competence, and a free, intelligent activity for all men and women without distinction of race or hue.

As I have said, the advanced nations are now no longer interested in a merely speculative morality and religion. They demand realization and practical results in the shape of an actual moral, social, political, and intellectual elevation of all men of all races from the slough of ignorance and poverty and viciousness, in which the vast majority of the race still wallows and flounders. Could Bacon, the great scientific thinker of the first renaissance, revisit the world, he would find his grandest dreams of the possibilities of knowledge and invention more than realized in Europe and America to-day. He would exclaim: "I was indeed a truthful prophet of the future! Only, the reality has surpassed my wildest and most magnificent dreams. Behold, the ends of the earth whisper to each other in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye! The earth through knowledge and science and a rational morality can indeed become and is actually becoming such a 'New Atlantis' as I sketched prophetically. It is evident enough that the azure deeps of air are shortly to become the regions of travel and locomotion for man. He is nearly ripe for such a splendid consummation, as I clearly foresaw centuries ago that he sooner or later would be." Such would be the exclamations of Bacon, if he could revisit this sublunar sphere in the current year; and such is the altered and current mood of the human race, or the civilized portion of it, at the present time. Popular intelligence, popular renovation, and popular freedom, and competence as the fruit and reward of such a renovation, are now the goals of human endeavor; and they will be attained, despite all temporary discouragements and obstruction. For the Grand Collective Man is becoming at last self-conscious, and is moving intelligently, and no longer blindly groping toward his ends and aims.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALISM.

A Reply to Miss Hardaker.

Editors of The Index:—

Having been more than ordinarily interested in the paper by Miss Hardaker on Socialism, contained in your issue of August 3, may I be permitted, as one of the "undisciplined workingmen," of "faulty intellectual equipment," of "low powers," and "foreign extraction," with whom she seems somewhat disgusted, to offer thereon a few comments in self-defence.

Miss Hardaker's clear, vigorous style I admire, and envy her her scholarly knowledge of the subject of which she treats, and so feel diffident in calling in question any of her conclusions, my "equipment" being necessarily limited, to an unfortunate extent, to experience and reflection, and crippled by the curse of "centuries of Old World degradation." Yet, somehow, I cordially assent to the healthy sentiments expressed by your correspondent on the necessity of cultivating a self-reliant spirit, and have no faith in any theory or system that would lessen the use of such a virtue. Communism, pure and simple, is of course subversive of this faculty; but the system of communism now in vogue I look upon as even worse than the one Miss Hardaker defends. This is condemned by the experience we have had of it, while communism never has had a fair trial. Miss Hardaker and I will concede to each other the right to differ a little on this point. She says it has failed after forty trials. Would we be justified in pronouncing sheep-raising for profit an illusion on general principles, because we had failed to make it pay in a paddock? Is it fairly trying communism to attempt its development to successful results under governments organized on principles utterly inimical to its aims? Is it fairly judging it to deduce inferences from the inevitable failure of those agricultural, pastoral, or industrial experiments made by small communities, whose very existence almost has depended at the same time on exterior facilities and systems of communication, transportation, and finance, over which they had no control? Yet these same systems and facilities are necessary to civilized life, and to that part of the population manipulating these extensive interests lavishly fall the luxuries of wealth; so that, unless we can turn to a better stand-point from which to attack the communistic idea than actual attempts to give it a trial have yet afforded, until a more comprehensive experiment has been made, the siege must be raised. That stand-point, however, is found in human nature, in the love of approbation, of liberty, of action, hope, and less meritorious attributes pertaining thereto, which communism would suppress, if it were possible. Individualism, in giving these same human attributes too much liberty, makes a mistake less only in degree, not in kind. Our hope lies in a medium course.

What we mostly need in the present stage of our political development is a legislative limitation to excessive individual gain, so that the little fishes be not all gobbled up. Miss Hardaker says that "the socialist imagines that some governmental device can save him from the consequences of his own folly," and that "the present loud cry of socialism is for the nationalization of the land." Well, was it not a device of government that created the system of individual property in land? And shall not society cure itself on the homœopathic plan, if it wants to? My belief is that, if we have to thank literature for shedding any light on this question, Henry George deserves it, of all authors, for *proving* the harmfulness and unjustifiableness of the system of private property in land. "Rousseau," says Miss Hardaker, "is responsible for French communism and German socialism, although his ideas have been variously supplemented and modified by later reformers"; and she might have added *by the exigencies of the case*, with no loss of force to the statement. Rousseau, like Henry George, spoke of what he saw, giving utterance to truth; but the truth existed and exists independently of those who give it utterance. So I hope Miss Hardaker will let Rousseau off for part of the blame.

Miss Hardaker says of socialism that "a wrong premise vitiates the whole plan [to think of all the plans that have been spoiled that way!]; namely, that the competent are bound to assure the comfort of the incompetent." Yet, in the same breath does she not give an inferential but decided indorsement of the "governmental device" of testamentary bequests? I had long labored under the impression that the heirs of self-made millionnaires were, as a class, the *most* incompetent and *most* needing a homily on self-reliance of any,—more even than "the undisciplined and hungry millions of faulty intellectual equipment and low powers," familiar to your correspondent.

Sirs, the open discussion of this subject is of the utmost importance. Free discussion may preclude the necessity of more radical measures. Therefore, I trust that loyalty to the principles upheld by *The Index* will induce you to give my say a place in its columns. Miss Hardaker has done well to challenge a discussion, which I hope to see maintained to some purpose. For my part, the deep interest I feel in this subject is my excuse for venturing on ground generally held sacred to literary excellence that I admire, but cannot duplicate. F. HARMER.

MANISTEE, MICH., Aug. 6, 1882.

COMTEISM,—DOES IT SOLVE THE QUESTION?

Editors of The Index:—

Having read Mr. Frey's article (*Index*, August 3) with intense pleasure and interest, I am still anxious for more light. It is unquestionably true that, with the advance in civilization and knowledge, the mental conceptions of the race have undergone modification and are of a purer and higher type. It is undoubtedly true that there is a strong tide in the direction of the more practical, moral, philanthropic, humanitarian side of life; and this setting of the current seems destined to sweep away the theoretic and theologic philosophy on which the churches and sects have hitherto predicated their religion. I am vividly cognizant of the drift toward the worship of humanity. I feel its power. It has great fascination and plausibility. Science is too abstract and abstruse for the common people. They everywhere say: We can't see through it. Give us the old familiar, well-known ways, or some practical moral work. They care little for abstract theory, true or false. They have no patience with the substitution of an impersonal power or force for Deity. They want the personal attributes of human being, feeling, love, for their adoration and worship. They take readily to the concrete embodiment of the higher elements of life in any human shape, and they insist on a religion as the basis of morality and obligation.

Mr. Frey states these points concisely, clearly, and truly. One cannot help admiring his statement. But, nevertheless, we are bound to look beneath as well as upon the surface, at the abstract philosophy of truth no less than the concrete inheritance of old errors and predilections. We cannot help asking, Is it scientific, is it true, that we must stop short in our philosophy of the Infinite, suspend its purification from ancient anthropomorphic elements, and, for the sake of the popularity of the human, traditional habit, build on that which, it is admitted, is vanishing and changing from age to age? Undoubtedly, a popular working religion must take in the human, personal elements, for ordinary humanity will not worship the abstract; and, if the common notion of a creating, supervising, personal Deity be dropped, the term "religion" must be dropped also, or an entire new signification be given it. But must our science of what is objectively and at bottom true in nature, our philosophy of things, be made subjectively conformable to inherited human feelings?

Must science give way to sentiment? Is worship more important than knowledge? Are the leaders of sects and the founders of religions the chief and true benefactors of humanity? Mr. Frey's argument seems to imply this; for, while admitting the truth of much of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, his argument is that the strength of the religious sentiment has not decreased with the growth of knowledge, but has actually grown stronger, and will never be satisfied

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with abstract truth. "We know," he says, "how incomplete and contradictory science is"; and "to go to science without a guiding ideal is the same as to pick up everything which may suit one's fancy or propensities."

What and whence is this "guiding ideal"? Is it a tradition or an inspiration? If one of the human elements, and not infallible, how is it more than the "symbolic image," or relative conception, which Mr. Spencer admits?

If, as Mr. Frey argues, religious enthusiasm, in the later religions, retains its vigor because "the human element becomes stronger and clearer," and "the beneficial influence of every religion is based mostly on its human element," what is to hinder equally beneficial enthusiasm for humanity proceeding from human knowledge of human relationships, irrespective of any element of religious mystery? If God is not, as most religions affirm he is, a personal manager of human affairs, who can be influenced by prayers, where is the necessity of the God element as a basis of morality? Religion, in any ordinary acceptation of the term, is by no manner of means necessary to a good and true life; and I cannot admit that science and our knowledge of things are subordinate to the passions and fickle sentiments of human nature. Without science, human nature would itself be sadly off. A. N. A.

FAIR HAVEN, VT., Aug. 6, 1882.

THE WESTERN UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

Apropos of your editorial comment on W. C. G.'s article in *Unity*, in which he regrets that the last Western Conference should have refused to insert the words "freedom, fellowship, and character" into its articles of incorporation, will you permit me a word in justification of the action of the Conference? It did decline for various and sufficient reasons to insert this clause into an instrument framed for purely business purposes, and so to make this formula binding on the reason and conscience of all succeeding sessions of the Conference. But it did pass by a unanimous vote the following:—

Resolved, That this session of the Western Unitarian Conference, for 1882, wishes to place it on record that it interprets Unitarianism in no narrower sense than "intelligence, freedom, fellowship, character, helpfulness, and reverence in religion."

By request of W. C. G. however, who had originally offered the foregoing phrase as a part of the intended articles of incorporation, this vote was reconsidered and the resolution tabled. The whole proceeding was candid and kindly, and the vote showed that sides were taken without reference to theological opinions and on other grounds.

After this showing, I think the regrets of W. C. G. and your editorial comment are not justified. For myself, I read the Unitarian movement, especially at the West, very differently, and find its tendencies growing more and more radical and broad.

C. W. W.

NEWPORT, R.I., Aug. 4, 1882.

[C. W. W.'s justification is partly not new, and, so far as it is, passing strange. That "freedom, fellowship, and character" could possibly be thought to have the danger in it of *binding* the reason and conscience reveals a sensitiveness with regard to freedom which surpasses all that even the Free Religious Association has ever asked for. If such is the state of mind of the Western Unitarian Conference, we think it is in a bad way, and suggest to the next National Unitarian Conference, which we believe meets this fall, that it institute an investigation, and, if there are no gentler means, that it refuse fellowship with the Western Conference, as it once did with the Free Religious Association.

But we suspect there was a trifling bit of *Heuchelei* in this motive; and in any case, to speak seriously ourselves, we have no doubt there are "broad and radical tendencies" among Western Unitarians. But, if they are tendencies that really trust themselves, why is a name clung to, which we should think would have forever lost its prestige in the eye of "broad and radical" men, after the action of the National Conference at Syracuse in 1867? We mean, of course, the Unitarian name. It is this that gives an air of inconsequence to protestations such as the resolution which C. W. W. quotes contains; and possibly, though it is a mere conjecture on our part, it was the failure to do a great thing and the content at passing a resolution that induced Mr. Gannett to request its reconsideration. Let us not be understood as undervaluing the labors of the men who have given the distinctive character to Western Unitarianism in the last ten years. They are not thrown away either for the present or the future. But the end of their labors will be in the *complete* victory of the tendencies which they are now serving so well in part,—and, we regret to say, only in part. Meanwhile, the choice for others, who have not Unitarianism in their blood any more than in their reason, is to anticipate this victory, and, taking now as their foundation stone "a moral purpose in religion rather than any intellectual beliefs whatever" (to quote Mr. Gannett's words), to build up upon it, openly and avowedly as well as impliedly, and so in a measure help to fulfil the prophecy of old Unitarianism and the better purposes of Western Unitarians themselves.—ED.]

A LETTER FROM LILIAN WHITING.

Editors of The Index:—

Will you kindly permit me to correct an error occurring in the last number of your always vigorous and inspiring journal, regarding a statement made by me? *The Index* quotes a paragraph from a letter of mine, written from Newport to the *Daily Traveller*, regarding the "Newport Unity Club," when, instead, I referred to the Unity Club of Cincinnati, a society that existed in that city under the pastorate of the Rev. C. W. Wendte, who has so recently been installed pastor of the Channing Memorial Church at Newport. If *The Index* will permit me to present the paragraph referred to, the context will indicate the facts regarding this, the Cincinnati Unity Club:—

The Channing Memorial is singularly fortunate in the pastor it has installed, Rev. C. W. Wendte. Mr. Wendte is a Harvard man, of the class of '69. Soon after graduating, he accepted a call to Chicago, where he organized the Fourth Unitarian Society, and remained there some six years, when he was called to Cincinnati by what were then the "two wings" of a greatly divided Unitarian society. Among his notable predece-sors there were Moncure D. Conway, Rev. Wm. H. Channing, and, for a period of six months, Rev. Dr. Bartol, of Boston. Mr. Wendte accepted the double call to Cincinnati by uniting both divisions into one, and his long pastorate in the Queen City was one of almost unexampled prosperity. Old differences were healed by the vital power of a new and growing faith, while his intellectual rank and practical power made Mr. Wendte one of the most valuable of citizens. It was under his ministrations that the famous "Unity Club" of Cincinnati grew up,—an association of social and intellectual culture, that inaugurated the system of Sunday-afternoon lectures by noted men, for the merely nominal price of ten cents' admittance. The Opera House was engaged, and the people crowded it from orchestra to upper gallery. Among the speakers who have addressed the immense audiences of the Unity Club lectures have been Prof. Richard Proctor, of England; Prof. Morse, of Salem; Mrs. Livermore; Rev. Mr. Savage; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; Miss Mary F. Eastman; John Jacob Holyoake, of England, and other notable men and women. These courses of lectures contributed in a greater degree than will ever be known, perhaps, to the intellectual growth of the community.

Since *The Index* has done me the honor to refer twice to this letter in its columns, may I beg to present from it a little matter of literary interest, for whose knowledge I am indebted to Mr. Wendte, of a forthcoming work from the Rev. Dr. Brooks? The reference made in the letter to the *Traveller* was as follows: -

The culmination, however, of his life-work is soon to appear in a translation of a long poem of Rückert's *Wisdom of the Brahmins*, a work conveying the philosophy of Hinduism as does the *Light of Asia* that of Buddhism. This work is to be published immediately by Messrs. Roberts Brothers. It will appear in six volumes, the poem written in hexameters. Last week, Rabbi Sonnesschein, of St. Louis, a man whose erudition is celebrated in two hemispheres, was here in Newport, and examined with Dr. Wendte the proofs of Dr. Brooks' forthcoming work. It is pronounced by these learned divines one of the most remarkable translations the world has ever witnessed. It has been an Herculean task. It will be remembered that the Brahmin literature is intricate with its interwoven apologues and parables, copious in many-sided metaphors, and containing that depth of significance and wealth of imagery peculiar to Oriental literature. The English language contains no correspondence to this intricate structure, which can only be given in it by an absolute mastery of its whole scope by the translator, whose reproduction is so great and so original a work that to call it a translation is really a misnomer. Dr. Brooks' work will be received with great attention now on account of the recent and widely absorbing interest awakened in Oriental literature. Max Müller's works have largely stimulated this trend of thought, as have the deep researches into the Chinese and Persian literature made by the late Samuel Johnson of Boston. This intellectual drift is revealing to us a new world of thought, of hidden significance, and of certain spiritual laws that have influenced the destiny and the direction of new civilizations.

The error in locating the Unity Club in Newport rather than in Cincinnati was a very natural one to a casual reader of the letter; and, fearing that I have encroached on your space at a rate altogether disproportionate to the slight importance of the matter, I am, Respectfully yours,

LILIAN WHITING.

A FRIEND, thinking Mr. Chadwick's letter on Emerson and Walt Whitman, lately copied from the New York *Tribune* into this journal, does injustice to Mr. O'Connor, to whom it was a reply, has sent us a rejoinder by Mr. O'Connor, which was also printed in the *Tribune*. Its extreme length prevents our giving it entire; but the following extract contains the gist of Mr. O'Connor's defence, which we give without comment. Mr. Chadwick's letter, with Walt Whitman's statement in the *Critic*, upon which the letter was based, can be found in *The Index* of July 27.

In retraction of his letter of 1855, he uttered not one word, nor—let Mr. Chadwick mark it well—did he utter one word on *moral* grounds concerning anything in the volume. How could he? Mr. Chadwick himself says: "I do not believe that Mr. Whitman has written a line which is not pure and high in its intention." How could Emerson urge on moral grounds anything against a poetry containing not "a line which is not pure and high in its intention"? Mr. Emerson's arguments simply consisted of a splendid and sincere unfolding of the technical, literary, and conventional points applicable, with a view to induce Walt Whitman to conform to them, and leave out some lines in his volume. Of the higher reasons for leaving those lines in, he said not a syllable; and, years ago, Walt Whitman, talking with several of us here in reference to this interview, said that, apart from Emerson's solicitude for him, it was the saddest conversation he ever had in his life, inasmuch as Emerson, in all his copious and splendid talk concerning the mooted passages, had, after all, nothing better to urge than that their withdrawal would make the book sell better.

In a recent letter to me, Walt Whitman says:—

"What made, and ever makes, the argument of Emerson in that walk on the Common dear and holy to me, was its personal affectionateness, as of an elder brother to a younger. It was a vehement, even passionate, well-wishing, which I felt then, and feel to this hour, the gratitude and reverence of my life could never repay. Although perfect from an intellectual and conventional point of view, it did not advance anything I had not already considered. And my *arrière* and citadel positions—such as I have indicated in my June *North American Review* memorandum—were not only not attacked, they were not even alluded to."

Mr. Chadwick may try to say that, if Walt Whitman had any case to state, that hour with Emerson in 1860 was the time. On the contrary, the question of the poet's eternal duty to his day and generation being laid in abeyance, and the question of deference to convention being alone brought forward, I think that Walt Whitman's silence was the sublimer answer. It is in times like these that speech is silver, but silence is gold. It is obvious that Emerson's arguments did not touch Walt Whitman's principle of treatment in sexual matters, which was a moral one, or rather one which involved the vertebra of all morals. He urged instead, though with trenchant power and grace, conventional and technical literary considerations. These considerations Walt Whitman had long dwelt upon in his own mind, and he was anxious to hear the utmost that could be said upon them. And now, when he had heard what the best critic of the age could say, and in his inmost soul and brain remained untouched, his final resolution was taken. What he sought to do in *Children of Adam* for human purity seemed, he once told some of us here, all the more necessary after that conversation with Emerson. From that time, however interest might point, his duty was plain.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for July contains a spirited drama on Garibaldi, opening with his famous speech on leaving Rome in 1849. "Let us march! The glory of Rome and the liberty of Italy will follow us everywhere. Let him who offers them a worship unconquerable follow me. I ask only for hearts full of love to our country. I can offer you nothing but famine, thirst, the rocks for your pillows, forced marches, bayonet charges of one against a hundred for your

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only pleasures, and for your sole rest the death of the brave. He who loves glory and liberty, and does not despair of Italy, will follow me." Other subjects are "Civilization in China," the "Derby Races at Epsom," "Agénor de Gasparin," and the "Difficulties of a National Literature in Belgium." In view of the large part of our own great authors who have passed away or ceased to write, it might be well for some magazine in this country to consider the difficulty of keeping up our literature in America.

SCHMEITZNER'S *Internationale Monatsschrift* for June.—Our readers will like the views of this new magazine on theology and politics, and welcome its use of large type and the English alphabet. Perhaps there are too many continued articles, but that beginning with this number on Bruno Bauer promises admirably. This recently expired champion of liberalism was not so scholarly as C. F. Baur, but more in sympathy with the popular struggle for freedom. He is fitly compared to a sexton who has locked the door of the old church and put away the key, and it is particularly interesting to read how he spent the money Greeley paid him for writing on European politics in having these articles republished in Germany. The short view of Bismarck's present position is also very valuable.

THE *Sanitarian* for August opens with a long though interesting abstract of a speech giving "The Status of Education in the United States," by Senator H. W. Blair, of New Hampshire. "Tree Preservation," "The Influence of Woman on Village Adornment," "The Duty of the President in the Case of Guiteau" from the doctor's point of view, "State Medicine," and the report of "The National Association for Sanitary and Rural Improvements" are the titles of some of the longer articles. Dr. A. N. Bell, editor, 113 Fulton Street, New York.

FROM the *Sunday Review*, a quarterly magazine published in London by Trübner & Co., and devoted to the secularization of Sunday, we learn that the late Dean Stanley was a strong friend of the Sunday movement. The *Review* for July contains reports of interesting speeches before the Sunday Society and the spicy debate on the subject in the House of Commons which took place in May last.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

PROF. VAN BUREN DENSLOW is the recently elected President of the Chicago Philosophical Society.

A STATUE to August Mariette, "Mariette Bey," the distinguished Egyptologist, was unveiled with imposing ceremonies on July 16, at his native city, Boulogne.

THE real name of "A. Wilford Hall," author of the *Problem of Human Life*, which is having so great a circulation among ignorant thinkers, is Alexander Hall.

QUEEN ELIZABETH of Roumania, who writes under the pseudonyme of "Carmen Sylva," has recently been elected a member of the Roumanian Academy of Sciences.

ADIRONDACK MURRAY has written a letter denying that he is living a sinful life in poverty in Texas. He says he is making money on a sheep ranche, and is "walking uprightly before God."

"ZION'S HERALD," mentioning Mr. Abbot's "very able critical notice of Prof. Bowne's *Metaphysics*" printed in *The Index* recently, remarks, "The Professor will respect the fairness of his critic, but will hardly yield his *pou sto*."

THE wife of Charles Dickens is described by one who knew her personally as a pretty little woman with beautiful, heavy-lidded, large blue eyes, a good forehead, nose slightly *retroussé*, small mouth, with red, smiling lips, and a rather retreating chin. She was in early life cheerful, good-natured, and witty, and apparently devoted to her husband.

OF Edwin Arnold, a London correspondent says: "He has an intense face, full of the fire of concentrated purpose. He has the poet's eye, which seems always to see things far away and invisible to other mortals. There is not an atom of pretence or "shop" in his manner: he is simple and unaffected, as the great mass of these honest English folk are sure to be found."

"I HAVE a new reason," wrote Emerson to Carlyle, "why I should not come to England,—a blessed babe, named Ellen, almost three weeks old, a little fair, soft lump of contented humanity, incessantly sleeping, and with an air of incurious security that says she has come to stay, has come to be loved,—which has nothing mean and quite piques me." This was the present Ellen, so great a help to him in his old age.

SIR GARNET WOLSELEY, who has just gone out to take command in Egypt, is very quick and brisk in his ways, with a trim military appearance, and great readiness of adaptation to change of circumstances. He possesses Napoleon's faculty of taking at a glance the measure of a man, and knowing how best to use his ability. He has succeeded in every position in which he has been placed. Like Sir Frederick Roberts, England's other great general, he is an Irishman from near Dublin.

THE Rev. Mr. Brand of Oberlin, Ohio, whose sermon about Druggist Bronson, a sly rumseller, has led to a suit for damages, wound up the discourse by addressing Bronson thus: "Good men shall breathe freer at thy death and utter thanksgiving when thou art gone. Men shall place thy gravestone as a monument and a testimony that a plague is stayed; and as, borne on the blast, thy guilty spirit whistles toward the gates of hell, the hideous shrieks of those whom thou hast destroyed shall pierce thee,—hell's first welcome."

GEN. G. K. WARREN, the head of the engineer department of the Newport district, died at Newport, R.I., on the 8th inst., aged fifty-two. His death is said to have been hastened by the delay in making known the result of the recent proceedings before the court of inquiry into his conduct at the battle of Five Forks, which he secured from President Garfield. The evidence before the court completely exonorated him, but the mortification of remaining under the charges until the results were published preyed upon his spirits with sad effect.

COMMENTING on the nomination by President Arthur of William Astor in place of George P. Marsh, the New York *Sun* says: "Mr. Marsh was a poor man and a very distinguished scholar. Mr. Astor is one of the richest men in the world, and as a scholar one of the most undistinguished." But to this is added a quotation from the Philadelphia *Press* that "the present appointment is irreproachable. Mr. Astor's table manners are excellent. And the chief purpose of our diplomatic establishment in the lesser European States is to demonstrate in an international way the existence of table manners in this country."

"HENRY SLADE," says the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, "has had fine success in this city [Chicago] the past week, and the affable clerks at the Crawford House have been kept busy by those calling to see him. Mr. Slade is so well pleased with the intelligent spirit of investigation he finds here that he promises to return in September, and thinks strongly of remaining during the winter. On Sunday last, he gave a running sketch of his life to an audience which filled every seat in Martine's Hall. He spoke for over two hours, and we are informed by many who were present that the interest was very great." Mr. Slade's "fine success" at Chicago followed immediately after his exposure and confession of fraud at Belleville, Ont.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, who, as mentioned in another column, has been so stirred by the beauty and majesty of the Roman Catholic churches of Paris, would have felt himself even more sublimely stirred in the vast pagan temple of Diana of the Ephesians, or that of the celestial Venus at Carthage, or that of Jupiter Olympus at Elis. In those temples, he would have found vaster "proportions and lovelier details" of architecture and art, and mightier throngs of devout worshippers kneeling in their perfumed "atmosphere of worship," while a hundred altars exhaled the steam of frankincense, and gorgeous processions, in lovely vestments, of youths and maidens, deployed in their precincts. For, in truth, the pomp of Roman Catholic worship is but a poor and tawdry imitation of the old pagan cults, and Roman Catholic churches are but poor imitations of the old Ionian and Doric temples. For the genius that reared these latter edifices perished with the old Hellenic race, and will never be known again on earth. Meantime, Romanism is a lineal daughter of the old Hellenic and Roman paganism, and exhibits the pomp of the latter to the extent of its ability.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 85.
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Human Society and its Classes, Wm. J. Potter, ... 86
The Chinese Question, E. D. Cheney, ... 86
Are Agnostics Ascetics? F. M. Holland, ... 87
Dr. James' Defence of Faith, W. M. Salter, ... 88
EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 89
POETRY.
The Mystery, B. W. Ball, ... 90
ESSAY.
Emerson and Theodore Parker (concluded), Edwin D. Mead, ... 90
CORRESPONDENCE.
A National Free Conference, Edward C. Towne, . . . 92
Mr. Mitchell's Reply to Mr. Savage, ... 92
Mind a Superior Force, Subscriber, ... 93
Chinese Equity, J. M. Latta, ... 93
What Poverty Means, M. M., ... 94
A Frank Letter from "the Piney Woods of Mississippi," S. F. Smurr, ... 94
Are our Mobocrats always Foreigners? C. P., ... 94
MISCELLANEOUS, ... 94
BOOK NOTICES.
Popular Science Monthly, ... 94
Scribner's, Catholic World, Wide Awake, ... 95
PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 95

CURRENT TOPICS.

TEN thousand people attended the Spiritualist camp-meeting at Lake Pleasant, Mass., last Sunday.

THE rapidity with which Darwin's views have found acceptance among scientific men is, said George Ripley, "without a parallel in the history of knowledge."

PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH, on seconding a vote of thanks to Lord Reay for his address to the Coöperative Congress in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, May 29, 1882, said: "England has escaped, as Lord Reay said in his address, in some measure, from the severe friction, and worse than friction, of the industrial movement in other countries. She owes that exemption, no doubt, to very various causes,—to the good sense and sterling character of her workingmen, and to the generally liberal character of her institutions [hear! hear!]; but she owes it, among other causes, to this,—that the movement has had far better leaders here than it has had elsewhere. [Hear! hear!] It has been led by men like Mr. Holyoake [applause], who were not self-seekers, who were not demagogues, who had nothing at heart but the real interest of the working class, and who, when conflicts arose between employers and employés, were not for interminable war, to their own profit, but for peace, with justice."

THE *Scientific American* concludes an article on the display of auroral light on the night of August 4th as follows: "The cause of these auroral outbursts is a question of universal interest. The sun is now passing through the maximum period of sun spots, and a condition of great disturbance agitates his fiery mass. It is generally believed that sun spots and aurora bear to each other the relation of cause and effect. No human being has ever yet found out why a storm in the sun is followed by a display of auroral light in our atmosphere. Nothing in modern astronomy is more desired than a solution of the mysterious relation existing between the sun and his family of worlds. For, doubtless, when our skies are illumined with auroral light, every planet in the system responds to the same all-pervading power. No one knows how many centuries of observation must pass before the key is found to solve the mystery. But, in some unexpected hour, light will break forth from the darkness, and the secret of the sun's physical structure will be comprehended."

THE Boston *Sunday Budget* urges the following considerations in favor of cremation: "It is less repulsive than burial to any one with the smallest smattering of chemical or physiological knowledge, and absolutely harmless to the living, which the most ignorant person knows that burial is not. Furthermore, its general adoption would put an end to the disgusting quarrels which too often take place over plots of ground, sacred to the dead but coveted by the living on account of their value to trade; for each family may be the custodian of its own ancestor's remains if it choose, and, even if the ashes should be deposited in some public receptacle, their removal could cause no ill-feeling, since it would not be attended by any of those sickening incidents which cause the least sentimental of men to revolt against changing a body's place of sepulture. The prejudice of the vulgar against cremation is naturally stronger than that of the sentimental, and seems to rest on a vague impression that Omnipotence may not at the general resurrection be quite equal to reuniting atoms separated by rapid combustion, although slow combustion under ground offers no obstacles to miraculous power. This belief will outlast every other prejudice; but it will probably give way at last, and cremation will be the prevalent method of disposing of the dead among civilized nations."

REV. N. H. CHAMBERLIN, on the 13th, preached a sermon in St. John's Episcopal Church, East Boston, on "Christianity and Ralph Waldo Emerson," in which he said: "Mr. Emerson was not a Christian, and did not claim to be a Christian. He definitely rejected, for reasons which he set forth, historical Christianity as a solecism and an error. Some loose talkers have called him a Christian; but, if he is to be admitted to the Christian fold, Christianity might as well commit suicide. If Mr. Emerson can say there is no need of Jesus Christ and still be a Christian, Christianity is logically dead. Mr. Emerson exhibits a peculiar case of casuistry in character. His character was so pure and untainted that it seemed he must be a Christian; but Socrates, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius were pure men without being Christians. God has his altar in the heart of every man, which teaches the man to seek him even in the dark. But men are named from the leader they acknowledge and follow,—Kantians from Kant, Hegelians from Hegel, Christians from Christ. Mr. Emerson did not follow Christ more than he did other great and good men. He had Christianity in his blood, silently influencing and sustaining him, as all men have who live in a Christian country; but Christ was not acknowledged as his leader and God. Mr. Emerson was a pantheist; and pantheism takes the soul from Christianity, and takes personality from immortality."

THE question, "Are the poor growing poorer?" receives important light from some statistical references in an article by Hon. Carroll D. Wright in the July *Princeton Review*. The wage-receivers, he says, are now asking whether they are being paid the proper proportion of the results of production, the fact being that the cost of living has advanced and is advancing at a more rapid rate than the rate of wages. Strikes are symptomatic of this fact. For example, the average increase of wages from 1878 to 1881–82, in a large number of industries, was six and nine-tenths per cent., while the cost of the means of living has increased twenty-one and two-tenths per cent. From 1860 to 1878, wages, indeed, increased in a higher ratio than the cost of living; and the increase for the entire period 1860 to 1881–82 is found to be thirty-one and two-tenths per cent. in wages and forty-one and three-tenths in prices of necessaries of living. "That is, between 1860 and 1881, the workingman has suffered a reduction of ten per cent. in the purchasing power of his wages, and this between a dead-level year and one of general prosperity." Still, Mr. Wright regards this as a temporary state of things, and looks for truer conditions in the near future. Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers, in his *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, of which the third and fourth volumes have recently appeared, does not draw very cheering conclusions from the mass of data which he has so laboriously gathered. A passage quoted in a recent *Nation* is worth reproducing here: "They [*i. e.*, the conclusions] are stated in the briefest possible form, when I refer to the fact that, while the rise, during the last forty-two years of the period before me [1540–1582], in the price of provisions, was two and seventy-one hundredths, the prices of the previous one hundred and forty years being taken as unity, the rise in the price of labor and of objects whose main value depended upon labor was only one and sixty-four hundredths. These figures concentrate the results derivable from an analysis of facts. . . . They tell of the long cloud which was coming over the old sunshine of labor, and show how it was that the mass of the people was about to exchange a condition of comparative opulence and comfort for penury and misery, unhappily prolonged for centuries. From the Reformation [under Cromwell] till the Revolution [1688], the condition of the English laborer grew darker and darker. From the Revolution to the outbreak of the war of American Independence, his lot was a little lightened, but only by the plenty of the seasons and the warmth of the sun. From the war of American Independence to the repeal of the Corn Laws, it was at its very worst." Very pertinently does the *Nation* reviewer say: "It is one thing for an agitator to make such statements: it is quite another when they are given as the result of scholarly and temperate research. It shows us that there does exist a social question."

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HUMAN SOCIETY AND ITS CLASSES.

In his Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle Paul said, "We are every one members one of another." About the same time, Paul's Roman contemporary, the philosopher Seneca, wrote: "We are members of one great body; nature has made us kindred, . . . and implanted in us mutual love." And in the same Rome, a number of years before, Cicero had said, "It is the duty of mankind to love the members of society as themselves." Sentences like these are found in all the great religions. Investigations in social science are disclosing the fact that the significance of them applies not only to the members of society individually, but to the relation between the different classes of society. The classes of society, to a certain extent, are necessary to each other; and, therefore, each of them is *vitally*, and hence should be *morally*, interested in the well-being of all the others. It is not necessary to the perfection of society, or to a just equilibrium of rights, that all people should be at the same level of material possessions or of mental capacity or of practical power. It would be a positive detriment, if all mankind were of one physical or mental type, if all were exactly fitted to the same kind of work, and all had desires to achieve the same things. Nature, in all her processes of evolution and growth, seeks differentiation, variety. This is the very essence of the creative and world-building tendency in her processes,—from one to many, from singleness of germ to manifoldness of product. And the future strength of the human race depends, very essentially, on the present varieties of type, of talent, of national stock and temperament of which the race consists, and each of which is to make its special contribution to the coming humanity. None is to be sacrificed, not even the poorest and lowest; while each is to be lifted up and benefited by the common progress of all.

Two very serious mistakes have been made on this point with regard to human progress. One has been specially the mistake of past times. It is the idea that the most enlightened and wealthy and capable classes of society can go on in their own way, follow their own desires and pursuits, achieve their own cultivated aims, and govern the human world by the force of their own superior talent and power, regardless of the great mass of mankind around them. The other is a mistake that is showing itself conspicuously in our own time. It is the notion that all classes of society should be reduced to the same level of material possessions and conditions, and, so far as material possessions are a source of power, to consequent equality of practical power. The first is the mistake of the extreme aristocratic orders of societies; the second, the mistake of the extreme democratic or communistic classes. Both mistakes are alike detrimental to the genuine interests of human progress. The one overlooks or wilfully puts out of sight the welfare of society as a whole: the other disregards the necessary individuality and variety of the parts.

With regard to the first, the principles of social science make it clear that humanity is not to be elevated and improved by an exclusive refining culture at the top. The culture, the educating and uplifting influence, must extend all through the social strata, down to the very base, where humanity still rests, like a heavy, inert mass, on the soil to which it still feels its kindred: else is there no security that the top of the social pyramid will stand to greet the skies. The whole race is so linked together by the necessary conditions of its existence, by the laws of physical and mental heredity, and by the mutual contact and interdependence of class with class, that no part of it can go on in genuine advancement and leave the rest helplessly and hopelessly behind. Social science even asserts that a too select intermarriage among a few families that might be considered at the very topmost point of cultivated intelligence enfeebles both mental and moral power, so strong is nature's intent to carry along the whole race toward perfection. Beyond a certain point, her subtile forces refuse to be employed for the exclusive aggrandizement of the few. They become barren.

On the other hand, the principles of social science make it equally clear that what is needed for the safe and fair structure of society is the very variety of type and ability and temperament and skill which different classes and individuals present. Society thus becomes a complex organism, each organ fitted for and achieving a distinct task; and, hence, the whole range of manifested power, mental, moral, physical, becomes immensely greater than would be the case if any one class, even the generally so-called highest, existed by itself. And society is most healthy and progressive when of these, its various members, each stands robustly and persistently for its own aim, and does at that point the best work possible. The advancement of mankind does not depend on the equalization of conditions, material or mental, or on the levelling of capacities and tasks to one standard; but it depends on the just recognition of equality of rights among all classes and on the faithful discharge of the duties that devolve upon each.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

I.

Having had the good fortune to be in California during the excitement attending the passage of the Chinese bill through Congress, I have availed myself of every opportunity to obtain what information I could on this subject. It is one of the greatest moral questions which has entered into practical politics since the settlement of the slavery question; and I am constantly reminded of the days before the war by the vehemence of discussion in regard to it, and by the influence which prejudice or interest exerts upon men's principles and theories. Like the defenders of slavery, the opponents of Chinese immigration are driven to acknowledge that the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence are against them; and they fall back upon the duty of caring first for ourselves, and they stigmatize the action of their opponents as sentimentality and regard for the rights of other races in preference to our own.

The sectional aspect of the question is lamentable. California newspapers publish violent articles upon Eastern views, endeavoring to show that it is not the broad principle of justice which animates the opponents of the bill, but merely the interest of the railroad contractor and manufacturer in opposition to that of the agricultural laborers and ranchmen of California.

All this is greatly to be deplored; but it should not blind our eyes to the real questions involved, for these are of the greatest importance. I shall not discuss the merits of the bill, which is already passed. Having become a law, its effect will be best seen in its workings; and a little time will show whether it is a blessing or a curse to California.

Almost every person who talks on the subject gives different reasons for objecting to the Chinese.

First, is the cooley arrangement. The six companies engage the Chinese to come over here as laborers, and pay their passages, which they are to be repaid by their labor. Until the debt due to the company is paid, the Chinaman is virtually its slave; and he is under the control of his company, and owes allegiance to it rather than to the government. Each company has so much *esprit de corps* that the members will go long distances to trade with others of their company, and all social matters are regulated with reference to it. I have not heard that the companies abuse this power by cruelty to the Chinese; but this custom certainly prevents them from becoming free agents, and does not fit them to take an intelligent part in American life. Railroad managers, factory superintendents, etc., engage their hands from the companies, and the wages are paid to them.

The United States law condemns such engagements, and the companies could not recover the money advanced for their passage; but, as the Chinaman expects to return home, he cares more for the law there than here, and does not dare to break his engagement.

But the most general complaint is that the Chinaman works cheaper than the white man wants to; and, hence, he keeps down the price of labor and prevents the immigration of the whites. The Chinaman "wants but little here below." He works steadily all day long, even far into the night. His dress is cheap, his luxuries are few. He lives mostly on rice and vegetables, with a little pork and shell-fish; and he requires the smallest place to sleep in of any human being. He rarely gets drunk. His only expensive vices are gambling, smoking cigarettes, and the opium carouse. The general verdict is that the Chinaman is a faithful, industrious workman. Even of those who oppose the continued immigration, almost all say, "We could not spare those who are here." They are engaged in nearly every occupation. The shoe trade is largely in their hands. They raise the vegetables, supplying families at so much a week, cheaper than a householder can produce them from his own land. They do the work in families and hotels, as cooks, chambermaids, and waiters. Of course, they differ in ability; but I have seen excellent work in all these departments, and heard of more. Every settlement has a Chinese laundry, which is their social exchange where they meet to discuss their own affairs. They can wash perfectly well, but they do not by any means always do so. Some employers say that a Chinaman cannot do so much hard work in the field as a white man: others say he can, with the same food, but that his diet is insufficient. I do not believe that, on an average, they equal white men in muscular power. I observe that it usually takes two to carry up a trunk which an Irish porter would throw over his shoulder while he carried another in his hand. Still, they are capable of very hard, persistent labor. It is a common thing for Chinamen to engage in the clearing of land. The owner of a wild tract of land, full of old oak and sycamore stumps, agrees to give the Chinaman the use of that land for two or three years, on condition that he returns it to him thoroughly cleared and fit for cultivation. A party of Chinamen set themselves to work upon it. They grub out every root as big as a hand, which they use for firewood; and, during the short time they hold the land, they get off of it enough to pay them for their labor, and return it to the owner ready for the setting out of a vineyard or orange-grove.

The anti-Chinese men reason that all the money which a Chinaman earns, with a very small deduction for living expenses, goes back to China to be expended there; that even his rice and dried meats are brought thence; and that, therefore, California is impoverished to the extent of all that he earns, and nobody but himself is benefited thereby.

It requires an education in political economy to

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expose the fallacy of this view; to show that it is not the possession of gold and silver which makes a country rich, but the development of its resources and the increased productiveness of its soil. Every field reclaimed by the Chinaman, and devoted to the raising of barley or wheat or garden vegetables, is an addition to the wealth of the country: it makes the necessaries of life more abundant and more cheap, entirely apart from the question of what he does with the money which is paid him for it. The money paid to him is only a representative of the benefit he has produced: he may take the representative elsewhere, but the actual thing remains. The railroads which the Chinamen have built will make it possible for the German and the Irishman to come to California, and take their part in its development. As an actual fact, wages in California, if lower than they were in the days of gold excitement, are not so low as in other parts of the country; and, from all classes of employers, you hear the cry of the scarcity of labor and the difficulty of carrying on various industries for the want of it. That the laborer is not down-trodden and despised is evident by the independence of speech and manner characterizing him. The expression "if you please" is said to be quite as necessary in addressing a ploughman as Sir Joseph Porter, K.C.B., thought it should be to a British sailor; and the washerwoman is styled a lady, and the stage-driver a gentleman.

But what is the effect of the Chinaman's dollar or million dollars which he has earned by doing this work, which is imperatively demanded here, and which it is claimed that he sends home to China? If he spends it in China, it has the effect, as far as it goes, of stimulating business there. His wife and children demand more or better food, raiment, and education. Either prices are raised or production is increased: in either case, how does it hurt us? If the Chinaman is better off at home than before, because of this renewed activity, he will be less a rival to our laborer, since he will find more advantage in remaining in China. If he has acquired a knowledge of American manufactures and productions, and prefers them to those of China, he will become a purchaser. The only effect of his taking his money away with him would be to diminish the amount of coin in this country, and so raise its purchasing power. But, by his work in this country in actual mining, he has brought out of the earth gold and silver enough to keep the amount of bullion equal to the demand. I was told at the United States Mint that a very large proportion of all the ores brought there directly for assay and coinage was brought by Chinamen; and, moreover, that they had very large sums of money on deposit, which they did not take to China, probably considering them safer here.

Another class of persons tell you that the Chinaman is smarter and more intelligent than the white laborer; and, therefore, his competition is to be dreaded, as he will live, also, on a much smaller amount than the white laborer can. Where there are industry and economy on the one hand, and idleness and extravagance on the other, we can hardly prevent the former from gaining the day; but it is hard to admit that a Chinaman, with all the odds of language against him and with a heavy debt to pay for his passage, can get the advantage of a sober, industrious white man; and no others deserve success. Yet this idea of competition of labor is one that has great power over those who find it hard to win success in life; and it is said to be mainly the foreign population from Germany and Ireland, themselves engaged in the grand struggle for existence on a foreign soil, who oppose the Chinese laborer most bitterly. But all classes join in this cry. It is the same difficulty as that which occurs from improvements in labor-saving machinery, which does throw men out of employ for a time, but which increases production, and so cheapens the blessings of life to a poor man in the final result.

Others, again, say that the Chinaman is a curse to California by keeping out other immigration, such as that of the Irish, Germans, and Swedes.

But there is still an insufficient supply of labor in the States lying nearer to Europe; and it could therefore be only by paying an extra price for labor, covering the added cost of the journey to California, that European labor could be secured. An additional land passage of three thousand miles is a great item to be considered in transporting emigrants. The Chinaman keeps out the other laborer only in a fair competition by doing the work needed better or cheaper than others can and will.

There is much complaint of the employment of Chinese in household labor in California, and patriotic housekeepers are urged to supply their places with Irish or German servants. But every one knows the difficulty of procuring these, even in the great centres of population like Boston or New York. How, then, can the distant States of Oregon and California be supplied?*

But there are deeper questions than those of material advantages to be considered.

It is asserted that the Chinaman comes to this country without wife and children, and has no intention of becoming a citizen, not even leaving his dead body here, but fully determined to return to his old home. Hence, they are never citizens taking an interest in the welfare of the country, but merely pilgrims and sojourners. When we remember that the Chinese number fifty thousand in San Francisco, and perhaps a hundred and fifty thousand in the State, this would be no inconsiderable body, if they were banded together in hostility to our government or institutions.

But they are not, and nothing will make them so but violent and cruel persecution. A patient, industrious, law-abiding people whose religion is work, they are yet quite capable of organizing revolution, as their history abundantly shows; and they are apt at organizing societies for improvement and self-protection. Those who object to the Chinese because they do not remain permanently in this country still declare that they never shall be naturalized here, and that their ever being voters is quite out of the question.† What will they have? Shall this body of men remain outlaws from our free representative government, yet having the stake of wife and family and home in the country? No more dangerous position could be found for them and for us. While he considers himself only a visitor, he is not concerned in our affairs; and, if he is unsuccessful or even ill-treated, he may turn his face homeward again. But, if he has bought land and builded a home, and buried his dead, and brought forth children here, then he and his children will feel that they have rights here, and only a participation in the government can secure them. In a free government, a disfranchised class is always a dangerous class. How much more so, when it is a strong, compact body of one race, of able-bodied, middle-aged men, intelligent and educated, who have taken part in the government of their own country, perchance even in its revolutions! The Chinaman thinks himself fully the equal, if not the superior, of every other nation; and he will not tamely submit to injustice and wrong, when he knows his own strength.

There is no middle course for our country. We must have universal suffrage, and justice can make it safe. Treating every man of whatever race as an individual, he will stand in that relation to the government, and will be only individually dangerous; but if, by race prejudice and proscriptive laws, any class is obliged to protect itself by union, it has the power of union to endanger the common weal.

E. D. CHENEY.

*It is instructive to consider the proportion of immigrants of different nations. The Chinese immigration is only about one-twentieth of the whole arrivals in the United States. The Germans, Irish, English, and Canadians each come in greater number. Scattered over the whole country, therefore, their numbers would be insignificant. It is only the natural advantage of proximity which takes them to California instead of the German and Irishman.

†A Chinaman has lately been refused naturalization in our courts in Boston, the judge interpreting the new law as forbidding it.

ARE AGNOSTICS ASCETICS?

Mr. T. W. Higginson says they are, in his "Modern Asceticism," in *The Index* for August 17; but this seems to me, who am one of them, rather too complimentary. Mr. Higginson gives two definitions of asceticism: one is "needless self-denial," which, as Mr. Underwood shows in the same number, has no application to men and women for whom it is not needless, but strictly necessary and obligatory, to believe what they find to be true, and nothing more or less. There is no "needless asceticism" in agnosticism. Probably the definition Mr. Higginson really has in view is given when he says, "Renunciation of what might make us happy is asceticism." Mr. Higginson thinks that agnostics do actually make such a renunciation; and here he agrees with Mallock, Dr. Bartol, and most other opponents of agnosticism. May I venture to ask about the facts? Is it true that agnostics renounce views that would make them happy? This is a question which, it seems to me, is still to be answered. I should like myself to know whether agnostics have actually been less happy than other people. I want to hear what they say for themselves, and how they appear to their friends. Mr. Higginson has known agnostics to express envy of believers in immortality after the loss of a mother or child. But do any religious or philosophical views prove perfectly satisfactory at such a time? One of the most famous living writers, from Mr. Higginson's own standpoint,—J. R. Lowell,—says, in "After the Burial,"

> "But not all the preaching since Adam
> Has made death other than death."

Still, I am glad of Mr. Higginson's testimony; but I think there is need of still more before the question can be considered settled. Much can be learned from the lives and letters of noted agnostics and other unbelievers. Let me give some specimens of what I want to see in *The Index*. Just before Buckle's death, he said to Mr. Glennie, "I have spent fourteen years of uninterrupted happiness, which, I imagine, few people can boast of" (*Life and Writings of H. T. Buckle*, by Huth, p. 450, American edition). Harriet Martineau, whom we may call the first agnostic in England, spoke of her state of mind after becoming so: "It dissolved all false relations, and confirmed all true ones. At no time of her life was she more occupied, more prosperous, so cheered by sympathy, or so thoroughly happy" (*Autographic Memoir*, written by her for publication, after her death, in the *Daily News*, and printed in her *Autobiography*, etc., vol. ii., p. 572, American edition).

"My last days are cheered by the sense of how much better my later years have been than the earlier, or than in the earlier I ever could have anticipated. Some of the terrible faults of my character, which religion failed to ameliorate, and

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others which superstition bred in me, have given way, more or less, since I attained a truer point of view; and the relief from old burdens, the uprising of new satisfactions, and the opening of new clearness,—the fresh air of nature, in short, after imprisonment in the ghost-peopled cavern of superstition,—have been as favorable to my moral nature as to intellectual progress and general enjoyment" (*Autobiography*, vol. ii., pp. 106, 107). "At past forty years of age, I began to relish life without drawbacks; and for ten years I have been vividly conscious of its delights" (*Autobiography*, vol. i., p. 483).

Thus, Miss Martineau declares that the great happiness of life came to her after she gave up all religion, and as a result. I may also refer to the praise given by Lucretius, who was thoroughly acquainted with the influence of Epicureanism, to the founder of this form of unbelief, as the greatest benefactor of man, as well as to the letter which Epicurus himself wrote as he was dying, to tell how he was consoled in his last illness by thinking of the truth he had taught.

It may seem presumptuous to add testimony from inferior sources; but I must say that the twenty or thirty agnostics and unbelievers whom I have known intimately are, on the whole, a more cheerful and happy set of people than my other friends. And the importance of the subject will, I hope, excuse my saying what is still more personal. In childhood, I was a Unitarian. I soon came to hold the form of philosophy of which Mr. Higginson is one of the best representatives among us, and about ten years ago I became an agnostic. I am sure that in taking this last step I made no renunciation of happiness. I believe that I should make one, if I were to go back to my former views or adopt any form of belief in immortality. Of course, I should resign myself to whatever view I might find true, and should find some pleasure in thinking I had made progress. Irrespective of such considerations, I should really be sorry to have to adopt any theory of existence after death. To me, it would be bartering realities for shadows. I know the reality of this life, as I could not with my former views; and, in this knowledge, I am very happy.

I hope it will not inconvenience Mr. Higginson to give some explanation of such statements of his about agnostics as: "Let us take two sacrifices which many of them feel bound in consistency to make,—that of the belief in personal immortality and that of the theory of mutual benevolence." "So the modern scientific school has found out a new word for unselfishness,—altruism; but I do not see that their extreme representatives leave any place for anybody to practise it. To them, what they contemptuously call 'the Christian philosophy of the obligation of the strong toward the weak' is the mere survival of a pitiable weakness," etc. I should be greatly obliged to Mr. Higginson for mentioning the agnostic author whom he quoted in the passage just given, and for stating who the others are who leave no place for benevolence. I ask for information. I thought I knew something about the great teachers of my own views. Here seems to be a whole company of authors I have never met with or heard of. I know that Comte, who, more than any one else, may be called the founder of agnosticism, made all morality consist in living for others, and that Harrison, Clifford, and Fiske take nearly the same view. I know that J. S. Mill is famous for his teaching of disinterestedness, and that Harriet Martineau certainly encouraged it. So, on the whole, does Herbert Spencer, who has made some limitations of this duty, but yet lays great stress on mutual benevolence. Perhaps some agnostics deny their obligation to help others, but I should like to know what there is in agnosticism to cause such a denial. I thought all agnostics believed in benevolence. Mr. Higginson has apparently met some who do not, but I cannot see why he should call them more consistent than the philanthropists among us. Let me add that, since becoming an agnostic, I have been able to see more clearly than I ever could before how firmly benevolence, like the other moral duties, rests on the essential facts of human nature and the necessary relations between man and man. Morality has its own foundation, independent of all theology or metaphysics. If there is any one who does not see this, he would do well to study the authors just mentioned. I have no wish for personal controversy. All I want is to bring out the facts. Mr. Higginson has contributed some, but there is room for more.

F. M. HOLLAND.

DR. JAMES' DEFENCE OF FAITH.

The article on "Rationality, Activity, and Faith," in the July *Princeton Review*, is a somewhat singular mixture of scepticism and faith. It is the sequel to one on "The Sentiment of Rationality" in *Mind*, which sought to exhibit the failure of the purely logical function in philosophizing, the present aim being to indicate another criterion of philosophical truth; namely, "the æsthetic constitution of our *practical* nature." Few philosophers have allowed that so little can be accomplished by the speculative action of the mind, and few have trusted to so great a return from our practical instincts and interests. To the writer of this notice, Dr. James has retired from a purely speculative attack upon the problems of existence after too little fighting, and seems to overlook or underrate the importance of his own earlier and convincing statements of idealistic doctrine. Surely, if idealism is a "reductive" for materialism, as he has asserted in purely critical discussion, spiritual and material views of things cannot be put on a par as to logical worth. In itself, however, and apart from too ambitious uses, his defence of the method of faith is sound, acutely and even brilliantly made, called for at the present time in the interests of discriminating philosophical as well as ethical thought. For I do not take Dr. James too seriously in his modest avowal that it is a purely psychological inquiry he is instituting. I do not presume in saying that he himself reveals more than a psychological interest in the problems he discusses. His paper is, indeed, one of the few original contributions to the philosophy as well as the psychology of ethics which American writers have made.

In form, however, the inquiry is matter of fact; that is, as to the practical needs which actually do more or less determine us (and, as Dr. James seems to think, wholly) in fixing upon an answer to our philosophical questionings. These needs are three in number: (1) *expectancy* must be determined, in which connection he puts the doctrine of substance in a new light to at least one reader; (2) *powers*, active and emotional, must be called forth, our dearest desires and most cherished powers must not be baffled nor our active propensities contradicted by being allowed no object against which to press; and (3) the faculty of faith or unconstrained belief must not be violated. A value lying on the surface of the paper is the warning it cannot help giving to those readers who are interested in the "Religion of the Future," that their concern embrace and provide for the whole of man's nature, and particularly that they do not leave out of account certain of its "unmapped" portions.

The main interest is in the discussion of faith. Faith, he says, is belief in something concerning which doubt is still theoretically possible. Its test is willingness to act, and so may again be defined as readiness to act in a cause, the prosperous issue of which is not certified to us in advance. "It is, in fact, the same moral quality which we call courage in practical affairs." Faith he shows to be necessary to science, since the uniformity of nature, including as it does the future as well as the past, in a measure anticipates experience, and so must contain an element not due to experience. Prof. Bain's language is worth requoting: "Our only error is in proposing to give any reason or justification of the postulate, or to treat it otherwise than as begged at the very outset." But, in other instances, science is not inclined to allow the legitimacy of faith; and Clifford, in his *Ethics of Belief*, calls it "guilt and sin" to believe even the truth without "scientific evidence." Dr. James, in turn, cleverly says, "But what is the use of being a genius, unless, with the same *scientific evidence* as other men, one can reach more truth than they?" He even claims that "every philosopher or man of science either, whose initiative counts for anything in the evolution of thought, has taken his stand on a sort of dumb conviction that the truth must lie in one direction rather than another, and a sort of preliminary assurance that *his* notion can be made to work, and has borne his best fruit in trying to make it work. These mental instincts in different men are the spontaneous variations upon which the intellectual struggle for existence is based. The fittest conceptions survive, and with them the names of their champions shining to all futurity." If these are facts, and the history of science and philosophy ought to tell us decisively, they make a strange commentary on Clifford's and other narrow schemes of intellectual ethics.

But Dr. James shows that, in certain spheres, faith is not only a confessor, but a factor; that it may create the very truths on the possibility of which it stakes its existence. The faith, for example, that one *can* make a dangerous leap, may be the very means, *ceteris paribus*, by which he does make it. And similarly with any victory of the good in one's life, or any conquest of justice in society; and why not with the final triumph of the good in the universe itself? The "scientific evidence" cannot come in till after these things are done, and he who will wait for the evidence before he believes and acts will merit a reproach similar to that which Crillon received at the hands of Henry IV.: "Hang yourself, brave Crillon! We fought at Arques, and you were not there." Very keenly does Dr. James deal in this connection with Spencer's supposed new and *objective* criterion for moral conduct, and with the German controversies as to optimism and pessimism.

The radical question of life is now taken up, which is whether this be at bottom a moral or an unmoral universe; and the question is raised, Has the method of faith an application here? The statement which Dr. James gives of absolute morality is remarkable for simplicity and, at the same time, thoroughness. Any single *should* can only be expained by a still deeper *should*, and at no time by a reference to what is matter of fact, since the question may always be raised as to the significance of the facts and their moral right to be. "Like the old woman in the story who described the world as resting on a rock, and then explained that rock to be supported by another rock, and finally, when pushed with questions, said it was 'rocks all the way down,' he who believes this to be a radically moral universe must hold the moral order to rest either on an absolute and ultimate *should* or on a series of '*shoulds*' 'all the way down.'" Such language is refreshing. And Dr.

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James points out the practical difference between the opposing moral views. One who acknowledges no final sacredness in the *ought* may tone down the sensitiveness of his feelings, when facts are at war with them. The absolute moralist, however, has no such recourse; and his peace and quietness of mind must come, if they come at all, by other means. "Resistance then, poverty, martyrdom, if need be, tragedy, in a word,—such are the solemn feasts of his inward faith."

Can there be a verification of this view of the absoluteness of morality? In the ordinary sense of verification, plainly not, since the hypothesis is not here as to matters of fact, but as to *what ought to be*, and can only receive fresh statement or be greeted with new confidence or find confirmation in the conviction of others. More loosely, however, there may be said to be a verification,—if the course of our experience throws in our way nothing that leads us to doubt the hypothesis,—if we meet rather what the nature of the hypothesis leads us to look for, Dr. James explains that the experience of the individual is insufficient, "the experience of the entire human race must make the verification." Just what kind of experience the terms of the hypothesis would suggest he does not state, nor am I able to conceive of any other than that of the success of the good cause which we believe in. If it succeeds, the natural feeling is that the system of things is not opposed to us, but favors us; and, if it fails, that there is some secret indifference or hostility to us. But a difficulty arises. Suppose that even at the end of history the cause of justice should not triumph, that, as Christianity has sometimes taught, the good and evil go on warring till the very last, or that injustice should have decidedly the upper hand, would one's faith that *justice ought to be* have logically to succumb? I think not. It would still be possible to recognize the meaning and the sacredness of justice, though our own race had failed in the task of realizing it, and to think that it might summon other races and planets with whom the event might be more in consonance with the ideal demands. It might be that it was

"We and not the world that failed,"

that not one particle of support would be given to pessimism, the real cause being that our efforts were not strong enough or were made by too small a number and these not united, and not that there was any lack of sanctity in the cause or of sympathy in the nature of things. And, on the other hand, should the triumph be perfect, the pure phenomenalist might account for it altogether by phenomenal causes, refusing to allow any influence to the invisible nature of things, or any authority to abstract ideas save that which human will or convention gives them. I am unable to see how any experience whether of the individual or the race can settle in one way or another so ultimate a question as the authority of the just and the good. One person may say, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him," another may own no unseen ties, though every effort of his wins its end.

It is true that hope and faith belong to a generous nature, hope and faith for this world as well as any other. But, when we are not so fortunate as to have these by a grace of nature, and in the times of uncertainty and gloom which are liable to come now and then to well-nigh every good man, unspeakable is the importance of the recognition that justice is all independent of our belief in it or of the sanctions or successes it may win or fail to win in this realm of sensible things. Dr. James says, Let us choose the good. All in vain, I am tempted to add, unless it first chooses us, unless it is all above our desires or wishes or subjective interests of any sort, a command of the rational nature of things. Duty is not what I want or wish or crave, though happy am I, if this be the case,—but what *ought* to be. It is a necessity of reason, and not a fact of sensibility. Here is the significance of Kant's treatment of conscience as practical reason. Any other than a rational foundation is uncertain, or, better, what is certain, necessary, absolute, *is* an assertion of reason, whether it be in the form of speculative truth or of law for conduct. Our desires, our æsthetic nature, our choices, all must submit to this final test: if we put confidence in them, if we use them as evidence for one philosophical view rather than another, it must be because we have rationally estimated them, and have learned that they have a right to be considered.

In a word, we cannot escape the general theoretical questions by any *de facto* choice; and Dr. James seems at times, in a reaction against dogmatism, "scientific" and other, to advocate an intellectual license such as men themselves do not crave. We want to act, but not at random; we want, as he himself says in another connection, a rule for our will, and to feel that something beside our own wish is concerned in the making of it. We want to create, to feel our spontaneous power, but in the execution of tasks that are not altogether of our own designing. We want to know the truth; but most of all that truth which is beyond our power to make or unmake, which is of old, and seems to give us immortality in the thought of it. As we want to do what we ought to do, so we want to believe what we ought to believe. We want the sense of matching a truer and higher in all the serious action of our minds. Not that it is possible to wish for a reign of authority in the old sense, or that it is rational to require to be bound hand and foot with evidence, before forming a belief. But surely there is a mean between these extremes, and, on the other hand, believing without any objective reason whatever, simply because of a kind of superabundance of spirits which must find vent, and will take any rather than none. Something there must be which makes us choose one way rather than another before ever our practical energies can be deeply stirred. Only a chartered, a constrained freedom does great or heroic work in the world. The greatest reformers only feel that they are doing what they must.

But with such qualifications, to which perhaps Dr. James would express no dissent, I must express my entire sympathy with the general drift of his paper. In it, we meet with such subtlety in analyzing motives, such fertility of illustration, such picturesqueness and piquancy of statement, that we are instructed and entertained and charmed all at once, and more than all are nerved with something of the earnestness of his own moral convictions. I must, however, express a passing surprise that he should seem to countenance the popular confusion by classing God and Immortality along with Duty as questions in respect to which "the universe will have no neutrals," and by deprecating "a wise scepticism" as to them. The cause of a fundamentally moral and ideal view of things others, too, may have at heart, *sed non tali auxilio*.

W. M. SALTER.

HERBERT SPENCER is coming to America. It is hoped the clergy will not treat him as they did Profs. Tyndall and Huxley. They may endear religion to many now alienated, by proving by their conduct that religion is not another name for intolerance, that priestly ordination does not paralyze man's love of truth. Their enemy is not the influence of Mr. Spencer, but the moral unbelief of men like old Major Pendennis: "Sir, life, without money and the best society, isn't worth having."—*Unity*.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE *Alliance* says, "Society can be improved only by accepting right principles of conduct and life. To familiarize society with such principles has been, and is, the one great object of the Free Religious Association; and, if it does this work faithfully, it is somewhat unjust to charge it with being 'impracticable.'"

LOOK at your tags, and see whether you are in arrears for *The Index*, and, if you are, consider that we need the money which is due us, and that you will confer a favor by remitting without delay. It is time now for many of those who availed themselves of our offer to send the paper six months to trial subscribers for one dollar to renew their subscriptions; and we hope to hear from them soon.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D., in an article on "Protestant Churches and Church-goers," in the American *Catholic Quarterly Review* for July, 1882, says: "An ex-Jewish rabbi, Adler, formed a Society for Ethical Culture. It had its Sunday services, but he has recently abandoned it as sterile; it had no good works to show. How could infidelity or negation be fruitful in good works?" This is a specimen of the misreprsentations and falsehoods which we read every week in sectarian papers and periodicals, some of whose writers have a religion apparently of which truthfulness forms no part.

THE following reference to Darwin in connection with this journal we take from the Dunedin (New Zealand) *Echo*:—

> It is said one can be judged by the companions he keeps. This may be said regarding the books one reads. Charles Darwin read *The Index*, perhaps the ablest free-thought paper published in America, and one of the most cultured newspapers published anywhere. He was a subscriber to *The Index* from its first issue; and, on renewing his last subscription, he sent a donation of £25 to the newspaper to help its maintenance. What will the orthodox, who look upon Darwin as not a heretic, say to this?

"ENGLAND IN ECLIPSE" is the title of a brilliant article from the pen of Moncure D. Conway, which we shall print in this journal next week. In the same number, Mary J. Safford, M.D., will present her views in regard to "Faith Cures," and Rowland Conner will have something very readable to say in regard to De Witt Talmage. Week after next, *The Index* will contain a contribution from George Jacob Holyoake, explaining what "Secularism" is and what it is not. Since Mr. Holyoake is the father of "English secularism," considered as a philosophy of life, an exposition of this subject by him will have peculiar interest and value for our readers.

MR. FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY left Boston Monday last to attend the meeting of Liberals to be held at Bismark Grove, Kansas, this month. He goes as a representative of the Free Religious Association. He will stop at Albany, Syracuse, and Chicago by the way, and probably lecture in various places in the West. His address during this month will be at Lawrence, Kansas, care of Mrs. Anna L. Diggs. Mr. Hinckley is an able and earnest representative of the Free Religious movement; and we are confident that he will be well received in Kansas, whose people, we have learned by several visits to the State, are not surpassed in intelligence and liberality by the people of any State of the Union.

"CURIOUS," says an exchange, "at a time when the saintly Darwin is being gushed over in so many pulpits as one who never—no, never—assailed the fundamental truths of Christianity, to stumble upon the following passage in one of his later works: 'No shadow of reason can be assigned for the belief that variations, alike in nature, and

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the result of the same general laws which have been the groundwork, through natural selection, of the formation of the most perfectly adapted animals in the world, man included, were intentionally and specially guided.' If this is not a direct and unqualified denial of the existence of a personal God, what is?" It is certainly not "a direct and unqualified denial of the existence of a personal God," but it may be safely affirmed that the passage quoted is inconsistent with belief in such a being.

PROF. V. B. DENSLOW, in a letter to us enclosing what appears to be a "cooked" report in regard to the religious belief of convicts in the Joliet penitentiary, which conveys the impression that not a few of the convicts are "infidels," observes: "The questions put to the convicts to bring out such statistics as here cited must have been in effect, In what form of religious faith do you believe? (*i.e.*, as distinguished from other forms of the same Christian or Jewish faith.) To such a question, the answer would be, 'None.' But had the questions been: 1. Do you believe in a God? 2. Do you believe in a future life of rewards and punishments? 3. Do you hope for salvation from the punishment of your sins through a Divine Saviour? I do not believe there are five persons out of the fourteen hundred who would have answered 'no' to either question."

AMONG savages, we have the priest in his primitive state; namely, as Mumbo-Jumbo, issuing out of the desert or forest in fantastic garb to awe his simple flock. He is a rain prophet and a medicine man. He can ward off the all-dreaded thunderstroke. His curse blights the object of it, so that he dwindles and pines away until he perishes. The primitive priest declares this and that thing "taboo," or consecrated; and nobody dares to touch it. Later along, in the primitive civilizations,—such as arose in the great fertile river valleys of the East,—we have the priest full-fledged in gorgeous costume, a magus, magician, or agent of Deity, an anointer of monarchs, dwelling in imposing temples,—the scenes of splendid ritualisms, full of the fragrance of myrrhine incense. At last, science and the inventive faculty have made priestly magic and priestly magic rites, such as the mass, and priestly miraculisms and supernaturalisms ridiculous.

SAYS the Springfield *Republican:* "The Irish celebration of the centenary of their parliamentary independence (which lasted not quite twenty years) was a significant affair, inspired and filled, as it was, with a hope which is growing into confidence of a renewed and more complete independence. "Repeal" was heard in the speeches, the watchword of the great O'Connell, whose statue was unveiled during the day. This is a fitting honor for Dublin to pay, with all Ireland, to the greatest of Irishmen; and the Irish genius of Foley, and the faithful skill of his pupil Brock, have produced a worthy work, it is said. O'Connell was his own master,—something that is not characteristic of Irish leaders. Parnell may well emulate the fame of the great repealer, and build upon his foundation with the materials half a century has accumulated. The exibition of Irish industry (the first that has been exclusively Irish) is still more important than the honor to the dead; for it contains promise and prophecy for the living,—a recognition of the elements of Irish national success."

THE fifth annual conference of the British Secular Union was held recently in Nottingham, England. The Marquis of Queensberry was reëlected president. Ernest Renan and Prof. Pasteur, with their full approval, were elected vice-presidents; and Victor Hugo, by his special request, was made an honorary member. The president, in thanking those present for his reëlection, said that he had lost his seat in the House of Lords for openly expressing his sympathy with secular principles, through an act of great intolerance on the part of the Scotch peers, who had the power of election among themselves. Yet those who had silently acquiesced in his exclusion from the Upper House he declared equally to blame for the injustice done himself and those whose opinions he expressed. Mr. Gladstone could, he said, if he chose, make him an English peer, and thus enable him to take his seat. He had written to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Grenville on the subject, but, from the replies received, was led to understand that nothing could be done "until he went down at the head of processions, with yards of petitions, to get his coat torn off his back, like Mr. Bradlaugh; for Mr. Gladstone told him that the matter had not been pressed upon his notice." Five or six years ago, he had sent a pamphlet of his to one of the bishops,—he believed it was the Archbishop of Canterbury,—on which was written, "From one who hopes some day to be found foremost with the van, fighting to the death against all ignorance and superstition," and signed his name, "Queensberry." If, he said, that day, in accepting the position he had been elected to as president of the British Secular Union, he was placing himself in that van most humbly, even if it was as the leader of a forlorn hope against the still prevalent intolerance and superstition of the day, he would be well satisfied to do so. A paper entitled "Plain Words about Secularism," by George Jacob Holyoake, who, however, was not able to be present, was read by Mr. Robinson.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

THE MYSTERY.

O foreground of impenetrable dark,
Impervious to knowledge or surmise,
Faith, hope, and fear, and aspiration all
Beleaguer evermore thy wall
And at thine ebon portals hark
For intimations, but thou bafflest ears and eyes.

What wonder that Imagination then
To shape and formulate thy mystic gloom
Forever tries?
Like knight of old in some enchanted glen
Or tangled wood, which scarcely mid-day beams illume,
Bent on the rescue of a damsel fair
In hideous thraldom held a captive there.
Amid the leafy maze, he wandered in despair:
His quest was not all hopeless, for a ray
Would glimmer here and there
To light his perilous way.

But us a lampless gloom doth foil;
Our fiercest sallies, baffled, vain recoil;
And so in helplessness we turn again
To revelations old,
The dreams of holy and primeval men
In their fantastic nescience bold.
The solving word had to their ears been told
In fragrant *adytum* of some great fane,
Where awe and silence held perpetual reign;
The Builder of the Universe
Had deigned the secret of creation to rehearse.
Henceforth *Thus saith the Lord* made mystery cease,
When credulous nations seers and sibyls swayed.
Such visions now are vapors of disease;
Madness no more is deemed divine,
That once responses gave from many a gorgeous shrine
With lips of foam, whose ravings states and kings obeyed.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 24, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

EMERSON AND THEODORE PARKER.

An Address delivered in the Church of the Unity, Cleveland, June 4, 1882.

BY EDWIN D. MEAD.

(*Concluded from last week.*)

But the most precious of the great preacher's sermons were not those which attacked society nor those which attacked the Church, but those in which he lifted his hearers up into the comfort of the mighty faith and trust wherewith he himself was comforted of God, and sent them forth to the duties of life with the divine pledge of victory. "The first time I heard Theodore Parker preach," writes Miss Alcott,—who has passed the torch along in books so full of gospel to so many "little women" and to men as well,—"was a memorable day to me, as such occasions doubtless were to many others who 'came to wonder, and remained to pray.' The sermon was addressed to 'laborious young women," and was full of paternal advice, encouragement, and sympathy; but the prayer that followed went straight to the hearts of those for whom he prayed, not only comforting by its tenderness and strengthening by its brave and cheerful spirit, but showing them where to go for greater help, and how to ask it as simply and confidingly as he did. It was a quiet talk with God, as if long intercourse and much love had made it natural and easy for the son to seek the Father, confessing faults, asking help, and submitting all things to the All Wise and Tender as freely as children bring their little sorrows, hopes, and fears to their mother's knee.

"To one laborious young woman, just setting forth to seek her fortune, that Sunday was the beginning of a new life, that sermon like the scroll given to Christian, that prayer the Godspeed of one who was to her, as to so many, a valiant Great-heart leading pilgrims through Vanity Fair to the Celestial City."

It is this deep, positive religion in Emerson and Parker, this great faith in God and right and the soul, of which I would speak in closing, and with chief emphasis, rather than of any work of theirs against old superstions and in the service of free thought. I suppose there are not many in this congregation who need any more words on old superstitions and free thought, save to brace them to the work of keeping the light shining in the dark places. I suppose that most of us are already rationalized almost to death; and the everlasting onslaught on the creeds, necessary as it is no doubt, is pretty wearisome to some of us, like the crackling of thorns under the pot. We have quite as much light already as we can manage well, and what we pray for now is more sweetness and very much more disposition to do something. Not that I would minimize, of course, the great offices of Emerson and Parker in the work of theological enlightenment, nor our own duties in the same direction. How great those offices were is best attested

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by the public sentiment which they created, able to recognize and love the truth they taught, and condemning, in every enlightened place, the treatment which the public sentiment of thirty years ago indorsed. It is attested by the greater liberality in every church in the land that stands on the line of railroad. It is attested by the decay everywhere of the belief in the old doctrines of infallible books, mechanical creation, and eternal damnation. It is attested by the inaugurals of theological professors, declaring that miracle cannot longer be appealed to as the test of truth, and by the clear perception of every thoughtful student in the schools that that is not the worthy conception of God's universe which finds best evidence of the divine in prophets riding in chariots of fire or in great fishes, in the stoppage of the sun and moon to facilitate slaughter, or in strange legerdemain with loaves and fishes, but that which knows that the highest freedom works by perfect law, and sees in the procession of the stars, in every dewdrop and in every flower, and most in every human soul, the working of the present God. Our duties in the matter appear wherever these old doctrines still have power, and men still endeavor to put covers on God's Bible, to limit God's action to certain sections of the map, and to consign any soul of man to hopeless hell. While I have been in your beautiful city, one of your leading preachers has been preaching much upon damnation, and I read his sermons in your newspapers; and I found one long sermon taken up with saying in many ways that men must go to everlasting punishment, because, forsooth, Jesus once used the Greek word *aionios*, and *aionios* has such and such shades of meaning.* It happens in this case, of course, as most of you know, and as the Doctor of Divinity certainly ought to have known, that Jesus never spoke a word of Greek, but some Aramaic dialect; that we have no original word of his, but only translations, made, as men remembered, fifty years after the utterance. But pass this. Wherever men are found engaged in the bad business, however conscientious, of defending bad doctrines by the bad method of an appeal to some external and prescriptive authority, there we must still lift up the battle-flag of Emerson and Parker, and cry, Turn on the lights!

It is not so much from over-belief, however, that the interests of religion are endangered to-day, as from under-belief and a withering of spiritual life in the atmosphere of a mechanical philosophy and ethics. The death-blow has been given to superstition. There are always men, of course, who never know that the sun has risen until it is noon; and superstition will yet stagger on for a miserable distance before its final fall. But it is already ghastly from loss of blood, and there is no loveliness in it more that men should desire it. But in the breaking up of the old religious sanctions, and the extension of the realm of law to regions where, before, men saw nothing but arbitrariness and impulse, God has seemed to many to be pushed so far away that he has been discounted altogether, and a mechanism running rapidly to a dread fatalism has seemed to leave no place for the idea of freedom, and to grind up the soul. Tired of the false, fantastic Jesus-worship of the churches, many manly men have come to listen more gladly to the words of almost any other of God's sons than to the words of Jesus, and to be found with almost any other name upon their lips rather than his, lest the merest honor to the name should confound them with the sickening idolatry. "Let me never hear that man's name again," said the weary old Voltaire to the priests, when they talked to him of Jesus after their manner; and no man of rugged, Puritan sincerity but who, turning from much of the mawkish language of the prayer-meeting and the tract society, can understand this feeling of the old iconoclast. So the loquacious and fulsome discipleship of a thin unintelligence makes us tire some days of the names of Bach and Wagner and Turner, of Washington even, of Carlyle and of Emerson himself. Tired of the superstitions, too, which have centred round the Bible, many have put their Bible on the upper shelf and thought they got more inspiration from Confucius and the Brahmins, from the new poem or new novel, or from the newspaper, than from the Psalms of David or Isaiah's prophecies, the gospel of Christ or the letters of Paul. Tired of the sluggish, unproductive dreaming of "a happy land far, far away," they have said: Enough of this! Here is work to be done, here are wrongs to be righted, here are men with no chance, here is the devil's work done in God's name. Don't sing to us of heaven: we have only time and strength to work for a new earth. And so the doctrine of the soul has suffered; and to deny immortality is thought to be heroic, and, indeed, almost becomes so. It is more unselfish, they say, to work nobly, knowing there is no hereafter to reward us and that we shall not see the fruition.

Great is the nobleness in this all. Greatly nobler, said Parker, is the doubt of the man than the creed of the fool, greatly nobler often the atheist's law than the churchman's God; sublime witness, too, to the fact that the soul will not be chained. Men hate a dictum and a *must*. Legislate that your people shall admire the sunset, and the afternoon shall find them flocking from the lake-side to the smoke of Newburgh; that they shall all learn the *Pilgrim's Progress* and find no fault in it, and next year each literary circle shall be a "Hudibras" society. We tire of the best, will not be content with the best, save with the better and the good,—not on terms of insulation. Only the All is sacred and infallible. We leave the philosopher of to-day for the ploughman, and to-morrow our enemy shall be more welcome than our friend. Shakspere himself has had times of going out of fashion, and Raphael and Michel Angelo are forgotten for Giotto and Angelico or the new Frenchman. Yet, all the while, the sunset is beautiful, and Bunyan is better than Butler, and best is best. It were better that we should read Shakspere always than that we should think Shelley and Schiller just as good, and the *dilettanti* who live only to glorify the pre-Raphaelites are not the men who do the most either for art or manhood. They do, indeed, do more for both than the devotees of a conventional Guido or a weak Carlo Dolce, just as the compilers of the "sacred anthologies" stand for a sturdier religion than the men who write the tracts. But all this Orientalism and comparative theology, which is the fashion now, invaluable as its office is, does you poor service, if it makes you think the Koran and the Vedas as good as the Bible, or Confucius and Zoroaster as great as Christ.

The transcendent merit of Emerson and Parker as religious teachers is that they never opposed halfness by halfness, and were never hurried by impatience of superstition to irreverence toward the object of the superstition. Jesus Christ, the Bible,—more than any others have Emerson and Parker helped us to see their transcendent preëminence among books and men, because recognizing this preëminence on the ground of freedom and pure reason. "People imagine," said Emerson, "that the place which the Bible holds in the world it owes to miracle. It owes it simply to the fact that it came out of a profounder depth of thought than any other book, and the effect must be precisely proportionate. Gibbon fancied that it was combinations of circumstances that gave Christianity its place in history. But, in nature, it takes an ounce to balance an ounce." "Jesus Christ," he said again, "alone, in all history, estimated the greatness of man: this one man was true to what is in you and me." And Parker sang:—

> "Thy truth is still the light
> Which guides the nations groping on their way,
> Stumbling and falling in disastrous night,
> Yet hoping ever for the perfect day.
> Yes, thou art still the life: thou art the way
> The holiest know,—light, life, and way of heaven;
> And they who dearest hope and deepest pray
> Toil by the truth, life, way that thou hast given."

This clear and cultured maintenance at the centre of what is true and best comes into the flimsy anti-christianism of a cheap *free thinking* like the healthy restoration of Shakspere after the things that satisfied the shallow taste of Queen Anne's London. The temple which we build of the prophets and apostles, who through the ages have mediated truth to men, will ever lack beauty, proportion, and solidity, unless Jesus Christ be the chief corner-stone. And there was never a time when it was so important to say this strongly as the present time, when the superstitions, which have made a rational grasp of Christ's idea so difficult, are fading; when society seems ripe for a more practical appropriation of the principles of neighborhood, equality, and brotherhood, and the unit value of the soul, which he instinctively divined; and when a people paralyzed and parched by mechanism, utility, and fate thirsteth for freedom and the living God. What our society most needs to-day is a baptism of the Holy Ghost. I see in the young men of this age, said Emerson, character, but scepticism. "They have insight and truthfulness, they will not mask their convictions, they hate cant, but more than this I do not readily find. The gracious motions of the soul—piety, adoration—I do not find. Scorn of hypocrisy, elegance, boundless ambition of the intellect, willingness to make sacrifices for integrity of character, but not that religious submission and abandonment which give man a new element and being, and make him sublime."

This is what we want. The other, without this, is not enough. Goodness itself, without this, lacks its final grace and beauty. The soul, without this, is in the end distorted, maimed, and dumb. "Unlovely," said Emerson, in his last religious utterance, speaking, as in 1838, to the Harvard students of religion,—"unlovely, nay, frightful, is the solitude of the soul which is without God in the world." It is so. The man who has looked into the pit knows that it is so. The man who has seen the sun shine without power to cheer and who has learned to look into the starry heavens with irreverent incuriousness, who hears no music in the rolling sea and sees no vision where it fades into the sky, to whom the brook in the forest sings not, and who finds naught but rock in the everlasting hills, to whom summer is only a waiting for winter, the earth a graveyard, men and their cities spectral, and his friend and the love that loves him incredible and unauthentic like himself,—he knows that it is frightful to know no Being behind the seeming, no living Will that shall endure, no Soul of Beauty, no everlasting answering Thought,—frightful to be without God in the world. My friend, if any single soul be here who, like Paul with beasts, has fought with death and to whose innermost experience I speak, I say to you that, if there be no God and no hereafter, we want to know it, and we will believe it must be well. It will still be better to love than to hate, to help than to sleep, to be brave and true than to be false and a coward. The man who tells you that, if this life be all, it matters not what you do, preaches swine's gospel and the devil's. Take note that he smells of brimstone. He is libertine at heart. When eternity is in a man, he will live according to the forms of eternity, though his prospect be but a day. If this life is all, then make it count. And a seventy years' lease of this universe, with all its opportunities and joys and disciplines, is much. Life may still be great and noble, I say; and, God or no God, we are bound to make it so. And if godlessness and the soul's death be a glad new evangel that shall bring new liberty and power, as Emerson's and Parker's gospel brought liberty and power in ridding us of other chains, then, indeed, let us give heed, lest, haply, we be found fighting against godlessness. If this gospel speaks to you most persuasively in the hour of your highest aspiration and most self-sacrificing endeavor, listen to it. Whenever it comes preached by the thinker and the lover, listen to it.

> "But if, when faith has fallen asleep,
> You hear a voice, 'Believe no more,'
> And hear an ever-breaking shore
> That tumbles in a godless deep,"

and the sound is not music to you but a dread sound, yet if, in your continuous round of business and society, you have dulled yourself into complacent listening, stop and ask yourself what your life means, and whither it is tending. And, if you are awake and shivering in the solitude of godlessness, yet know not where to turn for light and warmth and strength, then, I beseech you, use those generous "means of grace"—there are no better words than those—with which the Father of spirits has hedged us in, the companionship of those in whom, like the great teachers whom we honor to-day, faith was made perfect in knowledge, and, above all, in the simple doctrine and life of Jesus Christ, the author and finisher of a faith in the unseen and eternal which grows young and strong as it grows old, the teacher of the holiest and the greatest master of these masters whom we love.

Say to the man who tells you that faith in God is a hindrance to earth's regeneration and to devotion to mankind that, when the atheistic teacher comes who shall prompt to nobler endeavor than Emerson and Parker, the atheistic martyr who shall suffer for the suffering more gladly than John Brown, the atheistic pioneer of civilization more dauntless than

* Nice shades are important here, since many of the new-fangled theologians strain at *everlasting* punishment, but swallow *eternal* punishment.

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the Puritans of Plymouth, the atheistic apostle of any truth more zealous and more bold than Paul, the atheistic Christ who shall inspire self-sacrifice more heroic and discipleship nobler and purer than Jesus,—then, but also not till then, will you believe that faith in God is falsehood to humanity.

Believe me, such poor notion, though it may pass to-day, cannot stand the test of life to-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow. And when it is said that the doctrine of the soul's immortality is selfish and harmful to humanity, and that a new earth can be built only on the ruins of the faith in the hereafter, say that, when you find yourself tempted to baseness and idleness to-day by the thought that the sun will rise to-morrow, when you find honor to your father and your mother a stumbling-stone to care for your children, find your soul so microscopic that you can be faithful to a new friend only by treason to an old, find yourself a better citizen through insularity and protective laws, and find yourself inspired to help the sufferer round the corner more by slandering or slighting the men who send gospel and schoolmaster to the night of Africa and the isles of the sea,—then say you will believe it. When you find men agreeing to call it selfish to enjoy the sunshine and the breath of life, selfish to lift up the eyes unto the hills and to stand by the shore, because the ocean is sublime and beautiful, selfish to open Plato and Dante and to thirst for knowledge, insight, growth, and power, for any noble capacity or any great opportunity,—then, I say, but also not till then, concede the faith in the immortal nature of you to be a blight upon you and upon society and turn to the new evangel; and, until then, tell the preacher to go learn clearer notions of self-sacrifice, and that he is a selfish man, indeed, who, save by soberest thought prolonged and resistless conviction, impugns what the history of the deepest thought and the dearest hope and the constitution of the soul itself avouch, motives most pure and potent to justice, heroism, nobility, and toil.

No, no, my friends. This God's universe and the souls of us are not built upon any such parsimonious plan as that. There is no Wall Street in the soul; no exchange, where to barter hope for duty. Giving is getting there; and infinite responds to infinite, and satisfies. Draw confidently on eternity for all the Godlike in you needs, and I think it is the spirit of God that declares the drafts will all be honored. "What is excellent," says Emerson, "as God lives, is permanent." "When we pronounce the name of man, we pronounce the belief of immortality. All great men find eternity affirmed in the very promise of their faculties. The evidence from intellect is as valid as the evidence from love. The being that can share a thought and feeling so sublime as confidence in truth is no mushroom. Our dissatisfaction with any other solution is the blazing evidence of immortality." It is so: believe it. And, as incurious about the hereafter as about to-morrow, live your life faithfully and confidently, and do this day's duty well. For this day, too, is the hereafter, and all eternity is one:—

> "Heaven and hell, with their joy and pain,
> Are now and here.
> Of what is to be, and of what is done,
> Why queriest thou?
> The past and the time to be are one,
> And both are *now*."

Our debt to Emerson and Parker, I say, is greatest, not for their onslaughts on debasing superstitions and their service to free thought, but for a faith made perfect in knowledge in the soul's freedom and great affirmations, the eternal right, the immortal life, and the infinite God. O my brothers, let not the torch shine dimmer for having come to our hands in its progress! Infinite almost is the responsibility laid upon us. Our prophets are falling in the high places. It has been a year of death. And upon the heads also of Whittier and Martineau and Tennyson the hoar-frost lies. The tolling of the bells of Concord spoke not only of the passing of Emerson, but of the closing of an era, and told us that we are left to ourselves now. It is the signal for higher duties and the call to nobler manhood. Thank God for these good men and great, but say, as they have taught us, I also am a man, and vow to do your little task, if it be little, even as they did their great ones, "in the manner of a true man, not for a day, but for eternity; to live as they counselled and commanded, not commodiously in the reputable, the plausible, the half, but resolutely in the whole, the good, the true."

CORRESPONDENCE.

A NATIONAL FREE CONFERENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

There are not a few friends of what Mr. Gannett calls "freedom, fellowship, and character in religion," who have cherished the hope that, with Unitarianism as a centre, there would become organized and developed a thoroughly broad, open, entirely free communion, under the influences of which every form of religious, ethical, and humane progress would make new advance in the direction of ideal truth. The opportunity for a grand first step toward this is close at hand in the meeting, September 18-22, of the Unitarian National Conference; and I would like to raise the question whether there is not interest to improve it. Is not the time fully ripe for a change of the basis of union to one which would begin something like this?—

Whereas the decline of sectarianism and of strict creeds, and the advance of liberty, learning, and character in religion, are affording new opportunity for broad and free fellowship in practical work and religious study and communion,—

It is hereby resolved to substitute for the existing Preamble and Articles of Constitution the following:

ARTICLE 1. This Conference shall be entitled the National Conference of Free Churches.

Although I say "substitute for the existing Preamble and Articles," and do this in the belief that for the practical purposes of large liberal union the whole instrument can be greatly improved, I only give here, to save space, the key-note of the change which seems to me desirable. The principle of the change is that of simple honesty. I suppose there might be accessions of great value from liberal Orthodoxy on the one side, and others, on the other side, from representatives of extreme freedom, and such nominal non-Christians as the liberal Jews (who are a good deal recognized already). But my contention is for honesty, and let results be what they may; though I believe that conservatism of the true sort would gain more than it would lose, and that pure theistic and humanitarian Christianity, which I take to have been that of Christ himself, would find immense advantage in the change.

The reason which is at present the only serious one against a change is this: "We do not believe what the present basis says, but it is *not politic* to change." This to me is a very strong reason for urging the change. The Unitarian body, as a whole, does not believe in having anything dogmatic in its basis of union. President Josiah Quincy said in 1845, "I cannot find that the sect called Unitarian ever made to itself a pass-key." A pass-key was made twenty years later; and a valuable fraction of a hitherto free communion driven off to establish organization and journalism of its own, and to pursue an extreme course which otherwise it would not have taken. It was a mistake which ought to be honestly and fearlessly undone.

But this is not the whole, nor is it the worst. The Unitarian body, as to its present majority, does not hold the line of beliefs which is put forward in the dogmatic phrases of the present basis of union. To illustrate, I will briefly refer to the example of Dr. Martineau. He assisted, in 1862, in making a Unitarian "Common Prayer for Christian worship." Three years ago, he brought out a revision of this, with the title, *Ten Services of Public Prayer*, in which the scope of the alterations consisted in substituting purely Theistic for "Messianic" phrases, on the ground that the latter are not true to us, and do not in fact represent Christ's own Christianity, but some form of apostolic opinion. Dr. Martineau says, for instance:—

"No one who has once become familiar with the definite images and ideas of the Messianic Christianity in any of its forms can ever again give to its language the loose and large interpretation which alone renders it available for the voice of living piety. He knows that it really means what he cannot mean; and, if constrained to adopt it, he feels that his 'kingdom of heaven suffereth violence.'"

The dogmatic words which appear in the present basis of Unitarian communion are of this "Messianic" character: they do not represent the genuine truth of Christ himself, as our best free learning now reads this truth. As Dr. Martineau says, in the preface to *The Ten Services of Public Prayer*:—

"If it be true that the supreme and distinctive end of Christ's religion was to bring the human spirit face to face with the Divine, and to leave man alone with God, *i.e.*, not to establish, but to destroy all mediation, then is it contradicted, rather than expressed, by the traditional modes of piety."

The majority of Unitarians, accepting Christ as a Teacher of pure Theism and pure morals and humanity, do not make him, in any real sense, a mediator in their experience or a Messiah in history. They refer the kingdom of the spirit and the kingdom of history to the alone and supremely Divine, of which Christ was a prophet. Hence, the inconsistency of using the phrases, and even *imposing* the phrases, of a faith which they have ceased to hold. It was an unconscious inconsistency for a long time; but it is now a perfectly conscious one to a very large number, and thus involves serious want of honesty. If change to a broad, free, open basis of communion meant any grave wrong to anybody's sincere faith, the case would be less simple than it is. But it means nothing of the kind. It only means honesty first of all, and generous fairness and charity all round. The most conservative seniors might take the lead in doing for the basis of union what Dr. Martineau has done for the English Unitarian Prayer-Book.

EDWARD C. TOWNE.

29 COMMON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

MR. MITCHELL'S REPLY TO MR. SAVAGE.

Editors of The Index:—

On receiving your journal of July 20, I found another article by Rev. Mr. Savage in reply to mine of June 8. And, I am sorry to say, it is so incoherent and diffusive that I am puzzled as to how to treat it in the limited space you can afford me. Mr. Savage excused himself from giving a proper answer to my last on the plea that he was short of time; and yet he introduces another subject, to which I had made no allusion and which I had shown not the slightest inclination to discuss. The subject was "The Relations of Mind and Brain"; and I had quoted passages from the physiologists, Huxley, Bernard, and others, showing their view of the relationship,—namely, *organ* and *function*. And, in the former part of Mr. Savage's review of these authorities, he says: "All right:... no sensible man doubts the statement. I have no disposition to contradict that statement," etc. Now, if Mr. Savage saw the statements were true and incontrovertible, why has he wasted both his own time and other people's, and occupied your space, in taking them one by one?

Mr. Savage has evaded another question. I *challenged* his statement about the "best thinkers being inclined to believe the only *real* things in existence were *mind* and *God*." This statement, which I hold to be entirely erroneous, he has made no attempt to sustain.

At first, I thought his "best thinkers" might be men of whom I had never heard; but, in *this* last communication, he falls back on Huxley, Tyndall, etc., as the gentlemen he had in mind; and, by so doing, he puts me in the position to say positively that he has misrepresented the beliefs of these gentlemen. I am certain he cannot find a single sentence in any of their writings where they say they believe in God as a *personality* or *mind* as an *entity*. I shall wait his justification of this statement.

Mr. Savage says that "modern science has found it utterly impossible to explain *mind* as a *product* of *matter*"; and his purpose is, he says, to "offer a few considerations in support of it."

This purpose, however, he failed to carry into effect: he never alludes to it again, so that the assertion stands simply on its own merits. And what are its merits? According to Mr. Savage's own estimate, "it is worth no more than the raw material of breath it takes to utter it." *Nil!* simply *nil!*

To show Mr. Savage that I am able to redeem my promise in regard to *proving* the "Relations of Mind and Brain," I propose to give one or two experimental cases showing the *dependence* of the one on the other. In *The Index* of May 4, page 526, I said, "Facts have been disclosed proving that, while the brain is a bodily organ, it is also the instrument for *producing mind*," etc.

"The rules of evidence in regard to *cause* and *effect*, or the dependence of one thing upon another, are shown [says Prof. Bain] by two classes of facts: first, the *presence* of the *cause*, *followed* by the *ap-*

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pearance of the *effect*; as, for instance, when we prove that lighting a fire is the *cause* of smoke," etc.

Now, accepting this rule as correct, we can show, by quoting an experiment detailed by Dr. Carpenter, that the brain is the organ and the *cause* of mind. The brain, he says, is supplied with blood from four arterial trunks which enter the cranial cavity near each other, and then unite in what is called the "*Circle of Willis*," from which it is conveyed by various branches to every part where brain substance is situated.

Now, if two or three of these trunks are tied, the supply of blood is diminished; but, in virtue of the arrangement in the circle of Willis, no part is left entirely deprived of blood, and functional activity, though much lowered, still goes on. If, however, the *fourth* artery is compressed, then there is an immediate and complete suspension of activity, and unconsciousness supervenes until the blood is allowed to circulate again, upon which consciousness and functional activity reappear in proportion to the amount of blood supplied.

Thus, mental activity (says the Doctor) is shown to be dependent upon physical conditions, *and on them only!* This evidence is as complete, and the demonstration as easy, as to show that electricity and galvanism are the results of chemical changes in the metals and liquids by which they are produced. And, if we are to believe that chemical changes produce *one* set of phenomena, I see not how we can refuse to give them credit for the other.

Thought is as certainly the *result* in one case as electricity is in the other. And, if this be admitted in the case of *sensational consciousness*, it must be admitted in *emotional*, and, if in emotional, *why* not in *ideational*? Another case still more conclusive, if that is possible, may be found in an experiment performed by Claude Bernard. And this case will answer to a crucial test John Stuart Mill laid down; and of which he said, if it could be performed, we might determine the possibility or otherwise of *immortality*. Mr. Mill says: "To make good the *proof* that the *brain* is the *cause* of *mind*, it would be necessary to produce an organism and try whether it can *feel* and *think*." Though we have not yet arrived at the point where we can *produce* an *organism*, we have arrived at that stage of experimental manipulation where we can *abstract* an organ and, by patient watching, see a new one grow. Claude Bernard, in one of his experiments, abstracted the brain of a pigeon; and, as a consequence, it was reduced to a state of perfect helplessness, without either power, or desire even, to look after its own food.

It would, however, swallow, if food were put into its mouth. And *this* being performed for it, it was kept alive until its brain grew again; and, wonderful to relate, with the *reappearance of brain substance* there was a *reappearance of functional power and activity*. Here, as Prof. Bernard says: "We have had both analysis and synthesis of the vital function. We have seen the destruction of brain substance, and, along with it, the disappearance of all functional manifestations of mind. And, then, we have seen the reappearance of the brain, and, with it, the reappearance and manifestation of its functional powers." These facts, I submit, are pertinent to the subject, and adequate to verify my assertion that "the brain is the organ for producing mind, or, to invert the sentence, that the mind is a *function* or *product* of the Brain."

And, this fact being accepted, Mr. Savage's statement that "modern science has found it utterly impossible to explain *mind* as a *product* of *matter*" is proved to be incorrect. Mr. Savage has put the word *explain* in italics, and has also cast on me the *onus probandi* of furnishing proofs in terms of Matter. Ordinarily, I should decline any such task; but, having already accomplished more than half the task, I will assume the whole responsibility on one condition,—namely, that Mr. Savage will accept Huxley's dictum as to what an *explanation* is. Mr. Huxley says: "The explanation of a *physiological function* is the demonstration of the connection of that function with the molecular state of the organ which exerts the function. Thus, the function of sensation is explained when the molecular changes, which are the invariable antecedents of sensation, are discovered."

The fact that it is impossible to comprehend *how it is* that a physical state gives rise to a mental state no more lessens the value of the explanation than the mysterious fact of a ball in motion communicating its energy to a ball at rest. The *how* in both cases is perfectly incomprehensible, but the fact in both is indisputable.

We therefore say (according to this dictum) that mind, as a function of the brain, is *explained* when we have proved (as we certainly have), by strict experimental evidence, that the molecular changes in the brain are invariable antecedents of those phenomena we call feeling, thought, and will.

I repeat, therefore, that I have accomplished the task assigned me by Mr. Savage; namely, proved "that matter does explain mind."

And now Mr. Savage will perhaps be kind enough to tell me, if these phenomena are *not* the *product* of *matter*, what are they the *product* of? Where do they originate, and how exist?

If mind is a *state* or a *series* of *states* of *consciousness*, as Spencer and Huxley and Bain assert, how can we *possibly* become conscious except through our material organism? Take away our nervous system, and consciousness is impossible. Destroy the optic nerve, and sight is forever gone. Spencer says: "If I am asked to frame a notion of mind divested of all those *structural* [material] *traits*, under which *alone* I am conscious of mind in myself, I cannot do it. I know nothing of thought save as carried on in ideas traceable to the effects wrought by objects on me. A mental act is an unintelligible phrase, if I am not to regard it as an act in which states of consciousness are known as like other states in the series that has gone before, and in which the relations between them are severally like past relations in the series."

If mind is *something* more than a series of states of consciousness, what is that something more?

We call the brain an organ, and every organ is supposed to have a function of functions. What is the function of the brain, however, unless MIND be that function? What office has the brain, unless it does the feeling, the thinking, and the willing?

What an anomalous thing it would be to admit that an organ composed of the rarest and most powerful ingredients, constructed in the most elaborate and complex manner,—myriads upon myriads of fibres and cells, of a delicacy of texture and varieties of shape and size and color, all no doubt indicating varieties and degrees of functional power and capacity, and wherewithal as yet so wrapped in mystery that in our contemplations about it we are lost in wonder and amazement,—I say what an anomalous thing to think that this rarest, this most delicate and elaborate, this most complex piece of machinery with which humanity is acquainted or can conceive of,—to think that this wonderfully constructed organ should have *no office*, no special function! And yet, if *mind* is not its *function*, then it has none.

The ancient notion that the brain is *not* the *real* organ of thought, that it is merely a substratum for some ghost or metaphysical entity to play upon, is too absurd to be treated with sober arguments in the light of modern knowledge. And yet, doubtless, it is this ancient figment which Mr. Savage has in mind when he says, "From a *physiological* point of view, it is doubtless true." Now, can a thing be true as a *physiological fact* and untrue from some other standpoint?

Does not Mr. Savage know that every physiologist of any note has conceded that, whatever the psychology of the future may be, it must have its base and its origin in physiology? As Dr. Maudsley says: "The ultimate appeal must be to *him* who deals with the *bodily organization*. Through *his* territory only can the theologian and the jurist pass to their departments." So that, if it is "all right" in a physiological point of view, it is all right absolutely.

MIND A SUPERIOR FORCE.

Editors of The Index:—

Thanks to H. D. V. for his very able and interesting answer to query in *The Index*, May 11. But, as he did not seem to comprehend the full strength of the proposition that mind is force, I crave briefly to illustrate.

We cannot escape the fact that mind is an entity which commands physical force, therefore it must be a superior force. Though it may not act independent of matter, it does act independent of the physical organism, as in clairvoyance. From birth, we see the intellect gradually expand, which indicates that organic process is a means to its development. But, if the lowest order of animal life have consciousness without nerves, it must follow that the animating force which builds the organism does not depend on them for consciousness. Herbert Spencer admits that "there may be a single primordial element of consciousness, and the countless kinds of consciousness may be produced by the compounding of this element with itself and the compounding of its compounds with one another in higher and higher degrees, so producing increased multiplicity and complexity." Then, consciousness is a faculty of the soul or the individualized "vital spark" which is developed by evolution. As there can be no feeling without consciousness, so the emotional and mental faculties must belong to the vital energy of the organism. It is evident that evolution is not confined to physical development from the fact that the mental powers still progress after the organism has attained to full maturity. From the above facts, it must follow that the vital force, mind, or soul, is a distinct entity which does not depend on organic structure for existence. As mind commands and physical force obeys, there is a distinction between them, which I think may be properly made by the word "spirit"; but, as materialists object to the term as meaningless, I used the word "force," supposing its entity and conservation were settled, which H. D. V. seems disinclined to admit. If force can move from object to object and act remotely from matter, it must be a distinct entity, however closely connected the two may be in action and reaction as phenomenal cause. Attraction and repulsion are too opposite forces, yet one could not exist without the other. Granted that "force is never isolated from matter," it is not a local property confined to limited bodies, but leaps from place to place as with electricity; and, as the plenum of space is not denied, there is ample materiality, from the perceptible to the imperceptible, for the eternal action and reaction between force and matter. The conservation of force has not only been demonstrated, but, on the same principle that we affirm the certitude of mathematical axioms, we can affirm the eternity of all existence but condition, the mutability of which constitutes the law of evolution.

H. D. V. gives no reason for his inference that mind, as force, "can be transformed into any other force and cease to exist as mind." If force has become an individualized entity through evolution, what is to hinder its continued progress and individuality? Evolution implies unlimited progress and durability fo gain. Such are the views of a SUBSCRIBER.

CHINESE EQUITY.

Editors of The Index:—

Will you permit me to call attention to the following significant statement by President Angell of Michigan University, and ex-minister to China. I find the statement in the Ann Arbor *Register* and credited to the New York *Tribune*. It is in regard to some incidental diplomatic business effected by President Angell during his residence in China.

He says: "I succeeded in having a heavy tax removed from Protestant Christian Chinamen, which they had previously paid for the support of religious festivals. In all the Chinese villages, they have a great many celebrations that are partly religious and partly civil,—a sort of religious Fourth of July, in fact. The expenses of these festivals are paid by general tax; but, naturally, Christian Chinamen felt strong conscientious scruples against paying money for the support of heathen religious rites. Many years ago, the Roman Catholic Church succeeded in having its converts exempted from this tax; but it was still levied upon Protestant converts. My attention being called to this fact, I broached the subject, on the first fitting opportunity, to the foreign office; and Prince Kung, the viceroy, said that he had always supposed that all Christian converts were exempted, that he was willing to rectify the mistake, and to do so officially. I therefore prepared a diplomatic dispatch on the subject, and an official agreement was made, removing the tax from the Protestant converts. There are fifteen thousand of them in China."

From the above statement, it would seem that the Chinese possess a fine sense of justice that more pretentious nations would not be injured by cultivating. Chinese religion may have many faults, but it displays at all events the sterling quality of being able to stand alone, and does not require the forced contributions of those who do not receive its teachings. When a Chinaman changes his religious views, it is only necessary that the attention of his government

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be called to the fact, and he is promptly relieved from paying money to the support of rites that he regards as useless and pernicious. This is certainly in marked contrast to the condition of things in this country. There are no doubt many more than fifteen thousand persons among us who do not believe that any good is to be derived from the rites and ceremonies of the Christian Church; yet these persons are compelled by law to conform to many of the rites they believe to be worse than useless. They are taxed directly for the support of Christian ministers and for the ministration of Christian rites; they are taxed indirectly for the support of all the church property of the country; and, though attention has been called repeatedly to this condition of things, no measures of relief have yet been established. It would seem that our country, while bidding fair to become the best government in the world, is not yet perfect, and that she might without injury receive from China this simple lesson in equity.

Respectfully, J. M. LATTA.

ANN ARBOR, MICH., July 20, 1882.

WHAT POVERTY MEANS.

Editors of The Index:—

I would like to make a word of reply to yours of August 10, as I see that I am not understood, in one important particular at least.

When I claim that war means poverty, intemperance means poverty, the Chinese question means poverty, I mean that all these evils are the results of poverty, and therefore hold that the largest endeavors, the greatest efforts, should be directed to the one end of exterminating poverty, the grand cause of all these lesser evils. When the cause is removed, the results will gradually disappear of themselves. Until it is removed, all efforts at their extermination is like picking the worms from the top branches of the apple-tree, while hundreds are crawling up from the trunk. To be sure, some worms are picked off; but not much headway is made, so long as the root of the evil is not understood and dealt with.

Our Peace Societies do not understand the fact that war means *cheap men*. "The second qualification for a soldier is poverty, a man to whom a shilling a day is an object."

Almost the cheapest thing on earth to-day is a man. If the world was not full of cheap men, England would find it impossible to recruit her armies for the invasion of savage and heathen lands. Make men dear enough, and wars would not pay: they would die out of themselves.

The thing to learn is how to make man the most costly thing on earth.

John Stuart Mills says, "No remedy for low wages has the smallest chance of being efficacious, which does not operate on and through the minds and habits of the people."

Nothing would so much affect the habits of the masses as less hours of daily toil, less hours of exhausting drudgery, and more leisure to learn the fact that they are men as well as working machines.

It is not, I think, that I do the Free Religionists injustice, but that I rank them so very high that I unshrinkingly make yet new demands upon them, feeling that they are able and willing to answer every legitimate appeal. M. M.

A FRANK LETTER FROM "THE PINEY WOODS OF MISSISSIPPI."

Editors of The Index:—

For years have I been an interested and instructed reader of B. F. Underwood's writings. He has been my model in regard to force and clearness of style. As to the meaning of the language he ordinarily uses, no one needs to be in doubt one moment. Just now, however, I feel limp and helpless, with brains addled and mind wandering in hopeless confusion,—all the result of a rash attempt on my part to read and comprehend his recent "Reply to Mr. Abbot." That gentleman's contribution in the preceding number of *The Index* I examined only partially; for, on seeing the extreme attenuation and tortuosity of thought pervading it, I quite willingly gave it "the grand American bounce," and passed on to easier reading.

The old Schoolmen, in their metaphysical disquisitions on the Homoousion and the Homoiousion, the *tertium quid*, etc., evinced a marvellous aptitude in subtilizing and mystifying language. And there is the modern German, too, who, with his brain beclouded with tobacco smoke, throws upon the world ponderous volumes of distracting vagaries, and, with many, passes for a deep, deep thinker. Nor is our own land altogether free from the presence of writers who habitually affect this mystic, transcendental style,—writers who, fancying themselves surpassingly acute and profound, are, in truth, merely erratic and obscure.

Very likely Mr. Underwood himself regards that species of abstruse, bewildering composition in exactly the same objectionable light in which the mass of plain, common-sense readers do; and that, in this particular instance, he concluded to depart from his usual simplicity, and demonstrate his own ability to juggle with words and muddle minds as adroitly as Mr. Abbot or any other incomprehensible philosopher. Literature, no less than knight-errantry, has long needed the corrective genius of another Cervantes, to burlesque the many misguided knights of the quill that have for ages been tilting against windmills. Clear conceptions are not apt to take the form of confusing expressions. The Scotch metaphysicians, in treating of the laws and powers of mind, have succeeded in tracing the meanderings of thought through every intricacy with masterly ease and perspicuity. The reader is rarely perplexed, and never finds his author in the arena playing the part of a verbal acrobat.

The foregoing criticism, it must be confessed, is anything but polished, or even excusable, coming as it does from the piney woods of Mississippi, whither the culture and æstheticism of Boston have yet to find their way. Then, too, perhaps

> You supply the subject, but can't afford the pains
> To furnish each dull reader with the needed brains.

Truly yours,

S. F. SMURR.

BROOKHAVEN, MISS., August, 1882.

ARE OUR MOBOCRATS ALWAYS FOREIGNERS?

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of July 13th, Mr. B. W. Ball says in an article "Anti-State Theorists," among other illogical utterances: "Meantime let us be just to American institutions. They do not produce mobs. They, by means of popular education and a general diffusion and distribution of political rights, social equality, and property, make men orderly and autonomous. In the common school States there is no *native mob*. It is always an importation from Europe. It is a curse inflicted on us by the abominable social, political, and ecclesiastical systems of the Old World. Though blameless in this matter, we Americans have to suffer in consequence," etc.

It seems to me that Mr. Ball is not well read in history, nor has he seen with a critical eye all that has passed in this country during his lifetime. First of all, Mr. Ball might have read in history that the early New Englanders laid the foundation for mobs and mob-law in prosecuting and even killing Quakers and others who refused to follow the creed of the Puritans. Mr. Ball might recollect that the "Mississippi Pirates," the "Arkansas Regulators," the "Iowa Squatters," the "Missouri Border Ruffians," "Bill Pool," and his associates in New York city, the Rowdies of Baltimore, were all Americans. I would further remind Mr. Ball that even in Boston there were native mobs against abolitionists, that Americans murdered abolitionists in Illinois and elsewhere, that even the ladies seem to have learned from "their lords" how to form mobs (commonly called crusades) and destroy liquor-stores, as they have done in Ohio and some other States.

In conclusion, let me give my opinion of the effects of immigration. Without immigration, the United States would be nowhere, like Mexico. The only cause for the rise and the power of the United States is to be found in the close relationship with their mother country, England, and the rest of Europe. Mexico, and most of the South American Republics, in spite of liberal constitutions, have tumbled back to semi-barbarism for lack of immigration from Europe.

MONROE, MICH., Aug. 1, 1882. C. P.

WE must be as courteous to a man as we are to a picture, which we are willing to give the advantage of a good light.—*Emerson.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

THERE is a moral sublimity in his (Herbert Spencer's) self-sacrificing career which is not to be neglected in making up the estimate of his character. As remarked by M. Laugel: "If Mr. Spencer, with his talents, his fertility of genius, and the almost encyclopedic variety of knowledge, of which his writings furnish the proof, had chosen to follow the beaten path, nothing would have been more easy than for him to secure all these honors of which English society is so prodigal to those who serve her as she wishes to be served. He preferred however, with a noble and touching self-denial, to put up with poverty, and, what is still more difficult, with obscurity." In advance of his generation and working against the powerful current of its prejudices, with broken health, without pecuniary resources, and depending upon promises of support that were very partially redeemed, with an intrepidity that was not wanting in heroism, he entered upon the most formidable intellectual project that was ever undertaken by any single mind. One would think that it should have commanded the sympathy of the generous and the cordial approval, if not the kindly coöperation of all who appreciate courageous and noble endeavor; but, unhappily, a discriminating appreciation of genuine work is not over-abundant in these times. And, in the accomplishment of a task which I believe future generations will regard as the most memorable achievement of this fruitful age, Mr. Spencer has had but stinted encouragement and very shabby support.... Referring to the subject of evolution, in a lecture before the Royal Institution, Professor Huxley said, "The only complete and systematic statement of the doctrine with which I am acquainted is that contained in Mr. Herbert Spencer's *System of Philosophy*." Of this doctrine, I have given the proof that Mr. Spencer is the chief originator as well as the only expositor. The same ethical canons of research, I therefore maintain, which gave to Copernicus the glory of the heliocentric astronomy, to Newton that of the law of gravitation, to Harvey that of the circulation of the blood, to Priestley that of the discovery of oxygen, to Dr. Young that of the undulatory theory of light, and to Darwin that of natural selection, will also give to Herbert Spencer the honor of having first elucidated and established the law of Universal Evolution.—*Prof. E. L. Youmans.*

JOHN RUSKIN, being once solicited to contribute to a fund devoted to restoring Warwick Castle, replied in the following sensible manner: "I am at this hour endeavoring to find work and food for a boy of seventeen, one of eight people,—two married couples, a woman and her daughter, and this boy and his sister,—who all sleep together in one room, eighteen feet square, in the heart of London: and you call upon me for a subscription to help rebuild Warwick Castle! Sir, I am an old and thoroughbred Tory; and as such I say, If a noble family cannot rebuild their own castle, in God's name let them live in the nearest ditch till they can."

BOOK NOTICES.

IN the *Popular Science Monthly* for September, Mr. C. M. Lungren gives a statement of the relative cost of "Electric and Gas Illumination." Dr. Felix L. Oswald writes, in the clear, pungent, aggressive style that is characteristic of him, concerning "Longevity," to the effect that the length of life is to a considerable extent a matter of temperament and habit, and shows how it is affected by the occupation of the individual. In "Animal Self-defence," Mr. H. L. Fairchild describes the varieties of armor, the disguises, and the kinds of weapons with which animals are provided. "Brazilian Diamonds and their Origin," by M. H. Gorceix, is full of information concerning precious minerals. In "The Functions of an American Manual Training-school," Prof. C. M. Woodward presents some timely remarks on the importance of giving a more practical aspect to education. In "A Note on 'Thought reading,'" Mr. Horatio Donkin disputes the possibility of performing the feat so named, except where there is some kind of communication, however indirect or remote, between the parties to the transaction. Prof. George H. Perkins, of the Medical Department of the University of Vermont, discusses "The Physician of the Future." M. A. De Rochas gives a pleasant account of the "Trials by Fire." In

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"Electromania," Mr. W. Mattieu Williams depreciates the advance which the world supposes itself to have made in the application of electricity to its work. "Anthropoid Mythology," by Dr. B. Placzek, is a curious repertory of lore concerning monkeys and their likeness to man from ancient Oriental and ancient Mexican literature. In "The Poisons of the Manufactory," Mr. Hector George presents a number of suggestions of practical value concerning the poisonous emanations which are the dangerous accompaniments of many manufacturing processes, and the means of counteracting them. In "Littré, Dumas, Pasteur, and Taine," are references to a recent discussion in the French Academy of Sciences. An entertaining paper follows on "The Chinese: their Manners and Customs." The editor in his table commends the example of Sir John Lubbock—a man of wealth, who gives his time to scientific investigation—to American young men of wealth, has something to say on the views recently expressed by Mr. Beecher on theology and evolution, and suggests as a proper American memorial to Mr. Darwin the institution of a fund for scientific research.

EVERYBODY will want to buy the September number of *Scribner's*, if for no other reason than to secure the excellent portrait of Mark Twain which graces its first page. It was engraved by T. Cole, "after the painting in black and white from life, by Abbott H. Thayer." There is also a sketch of the life of Mr. Clemens by W. D. Howells. "The Academic Career of ex-President Woolsey," of Yale, is interestingly sketched by George P. Fisher, and is accompanied by portraits. These, with an interesting article by Austin Dobson on "Thomas Bewick," one of the earliest artists in wood engraving, and a sketch of "Dante Gabriel Rossetti," the dead poet-artist, by his friend Edmund W. Gosse, make this quite a biographical number. Some of the other more prominent articles are "Ocean Steamships," by S. G. W. Benjamin; "Ningpo and the Buddhist Temples," by Constance F. Gordon Cumming; and "The War in Egypt," by Gen. George B. McClellan. Joaquin Miller contributes one of his characteristic stories, the title of which is "The Col. Bill Williams' Mine." In the "Topics for the Times," appreciative tributes are paid to Herbert Spencer and Darwin.

THE *Catholic World* for September offers to its readers the following list of subjects: "The Catholic Church and the Native Mexicans," by Bryan J. Clark; "How the Church of England finds its Pastors," by Wm. F. Dennehey; "Fernan Caballero," by Ella J. McMahon; "Into the Silent Land," by Mary E. Meline; "The Tornado and its Origin," by Rev. Martin S. Brennan; "Philosophy of Hero-Worship," by Arthur F. Marshall; "Pilgrim's Progress," by J. Huntington; "Last Pages in the Journal of Eve de la Tour d'Arrainie," by Agnes Repplier; "The Opening of the Schools," by Rev. Henry A. Braun. The two well-written continued stories, "The Lady of the Lake," by John McCarthy, and "Donna Quixote," by Henrietta M. K. Brownell, are concluded in this number, which is altogether a very readable one.

THE illustrations in the September *Wide Awake* seem to us unusually good in a magazine almost unrivalled in this respect, while in number they are unstinted. Mrs. Lizzie W. Champney tells an interesting Norse story in "The Cave of the Winds"; "The Little Texas Nurse Girl" is an exceedingly clever bit of negro dialect, by M. T. Cushing; "The Truant Fire-Flies," by Clara Doty Bates, is a charming fairy tale in jingling rhyme. The Chautauqua papers are interestingly instructive as usual, and the whole number is quite up to its own excellent standard.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

EX-REV. MILN is announced among those who are to speak at the Watkin's Glen Convention this week.

COL. JOHN C. BUNDY, of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, is, with his wife, passing a few weeks East, attending camp-meeting and visiting seaside resorts.

HUDSON TUTTLE, Emma Tuttle, Rev. D. Cheyney, Mrs. M. P. Krekle, C. B. Hoffman, ex-Governor Charles Robinson, Mrs. H. M. Stearns, and David Eccles are announced to speak at the fourth annual camp-meeting to be held in Bismark Grove, Kansas, from August 31 to September 3.

THE free thinkers of Paris are not satisfied to allow the remains of Diderot to remain in the vaults of the Church of St. Roch. They appeal to all free thinkers in France to help them to get the philosopher out of his present "unworthy sepulchre," to erect a statue over his future tomb in some central part of Paris, and to celebrate his centenary in 1884.

CAPT. MAYNE REID, the well-known writer, who "fought for glory, grub, and Jackson's medal" in the Mexican War, and is obliged to wear crutches because of a wound received during that war, is a resident of Herefordshire, England. His father was a Presbyterian clergyman, and a native of County Downs, Ireland. Capt. Reid is described as an eccentric but "charming old gentleman, fond of a chat, fond of a glass, and especially fond of a good listener."

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, in a note accompanying an article for this journal, writes: "By the time it is printed, I shall have the pleasure to be in America. My address the first part of September will be Geo. S. McWalter, 221 East 18th Street, New York. The second week in September I shall be the guest of Col. Ingersoll at Long Branch, then I proceed to Canada. . . . At the end of September, my address will be James Charlton, Esq., Chicago & Alton Railroad, Chicago, Ill."

A VOLUMINOUS packet of manuscript, labelled simply "Notes," has been found among the papers left by Thiers. The notes extend to three hundred and forty-seven pages, and appear to be materials for the memoirs of M. Thiers. Some of the pages are mere fragments, but there are others ready for the press; namely, a pen portrait of Louis Philippe, a conversation with Talleyrand, the portrait of Jacques Lafitte, and a furious diatribe against Napoleon III. There is also a chapter on the abuse of fiction in modern literature.

SAYS the *Commonwealth*: "Friends of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll say (so it is reported) that, when he undertook the defence of the Star-Route men, he fully believed in their innocence. But the more recent testimony as to their guilt has convinced him that he is upholding a bad cause. Consequently, he has determined, as soon as he is done with the case, to quit the law business entirely and devote all his attention to lecturing. What a comment this is on the practice of the law! And now the bar, as well as the Church, will be down upon him."

SENATOR BENJAMIN HARVEY HILL, of Georgia, died of cancer, at his home in Atlanta, on the 16th. He was very popular in his State, where especially his death causes profound sorrow. He was a man of fine presence, a ready and powerful but not always discreet debater, and a brilliant although not a sagacious leader. His attachment to his own State was very strong. "Other men," said he in his sick-room, "might have served Georgia with more ability and success, but no man could have labored for her with purer purpose or a more earnest devotion." He was fifty-nine years old.

PROF. A. WUNDT, of Leipzig, as translated in the *New Englander* by Rev. J. B. Chase, denies to spiritualistic mediums like Mr. Slade, who held séances at Leipzig in the presence of noted scientists, any scientific trustworthiness. It would, he thinks, give an unfavorable impression, if one should ask a physicist to watch the movements of a magnet through a keyhole, or an astronomer to select a cellar vault for his observatory. Yet the observer of spiritic phenomena must be content with just such unfavorable conditions. Mr. Slade did nothing, in the judgment of Prof. Wundt, more than could reasonably be expected of a skilful juggler who makes favorable conditions of various kinds for himself.

FANNY PARNELL is said to have been one of the most learned women in the country, reading with ease the modern languages of Europe, as well as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. That she had a deep heart is evident to any one who has read the verses which have made her the successor of Lady Wilde as the patriot poet of Ireland. Her blood connected her with the distinguished deeds of our American navy, as well as with the land from which her paternal ancestors came; and she proved herself worthy to belong to a family which her brother has also made distinguished. Peculiarly sad seems the premature death of so many whose genius had given promise of adding honor to our country's literature.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to coöperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reëlection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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The office of the Association is at 3 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON (directly in the rear of the Tremont House), where is also the publication office of *The Index*.

All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

Communications intended specially for the Secretary, as well as his personal correspondence, should be addressed to him at PROVIDENCE, R.I.

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 97

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
England in Eclipse, Moncure D. Conway, ... 98
T. De Witt Talmage, Rowland Connor, ... 99
The Chinese Question, E. D. Cheney, ... 99
Faith Miracles, Mary J. Safford, ... 101

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 101

POETRY.
The Growth of Wisdom, H. L. Howard, ... 102

ESSAY.
The Scientific and Metaphysical Methods in Philosophy, Lewis G. Janes, ... 103

CORRESPONDENCE.
Our Late National Danger, S. E. Moffett, ... 106

BOOK NOTICES.
Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863, Wiley Britton, ... 107
King's Hand-Book of Boston Harbor, M. F. Sweetser, . 107
Atlantic Monthly, North American Review, St. Nicholas, Unitarian Review, ... 107

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 107

CURRENT TOPICS.

FORTY-FOUR years ago this month, Abner Kneeland, a learned, moral, and kind-hearted old man, was released from Leverett Street jail, in this city, where he had been imprisoned sixty days for the crime of "blasphemy."

EXPERIMENTS made at Havre to test a system of telephony between the roads and the city proved so successful that it is now proposed to form a pontoon structure at a distance from the land, on board of which public telephones will be placed to put the shipping in communication with the land.

REV. G. W. SAMS, a Methodist minister, writes from Little Rock, Ark., that "we as ministers have three common foes to deal with, the devil, the ministers of the African Methodist Church, and the members of the Baptist Church." Mr. Sams thinks that the last two of these foes are as dangerous as the first.

THE papers report that President Arthur, last Monday at Newport, after an elaborate breakfast at the residence of W. W. Astor, and an hour's reception at the Ocean House, "attended the fox hunt," riding out with Mrs. Astor, and being the recipient of "no little attention at the meet." The President's encouragement of this mean and cruel sport is not "greatly to his credit."

THE London *Positivist*, in a protest against the action of England in Egypt, says in substance: Our fleet should be withdrawn from Egyptian waters, the control should be given up, the bond holders should be left to shift for themselves, and the Egyptian government should be informed that, so long as the canal is not injured, we will not meddle with the country nor allow any other nation to meddle with it.

THREE scientific associations held their meetings in Montreal last week; namely, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Society for the Promotion of Agricultural Science, and the American Forestry Congress. A number of distinguished British scientists were present at these meetings. Our neighbors of the Dominion will be expected to make great progress in science during the coming year, in consequence of being so unusually favored.

ON the 28th, the thirteenth annual convention of the New England Galaudet Association of Deaf Mutes was held at Norwich, Conn., at which three hundred deaf mutes were present. The draft of a constitution, submitted by a member of the committee on constitution and by-laws, was the subject of a long discussion. It was taken up, spelled out section by section in the sign language, and finally adopted. A motion to allow the female members of the Association to vote was the subject of some merriment, but was not sustained.

AN illustration of the same conditions which make "faith cures" possible is found in a superstition which has a directly contrary effect. In the Sandwich Islands, it is said to be "a fact too perfectly established to admit of a question that it was once not an uncommon occurrence for a man's enemy to employ a priest to pray the man to death, and that the victim, hearing of this, would certainly die on the day the priest had appointed for that consummation of the bargain. . . . No amount of ridicule or argument could convince the natives that they might just as well continue to live as die for all the priests could do."

THIS year, for the first time in more than two hundred years, a Roman Catholic prelate has been presented at the English court in his official dress. Since the days of Queen Elizabeth, who strongly disliked the Roman purple, the court dress prescribed for ecclesiastics has been strictly black; but Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, just returned from Rome, was permitted to appear at a levee in London, held by the Prince of Wales in behalf of the Queen, in his official garb, consisting of a *soutanelle*, purple stockings, and wearing on his crown a purple *zucchetta*, and around his neck a golden chain with cross pendant.

FRANCES POWER COBBE, in an article on the "Salvation Army" in a recent *Contemporary Review*, takes the view that revivals like these belong to the childhood of religion, and are unfitted for this age, when religion means something altogether different from a contrivance provided for the escape of souls from perdition. However, strangely indicative of the strength of this movement, and inferentially of the low intellectual grade of the average religion of to-day, is the fact that, in the same number of the magazine in which Miss Cobbe's article appears, space is given to two other articles on the same subject, one written by "Gen." Booth, the originator and leader of the movement.

THE Catholic bishop, Lafleche, of Three Rivers, Canada, says the female members of his flock must forego banged hair, frizzes, and fashionable dress, as they "are incompatible with true Catholicism." And another clergyman of the same place gives as his reason for defending the denunciations of the bishop against gay dresses for women the fact that "there is such extravagance nowadays that we cannot tell the difference between mistress and maid. I defy any one to do it." Such priestly domineering as this may do much to awaken the female Canadian mind to thought, and incite a spirit of inquiry as to the limitations of priestly power and of resistance to religious tyranny.

"HARDLY anything," says the *Herald*, "more fully indicates what is going on in the religious circles of English and American society, or in the conservative religious thought of the two countries, than the topics selected for the annual Church congresses." Among the topics selected for this year, which the *Herald* gives somewhat at length, we note the following: "The Church and Modern Thought"; "The Limit of Authority and Free Thought"; "The Harmony of Science and Faith"; "The Church and Democracy"; "The Inspiration of the Scriptures"; "Unity of Belief in Relation to Diversities of Thought"; and "The Controversy with Rome." All these subjects show plainly that the churches begin fully to realize their precarious hold on the minds and hearts of the people under the awakening influence of wide-spread scientific investigation.

THE death of Prof. W. Stanley Jevons, who was drowned while bathing on the 15th, is deeply regretted, especially by students of mental and social science in all parts of the world. Although he did not possess originality of the highest type, he was a good thinker, a hard worker, and admirably fitted for a teacher, especially in the fields of logic and political economy. His little work on "Logic" and that on "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange" have been widely read. His work on the "Theory of Political Economy" has not received the approval of economists generally. His works on the "Coal Question" in Great Britain and on the "Value of Gold" won him a high reputation. These, and other productions from his pen, attest the useful work he performed for the world at large, while he filled a place that cannot be easily supplied as Professor of Logic and Political Economy at Owen's College, Manchester. He was forty-seven years old.

A CONVENTION of free thinkers, held at Watkins Glen, N.Y., through five days, closed its sessions last Sunday evening. The reports published are somewhat meagre, and we defer comments until we shall be in possession of fuller information. The most prominent speakers announced as "engaged" or "expected," including Herbert Spencer, Felix Adler, and Col. Ingersoll, were not present. Mr. George C. Miln, however, spoke, and no doubt gave an able address.——Since the former part of this paragraph was written, Mr. Charles Bright, who was one of the speakers at Watkins, has informed us that the attendance on the speaking averaged about five hundred, and that the audiences were made up chiefly from the surrounding towns, although a number attended from a distance. The speaking represented many *isms* and many reforms, real or fancied,—Materialism, Spiritualism, Positivism, Agnosticism, Negativism, Woman's Rights, Temperance, "Social Freedom," etc.

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ENGLAND IN ECLIPSE.

Madame de Staël's remark that she didn't believe in ghosts, but was afraid of them, has often been quoted. It might be placed on a label to indicate the large number of cases in which beliefs which have died out of the intellect linger in the nerves. Here is the Irish author, Miss Cobbe, the first editor of Theodore Parker in this country, one of the earliest to substitute "Theist" for "Christian" in her faith; yet she is terribly disturbed at the irreverence of the present day in general, and in particular at the rough familiarity of the Salvation Army folk with God. One of their preachers, for instance, says, "They accuse us of being always in a row; but isn't God always in a row?" This is one, though an extreme, example of the kind of talk which has shocked Miss Cobbe, or rather her nerves. If a scholarly writer on the gods of Greece had described Jupiter as being always in a row, Miss Cobbe would probably not have noticed it; but there is as great a distance between the god of Miss Cobbe and the god of the Salvation Army as there is between her god and Jupiter. What she has written against the god of orthodoxy must be regarded by the orthodox as quite blasphemous and shocking. Her present protest assumes that her deity of Infinite Love and the god of wrath feared by the Salvationist are the same being: whereas, in every respect they are different and opposed, as Theodore Parker said to the Calvinist who sought his conversion, "Your god is my devil." Why, then, should a Parkerite feel sensitive at any familiarities his worshippers may take with a deity in whose existence they disbelieve? Is she—or rather, her nerves—victim of a Name spelled with a big N? That such is the case is suggested by the fact that she goes on to complain of the "irreverence" of our time. She says that John Stuart Mill told her he thought this "irreverence" grew out of the modern advance in education. Children are now often educated so much better than their parents that they cease to revere them. Miss Cobbe seems naïvely to ignore the second edge of Mill's remark; namely, that what is usually called "reverence" is the child of ignorance. There is, indeed, such a thing as real irreverence; and among the worst examples of it are parents who do not hold in honor the new ideas and higher culture of their sons and daughters. The irreverence of children is often a reply to the unteachableness of parents.

Taking the facts in the aggregate, and especially in an old country like this, we may say that the characteristic faults of the younger generation are the other side of inveterate faults in the older generation. Thought and enthusiasm are always starting out only to come dead against the wall of prescription, custom, tradition. Liberated thoughts find themselves prisoners. Young thinkers foresee that, in the course of life, they will be compelled to adapt themselves to those limits, and ultimately turn into part of the dead wall. Their only compensation is to say what they think about it during their period of sanity; and it is not to be wondered if they do so cynically, or even blasphemously. It is a fault, it is unwise, it is coarse; but who makes the coarse blasphemer? They who exclude him from the influences of refined society, who spit on him, who trample him, who show by doing so that every holy phrase on their lips is a lie, and thereby make "reverence" for their traditions mean and hypocritical.

The degree to which the present is oppressed and fettered by the past is just now shown in many ways. In dogmatic superstition, it is shown in the resolute refusal of bigots to repeal an antiquated statute punishing blasphemy, which has resulted in the reckless attempt of a member of Parliament to tomahawk Bradlaugh politically with it. Blasphemy is a misdemeanor at common law, and is held to include "any denial of the truth of Christianity in general, or of the existence of God, whether the terms of such publication are decent or otherwise," or "any contemptuous reviling or ludicrous matter relating to God, Jesus Christ, or the Bible, or the formularies of the Church of England as by law established." Under the statute, it is blasphemy to "deny any one of the persons in the Holy Trinity to be God, or to deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of divine authority." By this statute, were it equally applied, all the authors of heretical books and the publishers and printers of such, are liable to imprisonment,—Huxley, Tyndall, Colenso, Herbert Spencer, F. W. Newman, Miss Cobbe, Swinburne, Lecky, Froude, Leslie Stephen, Stopford Brooke, Charles Voysey, the Duke of Somerset, the Marquis of Queensberry, Martineau and all the Unitarians, and the Positivists; and equally the publishers of the works of Mill, Darwin, Clifford, Carlyle, Emerson, Sir George Cox, and a host of others. Justice Stephen, who had to commit Bradlaugh and the others for trial, has himself written things far from orthodox, and, if the persecuted free thinkers make reprisals—as they will be forced to do, if sentenced—may have to take his place in the dock instead of on the bench. The trial is to come off in the Court of Queen's Bench in November; and one result is certain,—the trial and condemnation of an absurd statute and of those silly Christians who have prevented its erasure from the code of a country claiming to be civilized. I have already expressed my dislike of the method of the men charged with blasphemy; but, if the bigots make it the test of liberty, all good men will begin to blaspheme.

So much for the way in which the living are swayed by the skeleton of a defunct past, under the sanction of superstition. In the political world, we are suffering still more by a corresponding anachronism. The majority of those who make up the present English ministry are in heart and history representatives of progress, of equality, and of new ideas. If you can fancy a cabinet at Washington made up of such men as George Curtis, Wentworth Higginson, Wendell Phillips, and James Russell Lowell, you would have one corresponding to this ministry, containing Fawcett, Dilke, Trevelyan, Chamberlain, and just now John Bright. Religious traditionalism embodied in Gladstone, political traditionalism embodied in the Marquis of Hartington, have bound these young thinkers and radicals to the worn-out "policy"—or rather impolicy—of the old Palmerstonian *régime*, which was a petrifaction of the accumulated unjust precedents of centuries.

The lionizing of Cetewayo in London, at a time when a petty war is waged against the Egyptians, is a striking fact that seems to strike no Englishman. The old plan of Judge Jeffreys, hanging the prisoner and trying him afterward, has been pursued toward the Zulus. After large numbers of whites and blacks have been slain, Cetewayo is now brought here, his case looked into, his evidence received; and it is pretty clearly made out that the whole Zulu war was a scheme of Bartle Frere and his missionaries for propagating Christianity, and that Cetewayo will have to be restored to his throne, and things put back about as they were before the miserable crusade occurred. If Cetewayo had only been invited to England before, instead of after, the struggle, much fruitless suffering might have been escaped. And precisely the same may be said about Arabi. For all that is really known in this country, Arabi may be as noble a man as Garibaldi was, while the Arabians were describing him as a demon with long tusks who breakfasted off a baby every morning. At any rate, a consultation between the English at home and Arabi might almost certainly have prevented this cruel and barbarous war of England against Egyptian nationality.

And why has it not occurred? Why did it not occur in the case of the Zulus? Simply because the traditional notions of British dignity, as codified by Palmerston, are: 1. Always stand by an official agent in a foreign land, whether he is right or wrong, and whatever he does; 2. Whenever there is a difference between English agents and natives in a foreign land, never receive any communication from the natives except through your own agents, or, in plain words, never hear but one side; 3. Every Englishman's interest is a British interest, where the nation can secure any interest by maintaining it; 4. However much you may have denounced the injustice of a government when you are out of power, when you get into power you must stand by what they have done as the national honor. To this, Gladstone has added: 5. Never shrink from bloodshed, if it's against an unbeliever.

This sort of thing has been going on for ages: the painful part of it now is that it is not done by Tories nor by fossilized Whigs, but by a government containing elements of scholarly radicalism and liberal thought more largely than any known in the history of England. The hands of these young thinkers are fettered, while their minds are free. And they seem to have no dream that any deliverance from these deep-worn ruts of ages is possible. Nor is it possible until this nation has a religion. At present, England has no religion. That which it calls its religion is merely a consecration of everything that happens to coincide with the wealth, pleasure, ambition, and political estates of England. English Christianity is the most perfectly evolved and gigantic example of systematized selfishness known in all history. Against this Christian war against Egypt,—which may now be called the Land of Bondholderage,—really meant to extort from the Moslems there usurious interest on the late Khedive's borrowings, spent in their oppression, imposed against their protest, the voices lifted (with few exceptions) have been those of unbelievers in Christianity, and particularly the Positivists. While English Christianity is loving its enemies with Gatling guns, the pleading of Christ for humanity and peace has been heard from men on their defence for blasphemy. So long as Christianity sits in the seat of religion, there is not the least chance that the moral character and influence of England will increase: on the contrary, they must decrease. This is a hard thing to say of a country which, within its feudal walls, contains so many sweet and noble people. But it is true. All the hard, selfish, and hypocritical elements of the country have become incarnate in one powerful man, without relation to the really great brains of his country, who rules England with a power all the more despotic because it is under the banner of Liberalism. There is no oppression of weak tribes, no petty persecution at home, which has not crept out of its hole under his reign. Gladstone regards himself as half saint, if not more: it is a species of atheism to say anything against him; even Bradlaugh's tone lowers when he speaks concerning the Premier. But, whatever Gladstone may have been in earlier days, he is now representative of the aggregate meanness of the country, of its vulgar superstitions, its heartless dogmatism, and of that soft-footed, cruel selfishness which loves to symbolize

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itself as a lion. There is a British Lion, and when out of office it is a brave and noble creature; but, whenever it sits on the Treasury Bench, it turns into a cat.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

T. DE WITT TALMAGE.

Mr. Talmage is just now a very prominent fact. His church membership in Brooklyn is only surpassed in numbers by that of Beecher, and his sermons are more widely published than those of any other living preacher. They are dictated by Talmage himself to an enterprising reporter in advance of their delivery, and, after being printed, are sent in great numbers to Western newspapers, which reproduce them for their hundreds of thousands of readers at the same time that they are given in the Brooklyn Church.

It was with no little expectation, therefore, that I took an excursion train on a recent Sunday to Highland Lake Grove, where this well-advertised minister was announced to preach. The day was a perfect summer day. The grove, belonging to the Railroad Company, centres about a pretty sheet of water, and has been admirably fitted up for excursionists and picnic parties; and I found here a well-behaved crowd of at least two thousand persons gathered within the open and spacious building in which the services were held.

There is nothing ministerial about the preacher. Anywhere else than behind the pulpit, he might be taken for a prosperous plumber in his good clothes; and there is nothing in voice or manner to destroy this impression. His voice is unusually harsh, and, in the delivery of his sermon, was used without any intelligent modulation, varying only from a conversational tone to an unpleasant and apparently exhausting shout. His manner is uncouth. He strides and stamps, and gesticulates wildly with arms and legs and head, but with little reference to any parallelism between gesture and sense. The impression given by his elocution, if this word may be used, is that of an undignified and very artificial striving after effect. There is an utter absence of earnestness; and his extravagant and sometimes vivid rhetoric was again and again completely disarranged by the introduction of that prolonged "Oh," which is used by the most ignorant Second Adventist and Methodist exhorters in order to gain time while they are groping about for the next word or phrase. His sentences, therefore, were often unfinished, and became mere empty ejaculations, reminding a hearer of that neat statement called out some years ago by the Beecher troubles, that the language of some men, like that of the lower animals, is used to express emotion, and not reflection; but, in the case of Talmage, the ejaculations seemed to work like pump handles, calling up emotion for the special moment.

His sermon, as a literary effort, was not in the least artistic. It had no real plan or logical development, no central point, and led up to no legitimate peroration. In fact, after he had ended his real subject, which was a defence of the Bible, he gave a long exhortation to "get" religion, which differed only in rhetorical extravagance from the commonplace exhortations of the most ordinary revivalist. His pronunciation throughout was characterized by giving to several vowels the same obscure sound,—the familiar method which marks the pronunciation of all uncultivated persons. In this, however, he was consistent, for he sneered at "cultchar," as he pronounced the word in a successful attempt to call forth a titter from the crowd; and he sneered also at all modern learning, as illustrated by those who go about with a copy of *Darwin* under one arm and a box of dried butterflies under the other, prating about the survival of the fittest.

His defence of the Bible was a perfect farce; and the infidel, who was roundly denounced, must have chuckled at the recklessness with which this theologaster played into his hands. "That Shakspere wrote 'Hamlet' or Scott wrote 'Marmion,'" says Talmage, "is not so sure as that the Lord God Almighty, by his prophets and apostles, wrote this book." And, again, "The Bible says that Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed by fire and brimstone. 'Absurd!' says infidelity: 'no such natural phenomenon ever took place.' But Lieutenant Lynch drops his line into the Dead Sea, which occupies the site of those two cities, and brings up sulphur, pieces of the very brimstone which came down from heaven." Mark Twain, in his *Innocents Abroad*, never wrote anything more deliciously comical than some of Talmage's arguments. I observe that, in the newspaper reports of this sermon, the ejaculations and repetitions are omitted, the sentences are finished, and much of the rhetoric is either abbreviated or altogether thrown out, thus making the abstract more endurable than the original.

Perhaps I should add that the Scripture reading (in this instance, the parable of the Prodigal Son) was interpolated with remarks, which were sometimes misinterpretations of plain words, sometimes only synonymous phrases, and sometimes puerile additions. They always tortured or obscured the meaning, and spoiled the effect, of the simple story. The prayer also, which was nominally addressed to Christ, but really to the audience, was shouted out in disconnected sentences, and was without any reverence or emotion. Silence, in place of it, would have been a great boon.

A brass band, close at my side, fittingly caught up the harsh Amen! of the stereotyped benediction; and I hurried away to the other side of the lake that distance might soften the tones of the instruments, and soften also, if possible, the memory of the harsh tones of the speaker.

And this man is the admired preacher of a large congregation, the hero of several religious newspapers, and an acknowledged exponent of evangelical Christianity! Alas! have we fallen so low? I had expected of course to find a sensationalist, but supposed there must be something of genuine excellence about him to account for his popularity. I had not bargained for stage artifice and violent straining, for puerile and absurd illustrations instead of a little real thought and knowledge, for foot-stamping in place of effective language, for loud shouting instead of true declamation, for reckless assertion instead of attempted proof, for exaggeration in place of simple fact, for turgid imagery supplying the lack of elevation of feeling, or trashy bathos instead of pathetic plea. The only real power I could detect was the power of exaggerated illustration and tinselled rhetoric.

What is the best use to make of Sunday? was a question which came to me with redoubled emphasis after the above farce was played out. Better almost anything than to attend such a parody upon religious service. I looked about the grove, and saw that many persons were boating on the lake, others were swinging, others were revolving on wooden horses, and many were reclining on the grass, enjoying the beautiful scene, basking in the sunshine, and drinking in the fresh air; and I knew that those in this grove were only representatives of tens of thousands more who were similarly engaged all about the good city of Boston. I came away a more confirmed latitudinarian than ever with regard to Sunday observance. Let the bands play, open the bowling-alleys and gardens, let the trains run into the country, and the steamboats carry their crowds out upon the ocean,—let anything be done to rest the mind and body and lure people away from the churches in which such preaching is given them for spiritual food. If I were compelled to choose between Talmage and Barnum, I should say, without any hesitation, Give me the Sunday circus. I could listen even to the stale jokes of the clown on Sunday, and receive less shock to moral and reverential feeling than was given by these clerical jokes intended to ridicule the noblest triumphs of the century. Even the clown sings a sentimental ballad which awakens a real emotion in some of his listeners; and, in this respect at least, the clown's ballad is better than Talmage's prayer.

But I believe there is something infinitely better for a summer Sunday than either Talmage or Barnum, and I sincerely hope that the choice may never need to be made between these extremes. The two thousand who listened to Talmage were mostly young men and women, respectable clerks, shop-girls, and mechanics, with a sprinkling of others of all ages and pursuits. Why cannot arrangements be made to furnish these men and women with real preaching instead of its simulacrum? Why can they not listen to the voice of a prophet instead of a superficial actor? Most of them were willing to endure for three hours (including morning and afternoon services) this sprinkling over their heads of theological chaff. Why not enable them to spend at least one hour in the reception of real mental nourishment? Have we no speakers competent to tell the truth about the Bible, and give instruction to such an audience regarding its origin and its history, its real merits, and its equally real defects? Have we not scholarly men, with popular gifts, who could unfold the truths of geology, for instance, or of any of the natural or social sciences on a correct comprehension of which our civilization really rests? What benefit might not such a multitude receive, if they could go home from a lecture on the revelations of Darwin, at which the preacher sneered, or even a pleasant talk about the dried butterflies, at which he also sneered! Many persons will not, even if they should, remain in the close city upon their only holiday in the summer time. Could not the Sunday excursions be so used that these might return to their homes, after a day in the fresh air, carrying with them some positive fact or real criticism, or enkindled by some new aspiration, or softened by some pure emotion? However much this might fall short of furnishing an ideal Sunday observance, it would at least be vastly preferable to the present assumption of an attendance upon divine worship, from which can be carried away nothing more substantial than would be the memory of the noise of an empty barrel rolling down hill.

ROWLAND CONNOR.

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

II.

Is there any chance that the Chinese will become settled good citizens? It is answered that a generation has passed since they began to come among us, and there is yet no change in their habits. They still come and go, mere birds of passage. But what inducement have we held out to them to remain? All emigrants at first go abroad with the hope of returning home; and the Chinaman, among a people of different race, religion, and customs, who have given him no hospitality, but rather scorn and abuse, will hardly be swift to exchange his home. He is especially devoted to his family and his ancestors, and it is therefore harder for him to give up living where his fathers lived and being buried beside them than it is for other men. Still there are signs that some of them begin to con-

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patriarchal idea produces an almost slavish veneration for woman as mother, but a contempt for her as wife. A Chinaman permits his mother to choose his wife for him, and accepts her commands as laws; but the wife must consult his pleasure and comfort in everything. But the actual relation of man and woman is almost always better than the nominal one. In the Chinese family lately so sadly broken up at Cambridge, we are assured there were domestic happiness and mutual respect and love; and, in the strong family love which is characteristic of the Chinese, we see that there must be good elements at work to counteract the unquestionable evils of their ideas of woman and of marriage.

Here, too, is work for the reformer. It is only by raising the whole standard of equality and purity in the relations of the sexes that we can destroy the last vestiges of polygamy and struggle with the still wider and greater evils of profligacy. As the Chinese come among us, we must teach them by legal enactment, by precept, by the force of public opinion, and still more by example, the superior blessing of a home founded on marriage, on the equality of man and woman, on obedience to the sanitary laws and the highest spiritual teachings. In their own religion and literature, we could find abundant helps to this instruction. They have seen a better way than they have been able to follow. Which do *we* ask to be judged by as a nation, the utterances of our Gospels and Declarations of Rights or the records of our police courts? I cannot admit that either is right, or in policy we ought to drive the Chinese back from our shores. We have no right to do so; for we have taken possession of the land by no valid title but the ability to use it, and they possess that title as fully as we. We have no right to expel them, because we have proclaimed the doctrine of a free country to all who would take part with us in developing the soil and establishing here free and orderly government, and they have shown no willingness to do so. And, especially, we have no right to expel them from our country, because we have forced them to admit us to theirs; and we have gone there in precisely the same spirit which we complain of in them, to make money by traffic, returning to our own land to enjoy it, with no desire or intention to become citizens of their state or subjects of their government, but rather holding ourselves aloof from them in proud scorn and fancied superiority.

It is bad policy to drive them away, because they are a useful, intelligent people, believing in education and work, two of the great pillars on which our social fabric rests. But, if we ought to and must retain them here, have we not a duty to ourselves and them to discharge, in order that we may harmonize our lives and our interests, so that we may mutually benefit each other? We must first lay aside our prejudices of race and of class, and cordially accept them as equally entitled to all the respect and all the privileges of humanity with ourselves. This lesson we have had to learn over and over again, with the Indian and the Negro, only at the cost of war and bloodshed. May we be wise enough to accept the milder teachings of wisdom and humanity in the case of the Asiatic! We must next learn to know the Chinaman thoroughly, studying him in his history, his religion, his literature, his government, his social traits: then, we shall find that we have much to learn as well as to teach, and mutual respect will bring mutual help.

The Chinaman must be freely admitted into our churches, our schools, into all our life, if we wish that our civilization should act upon him. Excluded by custom, if not by law, from the public schools in many places, the only direct influence for education that is open to him, so far as I know,

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patriarchal idea produces an almost slavish veneration for woman as mother, but a contempt for her as wife. A Chinaman permits his mother to choose his wife for him, and accepts her commands as laws; but the wife must consult his pleasure and comfort in everything. But the actual relation of man and woman is almost always better than the nominal one. In the Chinese family lately so sadly broken up at Cambridge, we are assured there were domestic happiness and mutual respect and love; and, in the strong family love which is characteristic of the Chinese, we see that there must be good elements at work to counteract the unquestionable evils of their ideas of woman and of marriage.

Here, too, is work for the reformer. It is only by raising the whole standard of equality and purity in the relations of the sexes that we can destroy the last vestiges of polygamy and struggle with the still wider and greater evils of profligacy. As the Chinese come among us, we must teach them by legal enactment, by precept, by the force of public opinion, and still more by example, the superior blessing of a home founded on marriage, on the equality of man and woman, on obedience to the sanitary laws and the highest spiritual teachings. In their own religion and literature, we could find abundant helps to this instruction. They have seen a better way than they have been able to follow. Which do *we* ask to be judged by as a nation, the utterances of our Gospels and Declarations of Rights or the records of our police courts? I cannot admit that either is right, or in policy we ought to drive the Chinese back from our shores. We have no right to do so; for we have taken possession of the land by no valid title but the ability to use it, and they possess that title as fully as we. We have no right to expel them, because we have proclaimed the doctrine of a free country to all who would take part with us in developing the soil and establishing here free and orderly government, and they have shown no willingness to do so. And, especially, we have no right to expel them from our country, because we have forced them to admit us to theirs; and we have gone there in precisely the same spirit which we complain of in them, to make money by traffic, returning to our own land to enjoy it, with no desire or intention to become citizens of their state or subjects of their government, but rather holding ourselves aloof from them in proud scorn and fancied superiority.

It is bad policy to drive them away, because they are a useful, intelligent people, believing in education and work, two of the great pillars on which our social fabric rests. But, if we ought to and must retain them here, have we not a duty to ourselves and them to discharge, in order that we may harmonize our lives and our interests, so that we may mutually benefit each other? We must first lay aside our prejudices of race and of class, and cordially accept them as equally entitled to all the respect and all the privileges of humanity with ourselves. This lesson we have had to learn over and over again, with the Indian and the Negro, only at the cost of war and bloodshed. May we be wise enough to accept the milder teachings of wisdom and humanity in the case of the Asiatic! We must next learn to know the Chinaman thoroughly, studying him in his history, his religion, his literature, his government, his social traits: then, we shall find that we have much to learn as well as to teach, and mutual respect will bring mutual help.

The Chinaman must be freely admitted into our churches, our schools, into all our life, if we wish that our civilization should act upon him. Excluded by custom, if not by law, from the public schools in many places, the only direct influence for education that is open to him, so far as I know,

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is in the missions of the evangelical sects. These are doing good in various ways,—in saving children from abuse and misery, in instructing the Chinese in English, in encouraging marriage in our sense, and in giving them confidence in the kind feeling of Americans toward them. In many cases, the Chinese send to the missions for help when they are ill or in trouble. I am told that every church in San Francisco is doing something in this way. But it is done in the spirit of proselytism, and the instruction given is very largely formal and ritual. The Chinaman takes the doctrine for the sake of the lesson in English, or for the material aid, or, perhaps oftener, for the sympathy and kindness given with it. He is tempted to hypocrisy; and, at any rate, he does not receive the broad education which he needs. I do not know how fully she was justified in her opinion; but one lady told me that she would never employ a mission Chinaman, for he learned deceit and treachery from his training. This was, doubtless, a sweeping judgment; but, as Free Religionists, I think we ought to approach the Chinaman, not to convert him to a church, but to bring him into line with us in work for the general good. And are we not shamed by the Church, which is doing its work for him in its own way, while we are doing nothing in ours?

I could not see that theological feeling had much to do with the opposition to the Chinese. As a rule, I found members of evangelical churches rather inclined to favor them and to work for their conversion, instead of driving them out of the country, while many radicals in religion oppose them violently. Business interests influenced men's opinions more. Bankers and railroad men were apt to favor them, while those who dreaded their competition opposed them.

The solution of the Chinese problem is very simple: it is only to receive the Chinese as equally entitled with us to a life, a work, and a home on this continent, and to apply to them the same principles and laws which we have found to work for good among ourselves. E. D. CHENEY.

FAITH MIRACLES.

There is a Catholic church in the mountains, only a few hours' ride by rail from Vienna, Austria, that has a wooden image of a Madonna, believed by the faithful to be possessed of great power to heal the ills that flesh is heir to.

I spent a few weeks at the little mountain village that has this church with its all-healing Madonna. Pilgrims during the summer season come to this shrine by thousands, and from distant countries,—even from America, I was told.

My fair Lady Madonna is about four feet in height, with painted cheeks, rosy lips, blue eyes, and flowing blond hair that has evidently undergone the modern agony of crimps. She is gorgeously attired as a bride; and, not to be outdone by royalty, she is said to have a different gown for each public appearance. She wears a jewel-set tiara upon her head, and pendent from it is a long, white lace veil. Encircling her neck are many strings of costly pearls, and her wrists are set in gems of the first water. Thus bedecked, she is carried in state some miles to meet the invalid corps upon whom she is to confer the blessing of health.

It is often a strange procession that one looks upon: men, women, and children, it may be; lame, halt, and blind; dust-covered, ragged, laid on litters, in wagons, hobbling on crutches, or carried in arms, often pale, emaciated, and deformed. Some have been bed-ridden for years. In the church to which these pilgrims repair for religious services there is a large room literally filled with surgical appliances that have been left by those who were cured and who had no further use for them.

There is also a treasure-room that contains innumerable gifts that have been bestowed upon my Lady Madonna. These gifts have come from the hands of royalty, and from all the intermediate grades of humanity to the poorest beggar. The gifts are as varied as the social conditions of the givers. The value of the jewel-set articles alone is estimated at many thousands of dollars.

But who would venture an estimate of the worth to those who gave them of children's toys, of locks of hair, and of thread-bare-worn garments? What does all of this prove to the intelligent mind,—that a lifeless, fleshless, bloodless image has the power in itself to make the bed-ridden take up their bed and walk? No, it shows simply this: that the will power of some people, under certain nervous conditions, is so weak that they do not have the power to make the flesh obey it. Under such circumstances, it matters little what influence is brought to bear upon them, if it only enables them to concentrate and bring into action their nerve-force.

There are many cases on record of persons who have not stepped for years, and others helpless in other ways, suddenly becoming aroused to their normal activity by fear, from fire or some other pending danger. So long as people are superstitious, in any age or any land, we may be sure that so-called miracles will never cease. Science and common sense are the only safeguards against humbuggery in religion, as in everything else.

MARY J. SAFFORD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WE shall print next week, in addition to articles by George Jacob Holyoake and other writers, one from a new contributor to *The Index*, on "God or the Galilean" by Felix L. Oswald, who is well known as an able writer.

THE London *Inquirer* shows its appreciation of a fine discourse by reproducing in its columns, entire, that on Emerson, by R. Heber Newton; but it omits to credit it to *The Index*, which obtained the discourse from the author and printed it from his own manuscript.

THE hopes of publishers and authors on both sides of the Atlantic that the negotiations in regard to an international copyright law would result in the adoption of some wise and just legislation on the matter are, Minister Lowell announces, doomed for the present to be disappointed.

THERE will be a decided rise in the valuation of dukes, if, as a body, they begin to emulate the example of the young Duke of Orleans, only thirteen years of age, who, at the annual competition of the Paris Colleges, took the prize for Latin composition. His father, the Count of Paris, amid the plaudits of a large gathering, embraced him, and placed on his head the laurel wreath presented to prize winners.

"IT is claimed," observes the *Sunday School Times*, "that Prof. Darwin knew a great deal more about the human body than he knew about religion. He thought he knew where man came from, but he didn't know where man was going to. His prime idea of duty was that a man should do the best he could for himself here and now, whatever might be the consequences in the hereafter." Such a statement is not likely to prejudice children of this generation against the great naturalist.

IT would seem that the purely American system of philosophy advocated at Concord the past season is less radical in its tendencies than the Churches, for Dr. Prime, having spent two days at Concord listening to the philosophers, declares, in the *Observer*, during that time "I did not hear an expression that might not have been uttered in a convention of Christian ministers in New York, when the same subjects were up. In fact, I have heard more error, irreverence, and heresy in some Christian assemblies than in this school of philosophy."

WE judge from the following that our staid and conservative neighbor, the *Congregationalist*, believes in muscular Christianity: "A minister writes to the Providence *Press* for advice whether to learn to box for the sake of his health. That journal sensibly tells him to go ahead. Every minister, and every other man, would do well thoroughly to train himself physically, not merely because such wise training conduces to health and long life, but also because almost every man, even among ministers, once or twice in his life finds himself in unexpected circumstances in which he needs to know how to make the most of his muscles for his own safety or the rescue or welfare of others."

A SOCIETY for Psychical Research has been started in England under the presidency of Mr. Henry Sedgewick, to investigate in a scientific manner the phenomena exhibited in so-called spiritual manifestations, mind-reading, clairvoyance, mesmerism, and kindred subjects. Among its members are A. J. Balfour, M.P., Prof. Balfour Stewart, R. H. Hutton, Hon. Roden Noel, Dr. Lockhart, Dr. Robertson, and other names well known in scientific circles. We tender the Society our best wishes for its success in its investigations, and join with *Unity* in the hope that American scientists will help to throw light on these misunderstood and misinterpreted subjects.

THE *Independent*, in reply to the *Congregationalist*,—which says Felix Adler's Society of Ethical Culture "has come to nothing," and (quoting from the *Christian at Work*) adds, "There is no work to be done by an American Agnostic Society for the Elevation of Humanity which is not being done and better done by the thousand and one religious enterprises of the day,"—observes: "Both our New York and our Boston contemporary will learn with great pleasure, we trust, that there is no truth whatever in the above. Felix Adler's Society of Ethical Culture is in admirable condition, and is not only continuing, but enlarging its work, and making new plans for the education of poor children and the care of the sick. We wish all our churches in this city and Boston were as prosperous."

THE New York *Herald* thinks that there is no lack of free thought in Yale and Harvard, and does not see the need of "a free-thinkers' college or university." We quote a paragraph from its columns:

The alleged free thinkers now in convention at Watkins Glen propose to found a free thinkers' college or university. In the name of a college-ridden nation, we ask, "What do they want of it?" Have they not already Yale and Harvard, where nobody is anybody, unless he is a free thinker? Do they suppose that because these venerable institutions were erected on foundations of Bibles, and framed with iron supplied by John Calvin, that the students are any more orthodox than outsiders? If they do, they are behind the times. Any bright graduate of either of the old universities can voice more genuine free thought in half an hour than the combined free thinkers at Watkins Glen have done thus far, for he would not "pad" it with much noisy nonsense.

DR. A. D. MAYO, writing to the *Christian Register* in reference to the educational status of South Carolina, says: "Although the State has a university and a considerable number of academical and collegiate schools for both sexes, some of them of great merit, yet the neglect of elementary education for whites and blacks, five years ago, reached a melancholy point. The common schools were sup-

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ported but two and a half months in the year, and even then, in the country, were scarcely worthy the name. The large negro population, and a considerable proportion of the whites, were in a deplorable state of ignorance. But, within the past two years, a marked awakening has been felt through all parts of the State. Everywhere, as if by a common impulse, the most thoughtful people have started up with a determination to lift this burden of disgrace, and give to the masses of the population better opportunities for schooling their children."

THE *Critic*, speaking of the action of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in having arrested the manager of the Miniature "Patience" Company, remarks of the president: "Mr. Gerry would be wise to seek his quarry elsewhere. Our streets are full of starved and oppressed children,—children who black boots, children who sell newspapers, children who learn to lie and steal as soon as they can speak. Beside these, the children of the stage are happy. Doubtless, they pick up the histrionic vices too soon; doubtless, they are precociously vain. But, at least, they get some dramatic schooling, in a country where no provision is made for any other kind of dramatic schooling; they are brought up in a reputable profession, and they give a good deal of innocent amusement to the simple people who go to see the tattooed Greek nobleman, and await with anxiety the coming of Mr. Bunnell's new giantess."

A CORRESPONDENT of the San Francisco *Call*, writing from Hawaii of the church-going proclivities of the natives, which he declares are "tremendous," gives the following statement as to the causes that led to the conversion of this people to the Christian faith: "When Vancouver showed the first king of all Hawaiians the difference between a musket and a spear for purposes of warfare, and the difference between sharp steel carpenters' tools and stone axes for purposes of canoe building, and told him of the difference between a European cottage and a native grass hut, he impressed him that all the advantages resulted from Christianity. Being anxious to convert the old heathen, he said, Christianity, mind you, not civilization and science, brought the advantages he pointed out. Promptly, and upon that idea, Christianity was proclaimed and adopted, not with a change of heart, but from a conviction that a Christian musket would kill an enemy at a greater distance than a native spear, and that a sharp steel adze would hollow out a canoe quicker than a stone axe. Consequently, the idols were broken, the missionaries were welcomed, churches were built, and the strong, hearty nation of four hundred thousand happy people dwindled to forty-five thousand diseased servitors of the people who Christianized them."

OF Francis Maitland Balfour, the young scientist who, by some fatal slip on an Alpine glacier, was hurried to instantaneous death, M. Foster, his intimate friend, thus writes in *Nature*: "The world of science knew Francis Balfour as an investigator of the brightest promise, who, indeed, as a mere youth, had already solved morphological problems which had heretofore baffled the acutest minds, and of whom it seemed difficult to say how far he might not reach. A smaller circle in this country and in Europe knew him also as a man whose firm will and rapid but clear judgment were all the more effective, because his decisions and resolves were made known to others with a winning courtesy and with a kindly sensitive regard for the feelings of those from whom he might differ in opinion. But only those who had the privilege to be his friends knew his real worth, for they alone were aware how much the light of his personal character outshone even his scientific achievements and his administrative powers. It will need great knowledge and skill on the part of him who attempts to show exactly how much science owes to Francis Balfour as an inquirer, a teacher, and a counsellor; but that will be an easy task compared with the effort to tell to those who did not know him what he really was. Workers in biology all the world over will feel that a light has gone from the world when they hear the sad news that he is dead. Cambridge men, who have watched events at Cambridge during the last ten years, will know that a wholly irreparable loss has fallen upon their University; but their grief and their loss is a small thing put by the side of the emptiness which is left for them whose daily life was brightened by the light of his countenance. These mourn for Lycidas, and cannot be comforted."

THE *Westminster Review* correctly observes, "If Herbert Spencer had no other title to fame, he would still be the greatest of psychologists." His reconciliation of the experiential and intuitional psychology, by showing that ideas and feelings cannot be explained by the experience of the individual, but that they nevertheless have a basis in experience,—*the experience of the race*,—would alone give him enduring fame. "The doctrine that the intellectual and moral intuitions of one generation," says Dr. Carpenter, "are the embodiments, in its mental constitution, of the experiences of the race, was first explicitly put forth by Mr. Herbert Spencer, in whose philosophical treatise it will be found most ably developed." But Spencer's greatest work has been in developing and elucidating the doctrine of evolution as the basis of a general system under which all orders of phenomena—geological, biological, psychological, and sociological—can be generalized. Darwin's fame rests chiefly upon his discovery of the principle of natural selection, and the skill, industry, and honesty with which he showed its bearing on the "origin of species." But, before Darwin's great work was published, Spencer had made evolution, as a universal law, the basis of a philosophical system. Said Prof. Huxley before the Royal Institution, referring to evolution, "The only complete and systematic statement of the doctrine with which I am acquainted is that contained in Herbert Spencer's *System of Philosophy*." It is not affirming too much to say with Prof. Youmans: "The same ethical canons of research . . . which gave to Copernicus the glory of the heliocentric astronomy, to Newton that of the law of gravitation, to Harvey that of the circulation of the blood, to Priestley that of the discovery of oxygen, to Dr. Young that of the undulatory theory of light, and to Darwin that of natural selection, will also give to Herbert Spencer the honor of having first elucidated and established the law of universal evolution."

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, allows itself to speak as disparagingly of the "Yankee race" as the Southern slave-holders used to do in the good old times when the adherents of the Pope in this country voted to a man almost, on the side of the system that kept millions of dusky laborers in bondage. But our esteemed contemporary should bear in mind, in its hierarchic disdain of the "Yankee race" and of the old-fashioned pine-board Yankee meeting-houses, that in those meet-ing-houses and in the school-houses, plain and humble as they were, and as much superstition and intolerance as were connected with them, was nurtured American liberty, with the idea that the American was in the religious order his own priest, and in the political order his own sovereign, as expressed in these lines:—

> "Call the people together,
> The young men and the sires,
> The digger in the harvest field,
> Hireling and him that hires;
> And here, in a pine state-house,
> They shall choose men to rule
> In every needful faculty,
> In Church and State and school."

A well-housed, well-clad, intelligent, thriving, enterprising, self-governing average people is a far nobler spectacle than an ignorant, shiftless populace, living on mud floors beneath thatched roofs, with a magnificent hierarchy and monarchy lording it over them in gorgeous palaces and cathedrals, in the name of God, when the word, as used, means simply king and priest *writ large*. In the little pine-board meeting-house, the priest was and is a citizen, one of the people, a man with a family if he chooses, having the same social and political interests with his congregation, and not the member of a great, arrogant priestly order, claiming to be the authoritative mediators between the private conscience and Deity. Our esteemed contemporary will thus see that the free, popular American State was simply the correlate of the free, popular Congregational church, whose most common place of worship was a pine-board edifice. And therein lies the immense significance to which we alluded, making it a nobler edifice than the great cathedrals that are crumbling to decay on the soil of modern Europe. The cathedrals meant royalty and hierarchy, of which the people of Europe have had enough; while the little New England meeting-house meant and means an advance in popular liberty and popular prosperity, increase of free thought, the ultimate extinction of superstition, and the complete secularization of the State. The Yankee meeting-house neither was nor is a finality, but indicates a step forward in the right direction when compared with the mediæval cathedrals. It was a cheap edifice, and did not require enormous contributions to be squeezed by theological menaces, and promises of bliss or threats of punishment, out of thousands of poor day-laborers who ought to be devoting all their earnings to getting homes for themselves and families.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE GROWTH OF WISDOM.

My wisdom was a wee-born thing
And suffered much from me:
I used him like an underling,
Who wished my guide to be.

For many years, he did not grow,
Curtailed by many a wrong:
He would not die (he loved me so),
And this inspires my song.

He yearned for me, by impulse led,
And I despised his care:
He counselled me with loving dread
My "wild oats" to forbear.

"By these, dear soul, you cannot live,
They bear a deadly yield.
Bestow the saving wheat I give
Upon your vital field."

The moment came: it touched my heart,
His patient suing so.
Against myself I took his part,
Whence he began to grow.

How changed his shape, that wee-born thing
That I had treated sore!
No more he seemed an underling,
A princely guise he bore.

My sovereign grown, thou bidd'st me Know
Myself, old sage's shield:
Convert, the saving wheat I'll sow
Upon my vital field.

H. L. HOWARD.

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The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 31, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

The Scientific and Metaphysical Methods in Philosophy,

AS AFFECTING CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF RELIGION AND LIFE.

An Essay read before the Brooklyn Philosophical Society, April 28, 1882.*

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

"Though we only know in part,
Give us faith in what we know."

He who cannot get it into his head that *spirit* and *matter*, *soul* and *body*, *thought* and *extension*, . . . were, are, and ever will be the necessary double ingredients of the universe, which demand for themselves equal rights, and therefore both together may be looked upon as representatives of God,—that man should give up all attempts to be a thinker.—*Goethe.*

The Problem Stated.

The student of philosophy and psychology, at the outset of his investigations, is compelled to meet and decide for himself the questions, whether truth is unitary or dual; whether there is one method adapted to the study of physical phenomena and another for mental; whether the mind can be separated in thought from the organism, and treated as if unrelated to material conditions,—in a word, whether he shall adopt the metaphysical† or the scientific method in his investigations.

The remarkable and beneficent advance of science during the past century has given a strong impulse to the inductive, or scientific, method as applied to philosophical questions. "To ascertain those established conjunctions of events which constitute the order of the universe," says Dugald Stewart, "to record the phenomena which it exhibits to our observation, and to refer them to their general laws, is the great business of philosophy." In all this beneficent progress, metaphysics, however, claiming to be a finality and assuming a dogmatic attitude, has had no part. "Metaphysics alone," says Prof. Youmans, in his admirable introduction to Bain's *Mental Science*, "has refused to change, and, clinging to its old method, has stood as a landmark of the past, stationary in the midst of progress, vacant of benign influence, while all other knowledges were blossoming and fruiting in the useful service of society."

*Read also before the Association for the Promotion of Spiritual and Moral Education, in the Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, Sunday morning, March 19, 1882.

†The term "metaphysical" is here used in its technical significance, as identical with the *a priori* or "intuitional" method in philosophy. In a vaguer and more general sense, all investigation of mental phenomena might be termed "metaphysical."

Influence of the Evolution Hypothesis on Philosophy.

Within our generation, the comprehensive theory of EVOLUTION has resulted from the application of the inductive method to the study of both mental and material phenomena. Supported as it is by an immense multitude of facts in its scientific and practical relations, it has now attained well-nigh universal acceptance in scientific circles. Modifying our conceptions not only of the origin and growth of the physical universe, the inception and development of life—including man—upon this, and presumably upon other planets; but also, by necessity, our entire philosophy of history,—creating the science of sociology,—it has naturally become the basis of a new and remarkable philosophical system. This system is well termed by Herbert Spencer, its leading exponent, "THE SYNTHETIC PHILOSOPHY."* In its mental and psychological phases, it includes the physiological elements and conditions as an essential part of the phenomena to be studied, regarding human nature not in fragments, but as a vital whole. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss, as briefly as possible, the relations of the new to the older metaphysical systems, and to consider which is most consistent with an entirely free and rational theory of man's mental and spiritual nature, and his relations to the universe of which he is a part.

It should be said at the outset that the new philosophy does not desire to underrate or unnecessarily antagonize the older metaphysical conceptions of man's nature and mental capacities. It recognizes freely and gladly their beneficial influence upon the thought of the past, and its own indebtedness to the great metaphysical thinkers. Consistent with its evolutionary basis, it admits its natural growth out of the intellectual soil which they have broken up, enriched, and rendered fertile by their labors. Yet, if well founded in reason and the nature of things, it must, when accepted, greatly modify both the method and the conclusions of the various speculative and metaphysical systems.

The Logical Absurdities of the Metaphysical Method.

Grouping these older systems broadly according to their fundamental tendencies and logical deductions therefrom, they divide naturally into two classes,—the materialistic and the idealistic. Both agree practically, however, in conceiving mind and matter to be in some sort antithetical, and endeavor to harmonize the antithesis, either by explaining the existence and affections of matter in terms of mind,—the logical outcome of which attempt is a pure idealism,—or by explaining mind as a mere property of matter, resulting in materialism pure and simple. The efforts of some of these systems to avoid this apparently necessary dilemma, either land them in a hopeless dualism, in which any natural and consistent relation of matter and mind seems to be logically inconceivable, or involve the ordinary mind in a maze of metaphysical abstractions, from which it is impossible for it to extricate itself.

It has been said of the Swedenborgian doctrine of "correspondencies," that a system so intricate and requiring so much intellectual effort and profound and prolonged study for its comprehension—rendering, therefore, the truths of religion inaccessible to all save a very small portion of the human race—is the very *reductio ad absurdum* of the conception of a divine and infallible revelation of truth. This fact is practically admitted by one of the most profound students of Swedenborgian literature, who has defined revelation as "the obscuring or veiling over of divine truth." The same or a similar objection appears to inhere in the results of metaphysical speculation. The Deity, for example, whose existence and attributes can be assured certainties only to those who have sought and found "the eternal verities" through the subtleties of Hegelianism, is manifestly a Deity of but little use or consequence to the vast majority of mankind. Moreover, a Deity who can be fully known or comprehended, whose attributes can be determined and labelled with all the nicety and accuracy of a specimen in an anatomical museum, can hardly be considered a proper or possible object of reverence or worship. Having been solved or discovered in his essential nature and attributes by the human mind, he is, consequently, something less rather than greater than the mind. The mind that comprehends him can scarcely condescend to render him obeisance. "Personal, conscious intelligence," says Dr. Mansel, "limited though it be, . . . is grander than the grandest object man can know; for it is that which knows, not that which is known."

Hegelianism attempts to meet this difficulty by asserting that there are no such things as individual and distinct minds. There is MIND, but there are no minds. MIND is a unity. Man's individuality inheres in his *will*, which seizes and uses mind according to the measure of its individual activity. Mind serves as the common ground on which individuals meet, and thus the possibility of intellectual intercourse is accounted for. From this fundamental assumption of the unity of mind, the theory of innate ideas not derived from experience as essential to the being and nature of mind,—*e.g.*, the categories of Kant,—and the conclusion that truth—"the eternal verities"—can be attained with absolute certainty through the exercise of dialectics, or pure reason, independent of experience, naturally follow. Involved in this metaphysical theory are the notions that Universal Mind is identical with pure Being, or Deity; that matter is a *creation* of mind and dependent upon it for existence; and that all sensational knowledge partakes necessarily of the illusory and transient character pertaining to matter. To follow out the line of dialectical argument through which these conclusions are reached, and to investigate the various corollaries and deductions which logically flow from them, is impossible and undesirable within the limits of this paper. As a course of intellectual gymnastics, nothing could be more admirable or more enticing; but it is manifest that only the most robust mental natures, with abundant leisure for such researches, could ever succeed in mastering a system, the details and conclusions of which are still a battle-ground for the greatest intellects whose entire lives are devoted to the investigation of metaphysics. It follows that, if the truth of the existence of God, a correct understanding of man's moral nature and of the relations of man to the universe, are dependent upon metaphysics, there are few indeed who can ever attain to them. The acceptance of the metaphysical theory thus favors and almost necessitates the growth of an intellectual aristocracy or priesthood, to whom the masses of the people must look as the custodians and mediators of philosophical and religious truth.

The Rational Basis of the Scientific Method.

It remains to consider briefly wherein the scientific method differs from the metaphysical, and whether or not it presents a more rational and intelligible interpretation of the universe and man's relation thereto.

The young daughter of a distinguished advocate of the national policy of "protection" is said to have asked her parent one day, "Father, who is this *A Priori* about whom my Mental Philosophy talks so much?" "*A Priori*, my daughter?" was the reply: "*a priori* is dead. When he lived, he was an old fool!" Now, we would by no means be so disrespectful to the metaphysical or *a priori* method as to characterize it with the severity of our protectionist friend; yet his epithet somewhat too forcibly, but aptly, expresses the distrust of the *a priori* or intuitional method with which the modern scientific mind regards the various metaphysical systems of mental philosophy.

The synthetic philosophy claims no aid whatever from an assumption of "innate ideas," or "intuitions," as commonly understood, or any sort of infallible interior illumination or supernatural inspiration. It knows of no royal road to truth. It bases itself upon *facts*,—facts of our human nature and facts of experience, including all the relations immediately involved in the apprehension of facts. It starts with the fundamental and undeniable fact of the *finiteness of man*, and the consequent impossibility of his *comprehension* of the Infinite. It holds, therefore, that all the knowledge possible to man is *relative* and not *absolute* knowledge. Neither mind nor matter can be known *absolutely*, as "things in themselves." It does not deny the existence of a universal substance, in which all phenomenal manifestations of mind inhere; but the only mind open to its study and investiga-

*While it is believed that the positions herein taken are in no respect necessarily antagonistic to the philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer, the writer by no means assumes to give a complete or authoritative explanation of that philosophy, nor does he presume to hold Mr. Spencer responsible for all the inferences and conclusions herein set forth For these, no authority is claimed, other than that involved in their inherent reasonableness.

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tion is that manifested phenomenally in man and the higher animals. Man, as a finite being, stands in certain definite relations to the external universe. He perceives the various phenomena of that universe as an orderly succession of like relations occurring under like conditions. In this perception, he apprehends the principle of *causation*, and traces also a like principle working in all sane exhibitions of mental activity. Herein is the first suggestion of a synthesis involving the phenomena of both mind and matter. How the apprehension of causation, or relation between phenomena, is possible to the mind according to this theory, will appear hereafter.

The Polytheism of Primitive Scientific and Religious Hypotheses.

All phenomena, both mental and material, are presented to him as manifestations of *force*. In the infancy of thought, these various manifestations of force were conceived to be disjointed and unrelated. Tracing in external nature the action of various forces, and conscious of like phenomena occurring in his own being; observing the same in all other sentient creatures,—he came naturally to regard the tree, the rock, the star, the sun, the volcano, and the storm-cloud as animated by like personal and conscious reservoirs of force with himself. Thus arose Animism, and the various systems of polytheistic worship which are characteristic of the earlier stages of human thought. It is only within the past century that the discovery of the wonderful law of the CONSERVATION AND CORRELATION OF FORCES has offered a logical escape from this polytheistic method of regarding natural phenomena, and opened the way toward a rational and scientific monotheism. It is by no means asserted that this law of itself is a sufficient foundation for the monotheistic idea: only that it is an essential element in the establishment of that belief upon a scientific basis.

Ideas of Unity, Totality, and Infinity not Innate, but Deductions from Experience.

The earliest development of the human intellect thus regarded phenomena as individual, unrelated, and often antagonistic. The conception of an infinite totality or unity is of comparatively late origin, and marks the close of a long and tedious struggle of successive generations of men with the questions suggested by their relation to the environing universe. This is the testimony of fact and of history, in opposition to the theory which would conceive this idea as innate in the human mind. The earliest races of mankind, and some existing races of savages, have no words to express the idea of *infinity* in any of its possible implications, and are totally unable to grasp the conception when it is presented to them. In numbers, some are unable to count more than three or five, and their conception of totality would be exhausted in enumerating the fingers upon their two hands. But, from the first, the perception of any finite object involves the apprehension also of a somewhat external to that object; and, as the mind developed in comprehensiveness and rationality, it was at last perceived that no object, no combination of objects, could be conceived so immense that something beyond would not still exist. Thus, in time, was apprehended the idea of the *spatial infinite*. Once risen to this height, the mind, which at first regarded the somewhat without the object of perception as a *finite* somewhat, now apprehends it as an *infinite* somewhat; and the implied conception of *infinity* accompanies naturally every act of perception. Transferring this conception to religion, the finite and anthropomorphic deities of the early animistic and polytheistic stage of human development have given place to the apprehension of INFINITE BEING.

The Synthesis of Mind and Matter under the Universal Law of Evolution.

It is noticeable that the history of this and all similar conceptions, as held by the human mind, involves a process of gradual development or growth. This process is also observable in the history of every individual organization, both in its mental and material relations and in the working of the causes which produced that organization. Moreover, it is traced in the formation of planetary systems, and in the development of social combinations among masses of people. Within the generation of those now living, this vast and similar series of facts have been united in another synthesis of profound import, under the general hypothesis or law of *evolution*,—a hypothesis the demonstration of which, says Prof. Huxley, "at the present time rests upon exactly as secure a foundation as the Copernican theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies." Prof. O. C. Marsh, of Yale College, declares: "It is now regarded among the active workers of science as a waste of time to discuss the truth of evolution. The battle on this point has been fought and won."

So far as is now known to man, the entire history of the universe is a *related unity*, a progressive and intelligible whole. At no point in the entire process of development is there any room for exceptional, miraculous or supernatural interference, any break in the web of causes and effects. The old conception of *creation*, either of the different genera or species of organic life upon the planet, of the world itself, or of matter, is relegated to the realm of discarded anthropomorphisms, which, one by one, have fallen from the religious and philosophical conceptions common to the early and immature period of human thought.

The Monism of the Scientific Method.

Matter is no longer conceived to be a "thing in itself," dead, inert, endowed with certain "properties" by an absent Creator. The alleged "properties" become different and related "modes of motion," and all we know of matter is reduced to *force*. "It is surely a great step," says Wallace, "to get rid of the notion that matter is a thing in itself, that force or forces are another thing given or added to matter, . . . and to be able to substitute . . . the far simpler and more consistent belief that matter as an entity distinct from force does not exist." Matter and mind, by this conception, are mutually and necessarily related manifestations of a common Substance or Being. The existence of one without the other is inconceivable. The creation of one by the other is equally inconceivable. The logical absurdities of the metaphysical method are thus avoided by another synthesis, and the duality of mind and matter are lost in UNITY. For, if it be assumed that mind and matter are separate entities, "things in themselves," and if the creation of matter by mind be affirmed, as it is in the old theological and metaphysical systems; if it be assumed that matter has certain essential "properties" which are not possessed by mind, among which is the property of extension, and *vice versa*,—it then follows that, if mind does not occupy space, has no extension,—that being, by the assumption, a property pertaining solely to matter,—mind could have existed *nowhere*, *i.e.*, could have had no existence prior to the existence of matter, which is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the proposition. If, on the contrary, the evolutionary hypothesis of the uncreatability and indestructibility of matter is admitted, and its necessary relation to mind, or their common relation to a single substance, be a logical concomitant thereof, we are saved from the absurdity of denying the omnipresence of Infinite Being, prior to the assumed *creation* of matter out of the raw material, *nothing*; or, in the phrase of the Boanerges of the Brooklyn Tabernacle, out of "God's omnipotence." Matter is seen to be the necessary relation which the Infinite Substance bears to sentient beings: mind is the process through which this relation becomes intelligible, the apprehension of which process appears in the phenomena of consciousness.

Man's Vital Relation to the Universe.

Let us now proceed to a brief consideration of the new interpretation which the synthetic or scientific method places upon some of the leading problems of philosophy, more particularly as these problems are related to the religious and ethical nature of man.

First, as to man's relation to the natural universe, it declares him, in both his mental and physical constitution, to be the natural and necessary product of the interaction between organism and environment, through all ancestral stages of his development, from the starting-point in inorganic being. Out of this interaction have come consciousness, reason, memory, the perception of cause and effect, and all the faculties and processes by means of which man apprehends his relations to the life and being without him, as well as the more purely material functions of his organism. Man's relation to the environing universe is, therefore, a vital and organic one. He is the noble coin of which the universe, out of which he has sprung, is the perfect die. The special senses, by means of which he apprehends his environment, have been developed by contact with it. Light, or the objective æther vibration, has produced the eye, aerial vibrations the ear, contact the sense of touch. Therefore, he is justified in assuming *an actual correspondence of the external reality with the internal state*,—that the evidence of his senses, in so far as they are sane and perfect, is sound and true. The relations of which they assure him are real relations. The knowledge which he obtains by observation and experience is as real as any knowledge which is possible to him. He thus avoids the misty and unsatisfactory conclusions of idealism, inherent in the metaphysical method.

How so-called "Innate Ideas" originate in Experience.

If it be queried how ideas conceived as innate by the metaphysicians, as, for example, the principle of causation, are possible to the mind; how, by experience, anything save unrelated phenomena can possibly be conceived,—the reply of the synthetic philosophy is that every perception of a truth concerning man's relation to the external universe involves two elements, an objective fact or relation and the subjective appreciation thereof. The objective relations, as bearing upon the development of organisms, have existed during their entire ancestral period,—long before the appearance of intellectual subjectivity or consciousness. The consciousness, when it appears, receives and reports the facts which have become already organized in the individual through past, though unconscious, experiences. It simply reports what it finds. It can do no otherwise. Unconscious organisms recognize and obey the laws of these relations by their actions, as when the plant stretches toward the light, sends its roots around stones and obstacles to seek its nourishment, as when the lowest forms of animal life seek their food and appropriate conditions of existence through an instinct which manifests an intelligence of which they are yet unconscious. In what manner consciousness itself is evolved, no philosophy can answer, any more than it can tell why a blade of grass grows. But the *fact*, the *process*, is patent and undeniable. Latent in the worm, advancing to higher and higher stages of perfection in the various species of animals, it reaches its highest manifestation in man. In man himself, it gropes blindly in the savage, and soars to loftiest heights in the mind of a Kant, a Darwin, or a Spencer. Throughout, the process is manifestly one of *gradual growth* or *evolution*, purely orderly and natural from first to last.

Substitution of the Vital for the Mechanical Theory of the Universe.

Secondly, this conclusion is saved from all merely mechanical and, as commonly understood, *materialistic* implications by the fact that nature, or the environing universe, reports itself to man, not as a mere mechanism or manifestation of lifeless and unrelated laws, but, as interpreted by the philosophy of evolution, *as a vital and living organism*, replete with *life* in every atom and part; and by the related fact that the rôle of the *organism* in the process of development *is equally important with that of the environment*. In the organism itself, however simple, in the matter of which it is composed, and in its environment, exists the potentiality of all which is developed from it. Matter is thus seen to be a living manifestation of the Eternal Substance,—not dead and inert,—"the Divinity is in the atoms"; and the so-called "laws of Nature" are not mechanical and superimposed conditions, but, rather, *man's subjective classifications of the observed facts of nature*, which appear as bearing an orderly and uniform relation to one another. Each fact appears as the immediate manifestation of an Inscrutable Power, whose method is constant and invariable.

The Synthesis of Philosophy and Science.

Thirdly, in its relation to science, the synthetic philosophy stands in an attitude of perfect and entire harmony. The facts of science are the basis of its own conclusions. By the method of science, it tests all its problems. The individual sciences find a common synthesis in its comprehensive treatment of the relations of man to nature. It thus fulfils the conditions of a genuine philosophical system by becoming, in fact and in truth, *scientia scientiarum*, the science comprehensive of all sciences.

The Relations of the Synthetic Philosophy to Theology and Religion.

Fourthly, *Theology*, or an assumed or attempted "Science of the Infinite," the synthetic philosophy relegates to the realm of pure and idle speculation.

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The Infinite, as an object of comprehension and scientific investigation, it regards as *Unknowable*, and therefore deems all systems of theology to be alike impracticable and chimerical. Its position in this regard is that of the agnostic. It does not, however, deny the ultimate facts of *Religion*. In its conception of the universe as a vital unity, and not a mere mechanism, it lays the foundation for a truly scientific and rational idea of God. Recognizing that, to all highly developed and cultivated minds, the apprehension of the Infinite is an essential element in every perception, it avoids the errors and fallacies of crude materialism; while, in its recognition of the limitations of the human senses whereby the ultimate Substance or Reality is approached, it is withheld from dogmatic negation of the possibility of existence manifested in other ways than those which are known to us as sensible and material. "If we were destitute of sight, touch, taste, smell, and hearing," says an able agnostic writer, in an article on the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, "these [subjective] qualities would cease to exist, although *the external reality which causes these groups of sensations would still exist.* To beings differently organized from ourselves, so differently that their mode of being could not be conceived by us, the objective reality might give rise to states of which the word *matter* would convey no idea to our minds."

The counter-assertion of the idealist that light, sound, etc., are purely subjective sensations, that the eye produces light, and not the contrary, is, evidently, a mere truism. The æther vibrations, which are the objective fact recognized in the phenomenon of light, existed before any eye existed, and by their interaction with the organism developed the organ of vision. All that the idealist really asserts is that the objective fact would not appear in consciousness, unless there existed a conscious being with faculties capable of perceiving it, which is the merest truism. The two terms of the proposition are identical, and its statement adds nothing to our knowledge.

Philosophical Limitations of the Knowable.

The immense and fathomless region of the unknown and, to us, unknowable, offers the widest scope for wonder, awe, and reverence, and forever forbids that conceit of knowledge concerning the "eternal verities," which, while it is the life of theological and metaphysical assumptions, is the death of all true and genuine religiousness.

Yet, while this unknown Power is thus in its essential attributes shut out forever from human dissection and analysis, the new philosophy recognizes it as capable of being *well known* in all its practical and helpful relations to human kind. Through its manifestation in the visible universe, in the philosophy of history, and all the varied life of the human race, it is revealed to every inquiring intelligence according to the measure with which it seeks to learn the orderly method of its progressive relationship to these environing conditions, and to live in accordance with their manifest tendency and purpose.

That this Power is, in its essence and completeness, unknowable, appears therefore to be no real human loss or privation, since it is so, not to the confounding of any legitimate hunger for knowledge on our part, but simply and solely from the necessary finite limitations of our human nature. *All knowledge which can possibly come within the range of our faculties is open to us;* hence, every legitimate demand of our intellectual nature may be satisfied, if we follow the correct and scientific method in our researches.

The Personality of the Infinite.

Respecting the attribute of personality, as belonging to the INFINITE POWER, the synthetic philosophy does not dogmatize, recognizing that here everything depends upon definition, and that the Infinite and Absolute cannot be defined. "To define God," says Spinoza, "is to deny him." *Human, conscious* personality is, so far as we know, inseparable from organization in a brain and nervous system. "Mind, consciousness, feeling, whatever term may be selected to express sentient phenomena," says Lewes, "*is a function of the organism*, and this in both the mathematical and biological sense of the term." "At the present day," says Dr. Austin Flint, Jr., "we are in possession of a sufficient number of positive facts to render it certain that there is and can be no intelligence without brain substance." "Brain-cell is static thought, and thought is dynamic brain-cell," is the terse statement of Maudsley. We would rather admit, however, with Tyndall, that the relation is one of universal coincidence rather than of demonstrated consequence or identity, and that "the passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable."

Granting the necessary relation between personality as known to us in man and an objective organism, and agreeing therefore that "personality" cannot, in the human sense, properly be affirmed of the Infinite, the new philosophy does not therefore conceive that Deity is something *less*, but rather, on the contrary, something infinitely *more* than personal. The greater is never produced by the less; and, if the *appearance* is otherwise in the evolution of life upon this planet, it is because sufficient recognition has not been made of the intelligible forces in the environing universe, ctive in the working of every natural law, present at every stage of material and organic development. The conception of the Infinite involved in this philosophy is not that attained by the metaphysical process of abstraction,—that of a somewhat, *less* all the conceivable phenomena of manifestation. It is no mere negation of the finite. It is *more*, and not *less*, than all that we see and apprehend. This fact is admitted even by those who discard the terms of personality as inadequate, in reference to the Infinite Power. "Others may boldly go forward," says Mr. George C. Miln, "to limit the Infinite, to imprison in terms of personality that all-pervasive force which lies back of all phenomena, a denial of which is tantamount to a denial of sanity. But if one's thought has once stood in awe before the mystery of being, if he has once seen the folly of ascribing a finite name to an infinite essence, he will still reverently refuse, with the ancient Hebrew, to articulate a name for so incomprehensible and unknowable a force." Here is manifestly no atheism, but rather a recognition that "his thoughts are not our thoughts, nor his ways our ways; but, as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are his thoughts higher than our thoughts, and his ways than our ways."

Ethics the Supreme Aim of the Synthetic Philosophy.

Fifthly, not theology, but ETHICS; not knowledge and service of God, but knowledge and service of MAN,—of God only *through* man,—is the practical object and aim of the synthetic philosophy. And herein its profound and constant recognition of the law of cause and effect enables it to discover a rational basis of morals, wholly independent of metaphysical or theological implications. The *theological* assumption that right and wrong have no other basis than the will of God as given through revelation, involves the conception that there is no way of determining from actions what is right and what is wrong. The *legal* assumption that right and wrong are dependent upon the mandates of human law involves a similar conception. It is not otherwise with the assumption of the pure *intuitionists*, who believe that moral ideas are innate, that men have been divinely endowed with moral faculties. For, to affirm that we know right and wrong only by the action of an infallible or inspired conscience, is equally to deny any natural relation between acts.*

Utilitarianism, Rational and Empirical.

The synthetic philosophy likewise avoids the objectionable empiricism of the *utilitarian*, whose recognition of causation, though far superior to these other schools of thought, is yet unsatisfactory and incomplete. To make the distinction between empirical utilitarianism and the rational utilitarianism of the synthetic philosophy as complete as possible, I quote briefly from Spencer's *Data of Ethics*:—

"Conduct, according to the utilitarian theory, is to be estimated by observation of results. When, in sufficiently numerous cases, it has been found that behavior of this kind works evil, while behavior of that kind works good, these kinds of behavior are to be judged right and wrong respectively. Now, though it seems that the origin of moral rules in natural causes is thus asserted by implication, it is but partially asserted. The implication is simply that we are to ascertain by induction that such and such mischiefs and benefits *do* go along with such and such acts, and are then to infer that the like relations will hold in future. . . .

"The view for which I contend is," says Mr. Spencer, "that . . . the science of right conduct has for its object to determine *why* and *how* certain modes of conduct are detrimental, and certain other modes beneficial. These good and bad results cannot be accidental, but must be necessary consequences of the constitution of things; and I conceive it to be the business of moral science to deduce, from the laws of life and the conditions of existence, what kinds of action necessarily tend to produce happiness, and what kinds to produce unhappiness. Having done this, *its deductions are to be recognized as* LAWS OF CONDUCT, and are to be conformed to *irrespective of a direct estimation of happiness or misery.*" The synthetic philosophy of ethics thus avoids the empirical and selfish-egotistical implications of utilitarianism proper, and formulates certain universal laws for the government of conduct. The result of conduct so governed will produce the greatest *fulness of life* in the individual, his family, posterity, and the world in general; and this test becomes the ultimate standard of morality.

* *The Data of Ethics*, by Herbert Spencer.

The Universal Implication of Ethical Purpose.

Tracing the progress of mankind in civilization and moral development from the earliest ages, a profound philosophy of history reveals the Infinite Life in its human and social workings as a POWER THAT MAKES FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS. A clear and fine perception of the unity of man with nature, in this principle of order and uniformity which underlies and binds together all physical and social phenomena, can hardly fail to suggest the conception of *moral purpose involved in the whole from the beginning;* for, unless involved, it could not be evolved. The synthetic philosophy accepts, therefore, the thought of Jesus as in truth the testimony of the Infinite concerning duties toward God and man: "Inasmuch as ye have done righteous service unto the least of these little ones, ye have done it unto me." It finds its highest service of God, as did the Teacher of Nazareth, in the service of man; and, in this service, an instant and perpetual revelation of the ETERNAL POWER THAT MAKES FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Fallacy of the Metaphysical Theory of the Freedom of the Will.

Respecting the theological and metaphysical doctrine of the freedom of the will, the synthetic philosophy has a short and effective method of treatment. It declares, in the first place, that there is no such thing as a *will*, apart from the respective acts of thought; that the notion of the will as a separate faculty, superior to the mind and having the power of independent causation, is a figment of the metaphysical imagination. "Will, or volition," says Bain, "comprises *all the actions* of human beings, in so far as guided by feelings." * All sane actions, whether voluntary or involuntary, come within the range of cause and effect, otherwise they would not be intelligible. Man always acts from the impulse of the strongest motive. All motives are determined by natural causation, and are not independent and unrelated creations of the intellect. The absolute "freedom of the will" asserted in theological dogma must therefore be a metaphysical fiction; or, as Sully terms it, a "philosophical illusion."

The Rational Synthesis of Law and Liberty.

But, since this is merely to affirm that human acts and human motives arise under and in accordance with natural laws, the freedom of the *person*, as distinguished from the fictitious *will*, is no more annulled than is that of the Deity, whose action is conceived to be always within the range of law, and without special or miraculous intervention. In the latter case, it is manifest that there is no determination from without, and hence no fatalistic implication of necessity; since the law and the act both inhere in the actor. The law is no imposed condition, but merely the orderly manifestation of power. Man's action differs only as it possesses finite limitations. The causes which determine motives are largely external; but the motives themselves, and the acts which flow from them, are both inherent in the human mind. To say, therefore, that "*man acts*," is to say that he acts *as he wills to act*, and hence possesses formal or relative freedom. The limitation is only such as inheres in all his capacities as a finite being. Action which flows in the direction of accord with natural and universal law is always recognized as the least constrained, and hence as the most free. That man is the strongest and most manly man who yields most implicit obedience to these laws. Action of a contrary nature is no mark of freedom or power, but rather of weakness,

* *Mental Science.*

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ignorance, or insanity. In this finer synthesis of liberty and law, the old dispute between the advocates of freedom of the will, and fate, or fore-ordination, is also relegated to the limbo of worthless and impracticable metaphysical abstractions. Man stands related to the universe as natural offspring, bound to the great world-mother by indissoluble ties. With Goethe, he regards the rational world "as a great immortal individual who steadily works out the Necessary, and thereby raises himself to be master even over chance." His sense of freedom and his recognition of limitations are alike justified by the dictum of a true philosophy. Whether he apprehends his actions under the form of freedom or of necessity appears to have little influence upon his life or his moral nature, since he may conceive himself to be destined to the noble career of a Jesus or a Mohammed as easily as to less elevated and worthy ends. Whether he seeks his goal of perfect manliness as if determined only by personal will and aspiration, or as giving himself freely to be the medium of a divine constraint, his attitude is alike worthy and exalted. He lives as one who,

"To his native centre fast,
Shall into Future fuse the Past,
And the world's flowing fates in his own mould recast."

God and Duty as revealed by the Metaphysical and Scientific Methods.

The traveller on the Alps, in the misty twilight of the early morning, is startled to see across his pathway, and advancing to bar his progress, a dim, awful, and gigantic apparition. Credulous and superstitious, he trembles with apprehension, and bows before it as the veritable form of his Deity. Courageous and investigating, he approaches it by steady footsteps, treading firmly on solid ground; and, lo! the figure lessens at his approach, until it is discovered to be but the magnified image of his own person projected upon the clouds, which the rising sun soon dissipates and destroys. Such is the god of the dialectics,—a misty, metaphysical abstraction, created by man in his own image. The Deity of the new philosophy is seen not as the product of formal logic, proceeding from a basis of metaphysical assumption cut loose from the solid ground of experience and the understanding, but as an immanent, immediately apprehended, and all-pervading LIFE. He needs not to be sought afar or through subtle processes of intellection, for

"Closer is he than breathing,
Nearer than hands or feet."

Not in any attitude of body or platitude of language is his true worship, but in brotherly service of our fellow-men. Atheist, theist, pantheist, Christian,—the *name* is nothing. He who serves his fellows most wisely and devotedly knows most of God, though he call himself an atheist. The fact of royal and devoted service to mankind is all in all. Not they who say, "Lord! Lord!" but they who live in accord with the highest manifestations of the Infinite Life in their ethical relations, are the ones who are invited into the fellowship of the Rational Religion of the Future. Can we do nobler work or seek a greater salvation than will come to us through striving to be worthy of this invitation?

Works consulted in the preparation of this essay: *First Principles, The Principles of Sociology, The Data of Ethics*, by Herbert Spencer; *Outlines of a Cosmic Philosophy*, by Prof. John Fiske; *Problems of Life and Mind*, by George H. Lewes; *Mental Science*, by Bain; the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy; The God of Science*, by F. E. Abbot; *The Religion of Evolution, The Morals of Evolution*, by M. J. Savage.

CORRESPONDENCE.

OUR LATE NATIONAL DANGER.

Editors of The Index:—

In discussing the question which, west of the Rocky Mountains, takes precedence of all others, it is well to begin by clearing away a few misconceptions. Many partisans of the sentimental view think they can score a point against the recent reform, by impeaching the motives of the body that adopted it. Mr. Beecher, in his usual chaste and modest diction, referred to those who had the presumption to differ from him as "this fool, Congress," and intimated that their action was due to fear rather than to principle. Very likely. We never staked our cause on the sincerity of parties. Granted that our charter of salvation was extorted from the fears of a reluctant Congress, that the prayers of an outraged people would have been treated with contempt had they not been backed by votes, that the President sacrificed his convictions to avert an era of Democratic postmasters and tide-waiters, what then? Simply the consequence that for once right and might went together,—that political selfishness accomplished some good. Another misconception, at once the most universal and the most absurd of all, is that which ascribes our feelings on this subject to "race prejudice." California is the most cosmopolitan State in the Union. Thousands of her citizens are fresh from the universal brotherhood of New England, and thousands more from those Arcadian realms of Europe, where, we are so often told, the color of a man's skin has no more effect on his social prospects than the color of his coat. Her voters, most of them mature when they came here, have been subject to our blighting race prejudice for all periods from a year upward. In 1879, they were given an opportunity at the polls to show their sentiments upon this abstract question, unbiassed by personal or partisan influences. The result showed between eight and nine hundred votes in favor of Chinese immigration and more than a hundred and fifty thousand against it. This unexampled unanimity disposes of still another misconception; namely, that the opposition to the slave trade is confined to ignorant foreigners of the Kearny stripe. For good or evil, the fact must be accepted that on the Pacific slope public opinion on this subject is simply a unit, that there is no pro-Chinese element worthy even to be called a minority. Those who attempt to explain such facts upon the theory of race prejudice should ponder the remarkable circumstance that, wherever Chinamen have settled in considerable numbers among an enlightened people, they have aroused the most bitter opposition. It has been so in Australia, in British Columbia, in the United States; and just in proportion to the increase of the invaders has the opposition become more universal. If Boston shall ever be cursed with such a "Chinatown" as that of San Francisco, it can be predicted, with the certainty of a transit of Venus, that the sentiment of Boston will be precisely that of San Francisco to-day, except that it will probably not be so law-abiding.

If our relief came from the irresistible unanimity of opinion in the infected regions, as it undoubtedly did, we have to thank the cause that produced this unanimity. That cause is to be found in the fact that Chinese immigration possessed a happy combination of undesirable qualities, which secured the special dislike of every class of the community.

To the poor, it was a matter of life and death. The standard of living, painfully formed and slowly elevated through six centuries of progress, could not be suddenly reduced to the Asiatic level without the extinction of the American laborers. And to that end it was bound to come, unless the stream could be stopped. Two currencies may circulate side by side, so long as the cheaper is not plentiful enough to supply the wants of trade; but, the moment that point is reached, the dearer must pack up and leave. So, while the Chinese are comparatively few, Americans may occupy the same country; but, in the absence of restriction, the day would be inevitable when those who are content to eat rice, and sleep on tiers of shelves, would crowd out those who insist on beef and beds. Thus, the evils already tasted and the prospect of greater evils to come armed one powerful and bitterly determined class against the invasion. This was the genesis of the Sand Lot; and, worthless as many of the popular leaders were, it can hardly be denied that they had a real grievance to back them.

The religious element, another large and influential class, could not view with equanimity the influx of a mass of pagans far outnumbering all other immigrants to the State, by land and sea. A few missionaries, whose zeal had long parted company with reason, saw a providential opportunity to illumine the heathen with the light of the gospel; but most Christians thought it better to save California than to throw it away for the extremely problematical chance of converting one Chinaman in a thousand.

Again, parents, of whatever class or creed, began to feel a personal interest in the subject, when their boys and girls were found stupefying themselves in Chinese opium dens. People of refinement were shocked, when they discovered the peculiar and characteristic uncleanliness with which their neat, daintily clad assistants diversified their washing and cooking. Timid people were alarmed at the frightful sanitary dangers that menaced every place afflicted with that supreme achievement of filth and squalor, a "Chinatown."

Thus, those whose hearts were bound up in the success of the American experiment,—who would rather have carried the flag to some solitary island of the Pacific than to have seen it floating over an intellectual province of Asia or a sinking chaos of wrangling races, instead of struggling in a hopeless minority against the apathy of their fellow-citizens, found themselves supported by all the elements of society, from the mob to the clergy. They welcomed every recruit, without particular inquiry as to his antecedents or his motives. They allowed each to justify his opinion by his own arguments; but for themselves, without disputing the importance of social and economic considerations, they ranked above all the safety of the Republic.

Already, our institutions have had to undergo a strain beyond anything their founders could have imagined. A community at first essentially English has become the receptacle of a heterogeneous mass, contributed by all the nations of Europe. That the process of absorption is still far from complete may be seen in the foreign churches, theatres, and newspapers of our cities, as well as in the cohesion displayed by each nationality on election day. As a rule, the Irish are Democrats, the Scandinavians are Republicans; and the Germans, with more independence, give their vote to the party that outbids the other in the direction of free beer and no Sunday. These foreigners bring their factional fights with them, and disturb the peace with squabbles about the Paris Commune and the Battle of the Boyne, while Americans live on sufferance in their own country. Such things are hard to bear; but we endure them, because they are only temporary. With seasons of depression, immigration will decline; and we can take breath to survive a fresh attack. The German may remain a German all his life; but his son will be three-fourths a Yankee, and his grandson will endeavor to trace his descent to the Mayflower.

To this cheering prospect there is one momentous exception. The sin of our forefathers fastened upon a great part of the country a race so totally different from our own that its management has been and always will be one of the gravest problems of statesmanship. That sin can never be undone; and, willingly or not, we must bear its consequences forever. But, in full view of the frightful legacy of war, anarchy, and political corruption entailed upon us by the importation of negroes, it is hardly the part of wisdom deliberately to make history repeat itself. The *ante bellum* question, "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" was absurdly irrelevant as an argument against the abolition of slavery; but it is decidedly pertinent, when applied to the introduction of an alien race. For unless the Chinese intermarry with the whites, which, however desirable some might consider it, is hardly likely to happen to any great extent, they will always remain Chinese. And the question whether they will remain Chinese or become Americans is one of the very highest importance. It involves the essential difference in ultimate safety between the Chinese slave-trade and European immigration which so many Eastern critics seem unable to grasp.

Sentimental writers are fond of talking of the spirit of our institutions. The spirit of our institutions is opposed to the permanent disfranchisement of any large class. Imagine then, if you can, the effect on the politics of this State, already corrupt enough, of a hundred thousand Chinese voters, ignorant and careless of the first principles of citizenship, but anxious to get the highest price for their votes. The chances are ninety-nine to one that the Central Pacific Railroad would buy the whole hundred thousand, and swing them in a body. This, of course, is making an impossible supposition; for nothing is more certain than that Chinese will never vote in California, while Americans still live here. Still, if the influx had continued, the permanent residence of Americans near the Pacific might have been problematical. The friends of the importation say that it has all been drawn from a single province, containing not more than a tenth of the population of China. If one province could give such a shock to our civilization, the prospect after the slave-dealers had penetrated to the rest of the Empire would be gloomy enough. If our peaceful Americans did not care to fight, they would in all probability be forced across the Rocky Mountains, and that with no more discredit to themselves than gold suffered when it was driven to Europe by depreciated paper.

S. E. MOFFETT.

KINGSBURY, CAL., Aug. 15, 1882.

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BOOK NOTICES.

MEMOIRS OF THE REBELLION ON THE BORDER, 1863. By Wiley Britton, late of Sixth Kansas Cavalry. 458 pp. Chicago: Cushing, Thomas & Co.

This work is a panoramic view of military operations and events on the borders of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory during the year 1863, written from materials collected eighteen years ago by one who was in the Union Army and connected with the movements, battles, and events which it describes. The writer says: "I felt such an interest in the anti-slavery cause before the war that Kansas, to me, always meant a principle; and I left home at an early age to join the Free State party. It was therefore a real pleasure to me to chronicle everything that I thought would be of interest in the future pertaining to Kansas soldiers in the war. At the same time, I endeavored to do full justice to the soldiers of other States serving with us in that section." These memoirs have historic value for students of American history, and especially for those interested in the events of the late Rebellion in Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas. The style and arrangement of the work are good, and it is very readable and valuable for reference.

KING'S HAND-BOOK OF BOSTON HARBOR. By M. F. Sweetser. Illustrated by Charles Copeland and others. 268 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Moses King, publisher, Harvard Square.

This neatly printed work, with its historic narratives of old-time events and incidents, and bright, sketchy drawings illustrative of scenes and occurrences on the shores of Boston Harbor, surpasses all previous works of the kind, and should be read not only by summer visitors to this city, but by Bostonians, who are often told, and not always without truth, by Westerners, that they know less about the harbor and places of interest bordering on it than those who come from a distance.

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, generous instalments are given of two of the serials (Hardy's "Two on a Tower" and Bishop's "House of a Merchant Prince"), while Miss Phelps' promising "Doctor Zay" is apparently brought to a legitimate but somewhat unsatisfactory conclusion. Moncure D. Conway takes his readers on a very charming and delightful "Geologic Ramble on the Weald." Frank Cushing's recital of a daring trip to the little known "Nation of the Willows" is written in a very wide-awake and enticing style, which lends an added interest to the strange story he tells. R. Fellows writes of "American History on the Stage"; Alexander C. McClurg, on "The Last Chance of the Confederacy"; and Elizabeth Robins, on "Evil in Greek Mythology." The "Studies in the South" is continued. Among the books reviewed at some length are Freeman's "William Rufus," Mozley's "Reminiscences," Lecky's "England," Leland's "Gypsies," Lalor's "Political Science," and Mrs. Fanny Kemble's "Memoirs."

THE leading article in the *North American Review* for September is on "Political Assessments," by Dorman B. Eaton, who by an interesting path reaches the conclusion that the practice of levying assessments in this country is extortion. Judge E. A. Thomas, in an article on "Oaths in Legal Proceedings," shows that formal oaths do not add to the weight of testimony or promote the interests of morality or public justice. T. B. Maury contributes an article on "Tornadoes and their Causes," in which are suggested practical measures for averting disaster to life and property from wind-storms. The other articles are: "Architecture in America," by Clarence Cook; "Earth-burial and Cremation," by Augustus G. Cobb, who finds the idea of cremation fascinating; and "The Geneva Award and the Ship-owners," by J. F. Manning.

"ST. NICHOLAS" for September presents to its readers its usual complement of bright and beautiful pictures and pleasant and instructive reading. We note, as among the best of the reading matter it contains, the story, "Do you know such Boys?" by Eliot McCormick; the sketch of "Jiro, a Japanese Boy," by C. A. W.; the article on elephants, entitled "Our Largest Friends," by John Lewees, to which the recent exhibitions of Barnum's Jumbo will add interest; and "The Story of the Arbalist." There are over a dozen poems, short and long, so that every taste is sure to be suited in the matter of poetry as well as of prose.

THE *Unitarian Review* for September contains articles on "A Ministry of Education in the South," by Rev. A. D. Mayo; "Buddhist Birth Stories" (concluded), by Rev. James T. Bixby; "Modern Spiritualism," continued, by Thomas B. Hall; "The Buddha and Christ," by Rev. C. H. A. Dall; "Seekers after Truth in Primitive Scandinavia," by K. M. Haven; "Natural Religion," by Rev. F. H. Hedge, D.D.; with "Editors' Note-Book," "Things at Home and Abroad," by Mrs. Martha P. Lowe, and Review of Current Literature.

GEORGE H. ELLIS will issue September 1, by arrangement with the author, an American edition of Miss Frances Power Cobbe's new book, *The Peak in Darien*. The work is an octave of notable essays "touching concerns of the soul and body," as follows: "Magnanimous Atheism"; "Hygeiolatry," a timely protest against the growing fashion of making health the paramount consideration in ethics; "Pessimism, and One of its Professors," in which Schopenhauer is treated with an *argumentum ex homine;* "Zoöphily," a plea for kindness to animals; "Sacrificial Medicine," in which certain medical superstitions are discussed without any particular tenderness for the feelings of the medical profession; "The Fitness of Women for the Ministry of Religion," a remarkably candid and dispassionate presentation of both sides of the case; "The House on the Shore of Eternity," an allegory; and "The Peak in Darien: the Riddle of Death." This last essay, which gives a rather misleading title to the whole book, is an intensely interesting account of the testimony of dying persons who have seemed to look out from that isthmus between two worlds upon the sea of Eternity, even as Balboa from "the peak in Darien" looked out upon the great ocean of the Pacific.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

AN unfinished and hitherto unpublished work by Kant will appear in the September *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*.

REDPATH says that Henry George is a brilliant fool. It only remains for us to learn what Henry George thinks about Redpath.

OSGOOD will publish in December *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 1834 to 1872, edited by Charles Eliot Norton.

CHARLES BRIGHT, of Australia, will lecture at Paine Hall next Sunday afternoon at three o'clock. Subject: "Evolution, its Processes and Possibilities."

THE Rev. Thomas Mozley, having alluded to Herbert Spencer's system of philosophy as occupying "several yards of shelf in most public libraries," Mr. Spencer has been at pains to state that "less than two feet" is the space actually covered by his books.

MISS M. A. HARDAKER has recently received from her *Alma Mater*, St. Lawrence University, the degree of M.A. This is the second honor of this kind she has received from the same source, the degree of Ph.B. having been bestowed upon her by this college some time since.

"UNITY" says: "That earnest and talented friend of free religion and pure morality, Francis E. Abbot, is about to re-enter the field of philosophical thought with an article in *Mind* on 'The Scientific Basis of Philosophy.' Mr. Abbot is at present engaged in teaching and study in Cambridge, Mass."

THE annual meeting of the German Association of Scientific Men will be held at Eisenach, in Saxe-Weimar, from September 17 to 22. In the programme are lectures by Prof. Haeckel on "The Interpretation of Nature by Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck," and by Prof. Rehmke on "Physiology and Kantism."

THE New York correspondent of the Rochester *Democrat* says: "Mrs. Elizabeth C. Stanton is spending the summer in Paris, accompanied by her daughter Harriet and her son Theodore. Her husband is the political writer on the *Sun*, and is now one of the veterans of journalism. He has never, however, equalled his wife in notoriety."

THE two British princes, Albert Victor and George of Wales, who have been making a tour of the world, have just been confirmed at Whippingham Church, Newport, Isle of Wight. It was very thoughtful of the young fellows' parents to allow them to make the tour of the world before asking them to renounce its "pomps and vanities."

E. DWYER GRAY, member of Parliament, ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin, High Sheriff of Dublin, and editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, has been sentenced by Judge Lawson to imprisonment for three months and a fine of £500 for contempt of court, in publishing a statement that the jury which lately convicted a man of murder were drunk on the night before giving in their sentence. The judge would not allow Mr. Gray time to get counsel, nor was he permitted to prove the truth of what he said. This was an outrage on justice which reminds us of the days of Judge Jeffreys.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Commonwealth*, writing from Brooksville, Me., makes the following allusion to a well-known thinker and a valued contributor to *The Index*: "From the wharf, I walked, as directed, to the nearest house, to get a conveyance farther, where the first thing that met my gaze was a small cannon in the yard, pointing toward me. The lady was so kind I forgot to make any inquiries about the cannon, which I do not believe was loaded, especially when I learned that she was the sister of our old friend and your former pastor, Rev. D. A. Wasson, whose son, Mr. Wasson of Boston, the artist, passed last season in this vicinity, collecting sketches for pencil and brush."

WHEN Auguste Comte died, he bequeathed all his works, manuscripts, and the objects that had been his especial personal property to his little band of disciples. This disposition in his will did not please his widow, who disputed it in 1870, and lost her suit. But Pierre Laffitte, the chief of the Positivist school, was gallant enough to give up to Mme. Comte a portrait of her husband, which was the only one in existence, on the understanding that it should come back to the Positivist Society on her death. The lady forgot this agreement; for before her death, in 1877, she gave the portrait to Wyronboff. Then, Laffitte forbade the administrator of Mme. Comte's estate to give up the portrait. The picture remained in the administrator's hands until the death of that person; and a few days ago the two Positivists, Laffitte and Wyronboff, had a legal wrangle for the possession of the coveted object. The court has sustained the judgment of 1870, and the Positivist Society is authorized to receive and keep the portrait of the founder of its school of thought. During the trial, a constantly growing adherence to his principles in France was clearly shown.

HERBERT SPENCER arrived in New York on the 21st. He has come to this country to rest, and has declined all invitations to lecture or to be interviewed. He is the guest of Prof. Youmans. He does "not expect," he says, "to sojourn for three months in this country without meeting material for copious notes." The probability that we will see in the next division of his great work on Sociology the result of his observations among us, especially in the department of the industrial developments of society, helps to compensate for the fact that he will not come directly before the public while here. We have among us, without doubt, in Herbert Spencer, England's greatest thinker. Darwin called him "our great philosopher." Of him, George Henry Lewes wrote, "It is questionable whether any thinker of finer calibre has appeared in our country." And, in his review of Sir William Hamilton, John Stuart Mill speaks of him as "one of the most vigorous as well as boldest thinkers that English speculation has yet produced." The London *Saturday Review* says: "Since Newton, there has not in England been a philosopher of more remarkable speculative and systematizing talent than (in spite of some errors and some narrowness) Mr. Herbert Spencer." And our own George Ripley wrote: "Mr. Spencer combines to a degree certainly seldom found in any other living English writer the power of deep reflection, of equally acute insight and outsight, of practical adaptation, and of expression and illustration as felicitous as it is forcible. With the condensation and pointedness of Hobbes, the flowing facility of Locke, the philosophic simplicity and earnestness of Bishop Butler, and the profundity of Kant without his diffuseness and obscurity, he must be classed in the highest rank of British authors, not only as a thinker, in which line few will be disposed to question his preëminence, but as an artistic writer, in which capacity he has perhaps not been so universally recognized."

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 109

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Concord School of Philosophy: its Merits and its Defects, Wm. J. Potter, ... 110
The Place of Opinion, George Jacob Holyoake, ... 110
God or the Galilean? by Felix L. Oswald, ... 111
Foreign Issues in American Politics, by M. A. Hardaker, 113
The Catholic Church and Intellectual Progress, by B. F. Underwood, ... 113

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 114

POETRY.
My Garden in the West, by B. W. Ball, ... 115

ESSAY.
Schools of Poetry, by B. W. Ball, ... 115
Extracts from Sophocles, Selected by F. M. Holland, . 116

CORRESPONDENCE.
"Vaccination," by Alexander Spencer, ... 116
From Milwaukee, by B., ... 117
Cardinal Newman, by J. G. White, ... 118
The Creed of Science, by C. K. W., ... 118
Gleanings from Correspondents, ... 118

BOOK NOTICES.
Dramas and Miscellaneous Poems, by Dr. J. R. Monroe, 119
Was Jesus Divine? A Critical Examination of Biblical Theology, by M. B. Craven, ... 119
Revue de Belgique, Babyland, ... 119

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 119

CURRENT TOPICS.

A PICTURE gallery is at last open in London on Sunday afternoons. It is that of Miss North, which some time since was given by her to the Royal Gardens at Kew, and consists mainly of paintings of the flora of many countries painted from actual observation by Miss North herself.

AT a recent examination for clerkships in the London post-office, fifteen hundred women presented themselves. This would seem to indicate that women, as a class, are not so indifferent to the emoluments or so averse to the cares of public office as many opponents of the woman's movement would like to make appear.

THE *Congregationalist* cites the case of two little girls who have been secured to attend the camp-meetings at Chautauqua and Framingham for the purpose of "fiddling to a company of Christian people in the woods at night" as one worthy the attention of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

IT speaks well for the philanthropy of this much-decried age that the contributions to the "Fresh Air Fund," started and controlled by the New York *Tribune* for the purpose of securing to the children and invalids of the poorer classes a week or two of country life and air during the summer, have now reached the generous sum of $20,000.

OBSERVATIONS of the transit of Venus, to take place December 6, will be made under the auspices of the United States Government at Washington, D.C.; Cedar Keys, Fla.; San Antonio, Tex.; Fort Thorne, N.M., in the United States; and at the following foreign stations: Cape of Good Hope; Santa Cruz, Patagonia; Santiago, Chili; and one in New Zealand.

THE experiment of admitting a colored cadet at West Point is probably to be tried once more, Samuel W. Livingstone, of Florida, a jet black negro and an excellent scholar, having offered himself for examination with every prospect of passing successfully. If he succeeds in entering West Point, it is to be hoped for the honor of the United States Service that we shall not be treated to another Whittaker scandal.

A LADY missionary to India, in a letter describing her efforts in trying to convert the native women to Christianity, tells of the unexpected help rendered in her work by some dolls which had been sent her. The present of one of these to a poor blind woman, who took a fancy to it, was, she *naïvely* declares, "the means of bringing three new women to my Bible-class." Although some missionaries are, doubtless, too conscientious to care for converts made under such circumstances, yet her experience seems to be related as a hint to others.

"WE observe," says *Nature*, "that a correspondent of a daily paper proposes that men addicted to the pursuits of science should be called *scientiates*, after the Italian *scienziati;* and in like manner the studies of science, *sciential* studies (*studj scienziali*). The substitution of the American *scientist* for our unsatisfactory phrase *man of science* is of course much to be deprecated. Perhaps we shall come to accept Sir William Thomson's proposed use of *naturalist* for the designation in question, if its sense may be extended. *Scientific studies* is a phrase which cannot be commended for accuracy."

THE Directors of Paine Hall state that "the idea of turning Paine Hall into a Liberal Union, as it were, with all its social and ethical advantages," has long been entertained, but "that, while these ends are desirable, their adoption now would be premature and uncalled for under the circumstances in which Paine Hall is placed, and are only to be accomplished when the treasury can stand the expense; . . . that, as long as there is a heavy debt on the Paine Memorial, their responsibility to the stockholders demands that that debt should be removed with as little delay as possible," and they condemn as "unjust and unreasonable" attempts to create a contrary impression.

THE Boston *Journal* states that a curious law question has arisen in Morris, Conn. Mrs. Stevens, a pious widow of that town, in a recent conversation with Mr. Horace Benton, expressed confidence that she could bring rain by prayer. He offered her ten dollars to bring a good rain within three days. A light shower followed, when the pious widow called upon Mr. Benton and demanded the ten dollars, declaring that her prayer had been answered and her part of the contract performed. He objected, on the ground that the shower was too light to be of any value, and fell short of what the contract required. She has made three different demands on him, and threatens suit for the money.

THE Springfield *Republican* says: "The great small-pox epidemic in Chicago began in June, 1879, with the case of a hotel porter who took the disease from handling immigrants' baggage. The city had for a long time been free from the pest, vaccination had been neglected, and the poison readily spread from this beginning, and is not even yet stamped out. In the next January there were eighteen deaths from small-pox; and for the eighteen months ending with July 31, last, the number of deaths is thirteen hundred and fifty-eight. The greatest number in a single month was one hundred and seventy-two, in October last. In January last there were one hundred and thirty-four deaths, and since the number has constantly diminished to: sixteen in July. The city spent about $67,000 in vaccinating during the eighteen months."

COL. JOHN C. BUNDY, editor of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, in interesting "Camp Notes" to his paper from Martha's Vineyard, observes: "The managers of evangelical camp-meetings everywhere see the futility of working for converts, and are establishing at the Vineyard, Chautauqua, and elsewhere, summer schools for intellectual improvement, and endeavoring to make up, through social and intellectual advantages, for the loss of the spiritual repasts offered by their acknowledged Lord Jesus when he ministered to the people. Let Spiritualists learn from the experiences of these Christian people; and, while doing all that is possible, and much more than yet attempted, for intellectual improvement, hold firmly and faithfully to the spiritual side of man's nature as well." It is gratifying to see that measures for "intellectual improvement" are superseding the machinery heretofore employed for making converts, and it furnishes one of the illustrations that the evolution of thought is proceeding along the line of existing beliefs and systems, and that one of the greatest achievements of rationalism is seen in the changes it has forced upon the churches.

"THE *Catholic Review* asks the *Christian Advocate* this easy question: 'How does it explain the circumstance that the countries which hold a sad pre-eminence for immorality and drunkenness in the Old World—Scotland, Scandinavia—are the very countries that were stamped with their "religious and moral character" by the reformers of the sixteenth century?' We have heard this statement made a hundred times by Catholics, that Scotland and Scandinavia were notorious for the number of their illegitimate births, in contrast with the purity of Catholic countries. Though any one who knows Italy or France would laugh at the idea of their being pre-eminently virtuous countries, we take the trouble to turn to Von Oettingen's *Moralstatistik*, and we find that, in each of the Protestant countries of Scotland, Norway, and Sweden, the illegitimate births from 1865 to 1870 were less than ten per cent. of the whole, while in Catholic Austria they were 14.7 per cent., and in Catholic Bavaria they were 19.3 per cent. Let us hear no more of this nonsense." The above we find in the *Independent*. The "circumstance" is left unexplained, and the reply is by no means complete; but it is sufficient to remind our Catholic contemporary that, if Protestantism has not transformed its adherents into saints, something more than Catholicism is necessary to enable society to realize practically the highest moral ideal.

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THE CONCORD SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY: ITS MERITS AND ITS DEFECTS.

The Concord School of Philosophy closed its fourth annual session three weeks ago. Yet it may not be too late to offer some comments upon it as one of the educational institutions which now appeal for a permanent patronage. Mr. Alcott, the venerable dean of its so-called Faculty,—who finds in this school at least a partial realization of his lifelong dream of an American Academe,—announced in his valedictory address that the report of the removal of the school to the West, though the question of a temporary removal had been entertained, might be denied; for Concord, its birthplace, would still continue to be its home. His address was also congratulatory on the general success of the school in the accomplishment of its purposes during the four years of its existence, notwithstanding the diminished number of students the present year.

That the school has had a good measure of usefulness may easily be admitted, even though it be questioned whether the "seven hundred or eight hundred different persons" who, according to Mr. Alcott, have been registered in its list of students, have thereby shown that they "really care to devote themselves to philosophy"; or even though the more serious question be put, whether the attempt to make a study of philosophy in four or five weeks of a summer vacation time does not tend to encourage superficiality in an intellectual pursuit that requires the most searching and persistent thought. The results of the school must be judged not by the standard of a university course, or the elaborate programme of study laid down for a scientific college, but rather by the aim of the lyceum platform, and such courses of lectures as are given by the Lowell Institute. That is, the school has served rather to gratify briefly a love of mental pursuits among those in attendance, and to incite thought among those already disposed to think, than to give any large amount of information or to accomplish any profound and systematic philosophical work, or even to direct young minds toward such work. But, measured by the standard of the lyceum platform,—the lyceum platform, it should be added, in its former and better days,—the Concord School may present a good showing. It has had able and learned lecturers, some of them being specially acute and brilliant. If profound originality of thought cannot be claimed for any of them, it can at least be said that they have for the most part been highly accomplished and enthusiastic students of the themes which they have chosen for their lectures. Through them as ardent disciples, some of the greatest and most original thinkers of the past have had their interpreters, and much of old and valuable wisdom has been thus resuscitated. There has also been considerable variety in the themes. Though philosophy has had a dominant share, literary and social topics have yet been to some extent admitted, and have, it is said, each year been among the most attractive features of the course.

Now, so many bright, intellectual men and women cannot come together to tell their thoughts or to give forth their learning without benefit to those who hear. Whether any profound questions of thought or life have been settled, or even systematically treated, or not, if the hearers have been led to *put* questions more wisely or have gained a better idea, even at second-hand, of the intellectual work of past thinkers, or have only redeemed a part of their vacation from mere physical pleasure or *ennui* to mental recreation, no little good has been effected. The tendency is becoming so strong to lengthen the summer vacation season that not a few persons must find it a real boon to have such a place as that which the Concord School offers, where they can combine with physical rest and refreshing a certain healthful and pleasurable amount of intellectual stimulus.

But, while it may be granted that the Concord Summer School is in its way a useful institution, yet, as a school of *philosophy*, which it professes to be, it has very grave defects. To say nothing now of the rather ambitious title, "School of Philosophy," as given to a month's course of miscellaneous lectures, the school in its aim and method entirely fails to meet the demands made upon philosophy at the present time. The institution may be good in its way, but its way is a fatally narrow one. As it has been conducted thus far, the school is the *Bourbonism* of metaphysical philosophy.

First, by the lecturers chosen on philosophical subjects, and by their treatment of their themes, it has been clearly manifested, if not openly professed, that the *aim* of the school is philosophically to vindicate Christianity as the absolute and universal religion. In the discussions concerning Christianity, the historical and critical lines of investigation, the only ones that have any real vitality at the present day, are abandoned; and the Hegelian feat, which even Hegel's disciples in Germany have mostly ceased to practise, of reconstructing ontologically a dogmatic theology whose historical foundation was admitted to be utterly destroyed, is dexterously reattempted, as if it promised a permanent structure of religious faith. It is not too much to say that, at this day, no philosophy which sets out with the premise that any one of the historical religions is absolute truth meets the demand of the times. To ignore those results of modern historical research which show that all religions are of one family and origin,—and have been subject alike to natural conditions of development, and that each and all of them, therefore, are limited and provincial in character,—is to manifest not only an incapacity to solve the religious problem of our age, but even a failure to see what the real religious problem of our age is. When Mr. Alcott said, in his closing address, that "it is safe for young people to go to the Concord School without imbibing any heresies," he unconsciously declared the fatal limitations of the school on the side of religious philosophy. The robust minds among the young men and young women of our age are not afraid of "heresies": they have already largely imbibed them, and they will justly be suspicious of the thoroughness of any school which promises to fence them in a "safe" place where heresies cannot come.

A second fatal defect of the Concord School is its ignoring of science. It has not only thus far kept rigidly to the *a priori* method of inquiry as distinguished from the scientific, but it has in a marked degree ignored the results of scientific discovery, and even treated with a kind of contempt the idea that science rightfully affects both philosophical and religious theories. Now, it is not necessary nor desirable that the school should be turned into a scientific institute. It need not set up a chemical laboratory nor a zoölogical museum. Let it keep to its province of pure philosophy. It is most excellent to have an institution with that object. Natural science is not philosophy. Philosophy is a systematic view of the whole truth of things, and as such it includes and crowns all the sciences, mental, moral, and physical. But because philosophy is thus all-inclusive, embracing the whole range of truth, any attempt at setting forth a philosophical system which ignores the magnificent work of science in disclosing the actual facts of the universe is fatally discredited at the outset. In the present stage of the debate between the so-called intuitional and scientific methods (a nomenclature that does not express the correct antithesis), the Concord School need not be required to take sides against the "intuitionalists." They stand for a truth that must be covered in the fulness of the philosophic view. But as little should the school take sides against science and its method, if it is bent on attaining truth. This it has hitherto done. It has pursued philosophy in the narrow spirit of sectarianism. But the sectarian spirit, whether in philosophy or religion, never arrives at truth: it only sees a very distorted section of truth.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE PLACE OF OPINION.

The proverb is generally accepted which says, "There is a place for everything, and everything should be in its place." This is equally true of opinion, but nobody seems to think so. The principles of conduct are as various as diet. You cannot make all people eat one kind of food, nor can you prevail upon all people to live on the same set of opinions. Just as all diet is good, so long as it is wholesome and suitable to the nature of the person consuming it, so all principles are profitable so long as they are honest and adapted to the minds which accept them. It is well to combat principles which are mixed up with error, just as it is desirable that food should be divested of impurity or adulteration. The intellectual natures of men are as different as their physical nature. Yet this seems never to be recognized in advocacy. There has lately appeared in *The Index* a series of admirable papers by Rev. Mr. Potter, Dr. Adler, and others, which seem to me to proceed on the assumption that any set of principles to be regarded as true or useful must be capable of being universally received. Were it not for this assumption, many varieties of opinion would be treated more fairly, and be better appreciated than they now are.

For myself, I have accepted the friendly invitation of the editors of *The Index* to communicate to its readers statements of forms of thought which appear to me to be useful in their place. But I have no idea that such opinions should be considered as suitable to every mind. Some of your contributors and editorial writers take quite a spiritual view of beliefs, and regard them as all essential. I believe they are natural and essential to many persons. I am content occasionally to place different views before your readers, just for the chance of their being acceptable to some who, by nature, are inclined to a secular view of life.

Some years ago, I proposed a new form of free thought, based upon agreements of opinions arrived at instead of upon differences of opinion which never get reconciled. Already, a considerable number of adherents of these principles have appeared. Some statesmen, some philosophers, and even some theologians, have either recognized that secular principles have their place in the world of thought, or have arrived at similar conclusions themselves, and may be regarded quite as much originators as adherents. But confusion on the part of the general public exists as to the separate nature of such principles; and even such persons as the editors of the *Secular Review*, published in this country, have converted that organ into a furious, scornful, anti-theological journal. They have slipped out of Secularism altogether, and seem to know it not. I have ceased to write in it, because the public would infer, if I did, that I also meant by Secularism mere anti-theology, and that I did not know which was which. There are a substantial number of persons in England who do know which is which; but, when the editors of a reputedly

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secular paper fall headlong "from grace," no wonder if in another country, where Secularism has been little heard of in journalism except by the courtesy and liberality of the editors of *The Index*, who have permitted me to speak of it in their columns, misconceptions of it, agile and active, run about. Nevertheless, it is a distinct thing, having its distinct place.

Secularism is quite a new term which has come into use in recent years. It is natural that those who are strangers to it should have confused notions of it. It is natural that those who are enemies to it should misunderstand it. And, as is always the case with new ideas, many friendly to a new form of free thought, like Secularism, have an inadequate conception of it. This is no great wonder. The English people have been taxed for forty years for travelling about, under the name of "The Railway Passenger Tax"; and not one person in ten knows it. If this ignorance may subsist in an affair of the pocket, there is sure to be misconception as to a new principle of life and conduct. Every new idea in England takes a good deal of explaining.

Secularism means belief in this world and the uses of this world, and regards the duties of this world as consisting in seeking happiness through morality; and it measures morality by its conduciveness to promote the welfare of others as well as the welfare of the individual. Secularism seeks this welfare by the employment of material means,—because these means are most certain, and everybody can employ them. It does not believe in believing: it believes in working. The most ignorant and idle and unscrupulous can excel in believing, but only the intelligent and honest can or will vote for the welfare of themselves and for others. But the best-intentioned persons will not work with zeal, unless they are certain of results; and certainty of result can only be attained by wisely chosen material effort.

The distinction of a Secular Society is that it seeks the improvement of this world by material means, always understanding that the means employed shall be moral. It regards science as the available providence of man. What other providence there may be belongs to theology to determine. In this world, it is clear that the regulation of human affairs, human welfare and progress, is conducted by science. Condorcet has remarked that it took two thousand years for Archimedes and Apollonius to perfect the science of navigation by mathematics and astronomy so as to save the sailor from shipwreck. When navigation was thus perfected, it totally superseded the efforts of the human mind to induce, through prayers and sacrifices, the providence of the Churches to control the winds and the waves with a view to the safety of ships. The providence of science does that, and gives heaven no trouble. It appears to Secularism that this world is made to be self-acting, and that there are means of self-help and self-direction for those who use common sense. Secularism is the creed of self-help.

There is no doubt that morality ought to be the aim of every person. There is no doubt that material means are the most certain means of increasing human welfare. There is no doubt that reason and free speech (which means fair, considerate, and relevant speech) are the surest means by which truth can be discovered and advanced. These things, about which there is no doubt, are those which a Secular Society makes the bond of agreement within it. There are two things which have always been doubtful,—conclusive knowledge of the existence of God, and a future state. There are many people who believe they know all about these things, and have no doubt about them; while others, less wise or less confident or more modest, are less sure concerning these things. There always have been, and still is, great difference upon these subjects. The Secularists, therefore, leave these unprovable things to the private judgment of the members, and ask for no agreement thereupon, because the proof of the existence of Deity is beyond our faculties: the proof of a future state lies beyond the grave. The Secularist, therefore, says: "If God made this world, and I improve this world as far as my power goes, I shall be fulfilling the will of God, whether I have personal knowledge of Him or not. If I promote human welfare in this life as far as I have opportunity or discernment of it, I shall deserve another life, if there is one, and shall have fitted myself for it in the best way, and the only way open to me."

Thus, the members of a Secular Society unite upon matters of undoubted agreement, and leave out all matters of doubtfulness and difference.

There are persons who seem to have no faculty for anything but atheism. They pay but little attention to the improvement of the world, they are so interested in finding out its *origin*. Yet the origin of the world is a very small question compared with the *uses of the universe*. The wise use of this world depends in no way upon the knowledge of the *cause* of it. A man may judge of the house he desires to live in: he can tell whether it is well situated, has a wholesome neighborhood around it, whether it is well drained, well ventilated, has light and space, and will be a pleasant and healthy habitation, although he may never know who is the *architect* of it. The Secularist regards this world as a habitation whose builder is unknown, and seeks to put that habitation to the wisest uses, instead of devoting his whole time in trying to discover the Builder, who does not choose to be found, and whose address no one seems to have.

Other persons seem to have no faculty except for theological discussion. They profess to consider theology a waste of time, and yet they waste their time upon it. Instead of trying to improve men by advising the study of morality and science, these persons enable the priests to call them "Infidels," which sets people against the Secular truths they might teach and sometimes try to teach. The term "Infidel" means one who disbelieves or denies what he knows to be the truth. This term cannot be applied in science or morality, because such truth can be proved in this world, while the theological truth of the Bible can only be proved in another world. So much of the Bible as is moral and accords with the experience of this life the Secularist accepts. The Secularist, as such, is not under any obligation to prove the Bible is not true: his business is to prove his own principles true, which are independent of theology.

There was a time when the Bible was thought to be the source of all truth: now, Science is known to be the source of all truth. Therefore, Secularism advocates the study of science, and teaches that morality is the true piety. The first preaches the usefulness of piety: Secularism preaches the piety of usefulness. Theology preaches piety to God: Secularism preaches piety to man, which must include piety to God, and is the only way in which man can show it.

Secularism is not a new name for an old thing, but a new name for a new thing. Secularism is that which teaches self-help by the use of science and morality, founded not upon creeds, but experience, which shows that honesty, truth, and kindness are best for this world, and not bad things for another, if it comes to that. Therefore, the Secularist is under obligations to use fairness of speech, to avoid offensive imputations (which set people against new truth), to explain and not to denounce, to speak with reason and consideration, since dogmatism and outrage are traitors which betray new truth to its enemies. Some people think that they may "shock" people into the truth, but they make "shocking" converts by this method. If Secularism does not make fair-speaking, pleasant-minded men, it is no better than theology in its influence,—no better than theology, of which honest men have grown tired because of its disagreeable fruits of bigotry, imputation, and unpleasantness of speech.

For myself, I have no objection to anti-theological or even atheistic journals, providing they keep themselves distinct and do not bear a title which implies they are "Secular Reviews." Secularism, to be judged of intelligently, should be represented consistently in some organ or other. I am for keeping distinct things separate as simpler for the student and more intelligible to the public.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

GOD OR THE GALILEAN?

"Nur offen wie ein Mann, für oder wider,
Und die Parole: Slave oder frei!"
—*George Herwegh.*

The art of reading the signs of the times furnishes one sure prognostic for the prediction of impending events in the history of nations and creeds; the rule, namely, that a crisis is near at hand, when the interests of two allied causes have obviously ceased to harmonize. The increasing discrepancy of national and hierarchical interests provoked the German Reformation and the revolt of the Netherlands. In mediæval France, patriotism and king-worship went hand in hand. "*L'état c'est moi*," said Louis XIV. The growing dissent from that view led to the French Revolution.

The system of faith known as Trinitarian Christianity has reached the eve of a similar crisis. A creed, reduced to a basis of ignorance and hypocrisy, may still linger in the back-alleys of mental prostitution; but it has ceased to deserve the name of a *religion*, and demonstrable truth and the dogmas of the new testament can no longer be reconciled. God and nature have become synonymous terms. The God-idea, the highest conception of an omnipresent, omnipotent, and inexorably just though benevolent being, has been realized in the progressive revelations of that unknown power which ancient philosophers called the *Natura naturans*, and which modern scientists have called the Law of the Universe. Nature, the eternal, the all-pervading, the all-sustaining, the dispenser of sweetness and light, of abundant happiness, but also of pitiless justice, has fulfilled the promise of the ancient seers: the cycle of ages has led us back to the purest creed of our forefathers,—the worship of Nature that preceded the deification of her elemental powers. That worship is as compatible with deism as with pantheism and optimistic materialism; but it is the eternal antithesis of pessimism.

Some eighteen hundred years ago, the founder of a new sect attempted to blend the dogmas of Buddha with the monotheism of the old testament, and succeeded by radically perverting the God-idea of his countrymen. For the parental Jehovah, he substituted a joy-hating despot, a celestial grand-inquisitor, a torture-god, who made earth the antechamber of hell, and punished with eternal torments the gratification of nearly every natural instinct. The angelic messengers of the national God he supplemented with a host of malevolent demons, physic with thaumaturgy, the peace of the grave with a pit of brimstone and fire. The pantheism of the Mediterranean nations became a pandemonism. Everything natural was evil, life a disease, and death its only remedy. The pursuit, and even the love, of worldly happiness,

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the western apostle of Buddhism represented as a crime; blind faith and the repudiation of all earthly sympathies, as the first conditions of salvation; science, as a snare; industry and the love of comfort and health, as unworthy of a true saint. His gospel was essentially a declaration of war against nature. In their controversies with sceptics, the converts of the new religion appealed to the supernatural talents of its founder. Miracles were then supposed to be the test of truth. The true test is time. False systems are refuted by their consequences. In that scale, the system of the nature-hating Galilean has been weighed and found wanting.

The dogma of salvation by faith made intolerance a duty, and the Middle Ages the unhappiest period in the history of the human race,—not excepting the Neronic century of the Roman Empire. The despotism of the Cæsars was a lightning that struck only the loftiest tree; the tyranny of the Christian inquisition was a smouldering fire that blasted the life-germs of a whole forest. Earth became a gehenna of fanaticism and cruelty. "They felt with St. Augustine," says Lecky, "that the end of religion is to become like the object of worship; and they represented the Deity as confining his affection to a small section of his creatures, and inflicting on all others the most horrible and eternal sufferings. . . . Persecution invariably accompanied the realization of these tenets, and their normal effect upon the character was to produce an absolute indifference to the sufferings of those who were external to the Church." There is, indeed, no doubt that the doctrines of that Church fostered a spirit of inhumanity which originally was as foreign to the genial Mediterranean as to the manful Teutons; for it is evident to every observer that the milder manners of the present age are merely the outcome of the coöperative stage of social development, and are far more characteristic of our joy-loving communities of free thinkers than of those who are still committed to the dogmas of pessimism. We can love only lovely things; and, in order to make men more amiable, we must make them happier. Is that a "Religion of Love" which has done so much to make men unlovely by making them wretched and superstitious? Its founder, indeed, commanded his followers to love their enemies, and might as well have instructed them to admire ugliness or still their hunger with stones; but, in favor of noble friendship and faithful, conjugal love, he never said a word. On the contrary, everything natural being a demerit in his eyes, he distinctly instructs his disciple to *hate* his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life too. Could a war against nature fail to create mischief and rancor? The instigator of that war could himself not doubt that result. "I did not come to bring peace," says he, "but the sword." Love cannot be created by a mere command,—least of all, if that command be neutralized by more effective measures. Asking a man to watch and pray is in vain, if we feed him on opium. Would you call him a benevolent father who advised his children to love one another, but took comprehensive measures to stir up discord among them? The "New Testament" left us such a legacy of love that the victims of its dogmas would cover a continent with corpses. We are told that the author of those dogmas died for us. It is much more certain that twenty-three million of our fellow-men had to die for him. But the supposed supernatural effect of his death is, indeed, the only possible reason for worshipping the man of Golgotha. From a human point of view, we should try in vain to find such a reason. In which sense of the word has the progress of our race been promoted by a system which directly discouraged their physical and intellectual development, and used such ineffectual means to secure the improvement of their moral nature? We should not forget that the benefits of modern progress are confined to the nations who saved themselves by the aid of the Protestant Revolt before the poison of pessimism had sapped their life-strength. If we would know what that poison means, we should look at the countries that have been more effectually inoculated with its influence. Compare the deserts of Southern Europe with the description of the old Mediterranean paradise; compare the modern Romans and Greeks with the statues and the record of the old hero-races, if you would know if Christianity has benefited the world. Shall we believe that morality has gained by its alliance with a monstrous fiction? Has the gospel of pessimism brought us nearer to heaven? "My idea of heaven is harmony," were almost the last words of the poet Longfellow. Shall we find that blessing in a creed whose tenets are hopelessly at variance with the revelations of Nature and the promptings of our normal instincts? The popular definition of heaven is perfect happiness; and, on earth at least, the surest road to that goal is the harmonious development of all our physical, mental, and moral faculties. How much nearer to the gates of paradise were the disciples of a Grecian academy than the slaves of a Christian convent!

The doctrine of anti-naturalism has marked its progress by the spread of a hopeless desert. From Syria to Portugal, the substitution of prayer and miracle-worship for industry and the study of Nature has blighted the god-gardens of the *Orbis Romanus*, and realized the Nirvana-ideal of the East Indian pessimists.

The doctrine of demonism led to the witchcraft horrors, and cost the lives of untold thousands of innocent human beings during a period that has been justly called the age of insanity. During the twelve centuries, from the first Council of Nice to the dawn of western rationalism, a sane inhabitant of Christian Europe must have felt like a philosopher caged in a lunatic asylum, and subjected to the control of a brainless and heartless keeper.

Pessimism has turned whole nations of freemen into abject slaves. In logical accordance with the dogma of natural depravity, men were thought unfit for self-government, and their own welfare seemed to require the suppression of every revolt against the authority of their spiritual taskmasters. Passive obedience, too, and the renunciation of earthly happiness, are valuable qualities in a slave: hence, the universal alliance of Christian priestcraft and despotism.

The science of health and the science of happiness will, perhaps, never recover from the influence of a system that has shortened the average duration of human life by fifteen years, and peopled the earth with cachectic wretches who had been taught that the culture of the manly powers is sinful, and that diseases can be cured with prayers and ceremonies.

The defenders of the Trinitarian dogma have always been the worst enemies of natural religion. By associating the name of the Supreme Being with all sorts of absurdities and atrocities, they succeeded in making religion hateful, and reduced their intelligent disciples to the alternative of scepticism or hypocrisy. The chief error of many liberal Unitarians is the idea that the difference between Christianity and true religion is only one of degree,—that our best thought is an advance upon the stand-point of the new testament, but that, on the whole, its dogmas have led us in the right direction. The sad truth is that they have led us far in the wrong direction. The moral activity of the Middle Ages was wholly reactionary, the energy of fourteen centuries wasted in the effort of crushing out the remnants of culture and manhood that had survived the fall of the Roman Empire, and the ideals that had made Greece the happiest country on earth. The creed of modern science is a revival of those ideals.

Miracle-mongery, the depreciation of Nature, and the supposed duty of blind faith combined in suppressing free inquiry. The undisputed sway of the Christian dogma coincides with the darkest century of the Middle Ages. The most orthodox nations of the present age are the most ignorant; the most enlightened, the most sceptical. The progress of common sense has always been accompanied by a propaganda of unbelief. Christian dogmatism and true science exclude each other like the two poles of the magnetic compass. Our Christian sects—even the Catholics—expend large sums for educational purposes, because they realize the importance of biassing the minds of the young; but, whenever we examine the methods of their so-called academies, we shall find that they patronize a professor of science as burglars caress a watchdog,—in order to silence him. In all countries and all ages, the supremacy of the Christian creed has inaugurated a reign of obscurantism; and it is a profanation to associate the name of that system with the sacred watchword of human progress. Christian Civilization! We might as well speak of liberal despotism or wholesome poison. The delusions of pessimism are fatal to the development of our highest faculties, and the dogma of the New Testament is a dam that has obstructed the advance of mankind for eighteen hundred years. At the bursting of such dams, rivers generally make up for lost time; hence, the present flood-tide of industrial and scientific progress. The victories of civilization were won on the battle-fields that broke the power of Christian superstition; and the surviving bigots who condescend to enjoy the fruits of those victories are like rats that have been prevented from scuttling a ship, but continue to share the provisions of the crew and congratulate themselves on the prospect of a pleasant voyage. The history of the last sixteen centuries proves that Tacitus was not far wrong when he called the Christian fanatics the enemies of the human race. Their prophet of the millennium has persistently failed to keep his promise.

And now the negative evidence of experience has found its supplement in the positive evidence of natural science. The claims of the false theory have been exploded by the demonstrations of the right theory. The advance of civilization has strewn its path with the wreck of mediæval dogmas. Wherever the revival of common sense has encouraged a man to devote his life to the pursuit of earthly happiness, pessimism has lost a votary. Every new ray of natural light furnishes an additional argument against supernaturalism, every victory of science is a back-set to the Christian faith. The God of Nature bears witness against the god of Galilee. To all who have eyes to see and ears to hear, scepticism has become a religious duty. It was once blasphemy to deny the Trinitarian dogma. It is now blasphemy to defend it. The slanderer of Nature has ceased to be our God. The men who were killed for heresies against the Christian creed have become martyrs of a higher religion.

The mediæval Christian had merely to suppress the voice of his instincts. The modern Christian has to reject the revelations of science, confirmed by the voice of his instincts and the testimony

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of experience. He has to save his faith by the habitual suppression of his intellectual conscience. He can practise his lessons only by disobeying the mandates of a higher law. He has to shut his eyes to the self-contradiction of a system in which the experience of every week-day refutes the theories of every Sunday,—a system which makes candor a crime, and obliges him to preserve his allegiance to the author of a dogma by defying the author of the Universe.

The time has come when every upright man has to choose between naturalism and anti-naturalism. We may openly renounce the faith of the Dark Ages or shut our eyes to the daylight of science, but we cannot afford to be hypocrites: paradoxes and anachronisms are less fatal to the authority of a creed than inconsistencies.

Christians may decide the alternative from their own point of view. If spiritual poverty is bliss, the rant of a revivalist is perhaps preferable to the logic of a scientific lecture. If wealth is an insuperable obstacle to salvation, the deserts of the Spanish Christians may be an improvement upon the god-gardens of the Spanish Moors. A person who believes that the body is the enemy of the soul is justified in preferring disease to health and whining impotence to manly strength. But he should be consistent. A virtuous man may use the railways, protect his house with the invention of the sceptic Franklin, enjoy his meals, appreciate the advantages of industry, and contest the prize of a boat-race, but he should not call himself a Christian. A consistent Christian has a perfect right to persist in denouncing all such things, in despising earth for the sake of heaven and his body for the sake of the soul; but he should not presume to call himself a Man. The days of the Holy Inquisition are past, and no citizen of a free country can find an excuse for making a secret of his conviction. Outspoken liberty of thought—once the privilege of the most powerful—has become the right and the duty of every true man. The conflict of reason and dogma is no longer confined to the secret debating-clubs of the French universities: the revelations of science have become the common property of all, and the practical instinct of the people begins to ask questions which can no longer be answered with sophisms.

We have to decide between nature, knowledge, health, manliness, happiness, and freedom on the one side, and anti-naturalism, blind faith, disease, impotence, misery, and social and spiritual slavery on the other: we have to choose between God and the Galilean. FELIX L. OSWALD.

FOREIGN ISSUES IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

A writer in the August *International* enumerates three of these,—Mormonism, the Chinese question, and, lastly, what he newly christens the "American-Irish" question. Almost the whole of his article is devoted to the latter, and there is a refreshing originality as well as a large amount of truth in his views. He affirms that the American Republic is being unconsciously towed along in the wake of the Irish agitation. This he deems a most unwise application of sympathy, and holds that, so far as the real American sentiment finds utterance, it should give moral support to Gladstone. "The American Republic," says this writer, Mr. Robert J. Creighton, "is tied to the Land League chariot; and it is incumbent upon Americans to ascertain exactly where the charioteer is driving, and when he is likely to draw rein. Instead of sympathizing with Irish Irreconcilables, they should sympathize with the great statesman who has undertaken the almost hopeless task of settling the Irish Land Tenure upon an equitable basis."

Mr. Creighton further condemns "the prevalent theory that the United States is the dumping-ground of the nations, and that the right of American citizenship is inherent in all races under heaven, without reference to their civilization, education, or moral status." Public opinion has certainly begun to veer about in the direction so boldly stated by this courageous writer. There has begun an intellectual reaction, not against our fundamental tenets of religious and political toleration, but against their mal-appropriation and abuse. The Chinese question made a little rift within our lute. It formed the accidental basis for divergence and the creation of a political philosophy based on the growing utilitarianism of today. The orthodox interpreters of our Constitution held on tenaciously to the idea of unrestricted hospitality toward China and every other semi-developed country. But the utilitarians triumphed upon this issue, and the probability is that the new interpretation will strengthen as the country grows older. Yet, with curious inconsistency, the very people who favor indiscriminate immigration condemn Mormonism, although both are equally palpable exaggerations of the spiritual tenor of our Constitution.

It may be, as Harriet Martineau suggested, that the "founders of the American Republic laid down a political programme too lofty for their descendants." But it lies with those descendants to show their worthiness of such a legacy by not distorting its intention. All that we say and do goes upon record,—our childishness and short-sightedness as well as our wisdom. The truth is that the signs of the times begin to call imperatively for a more thorough and serious domestic legislation, while we are spending our strength upon comparatively irrelevant outside matters. We are forced into agreement with the writer just quoted, that "social and economic questions, and most especially the labor problem," are *the* pressing questions of the time. Yet a comprehensive domestic legislation will not be possible until these foreign issues are eliminated, or at least subordinated.

M. A. HARDAKER.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS.

The *Catholic Review*, which is undoubtedly the ablest organ of the faith it represents in this country, is getting to be quite disputatious. "Only for the Catholic Church," it says, "there would have been no real progress of man, still less of woman. And if our friend, *The Index*, is anxious to take us up on this point, we are quite prepared to meet it."

While we are not *anxious* for controversy with our esteemed contemporary, we are ready to expose the fallacies which appear in its pages from week to week, as far as our space will permit. We would be pleased to see what it can advance in support of the proposition it so confidently affirms. Meanwhile, as the *Review* claims that the Catholic Church has been the great patron of science and learning, the promoter of popular education, and the cause of the intellectual advancement which has been made during the past eighteen hundred years, it may be well to consider here the attitude of that Church toward learning when it swayed Christendom, and to present some facts in the history of letters bearing on the influence of the Catholic system on intellectual progress.

It does not admit of question that, although a few of the Fathers, in becoming Christian, could not shut their eyes to the merits of the noble literature in which they had been educated, Christians, generally, of the early ages, felt only ignorant contempt for pagan learning, the only learning then in the world. Many were for abolishing all philosophy and erudition from the limits of the Church, and hence, as Mosheim says, "the beginning of that unhappy contest between faith and reason, religion and philosophy, piety and genius, which increased in succeeding ages, and is prolonged even to our times with a violence which renders it extremely difficult to be brought to a conclusion." Among the monks, when they were under the vow of silence, it was customary with them, in asking for any pagan work, to make a particular sign, which consisted in scratching the ear like a dog, to which, it was thought, the pagans should be compared. In this manner, they expressed an itching for those dogs, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. The fourth council of Carthage forbade the reading of secular books by bishops. Jerome condemned the perusal of them except for pious purposes. The physical sciences were unqualifiedly condemned, since their cultivation was considered incompatible with the practice of religious duties. The Greek schools of medicine were closed. The Alexandrian Serapion, with its libraries and its museum, the accumulation of centuries, was destroyed under the archiepiscopate of Theophilus, A.D. 389, "and twenty years afterward the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every intelligent spectator." Many of the bishops in the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, it is declared, could not write their names. Ignorance was not considered a disqualification for ordination. No importance was attached to anything of an intellectual character except those childish and unintelligible theological controversies which were carried on for centuries. "These disputes," says Hallam, "diverted studious minds from profane literature, and narrowed down more and more the circle of that knowledge which they were desirous to obtain."

The monastic movement contributed to the decline of letters and decay of intellect. "I cannot conceive," says Hallam, "any state of society more adverse to the intellectual improvement of mankind than one which admitted no middle line between dissoluteness and fanatical mortifications."

The subversion of Rome was encouraged by the policy of the Catholic Church. That the condition of affairs would have been creditable to the ecclesiastical system, had Rome never been conquered by the barbarians, there is no reason to believe. Hallam thinks we may form some notion of how little probability there was of the Western Empire producing any excellent fruits, even if that revolution had never occurred, by considering what took place in Greece in the following ages, when "no original writer of any merit arose, and learning, though plunged for but a short period into mere darkness, may be said to have languished in a middle region of twilight for the greater part of a thousand years."

In the Western Empire, during a period of seven hundred years from the invasion of the barbarians, the Church exercised absolute and complete control; and then, after the dissolution of the whole framework of Roman society, "she was left," as Lecky observes, "with a virgin soil to realize her ideal of human excellence."

What was the intellectual condition of those over whom she swayed her sceptre? For many centuries, a layman could rarely be found capable of signing his name; charters were subscribed with the mark of the cross; what little learning existed was confined chiefly to the clergy. A "cloud of ignorance overspread the whole face of the Church, hardly broken by a few glimmering lights, who owe almost the whole of their distinction to the surrounding darkness." (Hallam's

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Middle Ages, p. 460.) In the sixth century, the classics were scarcely read; and, from the middle of this century to the eleventh, but little difference was discernible. "In almost every council, the ignorance of the clergy forms a subject for reproach. It is asserted by one held in 992 that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself who knew the first elements of letters. Not one priest of a thousand in Spain, about the age of Charlemagne, could address a common letter of salutation to another." (*Middle Ages*, 460.) The clergy could not translate a sentence of Latin. The homilies they preached were prepared from previous works of the same kind by some of the bishops.

Whoever wished to follow a life of study had to abandon secular pursuits and adopt the monastic life. "Mediæval Catholicism," says Lecky, "discouraged and suppressed in every way secular studies, while it conferred a monopoly of wealth and honor and power upon the distinguished theologian. Very naturally, therefore, it attracted into the path of theology the genius that would have existed without it, but would, under other circumstances, have been displayed in other forms." (*History of Morals*, vol. ii., p. 209.)

In the monasteries, it is true, were kept all the libraries of Europe; but, in these receptacles, they conferred no blessings on mankind. A large number of the manuscripts of the classic authors that have descended to us through the monasteries were defaced, the original writing scraped off, and monkish tales and patristic fables substituted for it. "Not till the education of Europe passed from the monasteries to the universities, not till Mohammedan science and classical free thought and industrial independence broke the sceptre of the Church, did the intellectual revival of Europe begin." (Ibid., p. 206.)

Such, however, was the general and deplorable ignorance which the Church helped to produce and to perpetuate, that, considering the general disuse of the Latin language, and the use of the jargon which represented it, the hope of literature, it is true, depended very largely, almost wholly, upon the perpetuation of that language; and, no doubt, keeping the Scriptures and liturgy in that language, after it ceased to be spoken, insured the transmission to us of the literature of antiquity, which those ecclesiastical ages were unable to appreciate, and the study of which, a little later, contributed to revive Europe from her intellectual torpor. It is not to the credit of the Catholic Church that she kept the Bible and her liturgy in a dead language, and for no other act has she been condemned more justly by the Protestant world. Yet this circumstance, condemned, as Hallam says, by "every rational principle of religion," prevented affairs, when they had, largely through the influence of the Church, become so lamentable, from becoming more hopeless still, and rendered it possible for later ages to make use of the books which the Church had stowed away in monasteries, and which she now claims credit for not destroying, when she ought to have disseminated the knowledge they contained,—in which case, neither monastic institutions nor a sacred language would have been of any use.

Will our esteemed contemporary attempt to maintain that the darkness of the Middle Ages was dispelled by the Catholic Church, when, as it must know, it was among the Mohammedan Arabs that appeared the first gleams of light which shot athwart the horizon of Christian Europe; when, while the greater portion of the Western world was plunged in ignorance, the Moors of Spain were cultivating the arts and sciences; when, at a time, as Draper says, Europe "was hardly more enlightened than Caffraria is now, the Saracen were cultivating and even creating science"; when, as Mosheim says, "the mathematics, astronomy, physics, and philosophy that were taught in Europe from the tenth century were, for the most part, drawn from the Arabian schools that were established in Spain and Italy or from the writings of the Arabian sages"; and when, as he adds, "the Saracens may, in one respect, be justly considered the restorers of learning in Europe," and "may be looked upon as the fathers of European philosophy"?

Our esteemed contemporary cannot be unaware of the fact that, during the long struggle between intellectual life and intellectual death, which continued for ages, Catholicism opposed most stubbornly every innovation, and punished with imprisonment, torture, and death the votaries of science, philosophy, and reform. Roger Bacon was imprisoned ten years for his scientific investigations; the work of Copernicus was condemned, his theory denounced as "a false Pythagorean doctrine," and the author, there is reason to believe, tortured and excommunicated; Bruno was burnt at the stake; Galileo was arrested and forced to renounce his scientific theories, and when released his steps were dogged until his death. And, in later times, the Catholic Church has kept behind the age, and been the enemy of scientific research as well as of political reform.

It is scepticism and free thought, science and secular studies and pursuits, not Catholicism, that have contributed to intellectual progress. The history of modern civilization, Lecky observes, discloses two "capital truths." "The first is that, the influence of theology having for centuries numbed and paralyzed the whole intellect of Christian Europe, the revival which forms the starting-point of our modern civilization was mainly due to the fact that two spheres of intellect still remained uncontrolled by the sceptre of Catholicism. The pagan literature of antiquity and the Mohammedan schools of science were the chief agencies in resuscitating the dormant energies of Christendom. The second fact . . . is that, during more than three centuries, the decadence of theological influence has been one of the most invariable signs and measures of our progress. In medicine, physical science, commercial interests, politics, and even ethics, the reformer has been confronted with theological affirmations which barred his way, which were all defended as of vital importance, and were all in turn compelled to yield before the secularizing influence of civilization." (*History of Morals*, vol. ii., p. 18.)

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE able essay by Mr. Lewis G. Janes, which appeared in *The Index* last week, has been neatly printed in pamphlet form, and is for sale at this office at five cents a copy.

A "UNIVERSAL PEACE CONVENTION" was held, August 24, in the vicinity of New London, Conn., at which addresses were made by Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Mr. Love, and others.

PROF. EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN, President of the Liberia College, Africa, who is now visiting this country, says that the Mohammedan religion has a more beneficial effect on the native Africans than the Christian religion."

WE regret that Mrs. Cheney's article on "The Chinese Question," as printed in *The Index* last week, was marred by two or three errors that escaped our almost infallible proof-reader, and by a most provoking division of sentences due to a transposition of lines in making up the paper.

MUCH indignation has been expressed, all over the country, at the extravagant expenditure of public money by Congress, but credit should be given it for some items of retrenchment and economy. For instance, it cut down the appropriation for the life-saving service $20,000. This action may cripple the service (always poorly enough paid), and may prevent some human lives being saved; but it shows that Congress *can* economize.

THE legitimate result of the influence of brutal shows on the temper and morals of those witnessing them was very forcibly illustrated recently at a bull-fight in Nîmes, France, where the audience, impatient at the fact that the beasts displayed a lack of ferocity, protested against the poorness of the exhibition by hurling their chairs down from the galleries. Finally, they set fire to the properties, and committed damages to the amount of $1,000.

THE *Anglo-Catholic* "believes most fully in the efficacy of prayer, and intends to make its defence a part of its editorial work." So it begins by citing the case of Dr. Flower of Freehold, N.J., whose wife was obliged to separate from him, and take with her their little son. However, the father began an action to recover the boy, the wife prayed for divine intervention in his behalf, and Dr. Flower lost his case by appearing drunk at court "in answer to prayer." Truly, the most pious people sometimes attribute very strange proceedings to the Lord.— *Springfield Republican.*

THE Boston *Sunday Herald*, commenting on an article in *True Religion*, touching on insincerity in the pulpit, expresses much truth in the extract which we here reproduce:—

> There is no truly independent preacher in America. In our voluntary system, the preacher is controlled by the people who listen to him; and the preachers who seem most free to speak what they think are really the most limited in their freedom, and most likely to be knocked off their pedestals by an unpopular breeze. If we had an Established Church or a religious system endowed by the State, the ministers could speak freely, as in England and Scotland, without losing their bread and butter; but, under our present voluntary system, a preacher's liberty of opinion is measured by the size or number of the pews in his place of worship, or, rather, by the opinions of those who occupy them. No preacher is without this check upon his opinions, and it is for this reason that the pusillanimity is exhibited at times which the editor of the *True Religion* alludes to with characteristic relish.

THE *Christian Register*, after referring to the fact that the minister has a sympathetic audience inviting to boldness, and is secure against challenge, says:—

> If his opinion is to be traversed, it will be in another place, and when further and deliberate opportunity will be given for reply. A political speaker or a lawyer must needs see the question at every angle, and cultivate fairness in debate; for he is liable to instant challenge. The minister suffers the disadvantage of freedom from such challenge, and from the sacredness with which his proclamation is invested, the triple sacredness of the day, place, and subject-matter. Since, therefore, circumstances do not guard the minister, how jealous he should be of his manhood, and how severely he should be his own guard and judge; how vigilant of his sincerity, his frankness, his fairness, and every attribute of manly public address! And, in our judgment, it is at this point that the manhood of ministers suffers the most. They do not so much need to be exhorted to the courage of their speech as to these other qualities.

These words are just, and they should be read and heeded not only by ministers, but by all who address audiences under circumstances that do not admit of reply at the same time and place,—circumstances that make misrepresentation mean and personal assaults cowardly.

IN one who knows how to select that which is really valuable from the cheap and common things in literature, nothing awakens such reverent feeling as the conscious contact with a great mind in

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careful dealing with great themes. The student of Spencer gets this gratification in the fullest degree. A mere *reader* will not get it: he must be conned and dwelt with like a poet in order to be appreciated, and especially must he be supplemented by contemporaneous scientists, English, French, and German. Taking him in connection with Huxley, Darwin, Tyndall, Faraday, Lyell, Haeckel, Du Bois-Reymond, Ribot, Carpenter, and Humboldt, one who has the necessary power of assimilation can sit and feast as at a perpetual banquet. A mind like Spencer's, in which the philosophical tendency is uppermost, naturally wishes to carry its explanation and connection of phenomena into every realm of research. Having once espoused evolution, he has been as faithful to it as a lover to his ideal. No allurements of society or of affection have tempted him. He has remained unmarried, a severe student, completely consecrated to the increase and coördination of human knowledge. The list of his works is startling in its comprehensiveness. —*Boston Transcript.*

A PEACEABLE citizen of New York city, who was bullied on his own door-step by a ruffianly policeman, and arrested by him and locked up all night in a foul cell and the next morning discharged upon his own statement, writes to the *Sun:*—

I now propose to see what rights a citizen has under the law in this city as against police dictation and tyranny. I propose, as a matter of public duty, to spare no time or labor in bringing these uniformed law-breakers to justice. There is no remedy or form of procedure provided for such cases that I shall leave untried. Things have reached such a pass in this city that police outrages must be prosecuted resolutely and thoroughly for the defence of the public against the men whom they pay to guard and protect them. Russian police administration is thought to be arbitrary and despotic, but it cannot be worse than what is witnessed and endured in the city of New York. I regard it as fortunate that I was able throughout the time that I was in the hands of the police to preserve my self-control so completely and to refrain from resistance or any violent ebullition. Had that not been the case, I have no doubt that I would have been clubbed into unconsciousness, and then accused of violence and intoxication; and sergeant, patrolman, and keeper would have joined in swearing the charges through. This is the practice of these law-breakers, to swear to anything that may be needed to justify their outrages.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

MY GARDEN IN THE WEST.

My skiey garden nightly blossoms fair
With star-flowers tremulous and bright:
It is a field of dewy sunset air,
Where riseth Hesperus to sight.

I from my western window duly gaze,
As sundown's splendor ebbs away,
And see its mystic parterres bloom and blaze
With night-flowers knowing not decay.

Into my silent, lonely, darkling room
From azure spaces far they gleam,
With their unwithering petals a perfume
Of heaven dispensing as they beam:

Thicker and thicker, on that field dark blue,
They into fulgent blossoms burst and shine,
In clusters sweet and mystical which woo
The vision with a charm divine.

O radiant Gulistan of sunset air,
My skiey garden in the west!
Each night I see thee blooming brightly there
Where evening's red doth heaven invest.

I, thitherward intently gazing, seem,
While softly whispers twilight's breeze,
To see the Grecian poets' myth and dream,
The garden of the Hesperides.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPT. 7, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER,
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, } *Editors.*

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

SCHOOLS OF POETRY.

BY B. W. BALL.

Poets, it has been remarked, go in schools, like whales. The latest schools of English poetry are called the æsthetic and agnostic,—two good old Greek words which have been made to assume a peculiar significance in these days. Groups of illustrious English poets, from their having flourished during the reigns of two English queens, are known as the Elizabethan and Queen Anne poets, and all the later English bards might in like manner be designated as Victorian poets.

There used to flourish what was called the Lake School of poets, the chief of them having been colonized in the vicinity of the English lakes. Contemporary with the latter school of poetry was the Satanic school, so called by its enemies. Æsthetic poetry of course means the poetry of a *dilettante* period. Tennyson, with all his genius and splendor of diction and imagination, must still be classified as a *dilettante* poet. As M. Taine says: "Away there in the Isle of Wight, he amuses himself by dressing up lost epics. How happy he is among his fine books, his friends, his honeysuckles, his roses!" He is the poet of elegant leisure. He ransacks all times and climes for subjects for his dainty muse, in the absence of any absorbing passion or special inspiration. He sings for the fastidious, the over-cultivated, the inordinately wealthy. His muse disports herself in paradisal domains of freshest English verdure, umbrageous with summer woods, which make a murmur in the land. His garments are not grimed with the dust of a grim life-struggle. He voices no fierce heart-lacerating indignation, no terrible personal experience. He is a leisurely, luxuriously-housed verse polisher, and fitly describes the gorgeous life of a great, decadent aristocracy, rotten-ripe. In fact, the Tennysonian poetry is a case of rotten-ripeness, of over-finish. While reading it, one hankers for a taste of the rude rhymes of Burns, or the careless, often slovenly, improvisations of the scold and rhapsodist of freedom, Byron. It is always a sign of a *dilettante* literary period when poets and imaginative writers attempt to resurrect the past and make its dry bones live again.

The Alexandrine poets were mere imitators and drivellers. The epic spirit of Greek poetry could not be revived. Tennyson summons, or attempts to summon, for the delectation of his fastidious readers, the heroic men and famous heroines of Grecian and mediæval myth. But the Tennysonian Œnones, Guineveres, Cleopatras, etc., are all simply beautiful, modern English women; and the Tennysonian Ulysses, Arthur, Sir Galahad, Sir Launcelot, are all Oxford graduates draped in the costumes of the past, modern English gentlemen of culture masquerading in antique armor. Tennyson's "Lotos Eaters" are not genuine old Homeric mariners of the Ægean Sea, mere creatures of sense, impulse, and appetite, lightly moved, hardly self-conscious, and utterly incapable of continuous reflection. The Tennysonian lotos-eaters, on the contrary, are gloomily reflective, highly æsthetic and agnostic moderns. They are pessimists, and propose to give up the struggle of life as hopeless, and lie down on their backs and indulge in pleasant day-dreams and mournfully sweet memories during the little remainder of their lives. How æsthetic and un-Homeric is their mood! The Homeric world was sicklied o'er with no pale cast of thought. Suffice it to say that no ancient Greek would have understood Tennyson's poems on Greek themes, and no mediæval knight, even if he could have read them, would have comprehended Tennyson's "Idyls of the King," or recognized the characters described in them as his contemporaries. Milton once entertained the idea of writing an Arthuran epic, but he felt that he lived in "an age too late" for such a performance.

Because a genuine epic poem is not a *dilettante* performance, but is alive with real life, fire, and action, *dilettante* poetry after a brief period is sure to show for what it is; namely, something ungenuine, hot-housy, and artificial. Its lusciousness cloys at last. It is felt to be void of any serious, grand significance. It is the mere luxurious display and wantonness of a gorgeous imagination seeking to smooth the transit of hours of cultivated, refined leisure, idleness, inaction, and dreaminess.

Now, the Satanic or Byronic school of English or European poetry—for Byron had for his followers such great continental poets as Leopardi, Heine, and Alfred de Musset was not at all *dilettante*. It had faults enough, but they were not faults of Dellacruscanism or dilettantism. Byronic poetry was the voice of the revolutionary spirit which is still remoulding society and civilization. It was no mere drivelling sentimentalism of unbelief and despair, but a vehement protest against cant, pretence, and insensate custom and usage. It was the forerunner of an age of truth and reality, and of a liberalized state of society.

Thus, the so-called Satanic school of poetry, from the fact that it was the poetry of revolt and protest, had an unmistakable virility and nobleness of aim and endeavor which covered the multitude of its sins and defects, and which left not to its authors the leisure or inclination to be fastidious phrase-mongers. They were too much in earnest for niceness of literary execution. But, when the spirit did seize them, they were capable of sublimities of thought and versification which no *dilettante* bard can ever hope to attain. Thus, while Byron and Shelley will always shine as fixed stars in the European literary firmament, the names of the *dilettante* poets, such as Tennyson, Browning, Morris, Swinburne, and Rossetti will be remembered, it is true, but remembered as Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, and Lucan among the ancients, and Cowley and Donne of the metaphysical school of English poets, are remembered. Keats, the father of English æsthetic poetry, was prematurely born and preternaturally, deliriously sensitive.

Æsthetic poetry always abounds in "morbid fancies and super-subtilized phrases," so that it is largely unintelligible and frequently requires translation into the vernacular of its writers. But its significance, when carefully ascertained by study, is of no importance. Lord Beaconsfield once remarked that he should probably admire Browning's poetry, if it was only translated into English.

If Swinburne had never published anything but his *Songs before Sunrise*, he would not be a *dilettante* poet. But, as it is, he is a vicious mannerist, with all his lyric genius, and a cockney neo-pagan, who prefers the sensual style of paganism to a reproduction of its nobler thoughts and imaginations. The greatest poets have always been healthy-minded and joyous. Shakspere could depict a melancholy Jacques; but he himself is always cheerful, natural, and full of fire and vigor of thought and expression.

In his review of the æsthetic poet, Daniel Gabriel Rossetti, Principal Shairp says, addressing himself to the fashionable, æsthetic, and agnostic poets of England: "The world is weary of your moanings, and can well dispense with any more of them. It is really not worth your while to trouble it with your pipings, until you have something to tell it. . . . If future poets wish to win the ear of their countrymen and to merit

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the honor according to the highest poetry, they would be wise to cultivate manlier thought and nobler sentiment, expressed in purer and fresher diction, and to make their appeal not to the perfumed tastes of over-educated coteries, but to the broad and healthy sympathies of universal man."

And now a word on American poets and poetry. American poets, it has been remarked, show to best advantage in anthologies, not being voluminous enough, most of them, to exist independently. If we open one of our American anthologies,—that of Griswold, for example,—we find ourselves in a different poetic domain or atmosphere from that of English poetry. Bryant's poetry, for instance, could only have been written in an American environment, on the banks of the Hudson or some other American river. It could not have been written on the banks of the Thames at all. We speak of Bryant, because he is one of the best known of our American bards. But he is scarcely more racy of the soil, sky, and waters of this hemisphere than were a number of others, his contemporaries, who have been cast into total eclipse of late years by the superior renown of four or five bards, who somehow have made the fact forgotten by the mass of readers that anybody but themselves ever wrote verses in this country. But as there were brave men before Agamemnon, so there have been American poets other than Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Holmes. Mr. Lowell, if we are not mistaken, somewhere speaks disparagingly of Percival; but Percival, in poetic genius, was greatly his superior, and, born in a German, English, or French environment,—that is, with historic Germany or England or France back of him,—would have taken rank with the foremost of the European poets who were his contemporaries. For the Muses are and will always remain the daughters of Memory. They require for background and inspiration a historied *human* past extending away into the shadows and twilight of fable and romance.

Epic and dramatic poetry, or the poetry of action and of the historical imagination, have been impossible here for want of a human past; and our bards have been thrown on descriptive, lyrical, and reflective poetry, which are inferior kinds of poetry to epic and dramatic. In Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*, we find the light and bloom and vastitude and loneliness of our unsurpassed New World nature most graphically delineated, with all the emotions to which the contemplation of such a nature gives rise. And Bryant is not the only faithful delineator of our unique New World nature, with its azure mountain distances, with its unfailing umbrageousness and sylvanness, with its reedy fens and water-fowl, with its lakes great and small, with its prairies and rivers, and vast-sounding coast line. Numbers of other forgotten American poets, such as Percival, Hoffman, Brainard, Wilcox, and Halleck, have been almost Bryant's equals as descriptive poets. Dana's "Buccaneer," or a psychological study of delirious remorse, is even more graphically appalling than Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner."

But to return to our poets descriptive of nature. The anthologies which contain their best things are among the best books of poetry extant, and thoroughly American in spirit. Their pages are redolent of the odors of our forest-waving, mountain-shadowed, river-furrowed, lake-gemmed landscapes, and luminous with the deep-skied splendor which irradiates them. So far, then, as our glorious and still largely unhumanized nature is concerned, our American bards have been admirable delineators of it. Even the affected and cockneyish N. P. Willis has some touches of New World nature which will keep his memory green as long as the delicate-footed May fills us with a longing to be away wasting in wood-paths the voluptuous hours. How Bryant's lines, "To the Evening Wind," murmur and ripple with the delicious breath of the breeze of twilight, at which in the dog-days languid forms rise up, and pulses bound livelier!

A great but cynical critic says: "Poetry is one of those mysterious things whose reign and development can never be what is called explained. Often, it seems to us like the wind blowing where it lists, coming and departing with little regard to any the most cunning theory that has yet been devised of it. Least of all does it depend on the form of government, or any modification of politics or political economies. It lives in snow-clad, sulphurous Iceland, and not in sunny, vine-growing France. . . . Why did poetry appear so brightly after the battles of Salamis and Thermopylæ, and quite turn away her face and wings from those of Bunker Hill and Lexington? We answer, because the Greeks were a poetical people, and the Americans are not; that is to say, it appeared because it did appear." Carlyle, in the above quotation, succeeded in making a malicious thrust at Americans; but, unfortunately for his historic accuracy and his anxiety to hit us Americans a hard rap, it was not *after* Salamis and Thermopylæ, but long *before* their occurrence, that Greek epic and lyric poetry and epic and lyric inspiration manifested themselves in their greatest resplendence and power.

After the battles of Salamis and Thermopylæ came the age of Greek historic prose; namely, that of Herodotus and Xenophon and Thucydides. The great Greek singers, Homer and Sappho and Alcæus and the rest at that time, belonged to a remote past. The dramas of Æschylus were in one case, that of his "Persians," inspired by the Xerxean invasion; but it is the stupidest of all the extant Greek dramas.

One wonders if Carlyle regarded his own countrymen as "a poetical people." They have produced Scott and Burns, it is true; but everybody knows that they, no more than Americans, are "a poetical people," in the sense that the ancient Greeks were. Neither are the English or Germans. But Greece perished, exhausted with her creation of poetry and art. It is the average races and nations who last the longest; for brilliant races, like brilliant men, quickly wear themselves out by a too prodigal expenditure of their peculiar genius. They enrich the world, but perish in the process.

For *The Index*.

EXTRACTS FROM SOPHOCLES.

SELECTED BY F. M. HOLLAND.

"Ne'er can a state in peace and safety dwell,
Where justice and the law of self-control
Are trampled under foot, and brawling know,
With crafty bond and cruel goad, drives on
The state to his own purpose."
—*Fragment* 606; *Plumptre, I.*, 63.

Antigone says to her sovereign:—

"Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough,
Coming from mortal man, to set at nought
The unwritten laws of God that know not change.
They are not of to-day nor yesterday,
But live forever; nor can man assign
When first they sprang to being."
—*Antigone*, 450; *Plumptre, I.*, 168.

"I pray thee, then, wear not one mood alone,
That what thou say'st is right, and nought but that;
For he who thinks that he alone is wise,
His mind and speech above what others boast,
Such men when searched are mostly empty found.
But for a man to learn, though he be wise,
Yea, to learn much, and know the time to yield,
Brings no disgrace."
—*Antigone*, 705; *Plumptre, I.*, 180.

"What virtue gains, alone abides with us."
—*Fragment* 202; *Plumptre, II.*, 265.

"The wise can ne'er grow old, for with them dwells
A soul sustained by truth in Heaven's own time."
—*Fragment* 688; *Plumptre, II.*, 278.

"Now let us go, my children, to the schools,
Where wise men teach, and learn the Muses' art,
And ever, day by day, take one step on,
Till we gain power to study nobler things.
Evil a boy will learn without a guide
With little labor, learning from himself;
But good, not even with the teacher won,
Abides with him, but is full hardly gained."
—*Fragment* 779; *Plumptre, I.*, 36, *II.*, 283.

"Cease from your weeping, maidens. Over those
With whom there passes to the distant land
The blessing which the powers below can give,
We may not mourn. Such griefs the gods chastise."
—*Œdipus at Colonus*, 1730; *Plumptre, I.*, 145.

"Mighty in heaven he dwells,
Zeus, who beholdeth and directeth all;
Resign to him the wrath that vexeth sore."
—*Electra*, 175; *Plumptre, II.*, 10.

"The dice of Zeus have ever lucky throws."
—*Fragment* 763; *Plumptre, II.*, 282.

"O Zeus, thou Lord omnipotent of gods!"
—*Œdipus at Colonus*, 1085; *Plumptre, I.*, 116.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"VACCINATION."

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of April 13, 1882, appeared a letter on "Vaccination," in which several questions are asked, and some statistics given and assertions made, which call for answer.

The first three questions are: "But are all the statistical facts for vaccination fictions, and can they be overruled by the thus far rather vague anti-vaccination publications? Are the honest, experienced, and well-educated physicians who vaccinate, themselves careless? Have the anti-vaccination writers better chances to ascertain whether vaccination is for the welfare of or injurious to humanity?"

In the first place, it will be noticed that statistics in favor of vaccination do not allow the possibility of there being other causes for the diminution of small-pox at any particular time or place, but give the whole of the credit to vaccination: hence, they do not rest upon a good foundation. For this reason, and the further reason that some of their statistics have been proven unreliable, they cannot be accepted as facts in the sense that the vaccinationist wishes them to be. As to the anti-vaccinationist publications being "rather vague,"—well, that is a matter of opinion.

There is no doubt that many physicians who believe in vaccination do so conscientiously, but it is only natural that their familiarity with disease should bring contempt for it. It is, besides, much "easier to accept facts which support existing theories than to accept those which contradict them." Dr. Martin illustrates this fact in the *North American Review* for April, when he states that it was not until an advocate of vaccination demonstrated the possibility of the transmission of syphilis that it commanded the "implicit belief of even *those most desirous not to be convinced.*"

P. A. Taylor, member of the British Parliament, says: "A few [doctors] wholly disbelieve in vaccination, and a still larger number do not feel very certain upon the question; but, naturally, neither of these classes cares to press upon the public an unpopular belief. But, undoubtedly, a great majority of the profession do seem to pin their faith upon the Jennerian doctrine. But, among all with whom I have conversed upon the subject, I have found, I think, but two who even professed to base their faith upon their own experience; and certainly, when I came to inquire even of those two into the amount and value of that experience, it seemed to me to be nearly worthless. I found, in fact, two excellent gentlemen, who had been early imbued with the traditions of vaccination, and that so strongly that the facts they had afterward encountered only seemed to make any impression on their minds just in proportion as they seemed to tell for or against their foregone conclusions. In fact, it is clear that the enormous proportion of the profession have neither time, opportunity, nor inclination for the real scientific examination of the results of vaccination."

Mr. Henry Bergh, in the *North American Review* for February, says, "For though, as one of their number admitted to the writer lately, many of them in their own consciences disapprove of the practice, they dare not give expression to their honest judgment for fear of being ostracized by their fellows and by the public."

Anti-vaccinationists who have risen superior to popular opinion and overcome their early prejudices, and who have considered the subject carefully, are better able to judge of the value of vaccination than those who are still swayed by public opinion and biassed by their early training.

The first statistical point which calls for criticism is the following: "Among the hospital records of England, it is found that the average deaths in that country were, for thirty years prior to vaccination, 3,000 for each million of inhabitants."

Joshua Jacob, a Quaker of Limerick, Ireland, in the course of an answer to a letter in favor of vaccination, written to him by Lord Emly, Chairman of the Limerick Board of Guardians, speaks as follows: "To thy statement that, 'thirty years before vaccination was introduced, the number of deaths in England from small-pox was 3,000 a year per million of the population,' I answer that this is an estimate merely, put forward by a medical officer of the Privy

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Council, who reduced it to 2,500 when examined before the Commons Committee in 1871, and was derived from an estimate of Dr. Lettson, who lived last century, and who assumed that figure to represent the mortality all over England, from the circumstance that it represented the mortality in and around London at a certain period. Figures are indeed figurative, as I shall prove by reminding thee that in vaccinated Dublin, in 1872, the small-pox death-rate rose to 7,500 per million,—a complete and crushing answer to thy English estimate. By parity of reasoning, we might with equal propriety assume that 7,500 per million was the small-pox mortality for all Ireland."

It seems from this as though "for thirty years" was a misquotation; but, supposing it be allowed to be correct, it must still be remembered that, as inoculation was introduced into England in 1721, the "thirty years" would probably be the period when inoculation was at its height.

Dr. John Clark, writing in 1815, said: "It is scarcely to be doubted that more persons have died of the small-pox since the introduction of inoculation than before it was known in England. . . . Before inoculation was known, it was only occasionally endemic."

Dr. Farr, in McCulloch's *Statistics of British Empire*, says: "Small-pox attained its maximum after inoculation was introduced. This disease began to grow less fatal before vaccination was discovered, indicating, together with the diminution in fever, the general improvement in health then taking place."

As to Dr. Buchanan's statistics, it must be taken into consideration that vaccination has been very strictly enforced in London,—one of its advocates (Dr. Carpenter) placing the proportion of vaccinated to unvaccinated at 300 to 1,—consequently there would be but a small number from which to obtain the unvaccinated portion of the statistics. P. A. Taylor, M.P., speaking on this point in *Current Fallacies about Vaccination*, says: "The unvaccinated class, consisting, first, of those who, being in feeble health, the doctors dare not vaccinate, and, secondly, of that portion of the population living in the slums of London and unreachable by your vaccination officers,—and under each condition the 'unvaccinated residuum,'—is marked out to fall under any existing epidemic in larger proportions than the more favored vaccinated class." Further than this, there is good reason for believing that some who are vaccinated are reported as unvaccinated. The writer last quoted states, "As a matter of fact, numerous instances have been found, on critical inquiry, in which the same child has been registered as 'successfully vaccinated,' and, in the death register, as died of small-pox, unvaccinated," and gives authority for his assertion.

As to people being protected in proportion to the number of marks, a few statistics from Taylor's pamphlet will be sufficient. He says:—

I find in the Metropolitan District Asylum's Report the following table of deaths under five years old, from small-pox. The percentage of deaths is (of those reported as having any vaccination marks at all):—

One mark	22	per cent.
Two marks	28	"
Three "	18	"
Four "	0	"
Five "	16	"

Take, again, another table, age thirty to forty:—

One mark	16	per cent.
Two marks	20	"
Three "	21	"
Four "	23	"
Five "	8	"

Take, again, the number of cases admitted in various hospitals. The Deptford Hospital Report for 1879 gives the following:—

One mark	317
Two marks	384
Three "	447

Homerton Reports, 1871-77, give:—

One mark	1,042
Two marks	1,259
Three or more	1,261

Fulham Hospital Report, 1878, gives:—

One mark	149
Two marks	156
Three and more	202

Metropolitan Hospital Report, 1870-72, gives:—

One mark	1,124
Two marks	1,722
Three and more	1,677

The statistics of the observer, Marshal, were quoted by the editor of the *Medical Record*, about November or December of last year, in an article entitled "Does Vaccination Protect?" but in the same article he states that "there is a very small number of persons who will take small-pox, if exposed, whether they have been vaccinated or not." Thus, he virtually declares the statistics unreliable or exceptional.

The deaths from small-pox in England and Wales in the first ten years after the enforcement of vaccination (1854 to 1863) were 33,515; in the second ten years (1864 to 1873), they were 70,458. There have been three epidemics within these twenty years, and each one has been much severer than the preceding one.

The London Registrar-General gives the small-pox mortality of that city for thirty years as follows:—

Decades.	*Estimated Mean Population.*	*Small-pox Deaths.*
1851-60	2,570,489	7,150
1861-70	3,018,193	8,347
1871-80	3,466,486	15,551

In 1881, 2,371 persons died in London of small-pox, 615 of whom were under five years of age.

Dr. Marson, surgeon to the Highgate Small-pox Hospital, in his report for 1871, says, "Of the 950 cases of small-pox, 870, or 91.5 per cent. of the whole cases, had been vaccinated."

In regard to small-pox being made less severe in the vaccinated individual, read the following:—

In the hearing before the Massachusetts Committee on Public Health, March 9, 1882, for the repeal of the compulsory vaccination laws, Dr. Booth, of the Bellevue Medical College, "read from Marson,—the leading English authority on small-pox,—as admitting that the disorder was not modified in the vaccinated, and that cases among the latter presented as great variety in symptoms and in fatality as among the unvaccinated."

Dr. Charles Cameron, M.P., a vaccinationist, in a letter to the *Times*, May 24, 1881, says: "Since 1836, our statistics have been compiled so as to enable us to compare the mortality, not merely in small-pox occurring in all classes of vaccinated persons at different periods, but in each separate class of vaccinated persons,—in persons, that is, with one, two, three, or four good or indifferent marks. I have gone into these details, and found that not merely has the mortality in small-pox occurring after vaccination progressively increased in the aggregate, but it has increased in each class of cases, and increased enormously in the best vaccinated class of cases."

The *Lancet*, Jan. 21, 1871, says, "From the early part of the century, cases of small-pox after vaccination have been increasing, and now amount to four-fifths of cases."

Dr. Jules Guerin, of Paris, in an address before the French Academy of Medicine, 1881, says, "A large number of medical men consider a general vaccination and revaccination to be in itself one of the causes of small-pox, a crowd of the newly vaccinated to be itself a dangerous centre of infection, and the 150,000 revaccinations in Paris during the siege to be in some degree responsible for the great epidemics of 1870-71."

Next, as to disease caused by vaccination. Some vaccinationists attribute any evil results caused by vaccination to the condition of the patient. By the same mode of reasoning, we might say that, if a man who cannot swim be pushed into the water by another man, thus causing him to drown, the criminal must be held blameless, because his victim might have saved his own life, had he been able to swim.

Dr. Collins testified before a committee of the British House of Commons that he had "often seen children with syphilitic eruptions after vaccination whose parents were free from taint." He testified also that scrofula, convulsions, abscess, delirium, erysipelas, and phagedenic ulcers, pneumonia, diarrhœa, and death, are all by no means uncommon ensuing after vaccination.

Taylor says, "Dr. Depaul, the director of the French Vaccine Institute, lately declared that 'vaccinators made too light of the risk of transmitting serious maladies in the process of vaccination.'

"A ghastly confirmation to these various statements is given in a Parliamentary Return, moved for by Mr. Hopwood, in which is contrasted the deaths of infants under one year old, per million births, of nine diseases liable to be communicated through vaccination, with the deaths by all other diseases, in the years 1847 and 1878, with the following terrible result, namely: that while the total mortality (under one year old), as between 1847 and 1878, had diminished 12,000 per million births, the mortality from these nine diseases had increased from 55,213 to 81,280. In further corroboration of this view, I will quote the words of Dr. Farr (see Thirty-seventh Annual Report of Registrar-General): 'Syphilis . . . was, as far as it was recorded, twice as fatal in the five years, 1870-74, as it was twenty years ago. Its most fatal recorded forms occur in children under one year of age. Thus, of nearly 2,000 deaths ascribed to syphilis [in 1874], 1,484 were babies under one year of age.'"

But we are told that, "even granting the force of the objection, the method of using pure bovine virus invalidates it entirely."

The *Lancet*, which is strongly in favor of vaccination, says, in its issue of June 22, 1878, "The notion that animal lymph would be free from chances of syphilitic contamination is so fallacious that we are surprised to see Dr. Martin reproducing it."

Dr. J. Garth Wilkinson says, "If calf-lymph is resorted to in order to avoid the inoculation of human diseases, calf-lymph on that line of argument may implant cow diseases."

Dr. John Hunter, the celebrated physiologist and anatomist, who was acquainted with Jenner, says, "The introduction by inoculation of mineral or vegetable poisons into the blood is hazardous, and in certain quantities may be destructive; but the introduction of animal products from another living body, be it a man, a cow, or even an ass, is infinitely more pernicious, because allied to it in being vitalized."

The United States *Courier*, June, 1880, contains the following: "A son of a locksmith named Newman, living at 191 Second Street, has just died of erysipelas resulting from vaccination, on the 7th instant. This is the fourth death this week of which vaccination has been the primary cause. In every case, the vaccine had been furnished by the Sanitary Commission, and is affirmed to have been perfectly pure."

Prof. Germann, M.D., of the University of Leipzig, says: "Eighteen school-girls, averaging twelve years of age, were revaccinated, and thereby syphilized, and some of them died. . . . Yet the lymph, the syphilitic lymph, used in this case was obtained from the Official Royal Establishment for the new 'regenerated' or 'animalized' vaccine lymph."

Dr. R. Brudenell Carter (F.R.C.S., England) thinks "that syphilitic contamination by vaccine lymph is by no means an unusual occurrence."

Dr. Creighton, of Cambridge University, England, gives the history of twelve cases of bovine tuberculosis (consumption) in human beings.

There is one point in the article here under criticism, which is worthy of warm commendation; and that is the toleration evinced by the writer in declaring against "compulsory vaccination." There appears to be a greater amount of intolerance displayed upon the subject of vaccination than upon any other subject now before the public. Anti-vaccinationists only ask that vaccination be allowed to stand upon its merits.

ALEXANDER SPENCER.

CHICAGO, ILL.

FROM MILWAUKEE.

Editors of The Index:—

The agitation of the Sunday observance question has assumed unusual proportions in Milwaukee the present summer. It began by the circulation of a petition, addressed to the managers of the leading theatres, begging that the Sunday performances be discontinued. This petition was presented by Rev. Henry Rose, then pastor of Plymouth Church, to the leading business men of the city, and was signed by a number of the most prominent, influential, and wealthy citizens.

The immediate result of this was seen in published responses to the petition from two of our theatre managers. One of these acceded to the request: the other, who has established a very profitable series of Sunday afternoon and evening performances, refused to comply, and instituted a wordy warfare with Mr. Rose through the press, which has continued over the space of two months, and seems in a fair way to be continued indefinitely. The animus and arguments of the two gentlemen are affording indifferent readers some amusement, while those who are inclined to take up the fight have found ample field in this newspaper war.

Another result, possibly one not anticipated, was the ready and active interest manifested by the brewers and distillers of Milwaukee. The anxiety of this body had already been awakened by the action of the temperance and prohibition party, and they seemed to anticipate still further interference on the part of the Churches in affairs that would affect their business.

Some spirited members of the Brewers' Association resented the action of individuals who had signed Mr. Rose's petition, and a decided sensation was created in the community by the public announcement

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that a system of business boycotting would be the result of such action. It proved, however, that there was more newspaper talk than the facts in the case warranted, but it is true that a great deal more feeling was manifest among parties engaged in the liquor traffic than among those persons who hold anti-Puritanic ideas of Sabbath desecration.

The German newspapers, however, expressed vigorous sentiments upon the personal rights of citizens and their infringement by Puritan proclivities. The English journals, meanwhile, were shilly-shallying over the matter, apparently afraid of both sides of the Sunday question, inasmuch as their patronage depends largely upon both elements.

The Sunday laws remaining upon our statutes are explicit enough to settle these disputes, were they not absolutely a dead letter, and totally disregarded save by such as sustain the Churches and maintain the Christian Sabbatarian ideas.

The subject of opening the forthcoming industrial exposition, in September, on Sunday, is again agitated. The managers of the exposition are divided in opinion on the matter. In the preliminary meetings held by the directors, the question has come up frequently for discussion; but no preponderance of favor for either side as yet indicates the result. It is argued on the one hand that the "laboring classes were virtually barred from attendance last year, for the simple reason that the doors of the building were closed on Sunday, the working-people's only holiday." On the other hand, it is urged that "a good deal of annoyance would be occasioned to exhibitors, all of whom would be compelled to employ help to attend to their exhibits during this day; that the laborers were not barred from attendance, for fully nine-tenths of them could spend at least one day out of the fifty at the exposition." One gentleman said, "The subject is a serious one, and I was dissatisfied that the directors last year were afraid to look the matter in the face." He believed that but two or three exhibitors would be opposed to it, and suggested that the executive committee might inquire of all exhibitors whether they would be in favor of opening or not, and let the majority decide the matter.

Newspaper interviewers buttonholed several influential citizens to obtain their sentiments on the subject. The pros and cons are of the usual order. T. A. Chapman, Milwaukee's merchant prince, made some very common-sense remarks, and decidedly favored the opening on Sunday for the benefit of employés and laboring people. As opposed to him, a prominent Methodist minister, who has been active in the Sunday war, claims that to institute such desecration of the Sabbath will vitiate the moral condition of Milwaukee. This latter gentleman has put himself on record by his unique definition of "personal liberty," and his peculiar illustration of its outcome. In a sermon last Sunday, he stated that "the gratification of the passions and lusts is what is meant by personal liberty." "The doctrine," he continues, "is a relic of the old paganism saved through the ages. It is a demoralizing doctrine; and, out of the demoralization it causes, comes one of three results. One is anarchy. Sometimes, anarchy has been avoided by the act of some strong, ambitious man who has grasped the reins of government over a people unable to rule themselves. Such instances are the second result of the personal liberty doctrine,—monarchy. A third result is national destruction, either by the direct visitation of God or by the incursion of another race."

Alas! what direful catastrophes we Free Religionists and free thinkers are calling down upon ourselves and our country, when we adopt the watchword "Liberty," that joins hands on either side with the sweetness of "Light" and the majesty of "Right"!

Alas that such ideas should be taught to mankind, inspiring it with no higher law of ethics than that unbridled lust is the legitimate outcome of independent individual thought and action; that humanity cannot yet be trusted to walk alone, but must still be kept under the leading strings of church-made rules for conduct, its development still too low for any course but obedience; that men are fit subjects only, after their repeated struggles for human freedom, of a man-made monarchy.

The missionaries of enlightened reason are surely and sorely needed when such ideas as these are promulgated in an intelligent community without let or hindrance.

The establishment of the "Sovereignty of Ethics" will be more certainly promoted by the advocacy of the ideas that *The Index* has so earnestly and bravely promulgated than by forcing political issues such as is reported to be attempted in a national organization known as the Personal Liberty League. This organization is said to be perfected, with branches formed in nearly all of the States of the Union. Already, it has thousands of members; and Milwaukee lays claim to the origination of the idea. Its projectors are the liquor manufacturers and dealers and the champions of liberty, so called.

The ideal society of Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and other illustrious advocates of liberty, will scarcely be realized from pushing into political contests class or selfish interests, albeit they are labelled with the plausible and taking name of "personal liberty."

But, whatever disappointing results may be seen from unscrupulous political manipulation, they cannot be so evil in their tendencies as those resulting from the unscrupulous ecclesiastical manipulation of mankind.

Howsoever we may deplore the crudeness of the methods used, we can derive consolation and hope from the certainty that some fair blossom, some good fruit, will be sure to grow from seed planted in the name of human freedom. B.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., Aug. 23, 1882.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

GALETTA, ONT., Aug. 1, 1882.

Editors of The Index:—

I am very much at a loss to know why Liberals waste so much eulogy on Cardinal Newman. In a late number of *The Index*, Mr. W. M. Salter reëchoes the laudatory sentiments in Mr. Paul's article in the *Century* magazine. Mr. Salter is no doubt a Liberal, and Mr. Paul describes himself as being a "Liberal of the Liberals." They ascribe the charm of Newman's writings to his "rare moral purity and earnestness and elevation, and probably also to the singular simplicity and openness of his mind." We are told also that "Protestantism is a compromise between two orders of thought; and honor must be given to the man who reveals this clearly to us, and is clear and consistent in his advocacy of one of these orders." Mr. Paul thinks that the *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (the most painful reading, I think, in the English language) "has become classical, and ought to be known to all students of religious life and to all students of psychology." Again, "starting, as already said, with certain presuppositions, he [Newman] seems to be constantly learning, moving, *getting fresh insights*; and he does not stop till he is at the feet of an Italian monk asking reception into the Catholic Church."

Now, it is scarcely credible that a Liberal should ask us to honor Newman because he denounced Protestantism for teaching the right of private judgment in opposition to the intolerable pretensions of the Romish Church; for that is the substance of one of the orders of thought referred to. It is still more incredible that we should be asked to honor Newman, because he was "clear and consistent" in his advocacy of spiritual and temporal despotism,—the other order of thought. A true Liberal will never be able sufficiently to honor Protestantism for recognizing the right of every human soul to form its own judgment on matters of religion, even though it may have been very imperfectly carried out in the Protestant Churches. It is the seed from which all the liberties of Europe and America, political as well as religious, have sprung. There is not much room to doubt that Newman is sincere enough in holding to the miserable ideas into which he has drifted. He, like all other men in searching for the truth, has had his intellect biassed by the predominance or deficiency of his moral feelings. Men of the clearest intellect have their judgments more or less swayed by their sympathies. I have no hesitation in saying that no man of "rare moral purity and elevation" or of conscientious regard for the rights of others or of sympathy with the sufferings of his race could ever be brought to look upon the Church of Rome as a divine institution. It is not necessary to refer to the atrocious cruelties it has visited on heretics and witches, or to its persecutions of science by the burning of Bruno and the torture of Galileo, or even to the fraudulent pretensions of its priests to extricate souls from Purgatory with a despatch proportionate to the amount of money paid. I shall only refer to its attitude on one single modern question, that of negro slavery. It is now nearly a century since England, by keeping an armament on the coast of Africa, tried to put a stop to the slave-trade. Since that time, slavery has been abolished in her colonies at a great cost. America has also got quit of slavery by a frightful sacrifice. The best minds in both of these countries labored and agitated incessantly for many years before emancipation took place But who ever heard of a bull or a syllabus or encyclical or other papal document on this subject? Among European countries, Spain was the worst offender in this matter. England tried long and ineffectually to bind her by treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade. One word from the infallible head of the Church would have succeeded where English diplomacy failed. But no such word was ever spoken. The fact is, Cardinal Newman has no claim whatever to the character of "rare moral purity and elevation." He is harsh, cold-blooded, and sympathyless, and deficient in that prime element of a noble nature,—the sense of justice. Proofs of this can be found on almost every page of his writings and in his treatment of his brother, F. W. Newman, a far more worthy man. His celebrated dictum—which he fathers on the Catholic Church, but which appears to be his own original sentiment—that "it is better for the sun to drop from heaven, for the earth to fall, and all the millions on it to die of starvation in extremest agony, than that one soul should tell an untruth or steal a farthing's worth of property," is enough of the man, if he can be called a man, who could give utterance to such a horrible sentiment. Surely, such a one has no claim to eulogy at the hands of those who call themselves Liberals.

J. G. WHITE.

THE CREED OF SCIENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

In reading William Graham's *Creed of Science*, which, as Mr. Chadwick says, contains much excellent matter, I fail to see any good ground for a distinction he makes, as follows:—

He distinctly and repeatedly recognizes "purpose" in God, yet denies to him "consciousness" (p. 364) and "personality" (pp. 51, 345, 354, 364), saying (pp. 50, 364) that these latter "clearly imply the notion of limits and conditions." I do not see how the second and third *necessarily* imply limits and conditions more than the first, though all three are associated with limits and conditions in *human* beings.

In the chapter treating on "Man and his Development," he says (p. 72), "The development of the human spirit has come from an inner revelation to certain privileged individuals,—a revelation of truth, of insight, of inventive power, of duty, of beauty, visiting the soul unsolicited, coming, none can say whence, not even the possessors, further than it is from the Unknown, from the Purpose of the universe that thus means and wishes to declare and develop itself,—from God, and not from chance."

Having spoken as above, it seems self-contradiction for him to say afterward of science (p. 227) that it is "the only revelation that men have ever received or can receive."

Of the silence of Science in regard to God, he says, very justly (p. 63) that, "a First Cause is not within the scope of her inquiries."

I am glad to see that he admits (p. 53) the reality and importance of faith, and also (pp. 54, 347) the necessity of a coöperation of reason and faith.

His rule of life for us is (pp. 138, 139) trying to press good motives into our service, incorporating them into our character and trying to work under them, endeavoring to make a good conscience our strongest motive force. C. K. W.

GLEANINGS FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

From every quarter, the editors of *The Index* are receiving letters containing words of praise, like the following, all of recent date:—

The Index used to be one of my most valued weekly visitors. The hurried glance I have been able to give some of the later numbers convinces me that it has lost none of its former thoroughness and purity of thought and expression, and gained considerably in variety of subject and treatment. I like its breadth and charity and courage. Healthy, restful conviction comes only from the faith which has the courage to face problems on every side. *The Index* possesses

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that faith, and invites to friendly counsel on its unfenced platform those of every opinion and feeling. Unpledged to the creed of any corporation, *The Index* supplies a distinct need,—a need which the organizations even of those most advanced theologically, while existing to extend certain methods and ideas, cannot supply. The diversity of sentiment in *The Index* is at once the strength and weakness. Yet clearer and steadier than the clash of its friendly conflict and the occasional discord of its several-voiced editorial, I seem to hear the blessed symphonies of the Spirit. As a Free Religionist, who in the exercise of his freedom rejoices to be known as "Unitarian," I wish *The Index* that large amount of prosperity which it works to deserve. ALEXANDER FARQUHUSON,
Unitarian Minister, Chesterfield, England.

I value *The Index* more highly and get more help from it than from any other paper which comes to my address. The paper is doing just the work that needs to be done for hundreds who have broken with the old theology. Allow me to say that I value very highly your own and Prof. Adler's statement of faith in the issues of June 15 and 22. But the Professor has made a mistake in withdrawing from the Free Religious Association, and his reasoning is inconclusive. Let *The Index* and the Free Religious Association continue till we all see with no uncertain eye the green-skirted sides of a new continent of religious truth advancing in the bosom of the sea. We shall then be happy as the Scottish Chief in *Ossian*, when he saw "the green-skirted sides of Erin advancing on the bosom of the sea." A. N. ALCOTT.
KALAMAZOO, MICH.

I hope you will continue to meet with good support. We need just such a solid philosophical periodical as yours. I was pleased with the needed expression, "No countenance to humbug or pretence of any sort, whether it passes under the name of religion or liberalism." I wish you abundant success in your splendidly managed paper. It must be accomplishing much in behalf of liberal and scientific thought. W. F. JAMIESON,
Editor Pepin (Wis.) Gazette.

It seems to me that *The Index* is growing better month by month; but I think it will tax your resources to keep up the rattling pace you have been going of late. W. S. CUNNINGHAM.
LEMOORE, CAL.

We thank you most sincerely for your entire labor; and our constant prayer is for your perfect victory, which is the same as wishing for the triumph of humanity. ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS.

The Index is full of meat,—one of the best of all the liberal papers,—in fact, the very best.
MADISON, WIS. GEN. G. P. DELEPLANE.

I consider *The Index* the best of all radical journals. WALTER L. SAWYER,
of the Washington (D.C.) Daily Post.

The Index seems to me to increase steadily in interest. W. M. SALTER.
BURLINGTON, IA.

Permit me to say that *The Index*, always the best, grows better and better. R. C. SPENCER.
MILWAUKEE.

My interest in the paper has of late increased.
FELIX ADLER.

MR. F. HARMER writes to correct a sentence in his reply to Miss Hardaker, by which he was made to say, "The system of communism now in vogue I look upon as even worse than the one Miss Hardaker defends." What he wished to say was that he regarded communism as worse even than the present system of society-individualism, of which he regards Miss Hardaker as a defender. The error was in his manuscript.

BOOK NOTICES.

DRAMAS AND MISCELLANEOUS POEMS. By Dr. J. R. Monroe. J. R. Monroe: Seymour, Ind.

This is a unique production. The volume comprises, with many poems of more recent date, the author's early efforts. The dramatic pieces evince considerable power and skill. The author possesses not simply the faculty of rhyming, but much of the true spirit of poetry, with the constructive ability, versatility, and sense of harmony to enable him to embody his thought in a great variety of forms. The volume has many passages replete with philosophic thought, expressed in strong and elegant verse. Some of the earlier pieces celebrate the charms of women, and often in language almost Byronic in its passionate ardor, but with such grace of expression and profound respect for true womanhood that even the coldest natures can hardly object to them. The author's wit is often sharp, but never ill-natured.

WAS JESUS DIVINE? A Critical Examination of Biblical Theology. By M. B. Craven. Philadelphia: Barclay & Co., publishers.

This is a pamphlet of thirty-two pages devoted to showing some of the discrepancies and absurdities of the New Testament narratives, the inconsistencies of the orthodox theology, and some of the objections to the idea that Jesus was more than a man, who "became an innocent martyr to his aspiration for good in the cause of humanity, through the jealousy of a bigoted priesthood and national suspicion of intended regal usurpation, by an agonizing death on the cross."

THE *Revue de Belgique* for August opens with an article urging that the troubles in Egypt are largely due to the national and natural dislike of oppressive foreigners, and that they may be best appeased by making the Khedive, who has had little more than nominal power, the real ruler, as is desired by Gladstone, and not by setting up a British protectorate, as is threatened by the Tories. We see also a translation from the Italian humorist, Farinata; a statement of the benefits of abolishing the local duties on agricultural products; an account of the discovery and exhibition of bones supposed to belong to the giant-king, Teutobochus, defeated by Marius 150 B.C., but now known to be the remains of a mammoth, and still to be seen in Paris; a narrative of a journey to Mount Etna; and notices of some new essays on the philosophy of evolution.

"BABY-LAND" for September gives as its frontispiece a delightful picture of "A Grave Consultation" between two little misses. The verses entitled "Lazy Daisy" will take the fancy of all the little "kitty-cat" lovers, while baby's adventure with "The Watering-pot" will be recognized as a very natural story by the mammas as well as the little ones.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

W. J. POTTER returned this week from Gloucester to his home and congregation in New Bedford.

PROFESSOR BLACKIE has resigned the Greek chair in Edinburgh University, after holding it for thirty years.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will go West in a few weeks to meet lecture engagements. Societies that wish his services should address him at once.

THE death is announced of Prof. Leith Adams, who held the chair of Natural History in the Queen's College, Cork. He was the author of several popular scientific works, as *Wanderings of a Naturalist in India*, *Notes of a Naturalist in the Nile Valley and Malta*, and *Field and Forest Rambles, with Notes and Observations on the Natural History of Eastern Canada*, which latter work is best known in this country.

WHEN Long John Wentworth was in Congress, many years ago, he once told a Methodist chaplain of the House: "I'm not going to vote for you again. You give us too much hell fire in your sermons. Now there's a man at Cincinnati who promises to save the whole of us. He's the man for me." "Ah! Mr. Wentworth, but he doesn't know you all as I do, or he wouldn't undertake to save the half of you."

MR. CHARLES BRIGHT'S farewell lecture in this city, at Paine Hall, last Sunday afternoon, was delivered before quite a large audience, and was very well received. The subject was evolution; and, although Mr. Bright is a Spiritualist, and claimed that the facts of development point to the possibility at least of continued and progressive life beyond the grave, the main part of the discourse was devoted to a somewhat general statement of the known processes of evolution. Mr. Bright will give a few more lectures in this country before returning to Australia.

THEODORE PARKER, as is generally known, by will gave his library to the city, the gift to take effect on the decease of Mrs. Parker. She relinquished her life interest in the larger part of her collection; and now, since her decease, the books retained, together with her own library, amounting in all to fifteen hundred and ninety-two volumes and two thousand one hundred and seventeen pamphlets, have gone to the library. With these also went the marble bust of Mr. Parker, by W. W. Story; his library desk; and crayon portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Parker, by the late Seth Cheney.

SIR GARNET WOLSELEY, now in his fiftieth year, has been thirty years in the service. In 1852, in the Burmese war, he lost a portion of his left thigh. In 1854, he acted as assistant engineer in the trenches in the Crimea with honor. Among other engagements in the Indian mutiny, he was at the relief of Lucknow, and acted as Quartermaster-General in Oude. He was at the taking of the Taku forts in China. His campaign with the Ashantee tribes in 1872 brought his generalship into notice, and secured, among other high honors, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. He is also known as a writer of a novel and essays, especially on military subjects.

ONE of the literary attractions of Leipzig is the course of public lectures on female education by Frau Dr. Goldschmidt. Dr. Goldschmidt is the rabbi of the city. His wife's lectures draw crowded audiences, composed of Jews and Christians alike. The kindergarten school and the lyceum for young ladies which she has founded and directs with care, zeal, and energy, and in the most disinterested way, are well attended by young women of both persuasions; and she has just published one of her courses of lectures on the occasion of Fröbel's centenary, under the title of "Ideas on Female Education in connection with Frederick Fröbel's System" (Leipzig: Reissner, 1882). She shows a masterly grasp of the subject, which she treats with great eloquence and in elegant diction. The volume well deserves translation into English.

LITTRE, the eminent French philosopher and lexicographer, owned a country retreat at Mesnel. It was a peasant's cottage, without the smallest pretension to gentility. The garden was stocked with fruit-trees, and old-fashioned, hardy flowers decked the borders. What used to be a kitchen was converted into a parlor. Littré slept upstairs, or rather up a ladder. His room was under the roof, but was fairly high and well lighted. The walls were lined with books. When he was a deputy, as a single vote at that time might have changed the form of government, he attended with unfailing regularity to his parliamentary duties, riding to Versailles from Mesnel by rail and diligence. He was as gentle as Carlyle was irascible. In fine weather, he studied under an old oak in the forest, near the road to St. Germain. It is now called the Tree of M. Littré. A sloping meadow, bounded by the Seine, is in front of it; and beyond are the plain of Argenteuil and the hills of Cormeilles and Sannois.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE arrived in New York last week, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Emily Holyoake, and by Mrs. Ethel Leach, a member of the Great Yarmouth School Board, and a prominent advocate of the extension of the civil rights of women. He expects to be in this country until the middle of November, when he will return to England. He has been engaged for many years in the endeavor to secure the publication, by authority of the Government, of a guide-book for emigrants, which shall contain information regarding the character of different parts of the country and the comparative inducements which various regions offer to settlers. Twelve years ago, he submitted to Lord Clarendon, who was then in the Foreign Office, a plan for a book of this kind, containing information about the industrial classes abroad; and he afterward promised to furnish the plan of this book to the American Government. The first object of his present visit is the fulfilment of this promise. After spending a week in New York and vicinity, he will go to Canada to examine the ways of the Colonial Government. He carries letters from Lord Kimberley to the Marquis of Lorne. After visiting Canada, he expects to travel through the United States, delivering lectures in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities. He will confer with the leaders of the coöperative movement in the various places where he goes, with a view to the promotion of information about coöperative and industrial enterprises in England. Among the subjects upon which he proposes to deliver lectures are "The Peculiarities of Parliamentary Orators in England" and "Eccentricities of the Public Men of England." All letters addressed to him at *The Index* office will be forwarded to him without delay.

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 121

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Radical Unitarians and the National Unitarian Conference, Wm. J. Potter, ... 122
Theological Atavism, S. J. Stewart, ... 123
The Decrease of Suffering, W. Sloane Kennedy, . . . 124
Dr. Hedge on the Church, ... 125
The Catholic Church and Slavery, B. F. U., ... 125

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 125

LIVE THOUGHTS, ... 126

POETRY.
To Shakspere, Howard Worcester Gilbert, ... 126
Onward, Horace L. Traubel, ... 126

ESSAY.
On Some Features of the Ethics of Jesus, W. M. Salter, 127

CORRESPONDENCE.
A Study of Man in a Mining-Camp, W. D. Gunning, . . 129
Will-Power in Disease, John Dixwell, M.D., ... 130
An Explanatory Note, H. N., ... 130
The Sunday Question in Newport, H. E. A., ... 131

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 131

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 131

CURRENT TOPICS.

FRANCE is ahead of us in the public employment of women. The great French railway companies in many cases employ women as ticket and audit clerks; in several banks and public companies, they are largely employed in the clerical work; and the Corporation of the City of Paris offer three hundred situations for women as clerks.

OF the sixteen chaplains accompanying the army of Sir Garnet Wolseley, five are Roman Catholics; while it is said that there is only one Catholic chaplain in the United States service, though a great proportion of our soldiers are of that faith. Is this an indication that the British Government is more inclined to religious liberty than our own?

WESTERN business men understand the importance of religious tendencies as a means of inducing the confidence of the public in their probity and character. This is why, we presume, that a real-estate dealer in Dakota advertises in his local paper that he "can be found either at the Gold Mine playing 'freeze out,' at Mitchell's Exchange betting on the age of 'old hosses' with Brown, or at my residence on Oak Street, perusing the Scriptures."

ANOTHER of the beautiful developments of the Mormon religion has been brought to light by the efforts of an English gentleman from New South Wales, who is visiting this country for the purpose of investigating our system and methods in the care of the insane. This gentleman writes to the Salt Lake *Tribune*, stating that in visiting the Utah Insane Asylum, which is under the charge of a nephew of Brigham Young, he found the grossest abuses existing, its twenty-one patients being kept in the most filthy condition. Several were kept confined in iron cages outside the main building; some were in iron, bound hand and foot; and two he found to be perfectly sane.

REV. JUSTIN D. FULTON, of Brooklyn, N.Y., according to his own story, was the means of restoring to her parents a little girl taken away by an insane woman, and for whom the police were searching for several days; for, when he was told of her rescue, he said he felt quite assured that she would be restored that day, as he "had sat up all night, and prayed" that she might be. It is a pity he did not think of this method of finding her at first, and so have saved her friends a great deal of useless heartache, and the Brooklyn authorities much unnecessary trouble. We hope Mr. Christian K. Ross will apply to the reverend gentleman at once to restore the lost Charlie by the same means.

ONE of the greatest impediments to the success of any progressive and reformatory movement is the accession to its ranks of crowds of the ignorant and depraved, who, incapable of understanding the true meaning of such movements, take it for granted that increased liberty means increased license, loose morality, and indecent behavior, and so eagerly join, much to their dismay, the thoughtful few to whom the progressive movement means only help for humanity and increased knowledge. The steps recently taken by the French Government to secure religious freedom by insisting on a purely secular public education has attracted a class of adherents of this sort, who bring disgrace on the cause they advocate by a savage warfare of the most brutal kind on unoffensive priests, who are, it is said, now openly insulted all over France, in some cases the brutal crowd setting dogs upon them, and dragging to the rivers respected and honored men simply because they were priests.

THE New York *Sun*, in its comments on a communication from a writer who calculates from various public statistics that there is such a continuous and accelerated diminution in the number of professing Christians in this country that, if the process continues, there will be before the year 1900 no Christians at all in the United States, says: "That the proportionate number of Christians is declining, and that the percentage of those who are not Christians is continually increasing in this country, may be taken for proved; but this does not dispose of the vast number of persons who sincerely and piously adhere to the Christian religion, and who adhere to it as earnestly now as they ever did. What is to become of these persons? Are they all to be killed off in the course of the next fifteen years? And what is to become of those of their children who are regularly educated in the Christian doctrine, and who attach themselves to Christian churches as soon as they have reached the requisite age? Does our correspondent suppose that there are to be no more such young Christians, and that the whole generation that is to come will grow up pagan?"

AN indication of the increasing liberality of the orthodox clergy, as well as evidence that evolution in religious thought is along the line of existing religious organizations, has just been furnished by the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston and vicinity, commonly known as the Evangelical Alliance. Last Monday morning, the junior editor of *The Index*, in response to an invitation he had received some weeks before from the body, read at a meeting of the association in Wesleyan Hall a paper on "Evolution in its Relation to Biblical Creation and Evangelical Religion." The aim of the paper was to show the irreconcilableness of evangelical religion with the principles of evolution and the facts of science. Several hundred ministers were present, and the hall was crowded. Prof. P. A. Chadbourne of Amherst and Prof. Asa Gray of Harvard, who were present to speak by special invitation, made interesting remarks on the subject of the paper, the former defending the Biblical account of creation, the latter declaring that, while he thought evolution would not materially affect religion as taught in the four Gospels, what the Old Testament taught in regard to the order of creation, etc., and whether it accorded with science, were to him matters of indifference, as Christianity was no more responsible for the errors of the Old Testament than he was for the misdoings of his ancestors.

REV. C. W. WENDTE, pastor of the Channing Memorial Church, Newport, R.I., delivered a discourse last Sunday, which has attracted much attention and made a marked impression. His text was, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." It seems that all the ministers of the city, except Mr. Wendte, had signed a petition requesting the "governors" of the Casino to discontinue Sunday evening concerts. In this discourse, Mr. Wendte presented his reasons for *approving* the Sunday evening concerts given at that place, of which he thought the citizens of Newport might justly feel proud. In reply to the statement that the concerts charge an admission fee at the door, he said he could not understand why, as the Casino was open to all comers on Sunday, it should not be supported on that day as on others. He reminded his clerical friends that pew-rents were continued and collections taken up on Sunday in their own churches. To the cry of alarm, "You would introduce among us the European Sunday," he replied that he knew from personal observation that the observance of Sunday in Europe was more favorable to the happiness and welfare of the people than the Puritan Sunday. Mr. Wendte thought there were evils in our daily life, beside which the supposed offences of the Casino pale into insignificance. He would co-operate with all to fight intemperance in a rational way, and to protest against the unenlightened and parsimonious conduct of certain elements in our civic life in refusing to listen to the lessons of experience and solemn warning to make Newport as clean and sweet and healthy as nature intended it to be. He alluded to the false timidity that restrained one and all from denouncing in fitting terms the demoralizing sport in which an inoffensive little animal is hounded to death, noble horses are maimed and killed, private property invaded, human lives endangered, and all to furnish a new excitement to minds ennuied and jaded with fashionable pleasures, and to enable men and women to decorate themselves with the bleeding trophies of an inglorious victory. We congratulate Newport on having one sensible and courageous minister.

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THE RADICAL UNITARIANS AND THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

The National Conference of the Unitarian denomination is to be held at Saratoga next week. We do not hear of any attempt likely to be made to broaden the basis of the Conference by excision of the objectionable theology of its Constitution. For a number of years, the radical wing of the denomination has ceased even to protest publicly against those portions of the Constitution over which in the earlier history of the Conference there was such a famous fight. They say, some of them, that they are biding their time,—that, in the natural course of things, within a brief period, after a few more deaths and a little further progress in the denomination in liberal doctrine, even at the present rate of advance, the Conference and its Constitution will be in their hands, without any conflict, to do with as they please. And so, for the sake of peace and social good-will and with a view to keeping their position and influence in the denomination, they acquiesce for the present in the conservative constitutional creed of the Conference.

But, meantime, the old issue is in danger of being dropped out of sight as if it were of little importance, while there is a question of intellectual sincerity involved, which is not receiving due consideration. From our own observation, we judge that the younger men who are now coming into the Unitarian ministry, even though they incline to radical views, do not have the same appreciation of the merits of the old contest over the Preamble to the Constitution of the Conference which the radical men had who went into that contest. They see some of these very men now going to the Conference year after year and taking part in its proceedings without any change of views, and yet without the slightest effort to make any change in the Constitution under which they thus act. Even some of those who for a time made their silent protest against the theological status of the Conference by staying away from it have in latter years, we notice, yielded to the social or denominational attraction or to some other force (perhaps only to the drawing power of a famous summer resort), and go as announced delegates to the Saratoga meetings. It would be, therefore, but natural that the younger men in the Unitarian pulpits and the young people in the pews should have come to the conclusion that the old issue is no longer a vital one,—that it has somehow been settled or put out of the way. Indeed, as they think of it, perhaps a vague reminiscence comes to them that it *was* settled by the adoption of a compromise amendment to the Constitution, which made it all right for the radicals to keep in the Conference. An impression, too, appears to be gaining ground that one may take part in the Conference without being responsible for its Constitution, just as one may go to the Music Hall meeting of the Unitarian Association in Boston, and speak there without committing himself to all the votes or to the constitution of the Unitarian Association.

Now, in this view of the case, there are, as it seems to us, fallacies and illusions which are most hurtful to the highest sincerity, but which grow directly out of the policy on the part of the Radicals of temporary silent acceptance of the Preamble-creed. It has long been a puzzle to us how certain radical preachers—who, judging from their printed discourses, no more agree with the theology of the Preamble than, for instance, do the editors of *The Index*—can act as members of the Conference. We must assume that they do in some way justify their course to their own consciences, and we do not impute to them any conscious insincerity. But we must be permitted to believe that their habit in this respect has been detrimental to clear thinking among younger men, and made it easier for them to waive questions of conscience which interfere with denominational fellowship. For the purpose of showing the theological position of the Conference and the relation of individual members thereto, let us take a look at the Constitution under which the members meet, and briefly recall the history of the conflict over the theological phrases that are found in it. A review of the facts may serve to simplify for some persons the moral question of their right to take part in the Conference.

The Conference was organized in New York City in April, 1865. The Preamble to the Constitution then adopted read and still reads as follows:

> WHEREAS the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration, at this time, increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God, and the building up of the Kingdom of his Son.

All shades of belief, from the extreme right wing to the extreme left wing of Unitarianism, were represented at that first meeting, for the call had been a broad one. Strenuous resistance was therefore made by Messrs. O. B. Frothingham, D. A. Wasson, C. C. Burleigh, and others, to the doctrinal statements inserted in this Preamble; and a goodly minority voted against the Preamble in the form proposed. It was nevertheless pressed by the majority to adoption. The issue was not simply that which has since been made in the American Unitarian Association,—namely, whether the organization should define itself by the "Christian" name and fellowship,—but it was whether on the corner-stone of the organization the Messianic authority of Jesus should be inscribed and declared, and he should be styled in a special and exclusive sense the Son of God. Here were distinct dogmas to which the rationalistic thinkers of the denomination could not subscribe, however they might interpret and use the title "Christian."

At the next meeting of the Conference, in October, 1866, at Syracuse, another strenuous effort, led by Mr. Francis E. Abbot, was made on the part of the Radicals to eliminate from the Preamble these phrases of dogmatic theology, and to put the Conference on the basis of organization for what even Mr. Abbot was then willing to call practical "Christian" work. But this effort was opposed as determinedly and successfully as that of the previous year. The Preamble remained as it was. After this defeat, a number of the more radical men withdrew from the Conference, and have not since attended it. And, in the spring of the next year (and doubtless as one of the results of the defeat), the Free Religious Association was formed, with a platform whose liberty and fellowship were not limited even by the Christian name.

Since the meeting at Syracuse, the National Unitarian Conference has met biennially. At its third meeting, held in New York October, 1868, the Radicals who had remained in it made another appeal for the relief of their consciences. As the result, a compromise was agreed upon, which, though it did not suit the extremes on either side, was accepted by an adequate majority. The Preamble remained as originally adopted, but those who could not subscribe to it were relieved from that necessity by the addition to the Constitution of an article of absolution, which ran as follows:—

> To secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, it is hereby understood that all declarations of this Conference, including the Preamble and Constitution, are expressions only of its majority, committing in no degree those who object to them, and dependent wholly for their effect upon the consent they command, on their own merits, from the churches here represented or belonging within the circle of our fellowship.

But even this concession was not allowed to stand longer than two years. At the very next meeting, under the leadership, if we remember aright, of Rev. George H. Hepworth (not long before his secession to Orthodoxy), the new article was rescinded, and the following adopted in its stead:—

> Reaffirming our allegiance to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and desiring to secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, we invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ.

From the time of this last change, 1870, the Constitution has remained unaltered, and without further attempt to alter it. Not only does the Preamble stand as first written, and have binding force upon the entire membership of the Conference, but the last article adopted, in a sense, reaffirms and strengthens it,—"rubs it in," as it were. And the organization of the Conference is such that it is difficult to see how any of its members can escape their share of responsibility for all the statements of both Constitution and Preamble just as they stand. The Conference is not a mass meeting of individuals acting under no well-defined rule of membership, but according to its organic law, as expressed in the first article of its Constitution, it is an association of churches; and, according to the second article, these churches are to be represented each by three regularly chosen and accredited delegates. It is these delegates that make at each session the Conference. They are the Conference; and, in our opinion, they just as much, each and all, subscribe to the Constitution with its Preamble, under which as a body they exist and act, as if they wrote their signatures beneath it.

Now, there are many radical preachers who still act more or less with the Unitarian denomination, but whose views, if we at all understand what they have published and preached, are as far from the theology of the Preamble printed above as are the present Andover professors from the Andover creed to which they are expected to give their assent. Messrs. Savage, Chadwick, Tiffany, Learned, Clifford, Vila Blake, Crooker, Forbush, F. L. Hosmer, to name no others, could hardly, we judge, consistently put their names to the Preamble-statements concerning Jesus. We should certainly be surprised to see them framing any such statement of their own faith. They are, therefore, either excluded from the Conference, or, if they attend as members, it must be with some mental reservation as to the doctrinal parts of its Constitution. But is the habit of mental reservation or of getting round a hard creed by some process of private interpretation any better at Saratoga than at Andover? Is it not just as much opposed to good faith and good thinking and good morals in the one place as in the other? Yet we note that most of the men just named are announced to go as delegates to the meeting at Saratoga next week. And since they are honest men, and some of them among our cherished friends, we should like to understand by what argument they convince themselves into doing it. To us, it seems like a denial, for the time, of their real opinions; and though, as an outsider, it may not be our province to give advice, we may be allowed perhaps to put the question, whether, after twelve years of silent acquiescence, it is not quite time that the Radicals who still adhere to the Conference should make another active protest against the offending Preamble, if not to clear their own consciences, at least to clear up their position to the public. WM. J. POTTER.

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THEOLOGICAL ATAVISM.

According to modern science there is a law in connection with that of heredity, in accordance with which there is a recurrence sometimes to some ancient form or type. Men do not always inherit the nature and tendencies of immediate ancestors; but, according to what scientists call Atavism, there may be, in certain cases, a reappearance of some peculiarity which existed many generations back.

While, however, scientists teach that there is sometimes such a tendency, they also show the power of environment and the law of modification, and therefore that, in every concrete case, every principle or function which now exists may not have existed in the past. They also teach that, while men do sometimes return in part to ancient types, yet the hope of improvement rests on other facts and laws, and that the effort in general should be to prevent such a recurrence.

Many theologians, however, make atavism the principal law in the moral realm, and seem to think that the great effort should be to return to some primitive form or belief or code. Even many professed Liberals, who do not technically proclaim a belief in special past relations, still tacitly or indirectly assume that, after all, moral progress consists only in a return to ancient codes or beliefs or saviors. The tendency to revive old theories and beliefs under new names is also manifest among all but the most rational of moralists. Men will technically accept the results of modern scholarship,—results which are logically destructive of old religious theories,—and yet, with seeming unconsciousness that the old foundations are gone, will still attempt to draw their inspiration and moral guidance from that which they have just destroyed. We may be tolerated in accepting the most critical conclusions of science, but we will still be expected to proclaim the old faith as if nothing had happened. We may prove incontestably that the Old Testament, for example, is largely a collection of legends, and that the Gospels are not authentic; but men will still demand that, nevertheless, we must go to the first for our theory of creation, and to the other for our scheme of salvation and our moral guidance. A favorite teaching of some indefinite writers and speakers is that, if we could only get back to the original type of religion, men would be delivered from error and superstition and the world saved from evil. Overlooking the fact that society has improved as it has moved away from original types of religion and morality and forms of government, there is a demand for a return.

If there ever were an example of hopeless inconsistency, it is on the part of those who are too scholarly not to accept the results of modern Biblical criticism, and yet call one man a special savior or mediator, and one book the source of religion and the basis of morals.

Not long since, a correspondent of a liberal religious newspaper wished to know the precise reasons for the continued use of the Bible "as a pulpit reading book in Unitarian churches, to the exclusion of all other writings whatsoever." Many replies came to his question, some of them almost bitter toward the questioner for even raising a doubt, and none of them any too courteous; and in nearly all there was a tacit assumption, if not open declaration, that the Bible is the Word of God preeminently, and that it would be a kind of sacrilege to use other books in such pulpits. Perhaps all of these writers would have felt insulted if any one had suggested that they did not know the results of Biblical scholarship: many of them would talk, at least, about the inspiration of an Emerson or a Longfellow and the *truth* of science; and yet, true to tradition, they assume that truth and inspiration are specially in one book.

Denominationalism, even of a diluted liberal type, always assumes that the only safety is in a return to some theory or teaching. The best prepared public teacher to-day is the one with the natural fitness for teaching and with the most knowledge of the facts and principles now accepted by the wisest men. But men are advised, even now, that it would be well for them to be trained in the special schools of a liberal denomination, and it is suggested that there can be little dignity and scholarship found outside of the regular denominational channels. The dignity and learning as well as success of many liberal teachers who have arrived in their own way by special study of the best thinkers ought to be a sufficient reply to this egotism. A training under certain theological teachers might be advantageous, because some of those teachers are familiar with modern science and philosophy and criticism, and because, in one instance at least, the intellectual environments are such that a faithful student could hardly help receiving benefit. But the real object, after all, is to become familiar with the most facts and principles. Such being the case, it seems like irony to suggest that any thoughtful student should go back and place himself under the teaching of the writer of the misleading and superficial article on "Transmutational Ethics." Herbert Spencer is at least the most prominent modern writer upon ethics. By what principle except that of theological atavism should any man go back for instruction to those who do not even understand him?

There is a fundamental error underlying this popular theory. That I may not be charged with drawing on my imagination for a text, I shall advert to a practical illustration. A writer who is evidently fair, scholarly, and appreciative, recently had occasion to review a book written from the scientific stand-point. The reviewer was even generous in his criticism, and confessed that the positions taken by the author were in consistency with the best scholarship, while "no mere compilation of many heterogeneous facts, but well-compacted, and flowing together as the energetic action of the [author's] mind." Of one chapter, he says, "It frankly reveals what all scholars, who allow themselves to think, freely admit." Yet, in the summing up, this critic shows the popular tendency to which reference has been made. The critic seemed to think that, notwithstanding all these facts, the author should somehow find his "Gospel" in the very theories he had proved to be false. There was no attempt to show that the author was irreverent or unfair to past beliefs. That would have been unscholarly. But the tendency of a nondescript Liberalism had its culminating expression in these words of the critic, "*The old must have contained the new, else the new had never come.*" This sentence came, too, in a connection in which the critic assumed that he was defining the doctrine of evolution. Could there have been a better illustration of a belief in theological atavism? Here is expressed a vital error, which is not in accordance with the law of evolution, as many suppose, and yet is the basis of much antiquity worship. Any writer is of course superficial who is only an iconoclast, and does not properly recognize everything good in the past. But it is not true that "the old must have contained the new." In an abstract or general sense, of course everything present was in the past in an undeveloped form,—the war in Egypt and the cholera, as well as our civilization. But, in a strict sense, everything concrete did not exist in the past. Everything was potentially in the universe as a whole, but not every phenomenon, either man or religion. There must be no subterfuge under that word "old." The "old" means some principle or organization of past ages. Now, our modern conception of God and law, our morality, even our manhood, was not contained in anything in any past, except as the universe contained it potentially. The acorn did not even contain the oak of to-day. It was one condition of it, but the oak has been formed by the soil and sunshine more than by the acorn. The primitive form of animal life did not even contain all of the organs and functions. Some of them have been caused by outward environment. No government by a tribal chief contained our democratic form of government, although it was the beginning of government in society. No ancient Christianity contained what is carelessly called our modern Christianity, not even in essence. The error is in continually assuming that it did. The unfolding or development even of the teachings of Jesus would never have resulted in that complex sum of sentiments and benefits and moral conclusions which go to make up our civilization and even religion. This complex sum is as much caused by what was not contained in the old as by what was contained. It is largely caused by the elimination of what was contained in the old. At least, our active business life and our patriotism exist in spite of the old in Christianity. Commercial intercourse, art, science, literature, and democratic institutions have put into, or added to, or taken from the ancient Christianity. The old was one condition of reaching the new, but it did not contain it. Scientific evolution does not mean simply the unfolding of some concrete thing. It sometimes includes that; but, among other things, it means the condensation of what before existed in a diffused state, and a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. The climate was never contained in the acorn; and, in fact, the climate and soil have themselves caused new varieties of oak. Neither was our modern scientific religion ever contained in the Christianity whose inception dates from Paul, and not even in the Sermon on the Mount. Scientifically, the environment is making all things new, and, in a concrete sense, is making new things. Men have new ideas of religion and morality, which could not have existed in the days of Jesus, because they have been caused by an experience which was itself caused by an environment which did not exist in the days of Jesus. It is only necessary to state that a part of that environment is our new scientific atmosphere.

For the most fundamental reason, our modern gospel of religion and morality cannot be evolved out of any past theology. All of the ancient theology was founded on a certain theory of the universe and grew out of it. Our philosophy of religion and morality cannot grow out of such a theory, but starts from an essentially new universe. Believing as we do now in a universe of regular law and the theory of evolution, we must build our morality and religion accordingly. We cannot go back to any old theory, because the old Christian theory of life, of fiats and anthropomorphism, does not contain our new conceptions. If we were to go back at all, it would be of logical necessity to the Roman and Greek philosophers, who, of all men of the past, came the nearest to our modern faith in the essential goodness of a universe of law.

We shall be very superficial and unwise, if we fail to seek all the inspiration possible from the past. We can learn much from Jesus and the prophets of the Hebrews, and may find rare gems in the Hebrew literature. But so, too, may we learn much from the Stoics, and from those Eastern Bibles whose gems have been gathered for popular use by a Conway and a Lydia Maria Child. But it is time men should cease committing intellectual suicide by proving that a Jesus is but a man and the

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Bible but one of many Bibles, and yet continue to talk of a Lord Jesus and Mediator, and a culmination of revelation in a collection of Hebrew and Christian writings. Henry Ward Beecher, in his old age, accepts the doctrine of evolution; but even he still centres everything in Jesus. Can he not see that, when he accepts evolution, he makes Jesus a product of evolution, and therefore has no logical right to go back to his idols? But how much more inconsistent are they who, after long accepting liberal thought, still seek the finality in some primitive form or savior! The truth is, so far as the Christian theology is concerned, our modern progress is entirely away from the principle of atavism. From Buddhism and the Stoics, we receive the most of our modern calmness in the face of death; from a consciousness of the present universal power and mystery rather than from a past revelation, we are moved to real aspiration and wonder, and we base our morals upon human experience rather than upon any ancient man or book.

S. J. STEWART.

THE DECREASE OF SUFFERING.

"And ever by delicate powers
Gathering along the centuries
From race on race the rarest flowers,
My wreath shall nothing miss."

—*Emerson.*

The test of the right of a thing to live is its power to give joy.

There are people who believe that the great spiral of nature moves upward and not downward, that there is a predisposition to good in nature, that there are continually more delicate meliorations and adjustments, but who still think that pain is inherently and necessarily the concomitant of happiness. The whole sum of things, they say, is one great system of dualities. The stars move in the most exquisite harmonies, wheel within wheel, system within system, cluster within cluster. In rhythmic spires and gyres, the glittering star-mist whirls, and from the many-colored suns the light moves forth in softest rhythmic undulations. On the earth, winter's cold succeeds to summer's heat; and this fact is itself the result of the duality of the centrifugal and centripetal forces. Then, we have the ebb and flow of the tides, heat and cold, sleep and waking, square and oblong, odd and even, right and left, one and many, the male and the female, the quiescent and the moving, the right line and the curve, light and darkness, the finite and the infinite;—

"For Nature beats in perfect tune,
And rounds with rhyme her every rune."

"In fine," say the pessimists, "the whole system of things is one of dualities. Why, then, are not sorrow and joy one of these perpetual rhythmic runes?" It is sufficient to reply that they *mistake the duality of suffering and joy for the duality of contrasts.* Contrasts, antitheses, are eternal in the nature of things; but it can be proved that anguish is only a temporary and non-essential accompaniment of life, and not an inherent property of things. It is an intruder, a marplot. Evil is

"The wild and deep
And unregenerated wastes of life;
Dark with transmitted tendencies of race
And blind mischance; all crude mistakes of will
And tendency unbalanced by due weight
Of favoring circumstance; all passion blown
By wandering winds; all surplusage of force
Piled up for use, but slipping from its base
Of law and order."

In other words, evil and pain are only the result of mal-adjustment. It is true that, in the present state of society, pain is needed as a reforming and chastening agent. It is a severe remedy employed upon diseased persons. But, when we cease to be diseased, when (as evolution demands and proves) all mal-adjustment shall have disappeared from society, then the sick man's medicine will not be needed. We shall no longer need the old crutch. Our natures will be enriched and chastened by more beautiful means than suffering, and pain will only linger in the background and inner nature of things in order to serve as a scarcely needed warning against the breaking of law.

"All life-sustaining acts are pleasure-giving acts," says Spencer. "Every pleasure raises the tide of life: every pain lowers the tide of life."

"Lust und Liebe sind die
Fittige zu grossen Thaten,"

says Goethe,—"Pleasure and love are the wings by which we rise to great deeds." All the processes of Nature tend to happiness. What enormous volumes of purifying and restorative materials Nature has at her command! No sooner has the spirit of life forsaken a shattered chrysalis or mask than the process begins of separating it into its elements, redistributing the checkers for a new game, the type for a new article. Then there is something very sane and cheering in the unconscious happiness of the lower animals.

"They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God.
No one is dissatisfied,—not one is demented with the mania of owning things,
Not one kneels to another nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago,
Not one is respectable or industrious over the whole earth."

—*Whitman.*

It is a fact which I have established by considerable study and original investigation that herbivorous animals preponderate enormously in number over carnivorous. I can *conceive* a time when all animals in the world shall be non-carnivorous. Considering the geological records and the certainty of progress, who shall say that half a million years hence there will be such things as fishes, *e.g.*?

Pass to the human world, and see how the shadows are shortening. Remember that great calamities seem more numerous as we look back over the past, because these calamities were always chronicled, while the common blessings of life were unrecorded.

There can be no doubt that there has been among men a steady gain in physical comfort. Our English ancestors at one time slept in straw on the floor, like dogs. Their houses had no windows and no chimneys. They had no good roads, few books, and, indeed, few comforts of any kind. Speaking of Shakspere's Old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster, Mr. Verplanck says: "The mode of life of those steel-clad warriors" (in the twelfth century), "mixed of alternate hardships and wild excess, with little attention to cleanliness either in their persons or their dwellings, with the total absence of all surgical or medical skill to relieve the most ordinary malady, or what would now be considered as a slight wound, broke them down at a comparatively early age." John of Gaunt at the age of fifty-eight is called an old man.

As to the alleged increase of pain owing to the increased sensitiveness of organization, in the first place, I believe that the number of people with morbidly sensitive nerves is not nearly so great as is often supposed. Look at the faces of the people you meet in the streets,—what blooming health! what a proud carriage of the body! what a consciousness of power in every movement! Then consider the countless happy homes of what are called the middle classes. The life of the inmates of these households flows on like a peaceful river. With music and light and warmth, with art and books, the pretty prattle of children, and with tender love,—with all this, how can there be much room for misery?

Again, it is evident that the careful discrimination between evil and sin, which the study of heredity has brought about, has very largely helped to lessen mental suffering. Not only the study of heredity, but all the study and thought of the time look in this direction. Much that to an enlightened mind is now known to be only imperfection or evil was formerly regarded as sin against an angry deity. We are making the gratifying discovery that we are much more moral than we had supposed.

A few practical words, now, as to ways and means for the avoidance of pain. It is uttering but a truism to say that the foundations of a happy life are laid in physical health; and, in general, the man who preserves a perfectly healthy body in this American climate is the man who keeps the most vigilant and unceasing watch over changes in the weather. Turgot said that the greatest misfortunes in life take their rise in circumstances which were considered too small to deserve attention.

It is in the open air that we rise to the full dignity of manhood and womanhood. In the open air, I feel like a god; in the house, like a prisoner. "All great deeds are conceived in the open air," says Whitman. Sunlight stimulates the retina and the medulla oblongata; the nerves running thence to the respiratory organs quicken the breathing and the circulation of the blood, and thus repair the waste of the tissues. Hence, to color the blanched lilies in the cheek with crimson and tan means to increase the health of brain and muscle. American women should organize walking clubs, botanical clubs, gardening clubs, rowing clubs, and riding clubs, and make these things fashionable.

Out-door exercise is the basis of cheerfulness. A perpetually sunny-tempered man ought to be salaried by the community: he is the best preacher in it. His sunniness begets sunniness in other hearts, as often in the dark windows of a landscape the setting sun kindles a thousand answering signal-fires. It is the easiest thing in the world for people in a great city to get into a state of chronic irritability. There is a poisonous and enervating sweetness in melancholy, a luxury in sorrow, a luxury in grumbling and growling, and in nursing and petting up one's little grievances. Cultivate tranquillity of mind, cultivate stoicism. Read the cheerful, medicinal authors,—the classics. Think of compensations, of how much worse off you might be. It is best to keep busy, and try to find comfort in little joys. "Man," says Jean Paul, "must become a little tailor-bird, which, not amid the crashing boughs of the storm-tost, roaring, immeasurable Tree of Life, but on one of its leaves, sews itself a nest together, and there lies snug." New scenes and new experiences form good antidotes to melancholy. As for myself, my mind can be shrouded in no gloom so profound that the happy twitterings of the little birds in a bird-fancier's shop will not dispel it in ten minutes. Nature is full of sanatives and restoratives.

The following words of Marcus Antoninus are like precious gems. He says: "To-day, I have got out of all trouble, or rather I have cast out all trouble: *for it was not outside, but within, and in my opinions.* Take away thy opinion, and then there is taken away the complaint, 'I have been harmed.' Take away the complaint, 'I have been harmed,' and the harm is taken away. Begin the morning by saying to thyself, 'I shall meet with the busybody, the ungrateful, arrogant, deceitful, envious, unsocial,—all these things happen to them by reason of their ignorance of what is good.'" Again, he says: "Do the things external which fall upon thee distract thee? Give thyself time to learn something new and good, and cease to be whirled

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around. How much trouble he avoids who does not look to see what his neighbor says or does or thinks, but only to what he himself does, that it may be just and pure!"

W. SLOANE KENNEDY.

DR. HEDGE ON THE CHURCH.

In a sermon preached to the First Parish congregation at Cambridge, at the installation of Rev. E. H. Hall as pastor, and now published in the September *Unitarian Review*, Dr. Hedge sets forth his view of Unitarian public worship. He speaks of "a large class of such as have not entirely broken with religion, who have not cast God quite out of their thoughts, who do not oppugn Christianity as a private persuasion and theory of life; mostly persons of blameless lives, of good conversation, of large culture and refined tastes,—a power in society,—who [yet] feel no need of a church and no obligation to assist at the Sunday service." In regard to this class, Dr. Hedge says: "It is often pleaded in excuse of their neglect, by those who absent themselves from the public services of religion, that they are not benefited thereby, that the Church gives them nothing which they need or cannot get elsewhere." To this plea, Dr. Hedge says:—

"That you are not profited by these Sunday exercises in the way of devout feeling, I can easily understand. I suppose that very few are. There is very little to inspire devout feeling in our churches, and I fully sympathize with those who profess that they are more profited in that kind by the contemplation of nature than by anything they see or hear in the 'meeting-house.' . . . But all this is nothing to the purpose. It is not a question of devout excitation that we are considering, but a formal recognition. You get nothing, you say, from the Sunday service. The question is not what you may get, but what you should bring.... Your personal presence is an offering, . . a silent confession of respect for holy uses, to offer which is a contribution to social well-being, to withhold which involves a loss to society. Abolish the Church to-day, and to-morrow barbarism will have taken its place."

Dr. Hedge goes on to state the claims of the Church under these three heads: 1. "The Church is society's confession of God"; 2. "The Church is a social bond"; 3. "The Church is an educator,—the pulpit the official expounder of the wisdom of life."

Public worship, says Dr. Hedge, is in reality dead: it will not profit you in the way of devout feeling. For any real good that it will do you, you had better go abroad for the contemplation of nature rather than go to meeting. Whether this is true or false, we do not inquire now. We only note the amazing fact that Dr. Hedge, an educator of Unitarian ministers, and the foremost senior among Unitarian ministers, says that it is true; that, for any real result to the religion of the individual, Unitarian ministry is an empty formality. He says this coldly, without shame apparently, and without anxiety or grief.

More extraordinary still is what Dr. Hedge proposes to do about it. Confessing that the thing is in reality so dead that, for your own good, you had better take a walk than go to meeting, Dr. Hedge advises to keep it going as a useful formality, a great and good bugbear against barbarism. "It is not a question of devout excitation," says Dr. Hedge, "but of formal recognition," "to withhold which involves a loss to society." It will not stir real religion in you: that is not the question of public worship, says Dr. Hedge. But it will keep up a useful appearance, calculated to do society good. Dr. Hedge seems to think that religion as fact for the soul is played out, so far as meeting and public ministry are concerned; but that, as an impressive hypocrisy, it should be kept together and contributed to by all of us, for the sake of the effect on the vulgar, who would bring in barbarism with a rush, if they found religion as absent as it is empty.

"The Church," says Dr. Hedge, "is society's confession of God." This is the only point he makes which connects the Church with religion. That as to the social bond, and that as to the educating influence, do not connect it with religion. Now, let us read out plainly what Dr. Hedge says of public worship as a confession of God. He says that you are not to expect this confession of God to be of any account to you, or to mean anything worth while to you, or to do you any real good: so far from that, you had *better* take a walk or a ride. But you are to keep it up as a form, destitute of reality indeed, but useful to impress the dangerous classes, and our only safeguard against barbarism coming in like a flood.

This is exactly what philosophic atheism said under the Roman Empire, and we are at a loss to understand how Dr. Hedge can say anything of the kind. Mr. Emerson said of Free Religion, "What I expected to find here was some practical suggestions by which we were to *reanimate* and reorganize for ourselves the true Church, the pure worship." Who that really has anything to confess and to reverence, be it an idea only, or an ideal, or an Infinite Being, can possibly make his confession and offer his reverence, either alone or in the company of fellow-confessors and fellow-worshippers, without a quickening, an elevation, a strengthening of the soul? It is *not* true for any soul or for any religion that anything can equal or take the place of the genuine Church. Carlyle said justly: "Religion is a social thing. Without a church there can be little or no religion. The action of mind on mind is mystical, infinite: religion, worship, can hardly (perhaps not at all) support itself without this aid. . . . I have strange glimpses of the power of spiritual union, of association among men of like object. Therein lies the true element of religion. It is a truly supernatural climate. All wondrous things, as the foundation of Christianity, take their rise here. Men work godlike miracles thereby." Such leaders of religious advance as Emerson and Carlyle went out of the Church only that a better should gather wherever two or three should meet in any form of holy communion with pure truth. Mr. Emerson, especially, though he saw it not, looked for piety as the ideal, for adoration as the best life of the soul. What we should strive for he recognized in this complaint of a lack in the advance going on: "I see character, but scepticism; in sight and truthfulness, but not piety and adoration, not that religious submission and abandonment which give man a new element and being, and make him sublime. I see movement, I hear aspirations; but I see not how the great God prepares to satisfy the heart in the new order of things. The understanding is active, the sentiments sleep." To complain with Mr. Emerson was to prophesy, and the Emerson of another generation would have been a churchman of the spirit of truth. It is a spectacle as sad as it is singular to see such a man as Dr. Hedge taking for granted that the Church is dead as to all spiritual reality, and only proposing to maintain t as a bugbear to the vulgar.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

"It was," says the *Catholic Review*, "the Catholic Church that won the emancipation of slaves, and taught kings and property holders that in God's sight slaves were free and immortal as themselves, and this ages before Catholic influence and enterprise opened up a New World to man. It was Protestantism that in this New World built up the strongest of the powers on slavery and bigotry, so as almost to destroy this Republic and union of free States." The fact is, as our esteemed contemporary ought to know, both primitive Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church, which grew up on the ruins of paganism, distinctly recognized slavery, and encouraged docility and passive obedience on the part of the slaves. None of the Fathers condemned it as the Essenes had in the first century. It is true that the Church, by creating a new relation for the slave by allowing him to participate in the religious service and by giving prominence to the servile virtues which were encouraged by monastic life, did something to mitigate the hardships of slave life, yet the system continued under Christianity eight hundred years from the time of Constantine; and the number subject to it, historians have declared, was greater in the empire under Christianity than under paganism. Shall we be told that a religion under which slavery flourished for nearly a thousand years led to the abolition of the institution? If the Church once became the friend of the serfs against the nobles of Europe, it was because a proud and powerful nobility, not always submissive to ecclesiastical discipline, having almost unlimited control over the people, weakened the authority of the Church. The people once more under her power, she oppressed the nobles and serfs alike. The Archbishop of Canterbury joined with the barons in extorting Magna Charta from King John. For this act he incurred the wrath of Pope Innocent III., who removed him from office, denounced the charter, declared it null and void, and threatened the king with excommunication and the curses of the Church if he did not disregard it. It was, we may add, Spanish monks, with the famous Las Casas at their head, who introduced into America that "sum of all villanies," negro slavery.

Coming down to our times, we cannot forget the attitude of the Catholic Church toward slavery in this Republic. In New England and New York and the other Northern States, Roman Catholic naturalized citizens voted *en masse* on the side of Southern slave-holders. Years before our Civil War, ignorant Roman Catholic laborers by their votes helped to keep the chains on the limbs of millions of their dusky fellow-laborers in the rice, sugar, and cotton fields of the Gulf States. And their priests never taught them better. Indeed, the Catholic hierarchy was notoriously pro-Southern. In Cuba, the last dependence in this hemisphere of Roman Catholic Spain, slavery still lingers, but at last is, we believe, in the process of abolition, though the process, like all Spanish movements, is provokingly slow.

B. F. U.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WE desire to congratulate our readers on the treat we offer them this week not only in the essays, but in the particularly brilliant and spicy letter from Colorado by Prof. W. D. Gunning, entitled "A Study of Man in a Mining-Camp."

REV. HEBER NEWTON, in his eulogy on Emerson, published in *The Index*, seems to attribute the phrase, "*stream of tendency*," to Matthew Arnold, who makes so much use of it. But, like so many phrases common enough now, it comes from Emerson.—*Unity*.

CETEWAYO, the Zulu ex-King now visiting in London, is not a believer in woman's rights. He mistook the occupants of the ladies' gallery,

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come to St. Stephen's to hear the debates, for a select contingent of the Speaker's wives; and, when he was assured that the honorable Speaker has only one wife, he was puzzled, and declared that it is making an invidious distinction to pick out one woman and place her in a position where she would be supposed to enjoy special privileges denied to the rest of her sex.

THE New York correspondent of the *Congregationalist* pertinently remarks: "There is something almost comical in the zeal which some of the police are suddenly showing for breaking up the 'opium dens' that are becoming far too common. . . . For years, 'the finest police force in the world' have paced day and night silently by policy shops, mock auctions, gambling rooms, lottery offices, whiskey saloons, and every foulest resort of crime, until, in self-defence, private detectives had to be employed to do their work. But the case of the poor, friendless, voteless, bossless Chinaman is altogether another matter. He pays his fine, and goes back to imitate his whiskey-selling or cock-fighting neighbor in repeating the offence, but only to be snapped up again and again, and taught that the law and its executors are great respecters of persons."

SAYS the Indianapolis *Age:* "A man worth $100,000 the other day, an old subscriber, a Liberal, ordered two copies of the *Age* that he was paying for stopped, because some telegraphic reports that he didn't relish were copied into the paper. Intolerance is frequently the rule, and Liberalism the exception, with 'Liberals' as well as with church people." We had some such thought, when a few days ago we received a letter from a subscriber who censured us for printing Mr. Conway's stricture on Gladstone's policy, and another letter from one who wrote angrily because of certain articles in *The Index* on the Chinese Question, —a subject on which we have published contributions from different points of view. One Liberal wrote that he "must stop the paper"; but the paper will continue to be published weekly as heretofore, and its broad and liberal policy will be inflexibly maintained while under its present editorial management.

PROF. HENRY KIDDLE, formerly superintendent of public schools in New York, and now known as a zealous Spiritualist, in an article in the *Progressive Age*, writes: "Spirits will always be found who will sanction any iniquity upon which they are consulted. Inquiries of that nature always repel the higher spirits, for they cannot interfere with the development of man's individuality, to be accomplished by the exercise of his free will; but the lower ones, by the law of attraction, 'flow in,' and rejoice to aid in the consummation of a wrong, already committed, in the mortal's mind, while he seeks only the means to perpetrate it, or to escape detection. It is the *intention*, not the act, that, spiritually considered, constitutes the crime. For example, Mr. A. goes to a medium to know whether his wife is his true 'spirit affinity,' and the answer is (by raps, or otherwise), *No*. The next question is, 'Is not —— —— my true "spirit affinity"?' and the response comes just as emphatically, *Yes*. Of course, these answers only serve to corroborate the inquirer's own *spiritual* intuition; and the man, confirmed by a spirit's advice, acts accordingly. Hence, in part at least, that odious and damnable monster, 'Free Love,' or 'Free Lust,' occurring as a *phase of Spiritualism*."

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Christian Intelligencer*, writing from Holland, says: "We may talk among ourselves about a return to evangelical doctrine in Europe; but certainly, here in Holland, the prospect is far from flattering. The great masses in city and town, in hamlets and country, do not cry for the pure, unadulterated gospel, as it is reported. The teachings of these rationalists are permeating the masses, and beget among them indifference, materialism, and infidelity. Go any Sunday to Bonn, a foremost city in lower Prussia, stand on the wharf along the Rhine, watch the steamers crowded with pleasure-seekers, and visit the churches in the morning, and I am very much mistaken if you do not conclude with me that the Continent of Europe is drifting farther and farther away from evangelical religion and morality. Yes, even the most orthodox universities, as Leipzig for instance, are manned by professors who incline very much nearer rationalism than orthodoxy. I know that distance lends enchantment to our view; but competent men here in Holland and Germany, who are well informed as to the religious outlook in Europe, paint it anything but encouraging and rose-colored. Undoubtedly, many good and great men are lifting up their voices in the orthodox camp, manfully and successfully. I know that Lange, Dorner, Christlieb, Delitzsch, Kuyper, Van Oosterzee, and others, are battling nobly for the faith once delivered to the saints. But what are these among so many? And what if their number is lessening?"

MR. HOLYOAKE'S present visit to the United States seems to all well-instructed free thinkers like the return of a prized member of the family. It is well to have such men among us, to honor ourselves and them by genuine and appreciative hospitality. American Liberalism would be improved by an infusion of English seriousness. Mr. Holyoake, however, is not oppressively serious, but has always brightened and lightened his work by a perennial humor. His history is well known to most free thinkers; but he is himself more than a free thinker, if that were conceivable. He is, at any rate, too broad for strict identification with any philosophical clan. The study of his life has been to erase party lines, and to fix upon the points of agreement among men as a working basis in his reconstructive sociology. He appears to have long ago scented the necessary existence of species in philosophy and theology. Aware of the folly of spending energy in obliterating species, he has chosen the task of coördinating the unmodifiable sorts of men, while still giving his quota of influence in effecting modification. But he has not stubbornly insisted on the adoption of the creed of science as a primary need. To effect some practical work for the amelioration of human suffering has been his self-selected and continual endeavor. He may be said to have illustrated the objective method in popular philosophy. His books betray the quality of the man in every paragraph. No one can regret acquaintance with a man through his books, for his best is always there. Mr. Holyoake's books make a solid and valuable record of the development of free thought in England during his lifetime. Few controversial works are so delightfully readable. Their author has a thinker's vigor and a reformer's earnestness. Besides these, a temperamental geniality interfuses all that he has written. He shows a judicial toleration for and forms a scientific estimate of those who differ from him. These traits are so rare, yet so invaluable in social reform, that it is worth while to attend to them. Some deem Mr. Holyoake's coöperative logic unsound; but, certainly, his "Rochdale Pioneers," and the hundreds of coöperative associations which followed them, demonstrate some latent fitness for distributive coöperative work among Englishmen. Mr. Holyoake's special mission in this visit is the collection of data for an *Emigrants' Guide-Book* for the use of citizens of Great Britain intending to settle in the United States.

LIVE THOUGHTS.

ONE misfortune of extraordinary geniuses is that their very friends are more apt to admire than love them.—*Pope.*

IF you are conscious of certain infirmities of character, select companions in whose society you would be ashamed to give way to them.—*Anonymous.*

IF the secret history of books could be written, and the author's private thoughts and meanings noted down alongside of his story, how many insipid volumes would become interesting, and dull tales excite the reader!—*Thackeray.*

BEAUTIFUL is the appearance of a noble man, when he is making known to the world the fine qualities of others. The rays of the moon, when he is opening the calyx of the night-lotuses, have a double brightness. —*Hindu* (*Vasavadatta*).

CONSIDERING all the heresies, the enormous crimes, the wickedness, the astounding follies which the Bible has been made to justify, and which its indiscriminate reading has suggested; considering that it has been, indeed, the sword which our Lord said he was sending, and that not the devil himself could have invented an implement more potent to fill the hated world with lies and blood and fury,—I think certainly that to send hawkers over the world loaded with copies of this book, scattering it in all places, among all persons, . . . is the most culpable folly of which it is possible for man to be guilty.—*James Anthony Froude.*

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

TO SHAKSPERE.*

WRITTEN IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, JUNE, 1880.

How beautiful, an undisputed king,
Among unnumbered princes standest thou,
Immortal thought upon that perfect brow,
Whereof those lips of marble seem to sing.
Likewise, the matchless hand seems wandering
Over a lyre so many-voiced, that now,
As ever, wins the willing soul to bow,
While golden string mingles with golden string.
Even this solemn temple fades away
From the tranced senses, and the dying toll
Of bells that tell the flight of time, and say
How brief our life, and the great organ's roll
Through these dim aisles, now, at the passing day,
Before the words upon thy magic scroll!

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

For *The Index.*

ONWARD.

The seasons hard that slay
The sensuous life that flows
In the red blood of day
From night whose shadow grows,

Bear fruits rich for desire,
And wisdom hardly won;
And deeds cursed in the sire
Grown blessèd in the son.

Yet ne'er was worship lost
That was deserved, no tears
Of sweet regret a cost
Unpaid in gladder years.

Love to all souls that hold
Truth o'er all greed, that find
Through the soul-mists of old
The constant sun behind!

Hail to the mystic call
At which the martyrs start
To the grand deeds that fall
Like balm on Time's thrilled heart!

Now hath the prophet-tongue
Anew set hearts afire:
Who list the song that's sung?
Who seize the pure desire?

Up! for again 'tis day,
And duties once more cry:
Time's freshest youth doth stay,
Though Time itself must die.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

*The exquisitely beautiful statue of Shakspere, by Kent, in the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey, holds in one hand a marble scroll bearing the famous words from "The Tempest" alluded to in the sonnet.

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The Index.

BOSTON SEPT. 14, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

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For *The Index.*

On Some Features of the Ethics of Jesus.*

BY W. M. SALTER.

I. The charge is sometimes made that the moral teaching of Jesus *is mercenary*, that he does not ask men to do right because it is right, but because we shall be rewarded in a future state if we do, or punished if we do not. There are certainly passages which lend themselves to this interpretation. Jesus unquestionably believed in future rewards and punishments; and it is a mistake to imagine him a mild, modern humanitarian, without a sense of law or of the just deserts of men. But this is not saying that he appealed to the self-regarding motives, *when urging upon men moral conduct*. It is one thing to recognize that wickedness will call down vengeance from heaven, it is another to seek to dissuade from wickedness solely or chiefly for fear of that vengeance.

I cannot consider the sayings of Jesus in detail, but a general key to their understanding seems to me to lie in the distinction between the prophet and the mere exhorter or preacher. Many Christian preachers have used the ideas of heaven and hell as motives to determine men in their conduct; and Christian morality, as commonly taught in the past, has been deeply tainted with mercenariness. But Jesus was not primarily a preacher or exhorter. He makes few appeals to men. His attitude is the one all uncommon, if not well-nigh unintelligible, to us of the Western world: he stands for the Highest, and as a prophet declares the law of the Highest to men. Who does not at times crave a justification of the ways of the Eternal to men? Who has not at times had his soul stirred within him as he has seen the cause of things favoring, if not in league with, the unjust man and the oppressor, and coldly indifferent, if not hostile, to the good? Who has not cried out for judgment, and asked: "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord? . . . Break thou the arm of the wicked and the evil man." A Hebrew psalmist once pictured the righteous man as a lamb, graciously tended and protected by the shepherd, Jehovah. No one can fail to see the beauty and the pathos of the picture; but how often is it true? Yet we believe it ought to be true,—that the deep nature of things must somehow prefer the just to the unjust man, and that this preference must be made manifest. The prophet addresses himself to this problem, or rather brings an answer to it; and the answer which Jesus gave has written itself into the heart of myriads of men, and has been the mainstay and consolation not only of actual sufferers, but of those harassed with doubt, who, but for it, would lose all intellectual satisfaction with life. There is, he declares, a moral providence in the world, so that to the pure, the humble, to those who love peace and seek righteousness, there can be no loss, whatever may be the sensible appearance. Rather is there for them mercy, blessedness, the vision of God and the kingdom of heaven; while, for wickedness, there will be, as there ought to be, humiliation, shame, gnashing of teeth, and the fire that is not quenched.

The kingdom of heaven was Jesus' answer to the world-problem. In the light of that coming event, the ways of God to men were justified: it would be the end, and the solution of the riddle of humanity's history. As to what there is of truth and error in all this, I am not now concerned. I am simply endeavoring to put an historical interpretation on language. There is nothing so easy as to judge of an historical character from our own stand-point; there is nothing that requires such large fairness of mind as to enter into and judge from the circle of ideas in which he himself had his mental being. Hence, when Jesus says, "There is no man that hath left house or brethren or sisters . . . for my sake and the gospel's sake, but he shall receive an hundred-fold now in this time, . . . and, in the world to come, life everlasting," I do not conceive that he is making an appeal to or even consoling men, so much as declaring a law, uttering what to his mind in the moral nature of things *must* be, and what the apparent contradictions of experience put upon him a passionate necessity of declaring. When Jesus violently drove the money-changers out of the temple, we are told that his disciples called to mind a saying out of the Psalms,—"The zeal of thine house shall eat me up." If we, in these secular days, could realize the meaning of such a passion; if we could enter into that "zeal for God" and for the vindication of a Divine order in the world, which made, along with a kind of tender pity for the wronged and baffled, one of the leading motives of Jesus' life,—we should not find it so easy to call his morality mercenary, and should reserve our impatience and indignation for those who conceive no other uses for his words than as allurements or as threats to keep men in the way of righteousness.

An objection to another part of Jesus' moral teaching is that it *is extravagant and impracticable*. How can we, it is said, resist not evil, turn the other cheek, give away our cloak to one who takes our coat, and freely lend to every one? Are not law and economy equally opposed to such precepts? How long would orderly society endure, if they were obeyed? Is it not the teaching of the new charity that we are *not* to give and not to lend save on some kind of business principle? I think a measure of confusion is betrayed in questions of this sort. Jesus does not, if I understand aright, condemn resistance for self-defence, but has in mind the old precepts of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," and the spirit of retaliation which was at their basis. For self-defence, we may use violence to protect our person or our property or our rights. For self-defence, one nation may rise against another or one class against another. If Jesus would have condemned such self-defence, it was in connection with a view of Providence, which we no longer share. Retaliation, however, is an entirely different matter. I know of no rule of equity according to which we may return blow for blow or oppression for oppression. This would not be righting a wrong, but making a double wrong. Better than this would be actually turning the other cheek and going the second mile.

Nor do the new rules of charity, now happily making their way in our midst, contradict the precepts of Jesus. A business charity, in one sense of the word, would not be charity at all. To give help to no one who asks for it, because of a rudely conceived principle that every one ought to help himself, would not be to make an advance upon Christian practice, but to go back to the hardness of heathenism. It must not be because we love less or are ready to do less that we give up the old habit of almsgiving, but because we love more, because we wish to institute more radical means of relief, and thereby not merely temporarily relieve distress, but do something toward checking it at its sources. If there is merely the economical, the business spirit in the new charity; if the aim is chiefly to rid us of annoyances and banish unsightly objects from the public gaze, depend upon it, no great results will come from it,—no such results as came from that mighty movement of pity and tenderness which streamed from the heart of Jesus, ever taking, as it has, the weak and unprotected into its care, covering our Western world with beneficent institutions, and making the relief of want or suffering one of the primary virtues. No: only a new birth of love, a new enthusiasm for humanity, will effect any radical revolution in human conditions; only a new wave of such tender feeling as was in Jesus himself, though it be in connection with our view of the world and not with his, and guided in its manner of expression by all the light that past experience and scientific observation and experiment can give us. The best machinery will after a time lie idle, if there is not the force of human love to propel it. Nothing, not all knowledge or skill, will take its place.

Jesus told the rich young man to go and sell all that he had and give to the poor. Let us very carefully discriminate, if we object to that saying. I might almost say it is at our peril, if we do so. For the very breath of it is the utterness of consecration it enjoins. According to it, there is nothing which is to be cherished as privately our own: what we have and all of it is for blessing. And I have a deeper faith in man than those economists and sophisters (and there are some "ministers of religion" among them) who think it necessary in explaining this precept to strip its exactions of their grandeur, and trim and adjust them to the levels of conventional benevolence. I believe man at his deepest does not want to be left where he is, but to be lifted higher. I believe that he *can* give unselfishly, can give all he has,—his possessions,—yes, not even hesitating at his life, when some cause makes transcendent claims upon him. Prudence is indeed called for; but there are two kinds of prudence, the one springing from selfishness, the other born of religion itself. The same outward act may have meanings at a heaven-wide distance from one another. Suppose, for example, that I refuse alms to a beggar on the street. I may do so, because, having hardened myself into the idea that every man is himself entirely responsible for his condition, I feel no promptings of pity in my breast. On the other hand, I may refuse for very pity and very bewilderment, knowing how little such help would be, how much greater are his needs than those I could thus cover, and with the thought either to go with him to his home and learn well of his misfortunes, or to send some one wiser and better qualified than I to do this for me. This would be a totally different prudence, and would be nowise contradictory to the command of Jesus himself: "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." The indiscriminate and unthinking giving of alms which has been too characteristic of the Christian Church, we may indeed censure; doubtless, it has done and still is doing much harm. But it must be because anew the spirit of humanity is rising within us, and a deeper and more serious spirit of humanity than the Church has ordinarily exhibited in the past.

Another objection to the moral teaching of Jesus I shall pass over lightly. It is astonishing to me that an earnest radical thinker should ever make it. It is that Jesus *slights the family relations*. For that he held sacred the *idea* of the family and of the marriage bond, which is at its basis, is shown by words so severe and exalted that few of his followers nowadays are able to bear them. I mean those which declare marriage indissoluble save for the single cause of adultery. Only the Catholic Church, which along with whatever additions and *Aberglaube* seems yet most faithfully to have preserved the primitive Christian traditions, insists upon obedience to them. But it is a practical slighting of the ties of family that the objection has in mind. And it is true that Jesus called upon men to leave brothers and sisters and parents, and follow him. He would not even suffer a disciple to go and bury his father, rather rudely, as it may seem, saying, "Let the dead bury their dead." He said, Not peace, but a sword, was he introducing into the world: he was come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and to cause a man's foes to be those of his own household. And, when his own mother and brothers wished to see him, we are told that with no very decided show of affection he pointed to his disciples, and said, These are my mother and brethren.

Now, if morality means nothing more than that kind of action which keeps human society in existence in families, Jesus does in all this slight its primary requirements. But can we allow that there are no causes reaching beyond the interests of family-life as at any time particularly constituted? Is all possible good already realized and incorporated in social institutions? Is there no justice, and no call for its exe-

*Given in substance before the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston, Feb. 19, 1882.

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cution, as wide as the human race, and immeasurably in advance of that which our present laws and social habits reflect? In truth, those who object to the divisions in family-life, which necessarily followed in the wake of Christianity, deny the logic by which all great forward movements in history are made: they go over into the ranks of the conservatives. Any principle thrown into the ferment of human thoughts and aspirations is a principle of division. Those who assent to it are parted from those who do not; and, if it be indeed a sovereign principle, like that of justice, then no lower allegiances have a right to interfere with the supreme allegiance due to it. Man must choose the highest: he has no peace or honor in his own eyes, save as he does; and, consistently with this choice, all his other relations in life must be ordered. They dare never assert that it shall be modified and accommodated so as to harmonize with them.

Jesus did set a man at variance against his father,—he was stern and exacting in his demand of absolute allegiance to the cause he represented,—he did feel a closer tie of kinship to those who heard his call and obeyed it than to any earthly mother or brothers; and no cause has ever thrived in the world that has not in a measure repeated these facts. No religion of the future will be a worthy successor of the religion of the past that does not introduce a similar division, that does not have a similar attitude of exaction to all wavering and double-minded persons, and does not introduce a bond of union, over and above, if not sometimes in contradiction to, the traditional bonds that now hold men together. The pathway of that future religion, of which we know so little and yet believe so much, is strewed with flowers to many a prophetic young heart of the present. I have no idea that it will be so. I have no idea that there will be any less call for self-denial, for stern faithfulness, for courage, —yes, for daring for the right,—than there has been in the past. Humanity has not gone one-tenth or one-hundredth part of its journey. We compare ourselves with the past, with pre-Christian or with mediæval times: it is for us rather to compare ourselves with the idea of the perfect, to feel how great, how well-nigh measureless is the distance yet to be travelled over. The goal is still far aloft, and the way to it is no easy one, but steep and winding, and perchance has many a danger lurking by its side. Are we ready for new toil, for more heroic aims, for severer duty, or will we take our ease on the spot we have already reached,— this is the question, answers to which will reveal whether or not we are children of the coming time.

II. I turn now to some features of the ethics of Jesus having such clear and positive merit that little objection is likely to be made to them. I essay no comparison of him with Socrates or Sakya-mouni or Confucius. This is a difficult and delicate task, which should not be undertaken without an equipment of historical knowledge and sympathy and imagination, which few of those who so often and so lightly make the attempt seem to me to have. I do not deny, indeed, that there may be no one idea in Jesus' teaching that is not found in the teaching of others as well. But I have rather in mind the prophet of Nazareth in connection with the times in which he lived, and the actual influence he has had upon men living in our Western world. It cannot be claimed that we stand in any such relation to Socrates, or the Hindu prince or Confucius, as to Jesus. Socrates has not been without influence upon us, but it cannot be soberly called a tithe of that which Jesus has had. Would that men read the *Apology* oftener. They would find meat and drink in it, a tonic and an inspiration for their lives! But there is need for no such wish in relation to the Gospels. Jesus is an ideal of goodness, all too indistinct often, but hovering in the breast of well-nigh every one that most of us ever come in contact with. It is true that there is much uncertainty relating not only to his life, but to his teaching. But, as there need be no doubt as to the main tenor and events of his life, so there need be none as to the commanding features of his teaching. They make too largely consistent a whole, and bespeak a mind of too much freshness and originality and power to allow us to think of them as coming in an indefinite way from an age otherwise so traditional, so barren and prosaic.

And, first, we notice that he opposes the traditional morality of his time. And, in this relation, what other function, we may ask, is there for the prophet than to purify and enlarge the moral ideal of men, to strip righteousness of conventional expressions and reveal its absolute and all-encompassing nature? To acquiesce in the moral requirements ordinarily allowed, to merely proclaim the old Mosaic law, so called, and insist upon all the particularities of its observance,—what need for the prophet to do that? All this was being done by the existing teachers of the nation, and especially the Pharisees. The Pharisees were eminent patriots, no doubt, conservers of the national religious life and its ancient traditions, and stood, as some one has remarked, to orthodox Judaism much as the modern Jesuits to the Catholic Church in its conflict with liberal ideas. They had on their side, too, the majority of the lawyers of the nation, a class naturally inclined to conservatism, and whose function is somewhat obscured to us by the title Scribes, which is usually given them in the New Testament. As the Pharisees with this legal following had a cause and an enthusiasm for it, they were more influential and held in higher honor by the mass of the people than the party of the Sadducees, who, with their inclination to liberalism, and varnish of foreign ideas and manners, had lost a measure of both religious and patriotic zeal. But it was the mistake of the Pharisees to esteem the moral code contained in their Scriptures final. Christians affect to find this very strange in view of the added legislation of Jesus, but that it is not strange is shown by the very fact that they regard Christian morality as final and incapable of being superseded. It is, in fact, the part of a conservative temper the world over to believe that things materially better than the old cannot come: it is just as true now as at any time. I find liberals, even, who look with a kind of disapproval, if not disbelief, upon any departure from and advance upon their present religious attitude. That which we know and are accustomed to, the old wine, we all naturally think is best. But Jesus did add to the old legislation: he was, in fact, a second "Moses" to those who accepted him. We will not attempt to say how far his legislation was new, and to what extent there were anticipations of it in the old law and prophets. It is interesting to note that almost always, when changes are made in the world, either intellectual or moral advances, we are all ready to accredit them to the authorities whom we revere, after they are accomplished, though, when they were making, the authorities spoke to us with no such clear voice, and our uncertainty may have practically amounted to hostility. So, in the future, it is possible that no reforms will ever be accomplished for the human race that clever Christians will not claim, after they are done, to have been the natural expression of their own principles; yet now it can hardly be said that their Master speaks to them in such a way that they feel that they must themselves accomplish the reforms.

One reformer always honors another, one prophet always feels that he belongs to a succession. They know well that it is not this or that particular cause, as such, they are serving, but these as forms of one cause, demands of one principle, which is itself absolute though they all be relative, limitless though they all be finite. Ever is it the triumph of the ideal good, the victory of the just in the world. Only he *is* a genuine reformer or prophet who serves his cause solely because of its rightness, and gives to his special task the form of this absolute consecration. It by no means follows, however, that each prophet honors the *disciples* of another prophet, who, perhaps, cherish his words without being aware of the animus and reach of thought that lay behind them. Circumstances and conditions change, and the eternal motive must prompt to new words and new actions. As he would be no prophet to us to-day who should merely repeat with skilful commentary the message of eighteen hundred years ago, so Jesus, had he but strikingly recast the words of Moses or Isaiah, would have been a Scribe along with the rest. One with them in fundamental thought he was, but he spoke from his own consciousness and not from theirs; he vindicated the ideal to a generation in which idealism had become chiefly a tradition, and convinced the most scrupulous followers of the old law of sin, of righteousness, and of a judgment that, to his rapt vision, hung over their nation.

Speaking more particularly, he gave the moral law a more distinct inward application, saying that our thoughts and merely spoken words have a moral significance like that of our actions. That we are not to act from wrong motives is indeed a commonplace of morals, but Jesus virtually teaches that we are not to have the wrong motives. Repression has been the maxim ordinarily laid down. Jesus implies an exalted state of mind, in which there shall be no call for repression. Is it said that this is impossible, that our inward feelings are beyond our control, and that in any case we cannot be held responsible for them, but only for the harm they may lead us to do others? Jesus will allow none of these things. Nothing in the line of what is good is impossible: if our inward feelings are wrong, we are responsible for allowing them to exist and can change them; and there is such a thing as harming our own selves in a more serious sense than we can ever harm others. Life is to become serious, to be held to a purpose, to involve discipline, and the ideal on which we set our hearts is not to be abandoned for numberless failures to win it. And what a profound—yes, I may say awful—moral seriousness does Jesus reveal in his commands: "If thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee.... If thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee." And yet the truth may be all with him, and none whatever on the side of the easy conscientiousness that makes the moral outfit of most of us. It may be there is no injury in life to really fear but a moral injury, that there is no comfort nor pleasure, nor grace of body or mind, that can make up for the stains upon the moral nature that come from any species of actual or imagined sensuality. It may be that it would be actually better to lose the eye or the hand than to allow them to become instruments of degradation to the spiritual nature. Is this asceticism? No, but verily better, nobler, would be asceticism of the severest type than the torpor of conscience which allows us to feel only passing reproaches, and no stings and smarts when unworthy acts or unworthy thoughts are indulged in. There is no relaxing, to my mind, of the command of absolute purity. Are we thereby straining the possibilities of human nature? Lecky tells us that, when the Roman consul "Marius had vanquished an army of the Teutons, their wives besought the conqueror to permit them to become the servants of the vestal virgins, in order that their honor, at least, might be secure in slavery. Their request was refused, and that night they all perished by their own hands."* No, if honor be a dream to many, in others the fine, impalpable thing is their very life.

Further, Jesus removes all barriers to the love we owe our fellow-men. Brotherly and neighborly kindness had indeed been granted before, and doubtless the prophetic mind now and then caught glimpses of a time of universal love and brotherhood. With Jesus, however, this love was to become the present and abiding rule of life. Even our enemies are to be loved, no kind of malice or wish to injure is to be tolerated. We are to forgive, not merely seven times, but seventy times seven; *i.e.*, forgiveness is an unlimited obligation. These are, it is true, commonplaces to-day, though it be commonplaces of thought or speech rather than of actual sentiment. But, when Jesus uttered them, they were not even commonplaces of thought. Plato had commended the Athenians, speaking of their treatment of the Persians, "for their pure and heartfelt hatred of the foreign nature,"† and Aristotle taught that barbarians were no more worthy of humane treatment than wild beasts.‡ The humanity of the ancient world was in general at best a tribal or a national rather than a universal humanity. It may seem strange, and yet it is strictly true, that the natural condition of mankind is one of mutual enmity rather than affection, save in limited circles of relationship. Nay, with all our professions, and with all our real advances in feeling, it is probably to a great extent still so to-day. It is so frequently of nations, so of classes, so of corporations, so of private individuals who are seeking the same prizes in life. And the reason is obvious. It is the instinct of self-preservation, the desire to maintain ourselves and to get the best places in life. Those, it is often said, can love most who have least to do in the actual struggle of life. They who are in the battle must assert themselves: they can have no fine scruples, but must take advantage where they can, and may even injure where they must. The battle, it is said, that science has recently revealed to us as going on in the lower world, is going on equally in human society. Love and brotherhood are hence for the idealist to talk of, possibly for the kingdom of heaven to realize somewhere; but, in this world, victory is for the strong, and perhaps it is childish and

History of Morals, II., 361. †*Ecce Homo*, p. 172.
‡ Lecky, I., 241.

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sentimental, even if it is Christian, to care for so many weak and unprofitable members of our species. Why not follow Nature, or rather simply let Nature have her own way; and then only the strong and the fit would survive.

But, in sober truth, I believe that all this is but the assertion of the brute instincts in us, seeking indeed to give a specious justification to themselves, taking on the airs of science and human reasoning, but nowise the utterance of what is strictly human in us. The human is developed in us according as we act from other motives than those of self-assertion, as we remember the ties that bind us the one to the other, and seek only that good for ourselves which is consistent with the good of all. It is the thought of humanity that makes us human: it is the bond linking us to and making us a part of humanity—a bond which is no natural force compelling us, but a fact in the ideal nature of things constraining us only with an ideal constraint—that makes our very dignity and glory. And human brotherhood, as Jesus taught it, is an idea which, if it took possession of human hearts, would not allow some of the features of our present political and social institutions to last a day. We act for the most part from the lower motives, with slight modifications and a slight tempering of the conduct owing to the influence of ideas from above. Religion demands that the ideas have an absolute, an all-controlling supremacy. In the kingdom of heaven, of which Jesus spoke, this demand was to be realized. None should be members of it save those in whom love was the absolute principle; and this should be proved by their having owned the claims of the lowest of their brothers,—those who, in the bitterness of fate or in return for their own sin, had come to nakedness or famishing or the disgrace of prison walls. And there is this element of truth in Jesus' view, that the kingdom is to come from above, and not in the natural course of things; namely, that it is not to come, and cannot, from the onworking of man's natural self-regarding impulses. It is the dogma of a certain school of liberal philosophers that, if men "are left free to act in accordance with their obvious interests and their natural dispositions, their conduct will tend to the benefit of the whole of mankind."* There is, to my mind, a grain of truth and a mass of error in such a dogma. The Middle Age was a time when the natural differences between men had free play, when law and government meant little but what those strong enough chose to make them. Did the differences happily supplement one another, and the conduct of the strong and capable "tend to the benefit of the whole of mankind"? Instead of this, history discloses to us the strong,—few in numbers, yet almost wanton in pride and power,—princes, ecclesiastical as well as secular, "benefiting" men by making them their vassals and slaves. And a part of the significance of the rise of the absolute monarchy in the fifteenth century consisted in putting checks upon the unrestricted freedom of the strong, in preventing them in many a circumstance from following their "obvious interests and natural dispositions,"—in a word, in diminishing the inequalities which, in a pure state of nature and freedom, are always bound to show themselves. And ill will it fare with any republic, when its boasted freedom comes to mean simply the freedom of one class of its citizens to appropriate to itself the services of the remainder. The future will join with the past, in my opinion, in showing it to be but a pleasing dream that the selfishness of one man shall so neatly adjust itself to the selfishness of another that they will perforce live together as brothers. And brotherhood means no such contrivance: it is a thing of the heart, and must come from the heart. It must crown our selfish impulses, it can never spring from them. It will descend, if ever it does descend upon the earth, out of an ideal region, and rule us, if it does rule us, by the spell and might of its ideal beauty and its ideal right.

Hence, the significance of that primary aim which Jesus would set to human life,—namely, to seek the kingdom of God. How little of reality have those words to us now! I mean, not merely to us Liberals, but, comparatively speaking, to the whole modern Christian world. How we seek to turn the kingdom into a metaphor, or to substitute for it all manner of abstractions! Or, if we still hold to its concrete substance, how we put off the divine city and fellowship afar in the clouds and at the end of time, inwardly saying that it is well enough there, but cannot be seriously thought of as giving the ideal and the rule for this present life! Accordingly, the present enthusiasms of men, so far as they have any, seem so measured and finite, they do not lift us to any height, nor do they touch our depths. Ah! to have lived—who does not at times wish it?—when the measureless good of the kingdom of God seemed waiting for men to enter into it, when human life was lit up with the transcendent hope, when heaven seemed about to descend and touch and sanctify the earth! There is no wonder that the multitude of those early believers were of one heart and soul, that not one of them said that aught of the things he possessed was his own, but they had all things common. As they were not playing with words, but *believed* in the "kingdom of God," how could they forbear to live in some measure then in their earthly lives as they knew they should live thereafter?

The phrase, "kingdom of God," is perhaps outworn for those who would not, under a cloak and venerable remnant of piety, hide the light that is in them; but the thought which lies at its basis is of perennial interest and worth. Of what is untrue and harmful in the Christian conception of it, I may speak at another time. The essential truth of it may be stated in a few words: It is that man belongs vitally to another order of things than that of which he has experience. He can see what is, and at the same time form a conception of what ought to be; and, in that conception, he finds the goal of what is and the end to which his thoughts and energies rightfully turn. And, as he forms this conception in virtue of the rationality that is in him, all rational beings can form it, and, as matter of fact, with varying clearness do form it; and the goal is thence a goal for all rational beings. And the goal is of nothing that is absolutely apart from those who contemplate it, far beyond and above them as it is: it is a goal *for* rational beings, and is nothing more nor less than that of a perfect society or community of them. Anciently designated a kingdom, we now may more naturally call it a republic, if we are not thereby made to forget that the laws of it, while in one sense of our making, are not altogether so, but are in some sense set for us in the ideal nature of things as unalterably as the goal itself. For us is really only the creation of *ourselves* after the ideal pattern. But, perhaps better still, we may call it a brotherhood, since thereby the idea of association, of a common interest, a common life, a common joy, are most effectually and most touchingly suggested to us. There is a yearning in us for brotherhood. We are no more satisfied with the modern aim of self-culture than with the older one of the salvation of our individual souls. We want, in our deeper moments, to get out of, to rise above, the self and feel that we are parts of some grander whole, and that we have in it a more than private mission and work. The very good and happiness we crave we do not wish to win for ourselves, but to have come in consequence of our world connections, to be a kind of bounty and answering benediction from the whole. And this only is religion, when the law for me is the law for all, when the good for me is the good of all, when the tides and the gladness of universal being sweep through me, and I know it is no longer this poor finite self that lives, but the world-self that lives in me and the world-purpose that leads me on.

And so truly do I believe the "kingdom of God" in its essential meaning to be the central theme of religion that I regard some fresh apprehension of it, some feeling of its truth so real and deep that all uncertain and merely traditional language shall be avoided in publishing it, some clear, simple, unambiguous statements of its practical meaning in connection with to-day's habits of thought and life, to be the indispensable preparation for a Religion for the Future. And in this sense we are still on the foundation of prophets, Jesus himself being the corner-stone.

WE are exhorted to throw aside these doubts, and believe those necessary truths of which no two philosophers have ever succeeded in giving the same version. But, until your divine revelations have something more to reveal, we shall be content to admit openly, what you whisper under your breath or hide in technical jargon, that the ancient secret is a secret still; that man knows nothing of the Infinite and Absolute; and that, knowing nothing, he had better not be dogmatic about his ignorance.—*Leslie Stephen.*

The Nation, Feb. 9, 1882, p. 125.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A STUDY OF MAN IN A MINING-CAMP.

Editors of The Index:—

From a horizon of snow-crowned domes, I greet *The Index*. From the spirituous "shebang" of "Busted Joe," I greet you. From my window, I look out on a little mound, over which rises a stove-pipe made of two barrels placed end to end. In that mound lives a man. Beyond, I see another mound. Under it lies the body of a man. A pine slab is the head-stone. It bears an epitaph the most simple, artless, pathetic I have ever read:—

"He had sand in his craw,
But was slow on the draw,
And we planted him here in the dew.
Caliber 45."

Do you "catch on"?
Do you "get the bulge on it"?
Do you "tumble to the racket"?

No: "your feet are sore." But you will stop a moment and philosophize. You are finding man under conditions which you have not known. From new modes of life come new modes of thought and expression. Victor Hugo makes the wretched and the vicious speak a language evolved through vice and misery. Now, these mountain men, like all men of the mountain or the desert, speak in tropes and symbols. "Where have you been?" I said to a man. "Counting ties." He meant that he had been walking on the railroad. "My little man," I said to a boy, "why don't you go to school?" "Because," he answered, "I ha'n't got no sand." What did he mean? A bird which has gravel in the gizzard is brave to attack the hardest seed.

"He had sand in his craw."

That is, he had gravel in his gizzard; that is, he was *brave*. The boy abridged the trope. He had no "*sand*."

"But was slow on the draw."

That is, he didn't draw his pistol as quick as the other man.

"And we planted him here in the dew."

The consequence.

"Caliber 45."

The pistol which "took him in the place where he lived."

Now, you "catch on"; that is, you seize the rope as it comes up through the shaft. Now, you "get the bulge on it"; that is, you stand in the widest part of the ore-body. Now, you "tumble to the racket"; that is, you understand the noise, the game, and "fall to." Now, your feet are well; that is, you have been so long in the mountains that your feet have recovered from their tramp over the plains. You are ready for another lesson.

Over the way is a sign in verse:—

"Miners' supplies,
Bread and pies.
Two bits a pie,
Take it or [and?] die."

I asked a miner what kind of pies they kept over there. "Well," he said, "I'll tell you. The foot wall has a good deal of selvage. The hanger wall's a good deal decomposed. The gangue's all gouge. The pay streak's pinched out." Do you "get the bulge" on that? Turn to Von Cotta, and learn the meaning of these terms in mining.

"BILLY, THE KID."

This is the inscription I read on a slab in Gunnison. Kid, in the mining camps, is the word for boy. Its use here, with this meaning, is suggestive. It is the old English for *child*. We have it in "kidnap." A word becomes extinct in old communities, and springs to life again in these isolated mining towns.

"Will you have peas or tomatoes or corn?" said the waiter to a man at my side. "Bring on the whole outfit," was the answer. Do you "catch on"? Remember that, in early times, emigrants to these mountains stopped in some town on the Missouri and laid in their supplies, an entire "outfit." The word is good. Huxley speaks of a man's "mental outfit." The miner uses the word in recollection of the old days of the emigrant trail. "Will you go to church with me to-night?" I said to a man in Leadville. "What church?" "The Episcopal." "I don't like that outfit." A place-miner said to me: "I've mined all the creeds to the bed-rock. I've sluiced them. I've panned them out. I never got a color." You "get the bulge" on that, I know.

All the world is here in a large mining-camp. You

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can study nature and man too, but the real man is often masked. The only pleasure-drive I have found time to take was in the company of a clergyman and a physician. We met a man dressed in a dog-skin coat and carrying a gun, a white-tailed ptarmigan, a sage-hen, and a porcupine. "Hello, old fellow!" said the preacher: "what have you got there?" "Can't you see?" said the hunter. Preacher and doctor expressed a wish to see the game. We dismounted, and I was a silent witness to the following conversation:—

Preacher to the doctor.—"Well, now, I suppose Darwin would say that these quills developed out of hairs."

Doctor.—"Yes, with about as much sense as anything else he has said."

Man in leather coat.—"Darwin has made no special study of the porcupine; but, if you have eyes, you can see for yourself. Can't you see fine hair on the nose? And can't you see that this hair passes, on the neck, into quill-like hair, and this on the back into *quills?*"

Doctor to preacher.—"Well, I've studied anatomy for a good many years, and I never saw anything in favor of Darwinism."

Leather-coat.—"What have you studied?"

Doctor.—"Men, animals, birds."

Leather-coat.—"Birds? Here is the sage-hen, do you understand that?"

Doctor.—"Very well."

Leather-coat.—"Then, you understand that this bird belongs to an order of grain-eaters, and consequently to an order distinguished for a large development of the gizzard. You understand that this sage-hen has left off the ways of its kindred, that it never touches a grain or seed, and eats only the soft leaves of the artemisia. You understand that, in consequence of this diet, the gizzard, not being called into use, has completely aborted. It is represented in a few shreds of muscle."

Doctor.—"How do you know?"

Leather-coat.—"From my own dissections."

Doctor.—"Where did *you* learn anatomy?"

Leather-coat.—"Well, sir, I learned a little anatomy under Jeffries Wyman, and more in these mountains under my own dissecting-knife."

Doctor to preacher.—"He's got a white ptarmigan."

Leather-coat.—"That is not the name of it."

Doctor.—"That's what Baird and Coues call it."

Leather-coat.—"Neither Baird nor Coues calls it by any such name. I happen to have in my pocket a letter from Prof. Baird, thanking me for my monograph on this very bird." He handed the letter to me.

I will not report this conversation any further. It turned now to human anatomy as bearing on the question of evolution, and my friend in the leather coat so entrapped the pretentious doctor that he left the field in deep humiliation. I asked the hunter where I could find him. I lost no time in searching him out, and for two weeks he was my daily companion. He is one of the most accomplished men I have seen in the State, a scholar, a naturalist, a geologist. He was associated with me in the examination of one of the most important mines of Leadville.

But this is not the type of man evolved in a mining-camp.

"Hello, Pat! How is business?" This was spoken by Brown to O'Brady. O'Brady had "struck it rich." He had secured an office, and was sitting before a desk, barbarously ornamented with silver and gold. Each ear held a pencil.

"Biznis!" replied the millionnaire. "Sivin pincils a day wouldn't do me biznis."

"How are you, Pat?" said another caller.

"Call me Mishter O. Brady, if you plaze."

"Hello, Pat!" said another.

"Call me *Col.* O. Brady, and it sha'n't cost you a cint ez long ez y'r in Lidville."

This is one type of the Bonanza man. Here is another:—

Smith keeps a corner grocery. His neighbors say that his whiskey is make by dissolving old rubber boots in aquafortis. He gives Jones an "outfit" to prospect. Jones makes a discovery. Smith sinks a shaft. The "expert," Ashburrer, examines and reports. "Millions are in sight." The mine sells. Smith has a million, and Jones a million. One cold morning, within a month, Jones is found dead under a stove in one of the lowest dens of Leadville. He had struck a "blind lead." He had "drifted on a barren contact."

How is it faring with Smith? A few months ago, he could not have commanded the support of a party for road-master. Now, he is the candidate of a great party for lieutenant-governor. A year has passed. He is shot down like a dog in his own fraudulent mine. *Finis.*

Here is another type:—

Bass is an ignorant loafer. His wife does something to win bread for the family by washing. One day, he strolls off with a gun. He is tired, and perhaps lazy. He is on a conical hill, and sits down on a block of trachyte. He does not know it; but he is sitting over what, perchance a million years ago, was the throat of a great geyser. Fragments of trachyte were falling from the walls into the throat; and the ascending vapors, from the laboratory deep below, were encrusting these fragments with telluride of silver and gold. Bass picks up a fragment, and the incrustation arrests his attention. He must have an assay, but he has no money and no credit. He strikes a bargain. The assayer makes the assay, and Bass chops for him a cord of wood. The throat of the old geyser is a great mine, and Bass is a millionnaire. Business at the washtub is suspended. Bass goes to Denver, and in one night loses in a gambling den eighty thousand dollars. Still, he is very rich. He goes to Connecticut, and flaunts a blazing diamond over unwashed linen and an unwashed person. But he is rich, and Bridgeport does him honor!

The Church should amend its ritual: not from sudden death, but "from sudden wealth, good Lord, deliver us."

These are types of the few called *fortunate.*

There is another picture. A mining-camp develops the very worst which is in human nature. The many are poor, despondent, desperate. The moral nature is dead or aborted. The most painful thing which confronts you in Leadville is the travesty of what all right-thinking men hold sacred. On the corner of a leading street, you will read a sign, "THE LITTLE CHURCH ROUND THE CORNER." It is a low gambling-whiskey saloon. Over another door in the same square, you read another sign, "SAINT ANNIE'S REST." It is a den of infamy.

The very fountains of life are polluted. The press is Satanic. I read in the Sunday morning *Democrat* a fulsome eulogy of "Pap Wyman's" gambling den. In the daily *Herald*, I saw a notice of Emerson's death, six lines. In the same paper was a column devoted to a street broil between the pimps of a State Street "dive."

Some of the most depraved men I have seen are from New England. The lowest men I have seen in the State are from Pike County, Missouri. "Now, seriously," said a clergyman to me, "where *do* you think man came from?" "Seriously then," I answered, "I think he came from Pike County, Missouri."

Enough. If you visit Colorado and go to Bonanza, call on my friend, "Busted Joe." If you go to Tornichi, drop in on Broncho Dave. If your journey extends to "O be Joyful," dine with mine host, Cayote Bill: his dinner will temper your joy with dyspepsia. If your studies lead you to Leadville and State Street, you can drop your plummet down into the slime of human depravity, and then philosophize, but do not tarry. "I hope," said a man to me, "that you are enjoying Leadville society." "Well, sir," I answered, "when I visit hell, it will not be for society, but to study the laws of combustion." If you ride through Ten Mile Canyon, hold on firmly to your immortal soul. Mine was jolted out. If this communication in thought or moral tone falls below my former contributions to *The Index*, you will remember this incident, and not ascribe the retrogression to a mining-camp.

W. D. GUNNING.

GUNNISON, COL., Sept. 1, 1882.

WILL-POWER IN DISEASE.

Editors of The Index:—

Two classes of patients are met with in daily practice, in either of which relief can be predicted at the hands of a careful attendant without consideration of the question of the form of treatment provided. The one class contains the more ignorant, and hence more superstitious persons, who, from the very outset of any illness, expect to obtain something miraculous from the attendant. The other class contains the better educated, and hence somewhat more reasonable persons, who know better as to the powers of drugs or attendants than to expect too much from either source. In the former class, the patients, having been impressed with the experience and ready sympathy of the attendant and their own utter ignorance of the case, readily throw the responsibility of the case on him, and begin to recover as soon as they are assured of the care and treatment called proper for their case. In the latter class, generally, some sort of theory of what is needed for their treatment is formed by the patients, which must either be accepted as true or demonstrated to be false and another substituted before any sympathy and mental coöperation can be expected, and no ready recovery.

In all cases, whether surgical, medical, or hysteric, wherein a full coöperation of the attendant's and patient's wills and minds can be secured, it is safe to say that recovery is quite possible, if, indeed, it is not assured; while, in a reverse mental condition, recovery is very unlikely to take place or relief be afforded even.

The will power in a patient must be stimulated when flagging, roused to life if dormant, or, if it is temporarily wholly wanting, another's strong will must be lent to aid the patient toward health again. Thus, the objective point of all treatment must primarily be to get the confidence and whole coöperation of the patient's will: then is half the cure accomplished, or the relief is even given already. Secondarily, wholly, is the treating of symptoms, which may seem to call for aid to hasten recovery at times. A moribund patient often can live by the rousing of the desire, the will, so to do; while, on the other hand, a desponding well person may die from no other real cause than the lack of this same will power to try to live.

This much can surely be asserted by any one even having a dozen or so years of experience in contact with sickness in varied form; and this, too, is enough to show that no danger to the welfare of the poor patients exists in aiming to establish this coöperation of will power *first*, and later, if active treatment is positively indicated, in *administering what can do as little harm as possible.* As no two patients are alike, or even the same patient is not alike in two attacks of the same disease or disorder, no test of the amount of good which can be accomplished in a given time by the stimulation of a sick person's will alone can be given, nor is one likely to be found. No test is needed other than the appearance of the patient to prove his condition, of course, whether better, worse, or stationary.

JOHN DIXWELL, M.D.

AN EXPLANATORY NOTE.

Editors of The Index:—

. If you think that your readers have not forgotten all about my article on the Liverpool Unitarian Conference, I should like to say a word in reply to two letters in your issue of June 22, which, by a strange oversight, I did not notice at the time.

Both writers, Mr. M. D. Conway and Mr. W. Mawer, find fault with my statement that in England "the Secularists, with a few individual exceptions, are an ignorant and prejudiced body of men, who give Sunday concerts and cheap lectures," and ask, in the first place, if lectures are any the worse for being cheap. In reply to this, I can only say, with much regret, that I used the word "cheap" in its incorrect sense, meaning by it commonplace, trivial, of slight importance. I think this incorrect use of the word is common in America. I did not refer to a low admission fee; for it is my experience that most of the Secularist lectures are given—from necessity, I fear—gratuitously.

I am very sorry that Mr. Conway found in my article anything like "a slap in the face" for his congregation at South Place. I must assure him that nothing was farther from my thought. Does it not seem to you that the statement, "We hardly know of a single satisfactory congregation representing reverent and cultivated free thought" expressly admits—as it was intended to do—of *one* exception? and Mr. Conway's congregation is the only exception that I know. I am glad if Mr. Conway knows of many more, but I cannot help thinking that his criticism confirms my original statement. He mentions Dr. Aveling, G. W. Foote, and Mrs. Besant: now, even if we admit that each of these persons is unobjectionable, what are they but "a few individual exceptions," precisely what I said? And I am sure that I need not point out to your readers the differences between Mr. Conway's work and Dr. Adler's. It is, too, quite unnecessary

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for Mr. Conway to recommend his own work to me. I spoke of it in my article as "admirable."

In reply to Mr. Mawer, three things: first, he incorrectly represents me as speaking of the Secularists of London instead of the Secularists of England,—a vast difference; secondly, I know that they *do* give Sunday concerts, and poor ones, too, for an advertisement to that effect appears almost every week in the local paper of the town where I am staying at present; thirdly, Mr. Mawer's own letter is additional testimony that the Secularists—I presume that he is one of them—are an ignorant body of men, for he calls my statement "a falsehood and a slander." Now, to impute without evidence deliberate untruth to a literary statement of fact or opinion is, to say the least, bad manners; and bad manners are nearly always the result of ignorance. H. N.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION IN NEWPORT.

Editors of The Index:—

An interesting discussion of the Sunday Question has taken place in Newport this summer. It was caused by the action of the Newport Casino in opening its doors to the public on Sunday evenings at reduced rates, so that all classes of the people could enjoy the fine music performed by Lander's orchestra on these occasions. An audience of from three to five hundred as respectable and well-behaved persons as those constituting the congregation of any church in the city assembled every Sunday evening during July and August.

Early in July, an attack on these concerts was begun by the Puritan element of the population in the columns of the local papers. The concerts were said to be an "outrage on the feelings of the moral and respectable portion of the community," and it was prophesied that they would lead to further and worse "desecration of the Sabbath." Sermons were preached by Rev. Mr. Van Dyke of the Congregational Church, and also by Rev. Mr. Magill of Trinity Episcopal Church, directed specially against these concerts; and three petitions were prepared to be presented to the Governor of the Casino, asking that the concerts be discontinued. The petition prepared for the clergy of the city was signed by every active clergyman in the city with one exception, that of Rev. C. W. Wendte of the Channing Memorial Church. The *personnel* of the signers to these petitions, however, show the weakness of the opposition rather than its strength, since they consist of twenty-one out of the three hundred heads of families resident in Newport in summer, and one hundred and nine out of nearly three thousand adult males of the city. An able sermon was preached by Rev. C. W. Wendte at the Channing Memorial Church on "A Rational View of the Sunday Question," in which he gave an historical account of the origin, progress, and decline of the Puritanical observance of Sunday, and advocated a freer use of it for the elevation of mankind in every way. H. E. A.

NEWPORT, Sept. 10, 1882.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE Rochdale plan of coöperative stores, which divides the profits among the purchasers instead of shareholders, is successful in England. In the aggregate, these establishments divided last year nearly 10 per cent. on the gross amount of their sales. This is equal to 60 per cent. on the share capital,—a much larger ratio than the private dealer realizes, the greater profit arising from the fact that the coöperative stores are not required to go to any expense to get or retain custom, and that their business is so regular that they need suffer very little from dead stock. In 1861 there were 150 English societies, with 48,184 members, doing an annual trade amounting to about seven and a half million dollars. In ten years, the number of members and sales increased fivefold, and the capital was nearly doubled. In the next decade, the membership doubled, the capital increased threefold, and the sales to more than half a million members amounted in 1880 to $100,000,000. These are the figures given in returns to the government of actual business. Scotland has a large number of societies in proportion to its population, but they do not seem to flourish in Ireland. Indeed, it is only in certain parts of England that they reach their highest development in communities where the members are well known to each other. The parliamentary return shows that counties where coöperation prevails have the smallest percentage of pauperism. Experiments in this country have not met with much encouragement except in Philadelphia.

AMONG the addresses delivered at the Watkins Glen Convention was one by the Secretary of the National Liberal League, in the interests of which the Convention was managed; and from this speech, which was a "prepared" one, read from the manuscript, we quote a few sentences, without comment:—

> There is Francis E. Abbot, who led off within the liberal household itself. Francis was the founder and the president of the National Liberal League; and he might have continued so to this day, had he been fit to survive. Abbot snapped and snarled at Mr. —— for two years; but see—the man recovered from the bite, the dog it was that died. I suppose there never was a really learned and capable writer so well advanced toward a firm, well-won, impregnable place in letters, as well as in Liberalism, who so suddenly fell out of line, and almost out of the memory of men, as Mr. Abbot has done; and it came about just from the little mistake of choosing the wrong road at the parting ways. Then, there was Mr. Underwood, second fiddle to Mr. Abbot while he was leader of the orchestra, but now sawing the same old *Index* catgut pretty much alone. He makes no better success of it; and the same abyss of Coventry and oblivion, for his treason to Liberalism, awaits him.... From being the popular lecturer he once was, he no longer "draws," as the actors say; and he has fallen down, down, until he has landed now in the seat on *The Index* rom which Mr. Abbot was bounced. He fills it perfectly, and, on the same line, will come to the same bad end. Then, there is Mr. R. C. Spencer, of Milwaukee; but I made my point on him in a letter which has been published, so I won't dwell. Next comes Tom Titcomb, of *Scribner's Monthly*. He characterized Mr. —— as a very bad man, and our reception of him in Chickering Hall as the "Apotheosis of Dirt." Well, within a year, Tom went into the presence of that God of his, who inspired the great, infallible Book; and he knows now, if he is as immortal as he used to think himself, which has got the most "Apotheosis of Dirt" in it, the Bible or the reception at Chickering Hall. It is the luckiest thing in the world for us infidels that the Bible is so magnificently obscene,—we can retort on them, "You're another," with such a crushing effect.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

ROSA BONHEUR is sixty-two years old.

MRS. E. D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH has written sixty-seven novels.

MR. O. B. FROTHINGHAM'S *Life of George Ripley* will be ready this fall.

MARK TWAIN is supporting a colored student at Lincoln University.

MR. W. S. KENNEDY has a brief paper on John Burroughs in the August *Californian*.

REV. MINOT J. SAVAGE is said to be preparing for the press a small volume of choice hymns for liberal congregations.

IT is sixty years since George Bancroft first began to collect materials for his still unfinished history of the United States.

MISS LENA GALL, A.M., Professor of Greek in the University of Des Moines, Iowa, has just been elected to fill the same position in the Central University of Iowa.

A PETITION for the loan of a white elephant, on his Majesty's own terms, has been sent to the king of Siam by Mr. Barnum, it is said, through the agency of the United States consul at Bangkok.

EVA BRIGGS, the Lawrence girl who was claimed to have been relieved of hip disease recently by the faith cure at Old Orchard, was taken to Danvers Insane Asylum soon afterward, crazed by her religious excitement.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. have just issued Dr. Felix L. Oswald's *Zoölogical Sketches*, a series of papers which originally ran through *Lippincott's Magazine*, and the first one-volume edition ever made of T. Buchanan Read's poems, in large octavo form, and illustrated.

MR. CHARLES WATTS, editor of the London *Secular Review*, writes us that his departure for this country has been unavoidably delayed, but that he will arrive early in October, and will give lectures throughout the country. He can be addressed at the office of *The Index*.

JOHANN HALBIG, the celebrated German sculptor, is dead, aged sixty-eight. He executed many commissions for Germany, Austria, Russia, and America. The marble piece called "The Bathers" and the allegorical statue, "North America," at New York, are fine specimens of his work.

THE Elmira *Gazette* says that William Peak, formerly manager of the Peak family of bell-ringers, was recently arrested at Goshen, N.Y., as a vagrant, and sent to jail for ten days. Ten years ago, he was worth $100,000, but now he is a pauper. Benevolence is said to be the cause of his poverty, as he was always liberal to a fault.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' wife, who lately died, was a remarkable woman. She was a free woman in Baltimore when he escaped from slavery, and met him in the North, joined his dangerous fortunes, and was his great support in all his days of trial. No wonder Mr. Douglass writes, after forty-four years with her, that "life cannot hold much for me, now that she has gone."

THE family of the late George Henry Lewes have presented the philosophical and scientific portions (over two thousand volumes) of his library to Dr. Williams' trustees, in order that the books may be available to special students at the library in Grafton Street, London. The only condition attaching to the generous gift is that the books be arranged on distinct shelves, and that each volume bear some record that it formed a part of the "George Henry Lewes Library."

SEVERAL sons of famous fathers are living on their parentage in London. *All the Year Round* is still "conducted by Charles Dickens." This magazine was the dead Dickens's personal property, and was left to the present Charles Dickens, with the proviso that the name should be placed at the head of its pages. Douglas Jerrold was the editor of *Lloyd's Weekly News;* and, when he died, the proprietors continued the family name by putting in the line, "Edited by Blanchard Jerrold." The editing is said to consist in the drawing of a salary. *Fun* is nominally edited by Tom Hood, a son of Thomas Hood, the famous humorist.

AMONG the American publications to be counted upon this fall, one of the first in costliness and literary importance is *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Nicholas Machiavelli*, translated from the Italian by Mr. Charles E. Detmold. This will be the first complete English translation of the diplomatic correspondence of Machiavelli; and, as he was engaged upon over twenty distinct and separate missions, it is needless to say that his official communications with his government on those occasions cannot fail to possess great historical interest and value. The work will make four goodly octavo volumes. The completion of Prof. Villari's admirable Life of Machiavelli this year makes this publication most opportune. We understand that Osgood & Co., of Boston, are to be the publishers.

DR. SCHLIEMANN is carrying on new excavations a Hissarlik, with the assistance of two eminent German architects. One hundred and fifty workmen are daily employed in laying bare the foundations of ancient cities. Two perfectly distinct cities have lately been discovered in the burnt stratum, the lower one resting on the large walls which have hitherto by mistake been attributed to the second city. Hissarlik now turns out to have been the acropolis of this lower burnt city, this being proved by the walls and the pottery, as well as by two vast brick buildings, one of them forty-three feet broad by one hundred feet long, the other twenty-three feet broad by less than one hundred feet long. These buildings seem to have been temples, a separate gateway, flanked by enormous towers, leading up to them. There are, besides, three or four large buildings, apparently dwelling-houses, but no smaller buildings. The city walls now stand out very imposing. They rest on a substructure of large blocks, thirty-three feet high, afterward superseded by great brick walls. All the treasures formerly found by Dr. Schliemann are now ascribed to the first burnt city. Dr. Schliemann has found in the temples copper nails of a very peculiar shape, weighing from a thousand to eleven hundred and ninety grammes. The second burnt city, being the third city from the rock, and hitherto identified with the Homeric Troy, turns out to have had but very small houses, and no lower town at all. Dr. Schliemann will continue his excavations till the beginning of August.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 133

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Emerson and the Church, Wm. J. Potter, ... 134
Scope of Philosophy, William I. Gill, ... 134
The Future, R. C. Adams, ... 135
A Remarkable Passage in Emerson's Poetry, W. S. Kennedy, ... 136

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 137

POETRY.
A Mid-day Dreamer, Sara A. Underwood, ... 137
Delusion: Who shall declare it? Emma Tuttle, ... 137
Goethe on America, B. W. B., ... 137

ESSAYS.
Mormonism and its Critics, T. W. Curtis, ... 138
Reflections by the Way, Mont E. Collins, ... 140

CORRESPONDENCE.
Faith in God against Faith in a Material Universe, Hutten, ... 140
Faith Cures, John Orvis, ... 141
Our Likes and Dislikes, Roderic Random, ... 141
Gleanings from Correspondents, ... 142
A Correction, S. J. Stewart, ... 142

SELECTIONS.
Herbert Spencer, ... 142

BOOK NOTICES.
Reminiscences, by Rev. T. Mozley, M.A., ... 142
The Choice of Books, by Charles F. Richardson, . . . 142
The Popular Science Monthly, Art Amateur, ... 143

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 143

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE *Debater* is the name of a new "Weekly Liberal Penny Newspaper," published at Sydney, New South Wales. The numbers that have reached us contain articles well worth reading. We notice that the *Debater* has reprinted in its columns the lecture by Mr. F. E. Abbot, entitled "A Study of Religion,—the Name and the Thing," delivered in Horticultural Hall, Boston, in 1873.

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, abuses the great European liberals who in sentiment and purpose belong to the same class of men with the founders of the American Republic. By so doing, it renders more and more clear the animus of the Church which it so ably champions on American soil. But, whatever be the animus of the *Review's* Church in this Republic, its fate is being settled in the countries of Latin Europe, where it belongs.

MR. TALMAGE stated, in a recent sermon, that, "of the twenty most celebrated infidels in Great Britain in our day, sixteen have come back to Christ, trying to undo the blatant mischief of their lives,—sixteen out of the twenty." We do not suppose that Mr. Talmage does us the honor to peruse our columns, but we should highly value his list of the "twenty most celebrated infidels in Great Britain," both for its important statistical use, and for the clear definition of "infidelity" and "coming back to Christ," from the Orthodox standpoint, which it would doubtless afford, and which is a real desideratum.

MAYOR LOW, of Brooklyn, evidently believes in practical civil service reform. "I am admonished," he writes in a letter he has sent to each of the commissioners and heads of departments of that city, "by many signs that the fall political campaign is about to begin. Be so good as to assure the employés of your department that their salaries are intended to compensate them for faithful service to the city; that, failing in that respect, no amount of contributions for party purposes will avail them; on the other hand, that a refusal to contribute will not imperil their situations. In other words, they are in the same condition in this particular as the employés of a commercial firm. I look to you to protect them in this respect."

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston *Herald*, writing from the United States Hotel, Saratoga, says Herbert Spencer "is rarely seen about the hotel, but he takes drives with Prof. Youmans, who resided here for many years and is thoroughly at home. Mr. Spencer is not handsome, but he impresses one at a glance as being a man of unusual force. His eyes are very keen and searching, and the small glasses do not hide their fire. His forehead is broad and massive, and his features are as clear cut as a cameo. He wears the regulation side-whiskers, somewhat after the fashion of George William Curtis. He is animated in conversation; but, even upon the trivial commonplace topics which always creep into informal talk, he gives you the idea that he is, above all, a man of thought, with a keen insight and power for broad generalization."

MR. CHARLES WATTS, editor of the London *Secular Review*, whose name is identified with the free-thought movement in England, and who has the reputation of being an able and eloquent lecturer, in some farewell words to the readers of his journal says: "Having received many private invitations to visit America, I have at last decided to do so. I go upon my own responsibility, unassisted by any bureau; depending upon the goodness of my cause and my own energy and self-reliance. What I have achieved in this country I intend to try to achieve throughout the States. Various friends in New York, Boston, and other American cities, have kindly promised me their hearty co-operation. I shall therefore leave this country with every hope of success and determination to represent English secularism in America as I have hitherto expounded it here."

DR. MONROE of the Indianapolis *Age*, who was a surgeon in the Union Army during the Rebellion, says he is constantly receiving letters asking for certificates that will assist the writers in obtaining pensions. He publishes a letter from one who writes him, "I hain't forgot the time that you tride to pull some teeth for me. . . . I am trying for a penchen," prefacing the letter with the remark that the "writer of the following will rank in that large class where cases need a poweful sight of crooked swearing to get through." The genial doctor adds: "The laws made by political demagogues to help them into office encourage everybody who was in the service to apply for a pension, and the result is that every frivolous ailment is set up as a plea. The idea of granting a pension for physical inability, ache, or ailment occurring twenty years after the war is over, is absurd enough, though an occasional trouble may have its primary cause considerably behind its development. The writer of the following deserves a pension for his candor. He is much mistaken about the tooth-pulling, we never having been at the place (only to pass through it) where he says it occurred. But he doesn't say the pulling was a success."

THE *Commonwealth* says that the Bishop meeting in this city "had a conspicuous element of Congregationalism in it," and that "subsequently not a few of the caucuses hereabouts looked as though orthodox prayer-meetings had been adjourned from the church vestries to the town halls." To corroborate these tactics, the following statement is quoted from the Worcester *Spy*: "An emissary of the Bishop committee, who is a member of the present Legislature from Worcester, has, as we learn from more than one source, been laboring in the county towns for his candidate, seeking to influence the pastors and members of the Orthodox Congregational churches by the assurance that Mr. Bishop is active and zealous in that denomination of Christians. A Clinton correspondent says the success of the Bishop cause in that town is due to a visit which a Worcester deacon paid to the orthodox minister. As a result, the church members turned out and secured a Bishop delegation." "We have," adds the *Commonwealth*, "the profoundest respect for a man's religious convictions when honestly held and faithfully lived up to, but only the supremest contempt at any attempt, under our institutions, to bring differences in religious belief into the arena of politics. The men who will do it have but a poor conception of the beneficence of our government."

SAYS our Unitarian neighbor, the *Christian Register*, "The Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston showed an unexpected and commendable liberality in inviting B. F. Underwood, Esq., of *The Index*, and the Hon. Paul A. Chadbourne to discuss the question 'Evolution: Is what is proved about it antagonistic to Biblical Christianity and Evangelical Religion?' Both sides were ably presented. Mr. Underwood aimed to show that the account in Genesis is hopelessly irreconcilable with the doctrine of astronomic and geological evolution. Prof. Chadbourne defended the inspiration of Genesis, and fell back upon the theory of six creative epochs. Additional interest was given by the presence of Prof. Asa Gray, who said that 'settled scientific belief must control religious belief,' and thought that the really important question is: 'Is science in its results antagonistic to Christianity? I do not believe that, when all has been done that can be done, faith in the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ will have been materially shaken, although some cherished beliefs will have been given up.' Among these will undoubtedly be the scientific authority of the Mosaic cosmogony. As a piece of literature, it will always be interesting; but no device like that of Prof. Chadbourne, which stretches the word 'day' into an indefinite period, can restore the infallibility of the Mosaic account. The position of Prof. Gray is safe, because, while equally religious, it is much more rational."

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EMERSON AND THE CHURCH.

A month ago, the *Catholic Review* had an article entitled "The Errancy of Emerson," founded on a remark made by Dr. Bartol in his address on Emerson before the Concord School of Philosophy. As reported in the Boston *Herald* and thence quoted by the *Review*, the remark was: "Emerson feared the excesses of radicalism, and went to meeting regularly in his last days. I count it a spiritual assent in him, not an intellectual assent." With, perhaps, some condensation, this is substantially what Dr. Bartol said, as we remember his words. When we heard him make the statement about Mr. Emerson's attending meeting, we foresaw that it would be one of those things which the conservative religious press would seize with avidity for propping up the groundless notion that the author of "The Over-Soul" and "Self-reliance" and the "Divinity School Address" had recanted in his old age the opinions which he had advocated through his long public career. If Dr. Bartol had known all the circumstances concerning Mr. Emerson's attendance of church in the last year or two of his life, he would hardly have mentioned the fact; for then it would not have served the purpose for which he used it, and the editors of the *Catholic Review* and other journals would have been saved from writing articles and constructing theories on insufficient premises. The remark as made by Dr. Bartol was one of those partial statements of truth which are as misleading and mischievous in their results as error.

It is true that Mr. Emerson went to meeting quite regularly in his last days. But it is also true that he did not resume this habit until his memory had become so much weakened with regard to places, times, and occasions that he evidently had little realization of where he was going or what he was doing. From some facts that have come to light since his death, it is clear that his mental powers were more impaired than was generally understood by the public. We are told, for instance, that he would sit for a long time amusing himself with looking at children's picture-books, and that members of the family took him with them when going out as they might have taken a child,—partly because they were anxious lest he might wander off alone, and partly because, though he made no complaint and was always sweet and patient, they feared that time hung heavily upon him, and they saw that it entertained him to be with them. So he went to church with them as he went elsewhere. But a session of the Summer School of Philosophy or a lecture or a church service were manifestly all one to him. On going with them to meeting, he once remarked that he had always been in the habit of going there, showing that he did not discriminate. Certainly, the going to church under such circumstances can hardly be regarded as giving a spiritual more than an intellectual assent to the service.

It may be sad to contemplate the obscuration of such a fine intellect; and yet it is not wholly so, since the beautiful serenity and simplicity with which he bore the infirmity are in perfect harmony with the philosophical lesson of his whole life. But, certainly, it is vastly better that all the facts of mental deterioration should be known than that upon the acts and sayings of his last days should be constructed an argument to prove that he had essentially changed his beliefs.

Yet it should be added that Mr. Emerson has never opposed the Church *as such*. He believed in religion most profoundly, and appears to have continued to believe that it might yet create for itself some fitting representative embodiment in society. He had gone out of all existing churches because they seemed to him to keep the form rather than the spirit and substance of religion; nay, to *suppress* the spirit and substance for the sake of preserving the form intact. But with him spirit and substance were so supreme and all-dominant that he could not question their right and power both to break and to make any forms that the exigencies of human progress might demand. He left the old churches that he might help to build a new one on a broader basis, with sincerer speech and action. The relation of humanity to the creative power and purpose of all being was the central idea of his teaching; and this is an idea on which an institution corresponding to the Church, but free, progressive, and rational in its methods, may find ample support.

As to any change in Mr. Emerson's religious views in his latter years toward a more orthodox position, this is a matter that ought to have been set at rest by the explicit assertion of his son, Dr. Emerson, in the letter that was widely printed two years and a half ago, and the writing of which was authorized by Mr. Emerson himself. The letter denied that there had been any change. It is related also that, when this matter was once brought to Mr. Emerson's attention, he pointed to a set of his books on the library shelves, with the simple remark, "There are my views." And there the world will look, and not to any of his interpreters, to find his thoughts and beliefs on the great themes he has treated. He was the prophet of a new era in religion. And though in his last days, when age had enfeebled his intellect, he went again to the church of his fathers, his books, the reading of which there as Scripture lesson would probably still be regarded as sacrilege, will be read among the Bibles of that Church of the Future which he has helped to found.

WM. J. POTTER.

SCOPE OF PHILOSOPHY.

As a sphere or method of intellectual inquiry, science is limited and imperfect. It does not profess to be absolutely ultimate in its explanation of phenomena. Even those who affirm that the orderly connection of phenomena is the utmost possible goal of knowledge admit that this does not satisfy the human mind, and that our mental interrogations always transcend this scientific boundary. They say we ought to be content to stop here, but we are not; and positivism affords no restraint and no argument to detain us here except its assertion that all attempts to advance beyond will be futile. But, as there is an inextinguishable desire to advance, the wish will here as everywhere be father to the thought. Men will hope and endeavor, as they always have done. Nor is this blind or futile. Intelligence will ask every intelligible question, and the question is itself a benefit because it is the action of intelligence; and no proof can ever be furnished that the answer will never come, for such a proof would be the answer, since it would be an explanation of the question, so as to give to the mind an ultimate intellectual satisfaction.

While science seeks only the lexical connections of phenomena, the intellect always asks further into the nature, origin, and cause of these phenomena and of the order which they observe. This is the ultimate inquiry; and it is philosophical or metaphysical, in contradistinction from the merely and properly scientific. Philosophy or metaphysics thus constitutes the rationale of all science, pursuing its investigations beyond phenomena as such, and furnishes an answer to all ulterior questions till no further self-consistent question remains possible. While this pursuit is taken by some as unfruitful and inadmissible because beyond the powers of the human mind, it is by others confounded with science, and under that name it is deviously and haltingly prosecuted.

In defence of the thesis that science supports theism, writers often argue that we know as much concerning God and the human soul as we do concerning matter and gravitation, because we know none of these things in themselves, and that science judges of each in the same way and with equal authority, from its phenomenal manifestations. Now, science proper forms no judgment at all on this question. It simply traces out the ganglia of lexical connections of phenomena, whether they be considered as subjective or objective; and what they are in themselves is a question which science proper never raises. At the very utmost, it is satisfied to determine qualities and their phenomenal relations to each other; and that is but another way of saying that its quest is lexical phenomena only.

Now, this question is no mere logomachy. For, in the first place, it involves a point of such vast importance as the differentiation of science and philosophy or metaphysics,—a differentiation which is very necessary, and toward which all modern thought is tending. Some who are really working in this direction have for their designed object the rejection of metaphysics as the old clothes of science; while others seek thence to give to metaphysics the solitary supreme place which belongs to it, as *the science of the sciences*.

In the second place, this confusion of science and metaphysics confuses argument and discussion and all the different parties to the discussion, as there are some who will pay no respect to any argument, whether in the name of science or metaphysics, which affects to transcend the lexical connections of phenomena, whether as to matter or spirit, if any distinction is to be made.

In the third place, that doctrine that we can never know a thing in itself involves a questionable system of metaphysics, not to be assumed against opponents. It is a contradiction in terms to say that the thing in itself is aught else than quality (which is known). Beyond quality, nothing can be known or conceived, and so all affirmation is void; and, if quality is not the very essence and substance of things, we are landed ultimately in empty phenomenalism and all sorts of inevitable inconsistencies. If it is quality, it is knowable in its action and effects. To assume the contrary of this, therefore, as scientific dicta, is very extraordinary. Science cannot be thus overloaded, obscured, and disguised. It must be left in its simplicity, and justly exhibited as free from all metaphysical elements.

On the other hand, if there is a metaphysics or ultimate philosophy of things, or an attempt thereat, it must be discriminated from science. We must therefore insist on the distinction we have indicated. Philosophy seeks an ultimate exposition of substance and cause, which is ulterior, and the only question which is ulterior, to the tracing of phenomenal forms and connections. This ulterior inquiry is conceivable and intelligible, and we cannot go beyond it. This is the extreme limit of thought, and the beginning as well as the end of metaphysics or philosophy. We can never go beyond phenomena to the unqualitative, for there is no such thing; but we can show the ultimate logical implications of known phenomena till all conceivable logical inquiries are answered. Whether this attempt will only bring us into a region of inexplicable contradiction, as Kant, Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer affirm, is not for us here to determine; though I will add dogmatically that I do not think it will, if we take the right track or pursue a proper method.

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Definite and simple as is the object or scope of metaphysics, as I have described it, it is broader than is generally conceived, so that it covers many questions which are discussed and dogmatized on by those who make it a practice to decry metaphysics. Discussions in connection with material science are, very frequently, transcending material science. All discussions on the nature and ultimate constitution of matter do this. On this point there are two very distinct questions raised: first, whether matter in its intrinsic nature is a force; second, whether its ultimate form is atomic. Both these questions, especially the first, are purely metaphysical, though constantly discussed by scientists. They are supra-scientific, seeking not phenomenal co-ordination, but phenomenal preordination, ultimate nature and cause.

The doctrines of the unity (universal) of natural force, its absolute conservation, persistence, and indestructibility, are metaphysical conclusions. They are not known by the senses or by any experience; and, as they are not the expression of possible phenomena, they are not generalizations of phenomena. In phenomena, we have no absolute beginning and ending. These are all related to each other in a series. To go beyond this is to rise from science into metaphysics. Even the physical experiments of Mayer, Grove, and Joule, so far as they sought anything more than the *law* of associated phenomena, were in spirit and object metaphysical, not merely scientific. Indeed, they sought force and the unity of force as well as law, and concerning these they made asseverations as the result of their observations. All our profounder physicists are, in fact, to a degree metaphysicians, because they generally endeavor to transcend mere law as such, and penetrate to force and substance as such, and *as the source and explanation of the law.*

Distinctively, the question of causation as aught other than lexical antecedence is metaphysical. None of the senses and no faculty of experience tells of such a cause or of aught but phenomena and their local and temporal connection, not whether they operate on each other. The senses cannot even raise or entertain the question, because they are only imaging faculties. Here, on this basis, Hume was right. If sense is the source of all our knowledge and also the supreme or ultimate criterion of truth, we know nothing of force or cause other than as lexical coëxistence and succession.

Much of the operation of what has been called the "scientific imagination" is only another name for a metaphysical process of mind. So we are told plainly that the human intellect "wishes to get behind the phenomena of the external world and learn their causes and connections." Yet long discussions in the spirit of this sentence are published as "Fragments of *Science*." Philosophy is evolved out of science, and, where the latter terminates, the former begins its sublimer and profounder career; and it is a great injury to have the two spheres confounded, especially if that leads to a systematic depreciation of the nobler course and agency, as it has done so generally in these days.

WILLIAM I. GILL.

THE FUTURE.

Biblical scholars are generally agreed that there is no indisputable evidence in the entire books of the Old Testament that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and a future life was known to the Jews of those days. It is an idea which gradually gained currency among philosophers, and was emphasized by Jesus and the apostles. It was not revealed by them, for it was believed before their day. If, when it was made known, it was received by way of direct revelation from God, it may rightly be asked why God, who talked with men, kept such needful knowledge carefully concealed for so many ages, and let his friends, the men after his own heart, live and die in ignorance of so important a truth, virtually deceiving them as to the facts of their existence. But the late attainment of the idea is explained, if we accept the theory that it is a higher intellectual conception than the earlier races of men were capable of exercising, and has been developed from the advancing mind of man. As to the proof of its truth, we must say that there is none beyond the fact of its belief: there is no evidence of a future life that will bear the test of examination; but there are strong analogies in nature and an intense yearning in man which stimulate the *hope* that death does not end all. Hamlet's soliloquy expresses this argument. The pictures of heaven given in the New Testament are the fond imaginations of the writers of that age, and are not acceptable to the present generation, who have no more delight in the prospect of white robes and harps and the song of Moses and the Lamb than in the land of Watts' conception, "where congregations ne'er break up and Sabbaths have no end." Each age and clime makes heaven for itself. The modern authoress changes the harp into a piano; the tropical negro looks to a cool, shady grove; and the Esquimaux believes in a land of sunshine. These imaginations may do no harm, and may even be beneficial and comforting, if kept in the right place; but when they exalt the world to come over this world, as the rightful object of our concern, they are hurtful. The Bible teaches that this world is condemned of God on account of the sin of the man he made; and his long-suffering patience is gathering out a few favored elect ones to dwell in a new heaven and new earth, when he has destroyed the present abode of man and the vast majority of its inhabitants. As in the days of Noah, so it is to be at the coming of the Lord. Consistent Christians, therefore, "love not the world, neither the things that are in the world," and ignore all attempts to improve what God has cursed, which cannot be regenerated by any efforts of man. They teach that Christians should not engage in politics nor hold office nor seek wealth nor crave pleasure, but, with loins girded and lamps trimmed and burning, should wait for their Lord. The majority of Christians, however, are not of this mind, and believe in making the best of both worlds, though any candid reader of the New Testament must see that they are a different order of Christians from the original sect, and have virtually evolved a new religion to suit the times.

The apostles and early Christians were looking for the speedy return of Christ, and therefore taught contempt of the world. Their hope being false, as is that of those who now wait for his appearance, their conclusions are therefore wrong. A good old man, who spent his days in prayer and tract distribution, was admiring the noble ship in which I was about to embark on a voyage around the world. "Yes," I said, "we hope to have some good times in her."

"Ah, my dear brother," said he, "we can't take any pleasure in this world that has crucified our Lord."

His view of life was similar to that of the "dear brother" who shut his eyes in the cars, lest the beauties of this world should distract his thoughts from Christ and the age to come. They considered inventions and arts as man's effort to improve what God had condemned. Though Christians generally may now disavow these pietistic views, they cannot deny their Scripturalness; and consistency should lead them to follow them, or else admit that the New Testament is not their infallible guide. These views of the future life, as being so immeasurably the object of our concern, discourage efforts for the increase of knowledge and invention or the improvement of the material condition of man, the saving of his soul being all that is worth attention, since the world and all in it is to be burned up. Some writers maintain that any hope of immortality is injurious, as necessarily distracting thought and effort from the present life; but it is not clear that this must be so, if it is recognized as only a hope, the realization of which is not so definite as to warrant the engrossment of the faculties in its contemplation. If we make the best of this world, when another comes we shall find we have made the best possible preparation for it. Spinoza says, "The proper study of a wise man is not how to die, but how to live."

If we never awake from our dreamless sleep, we shall never know our loss. Life is a burden to most people. Their happiest moment is when they are just falling into sleep; and they usually awake with a sigh, as the consciousness of another day's care comes to the mind. Some writer has said man's happiest hours are those which he passes in childhood and in sleep. Why, then, should eternal sleep be so dreaded? The rational mind must reject the idea of a perfect future state, for there must ever be progress upward. Life must therefore always be in some sense a struggle; and, though ambition prompts the desire to engage in it, yet the weary laborer need not shudder at the thought of eternal unconscious rest, and may "sink to sleep" more peacefully than though agitated with thoughts of angels and uncounted glories.

But, if this hope has grown in man as his intelligence has increased, it has been founded upon fact or has been useful. If it is not true, when it ceases to be useful, it will be discarded; and, if it is true, the demand which man's mind now makes for evidence, without which no belief can much longer exist, will be met by proof, which his advancing powers will elicit from nature. If there is any light to be gained on this subject from the phenomena of "Spiritualism," it will in time be made plain. Immortality is one of the mysteries which we may not deny, but which as yet we do not know. If it cannot be positively denied and there is therefore a possibility of its truth, it is not irrational to hope for it.

The aim of life should therefore be to assist in the subjection of the laws of nature to man's use, and to improve the moral, intellectual, and social condition of man. Instead of endeavoring to convert men to a belief in theories which will make them happy in a hereafter, of which we know nothing and which men through the ages have conceived of differently, according to their own temperaments, we should aid the progress, which history shows has slowly but surely been going on, of making man the master of this world. The application of steam, gas, electricity, and some only suspected forces to the comfort and power of man, offers an unbounded field to the man of science or the practical mechanic; while the philosopher and theologian can turn their devotion and credulity from the myths of darker ages to the discovery of psychological laws, which hinted to us in the phenomena of "Spiritualism," suggest a vast enlargement in the range of man's intellectual powers. They can study the problem of moral restraint without the supposition of divine edicts, the methods of raising the profits of labor to a more just proportion to those of capital, the abolition of the selfish, demoralizing, and partial laws of so-called "protection of industry," which makes each nation the commercial enemy of every other, and robs

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its many citizens for the benefit of the few, and by the promotion of free trade and the intercourse of reciprocal commerce all over the world develop the bonds of peace which will forever chain the demon of war and bind all men into a universal brotherhood. The Christian, instead of being "a man of one book," and that a compilation of the traditions of a credulous age, will become a student of the volumes of nature, and learning its facts will discover its laws. Winwood Reade in *The Martyrdom of Man* says: "There is a great enterprise in which men have always unconsciously been engaged, but which they will pursue with method as an avocation and an art, which they will devoutly adopt as a religious faith, as soon as they realize its glory. It is the conquest of the planet on which we dwell, the destruction or domestication of the savage forces by which we are tormented and enslaved." He says, when men made fire serve them, the first victory was won. "But we can conquer Nature only by obeying her laws, and we must first learn what they are."

If the Bible predictions as to the world's future are to be classed with the innumerable myths and legends that pervade the literature of all people, what does Science teach us? She knows nothing of the future save what is taught by the analogy of the facts of the past. What has been will be: that is all that she can say. She finds in the past a slow, painful process of improvement going on in all animate Nature; and she assumes that it will go on, and things that improve forever must in time approach perfection. But she finds evidences of a limit to the existence of worlds, and sees a possibility of such changes in condition as to lead to the extinction of all life on this globe, though vast ages must elapse before this result could ensue from the orderly progression of causes which have worked in the past.

The pre-millennial scheme of the speedy advent of Christ to miraculously perfect the earth, after destroying the evil men in it, and then in a thousand years burning the world itself up, and the post-millennial theory of the gradual but not far distant conversion of the world to Christianity, and a thousand years of blessedness followed by the appearance of Christ to destroy the world, find no support from the records of what has been. No one can say it may not be so, but there are the best of reasons for believing it will not be so. God has never told us it would be thus; and the story which many believe came from God is so differently interpreted under "the infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost," by those to whom the revelation is supposed to have been given, that no two men can agree as to the details of fulfilment, and as to the event of greatest concern, the appearance of Christ. Believers in his coming are at least a thousand years apart in their reckonings. When God gives us a revelation, he will be likely to tell us something; but a tale of war-horses, and trumpets, and vials of wrath, and beasts, which most learned men tell us mean great events of past history, but disagree as to what they are, the beast being Antiochus Epiphanes or Nero or the Pope or the Church of Rome or Louis Napoleon,—and which other equally wise men declare refer to events that have not yet happened, the beast being a wicked ruler yet to appear,—this tale seems to a rational mind to be more probably the poetic imagining of the religious prophets of a less enlightened age than the present, than the instruction from God as to what man is to expect. It is impossible that the God which the nineteenth century can alone conceive of should *reveal* what is unintelligible. A noted orthodox theologian has said, "The study of the Book of Revelation either finds or leaves a man crazy"; and yet at its beginning the Holy Ghost says, "Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of the prophecy."

If things are to go on, what then may we expect? We are warranted in believing that the forces of nature will become the servants of man. Time and space will be almost annihilated by aerial flight, talking on beams of light, electric and pneumatic despatches, and other modes of movement and communication. New motive powers and machinery will abolish the *curse* of labor. Chemistry will create cheap food. Social science will distribute wealth more equally, banish land monopolies, let producers get a greater benefit than they now do in comparison with the gains of the capitalist. Muscle, and brains, and money will share results in more equitable proportions. But what of sin? Of what use is all this, while it may yet be said, "Only man is vile"? History certainly shows that man is less vile than he was once; and, if he has improved, we are warranted in hoping he will "go on unto perfection." The telegraph, the newspaper, and the high moral sentiment which is the standard of society now, bring to notice a multitude of crimes that in old times would not have gained publicity, both from the lack of facilities for publication and the prevailing lax morality which would have ignored them. These increased exhibits of sin cause some to mourn over the degeneracy of the times, and to sigh for a return of the good old days. If they will read the histories of those days, they will find cause for gratitude that they do not date their births any earlier. Governments, all will admit, have improved; and, as laws are the expressions of the wills of the governed, it follows that men collectively, and therefore individually, have improved. If society is better, man is better. The social conditions of the Middle Ages or the Roman Empire or the days of Abraham were morally inferior to those of to-day; and though, individually, man's morality does not seem to have kept pace with the material improvement of his circumstances, it must be admitted that it has advanced, and therefore probably will advance.

Lewes in *Problems of Life and Mind* says: "Among the many strange servilities mistaken for pieties, one of the least lovely is that which hopes to flatter God by despising the world and vilifying human nature. The author of creation is the only author who is supposed to be flattered by the lavish assurance that his works are imbecile." While men insist on styling themselves vile worms of the dust, they not only insult the God who they believe made them, but they retard the progress of man.

Man's conception of Deity is the evidence of the aspiration of his nature and of the goal toward which his energies and desires are directed. The qualities and powers which men have most desired to attain to, they have attributed to God; and the progress of humanity in each age is toward the character and ability of its God. Man's thought of God, therefore, becomes a prophecy of his own destiny, and in ages to come man may rise to the possession of the attributes of his present God. What intimations we already have of this,—travel by steam, aerial voyages, talking by telegraph, telephone, and photophone, listening with the microphone! Time and space are being annihilated by these inventions, which convey a suggestion of the omnipresence of man.

The phenomena of mind-reading, clairvoyance, and second-sight, may be the germs of a rising ability which may increase to a capacity for what seems to us infinite knowledge, and man will become omniscient.

The application of chemistry to the arts, of mechanical invention to manufactures, of electricity, animal magnetism, will-power, and other physical and psychic forces to the general necessities of men, give us a foreshadowing of a future omnipotence.

When man thus becomes relatively omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent, and a corresponding moral advance and "love to man" are gained, his present ideal of God will be in a great measure realized; and the true "coming of the Lord" to earth, for which all ages have hoped and waited, will become a fact.

R. C. ADAMS.

A REMARKABLE PASSAGE IN EMERSON'S POETRY.

"I see the wreath, I hear the songs
Lauding the Eternal Rights,
Victors over daily wrongs:
Awful victors, they misguide
Whom they will destroy,
And their coming triumph hide
In our downfall or our joy:
They reach no term, they never sleep,
In equal strength through space abide;
Though, feigning dwarfs, they crouch and creep,
The strong they slay, the swift outstride:
Fate's grass grows rank in valley clods,
And rankly on the castled steep,—
Speak it firmly, these are gods,
All are ghosts beside." —*Voluntaries.*

No words ever written are better worth binding, like a talisman, on the heart of the moral hero than these. They are as remarkable for their powerful condensation of diction as they are for the grand idea embodied in them. The essence of all morality is in them, and they form the keystone in the arch of scientific philosophy. You have there Herbert Spencer in a nutshell. How like a beacon their stern and steady light flames out over the moral and political rottenness of this land! One seems to hear throughout the lines the thunder of invisible but resistless wheels. Fools never hear this sound; or, if they do, they stop their ears against it. I know young men who have recently gone into the ministry: they are acting lies every day; they have sold themselves; they are lost. Apparently, they are the successful ones. They would never tremble at the sound of the approaching wheels of the "awful victors," even if they heard them. Ninety-nine men out of a hundred would choose to rot in eternal oblivion rather than suffer deeply for the truth. The progress of thought is so rapid now that, even in one man's lifetime, he, if he is false to his soul, will find his hypocrisy unmasked and himself the laughing-stock and scorn of the generation next below his.

The imagery of Emerson's poem is strikingly beautiful. Somewhere afar in the invisible order of things, he sees a company of shining ones with garlands and songs for the Eternal Rights,—the sleepless ones whose sway reaches through all space, the swift-striding Eumenides, the crouching dwarfs, the all-powerful. These Eternal Rights are nothing less than Fate, or God, whose grass of oblivion grows over all the past, waving in rank luxuriance over crumbled cities and castles with all their pomp and woe.

Right, Fate, or God, hides its triumph

"In our downfall or our joy."

That is, when we are depressed with the thought that our sacrifice for truth has been in vain, when time-servers laugh us to scorn, when "the nerves prick and tingle and all the wheels of being are low," it is then that we may be assured that the eternal victors are on their way. And they will triumph, whether we live to see it or not.

They also hide their triumph in our joy. That is, when we are rejoicing over an apparent gain obtained at the expense of right, when the world applauds, when all seems calm and safe, then, too, the Eternal Rights are moving irresistibly toward us to "redress the eternal scales."

W. S. KENNEDY.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

MR. J. H. CLIFFORD, of North Andover, to whom with others reference was made in our article last week on the "Relation of Radical Unitarians to the National Unitarian Conference," writes promptly to say that, though he has several times attended the Conference at Saratoga, and his name has been publicly announced as a delegate thereto, he has never attended as a member nor taken any part in the proceedings except as a listener. Not being able to subscribe conscientiously to the Constitution, he has never felt that he had any moral right to membership. And he "quite agrees with the tenor of our article." The society, however, of which he is the minister, chooses to be represented in the Conference; and, under that provision of the Constitution by which the ministers of societies are *ex officio* delegates, the clerk of his society has included and published his name as one of its delegates. To his society, Mr. Clifford has, doubtless, made his position perfectly plain; for he is not one who says one thing and acts another. His sincerity and candor are above suspicion. But, since he now sees that misapprehension as to his position may have naturally resulted elsewhere, he adds, "The one thing which I should now confess I ought to have done was to prevent the printing of my name in a list of delegates to a Conference in which I never acted or was willing to act as a delegate, and of which I never regarded myself as in any sense a member or willing to be a member." This is frank and manly. W. J. P.

ALL associations or individuals desirous of arranging for lectures by B. F. Underwood should address him at this office immediately, in order that he may make up his route to advantage. He will go as far West as Kansas, starting late in the fall, and lecturing in cities and towns in which his services are wanted.

"MORRIS HEMINGWAY and N. H. Frisbie, of New Haven," says the Meriden, Conn., *Evening Press*, "charged with violating the Sunday law in running the steamer 'Ivemia,' have been discharged. Judge Studley decided that, since the poor people needed these cheap excursions, the 'Ivemia' had done a work of necessity and mercy."

THE friends of Mr. Francis E. Abbot — Dr. Abbot, we should have said — who admire his rare ability for philosophical speculation on the one hand, and his power of clear statement on the other, will be glad to know that copies of his article on "Scientific Philosophy," to be published in the London *Mind* for October, will be for sale at *The Index* office, No. 3 Tremont Place, next month. —*Christian Register.*

WE would call the attention of our readers to the article by Mr. T. W. Curtis, in the present number of *The Index*, on the Mormon question. As Mr. Curtis was born and bred in the Mormon Church, and thus writes from an inside acquaintance with its system, his views have a special interest. And though he has now come out of it, and no longer believes in its principles or methods, he wants to see justice done to what he still regards as its merits.

NEXT week will be printed in *The Index* the address of B. F. Underwood, on "The Relation of Evolution to Biblical Creation and Evangelical Religion," given in this city September 11, by request, before the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston and vicinity, together with revised and authorized reports of the addresses delivered on the same occasion by President P. A. Chadbourne and Prof. Asa Gray. The same number of *The Index* will contain contributions from Moncure D. Conway, Miss M. A. Hardaker, Edwin D. Mead, and other able writers.

MR. JAMES KAY APPLEBEE will give a course of six lectures under the auspices of the Free Society, Dorchester, Mass., in Lyceum Hall, commencing Friday evening, October 6. The following are the subjects: October 6, Longfellow: The Poetical Man; October 13, John Wesley: The Man and his Work; November 10, Emerson: The Man, the Thinker, and the Poet; November 24, John Bunyan, Thinker and Teacher, Preacher and Pilgrim; December 8, Romeo and Juliet: A Dream of Love; December 22, Types of Womanhood from the writings of Charles Dickens. The proceeds will be contributed toward supporting the Free Society which is under the charge of Clara M. Bisbee, and deserves the encouragement of all who are interested in the Free Religious movement. Tickets for sale at *The Index* office and at the music store of Oliver Ditson & Co.

"IT is very difficult," writes S. J. Stewart in the *Iconoclast*, "to make some men understand that Liberalism does not mean animalism, and that true Liberals are seeking, among other things, a better morality. Nothing has injured the liberal cause so much as the undesired following of the bummers who have left the old churches, not because they loved truth, but in the interests of vice. They are not, however, true Liberals. . . . The reason the genuine Liberal has rejected the old church faith is not because he desires to reject truth and to become immoral, but it is because he finds the Church standing to-day directly in the way of the progress of truth and a better manhood. Believing that the best morality must come from accepting the facts of science and of all known truth, he cannot uphold a system of theology which is built upon tradition and exploded theories of life and the universe."

"DISTINGUISHED poets," the *Catholic Review* remarks, "have written on 'the pleasures of hope,' 'the pleasures of imagination,' and 'the pleasures of memory.' Now let some 'inspired' poet of free thought give us a glowing rhapsody on the pleasures of doubt." We can assure our esteemed contemporary that "the pleasures of doubt," when the mind trained to believe that the majority of the race will be consigned to eternal torment, begins to see the falsity and absurdity of such a belief, are no imaginary pleasures. The feeling of relief and satisfaction is usually great in proportion to the generous and philanthropic spirit of the individual who experiences it; and this doubt, as it has deepened into conviction, and led to the adoption of humane and rational views in the place of antiquarian dogmas, has often filled the heart with serenity and peace, even with hopefulness and joy, and has inspired the noblest literature of the age.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

A MID-DAY DREAMER.

What, dreaming still?
Having reached the crowning height of the hill
Of life! When already the thoughtful eye,
Grown sadly discerning, sees fearfully nigh
The downward trend from youth's high aims?
In the face of losses, defeats, and shames?
Of rebukes and rebuffs in the struggle for life,
And that fiercer struggle, that bitterer strife,
'Gainst the desperate foes that ambushed lie
In the depths of our own personality;
The warfare bequeathed from ancestral blood
With the Hates, the Loves, the untamed brood
Of wild desires, which, unleashed, betray
Their ancient source in their savage play?
Yes, dreaming still,
In the face of all this. No power of will
Can hold quite in check the soul's high dreams
Of some nobler future,—the last gold gleams
Of Hope's bright sunlight, whose rays so cheered
Youth's trusting heart. With vision cleared
From the glamour which once in rose tints draped
The dreariest tasks, and into beauty shaped
E'en the harshest lines of Life's "ought" and "must,"—
Yes, standing too high for the glamour and dust
Of Life's road to bewilder,—still visions most fair
Come to comfort, to strengthen, to silence despair,
Of an Age in which only the Wrong need rue;
And I dream that some of my dreams come true.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

For *The Index*.

DELUSION: WHO SHALL DECLARE IT?

Well, maybe it is delusion
That the soul lives after death;
But, if so, it is far the dearest
Which the tongue of mortal saith.
And, since so much of life's pleasure
Is wrought of unreal things,
I shall always hold to the riches
Which the "dear delusion" brings.

Delusions of earth are mocking
Wherever we mortals go,
And finding so much unreal
Has cost me a deal of woe.
But the dream of life immortal
Will never bring me pain;
For, when it is proven error,
I shall count not loss nor gain.

I shall never live to know it,
If my darlings are only dust;
And all which the weakest and wisest
Can do is to hope and trust.
I may reason and doubt, but ever
They seem to speak from the sky:
Then, it seems but a cold delusion
To dream that a soul can die!

You may shower me with dust and ashes,
You may give me a wreath of rue,
You may dream you have truth and wisdom,
And I am less brave than you;
But, still, I shall never yield it
For a thing you say or do:
You cannot make it an error,
And I cannot make it true.

We all must wait and wonder
What the change of death will bring:
Your sketches are skulls and cross-bones,
Which I to the winds would fling,
And sketch you immortal faces
Brow-girt with asphodels,
And hands which are reaching earthward
Bunches of immortelles.

But neither your wise conclusions,
Nor mine with their rainbow wings,
Can alter one jot or tittle
The eternal law of things!
Yet, ah! in the world that this is
It were all too sad to stay,
If we could not have our fancies
Of "The Ever-so-far-away."

EMMA TUTTLE.

For *The Index*.

GOETHE ON AMERICA.

[Free Translation.]

Than our old ruin-stricken hemisphere,
America, a happier lot thou hast:
No ruined castles strew thy soil as here,
Encumbers thee no rubbish of the past.

No legacy of senseless feuds is thine,
No useless memories disturb thy heart:
For thee, the day that is alone doth shine,
With undivided thought thou play'st thy part.

B. W. R.

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The Index.

BOSTON SEPT. 21, 1882.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

MORMONISM AND ITS CRITICS.

BY T. W. CURTIS.

Believing that there is more to this Mormon question than many surmise, and that Liberalism, being a pioneer force in thought and action, has a duty to discharge in relation to it (in discerning the true issues and upholding the right), I am prompted to review an article, bearing the title of "A Study of Mormonism," that appeared in *The Index* of recent date, by a writer of scientific training. By the use of quotation-marks and tables of statistics, his eloquence is made to appear a miracle of fairness and logic. But his theme suffers disparagement in every instance, his utterances being denunciatory in the extreme; and his silence on the legislation proposed for Utah is a practical indorsement of the same. My aim shall be to mark the threefold aspect of this Mormon problem,—the religious, social, and political,—which, as a rule, is but faintly apprehended or altogether lost sight of.

Prof. Gunning makes a bold dash with his pen in the very start, as if to strike in ahead of a writer of great eminence. "A French *savant* esteemed Mormonism phenomenal in this, that it is a new religion born right under our eyes. . . . Could he not see in Mormonism an eruption of Judaism which had slumbered under Christianity?" But Remy himself says, "There is not an absolute break with tradition: on the contrary, every effort has been made to solder and renew the connection with the old. But it is none the less on this account a novelty, a creation, if not original, at all events, diverse,—in one word, a new religion." This remark accords with my own view.

A portion of the Mormon catechism is given as teaching the grossest anthropomorphism on the authority of the Old Testament. But here is a part of that catechism which is *not* quoted. I will give the answers only:—

> The person of God is infinitely glorious.
> He is everywhere present.
> Nothing can be hid from his gaze.
> His wisdom is past the comprehension of man.
> God is more powerful than we can conceive.
> God is a being of truth, justice, and mercy.
> He is an unchangeable being.
> All men are the children of God; begotten first as spirits, are then sent to take bodies upon the earth, *to become educated, developed, and perfected, and through faithfulness to become Gods, even the sons of God.*

Joseph Smith ("old Joe Smith," that is, whose career was finished at the age of thirty-eight years) said: "Of a fanciful, flowery, and heated imagination beware, because the things of God are of deep import; and time and experience, and careful and ponderous and solemn thoughts, can only find them out. Thy mind, O man! if thou wouldst lead a soul unto salvation, must stretch as high as the utmost heavens, and reach into and contemplate the lowest considerations of the darkest abyss, and expand upon the breadth of eternity's expanse,—it must commune with God. How much more dignified and noble are the thoughts of God than the vain imaginings of the human heart! None but fools will trifle with the souls of men. How vain and trifling have been our spirits, our conferences, our councils, our private as well as public conversations,—too low, too mean, too vulgar, for the dignified character of the called and chosen of God, who hold the keys of the mysteries of those things that have been kept hid from the foundation of the world until now, of which some have tasted a little, and which are to be poured down on the heads of babes, yea, the weak, obscure, and despised ones of the earth!"

John Taylor, the present head of the Mormon Church, and who was with the prophet at the time of his massacre in Carthage gaol, wrote in this fashion in 1850: "If men and nations, instead of being governed by their unruly passions, covetous desires, and ambitious motives, were governed by the pure principles of philanthropy, virtue, piety, justice, and honor, and were under the guidance of a fatherly and intelligent head, and directed by that wisdom which governs the universe, regulates the motions of the planets, there would be no need of so many armies and navies, police regulations," etc.

True, Mormonism reverses the apothegm of Coleridge, and says, "A God *not* understood is no God at all"; but, as will be seen, it enters its strong protest against the idea that God can be comprehended by man. It is not on the authority of the *Old* Testament only, but of the *New, and of the revelations of to-day and of reason*, that the Mormon rests his faith. Here is a thought in one of their hymns, composed by a wife of the seer:—

> "I had learned to call thee Father
> Through thy spirit from on high,
> But, until the key of knowledge
> Was restored, I knew not why.
> In the heavens are parents single?
> No: the thought makes reason stare.
> Truth is reason: truth eternal
> Tells me I've a mother there."

"Do Christians who define God without body, parts, or passions, know him?" "They do not." Rare sport is made of this bit of catechism, in total unconsciousness, it would seem, of the fact that the God of the creeds is one with the Unknowable of that philosophy decried by the churches as atheistical. How far does Mansell differ from Spencer? Orson Pratt, when he penned his dissertation, does not appear to have been familiar with these writers; but it was known to him how the extremes of mysticism and scepticism may meet. Mormonism teaches that spirit is a substance, and, with the elements, is eternal, and that God is *not* the negation of everything human or understandable. To be "crowned with eternal life" means nothing more nor less than the capacity for eternal progression, the most godlike of attributes. It knows nothing of the God who exists "beyond the bounds of time and space," the monopolizer, at the same time, of all honors, powers, and prerogatives. The Christian has much to say of the marks of design in nature. The Mormon says, "Yes, God is a designer and a worker, and we his children are at school learning from him." To organize worlds and people them with intelligences, is not that the work of a God? This is in the line of man's development. The Mormon priesthood is a hierarchy of wisdom and virtue, extending beyond the veil. The Mormons would doubtless be inclined to regard as genuine the following communication from Lord Bacon, through Judge Edmunds, the spirit-medium: "It may not be amiss to inform you that, among many spirits of high estate, there are those who believe God himself the product of developed intelligence. How this may be I cannot say, but it is the opinion of many here." Smith's revelations, however, preceded the birth of modern Spiritualism. The Mormons vary, though but little, in their ideas of God, that of the prophet himself being probably what the world would call the most spiritual. It is easy to criticise. Will the Professor give a definition of the God whose name he uses?

"The fall of Satan and of man in Mormon theology is a travesty of Revelation and of *Paradise Lost*." But that depends upon how you look at it. *I* should say *the reverse*, rather, is true. This basic principle of Mormon belief the Professor represents in this way: Lucifer (who was made Satan) *rebelled* in heaven, *because* his offer to save all men in opposition to Christ, who thought there were some who could not be saved, was rejected. The Professor then goes on to speak of rebellion being ever after the greatest sin in the sight of God and of the Church, etc. But the true doctrine is this: "When it came Lucifer's turn to speak, he gave it as his opinion that man should be saved *in* his sins. But Christ replied, I will save him *from* his sins. The Father thought this last method the best, and accepted it." Christ died, not so much to save the world as to enable it to save itself. The Mormon catechism says, "We ought to consider the fall of our first parents as one of the great steps to eternal exaltation and happiness; for we cannot know the excellency and beauty of that which is good, unless we experience the wretchedness and deformity of that which is evil."

"What has become of all those who died before God spake to Joseph Smith? Except the Hebrew polygamists, they are all consigned to hell. Of this there can be no doubt, as salvation is impossible outside of Mormonism. Paul speaks of baptism for the dead: the engine by this touch from Paul becomes reversible. Any dead man can be made a Mormon and saved, if some living Mormon will stand proxy and be baptized for him."

In answer to this, Mormons would say, in the first place, that Hebrew polygamists are not all saved, nor are all others consigned to hell. David went to hell for his sins, probably a deeper one than the Professor himself will be consigned to. But there is hope for both of them, as David is to regain his place after having paid the penalty of his transgressions. All are to be dealt with alike. To be damned is to be handed over to the buffetings of Satan for a season. None are lost save the sons of perdition, who are they who have received the light, and then rejected it. Salvation is possible outside of Mormonism, but not the highest. There are degrees of exaltation, as typified by sun, moon, and stars. All are rewarded according to their works. "Glory, honor, and peace to the man that worketh good," says the Book of Mormon. Of the God who damns and saves according to his own arbitrary will and pleasure, Mormonism knows nothing. Those dying before arriving at years of accountability are saved. "For awful is the wickedness to suppose that God saveth one child because of baptism, and the other must perish because he hath no baptism. Woe be unto him that shall pervert the ways of God after this manner; for he hath neither faith, hope, nor charity. Behold, I speak with boldness, having authority from God" (Book of Mormon). Those dying in ignorance of the gospel have the truth presented to them in the other world. The *rite of baptism* is performed for them in this world. For Christ commanded them to be baptized. Thus are the justice and universality of God's law vindicated. In this sense, "Mormonism, as finally evolved, is a sort of reversible engine." *The few are lost, the many are saved. Merit, worth, not worthlessness*, saves. *God speaks to-day no less than in times past. This earth is to be our heaven.*

The Professor would show up polygamy in its true colors. Among many terrible things, he says: "Woman *must* be married." "The outcome is salvation to woman by marriage." Why is not that wholesome doctrine? Do not nature's laws emphasize the "*must*"? Look at the women who are damned because not married. Yes, and at those who are damned because they are married, notwithstanding the beautiful monogamic system! Marriage is daily becoming less fashionable, and the world is trying to make a virtue of necessity; but that condition of things which necessitates celibacy will be found fruitful of anything but virtue. It is not only not good for man or woman to be alone: it is an injury, a loss. Marriage does not save all who enter it, but without marriage neither man nor woman can in full sense be saved. Woman's affinity is the soul of a righteous man. Better to be the plural wife of a noble man than the only wife of an indifferent man, or than to live single. To usher immortal souls into existence, under a due sense of responsibility, is the aim of the polygamic theory. Marriage for eternity is designed to root out passion and whim, and to perpetuate the family tie and relationship in the worlds to come. The sealing process implies fidelity in each to the principles of their religion; and there is no court, not

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even that of death, that can dissolve the relation. Though the highest exaltation comes through the law of celestial marriage, its reckless observance brings the deepest damnation. A woman may be divorced (for this life) at her own request; a man cannot without her consent. Adultery is punishable by death. "Woe unto them who commit whoredom, for they shall be thrust down to hell." At present, one in fourteen of the males, probably, are practical polygamists. And one in fifty of these may have more than two wives. But Mormonism was established before Smith received the revelation on polygamy.

"The Deseret University is suggestive of Mormon culture," says Prof. Gunning. "What the state of education has been we may infer from this handbill, which I take from one of the rural settlements. 'I, schoolmaster to all brethren greeting, Monday, the 19th day of November, the anniversary of the massacre of one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians by the angel of the Lord, having been fixed upon for the reopening of my school for the divine sciences and spelling and reading,' etc., 'for, whereas those who cannot pay in grain may be able to do so in some other way, bear's flesh or squirrels or dried pumpkins will be received,'" etc. That this is a most "suggestive" handbill I firmly believe. Mark that from a handbill "taken from one of the rural districts," at some time in the past (though we are led to suppose quite recently), we are to infer what the state of education has been, and also even what it is to-day. And this handbill "suggests," too, the Professor thinks, "the bondage of this people to the Old Testament." But this is not the whole story. This "handbill" is twenty-eight years of age. Prof. Gunning never saw that document He "took" it from Remy's history, who states that he saw it on the door of a village school in Utah, in 1854. How it came there he does not state. I venture to say that, had he gone through Utah in search of its fellow, he would not have found it. But he, writing in 1860 (twenty years ago), added the following as a note to his chapter on education in Utah: "It is but just to say that, since these remarks were written, a great change seems to have come over the spirit of the heads of the Church; and, according to the last advices from Utah, they are zealously devoting themselves to the task of improving and advancing the elementary instruction of the people." So this official handbill, which is used as a gauge of Mormon faith and intelligence, turns out to be an ancient, anonymous, solitary placard. Most of the evidence used to convict Mormons is of this nature. I am quite willing this "handbill," with its history as an addenda, should go to the jury, along with the story of the Spaulding manuscripts.

Why was not the procedure of the Deseret University given, which is said to be so "suggestive of Mormon culture?" I will take upon myself to state why. That university in the quality and grade of its instruction is not a whit behind similar institutions in a community of equal size, and it is compromised in even a less degree by the intrusion of religious dogma. Why is not the present state of education in Utah dwelt upon? I will answer. The school attendance in Utah, and the number of school days in the year, are of a higher ratio than in the majority of the States. Utah has appropriated larger sums for school purposes, and been the recipient of less aid from government, than the bulk of the States themselves. The value of these estimates is enhanced greatly by the fact that the people of Utah, by their unaided efforts (except from the God whom they worship), have performed the Herculean task of transforming a wilderness into a habitable abode.

Here is the critic's exclamatory outburst! And it is indeed a faithful echo of the cry heard all over the country. "What will be the outcome of such a system on character? It is not in human nature to revere a cruel, unjust man-God. Man will neither revere God nor love woman. Young was often profane in the pulpit. Kimball called his wives his 'cows,'" etc. I claim that the Mormon man-God is of a higher, nobler species than the God adored throughout Christendom to-day. On the social condition in Utah, I will bring forward another witness, to whose writings the Professor appears to be much indebted: "While reserving to ourselves the right to relate without reserve the evils we were eye-witnesses to, we feel pleasure and yield to a sense of justice in declaring that the Mormons are not wicked and immoral, as they have often been represented to our too credulous minds. It is even our duty to avow that they are industrious, honest, sober, pious, and it is just to say, since we believe it to be the case, even chaste in their polygamous relations." . . . "For our own part, we affirm that after travelling for ten years over almost every part of the globe, it is still a question with us if there be a country in which the women are more virtuous and more moral than amongst the Mormons." Why, the same method of argument employed in assailing Mormonism will apply, I might say, with many-fold more force to the social and religious institutions surrounding us. Monogamy would certainly stand condemned. Is it too much to say that prostitution in and out of marriage and solitary vice characterizes society as it is to-day? I believe this statement is more true than false, and is more capable of proof than nine-tenths of the charges brought against the Mormons.

Then, in conclusion, the Professor produces a table of statistics, which is affixed to his critique like one of the great seals of the apocalypse, to endure to the judgment day; and doubtless it will, as "figures never lie." From the tables of 1860, it appears that New York had furnished ten thousand and New England twenty thousand converts to Mormonism. And, of the balance, he asks, "Why do England and Scotland furnish thirty-two thousand, and Ireland only one thousand and Italy fifty? Is there not more ignorance in Ireland than in England, and in Italy than in either? It is evident that soil for the growth of Mormonism must have some other ingredients than ignorance and superstition, and that Protestantism is that ingredient,—acceptance of the *Old* and New Testament as the rule of faith and life. To the Catholic, the Church is supreme: to the Protestant, the Bible is supreme." Now, whatever originality there is in this view does not belong to Prof. Gunning (as it is copied), and whatever there is in it of fallacy or disingenuousness he must share for having adopted. It is easily seen what would have been said, had the Catholic countries furnished the greater number of converts. Of course, the Bible is responsible for Mormonism to a certain extent; but the Bible is the strength of Catholicism as it is the weakness of Protestantism. It *stops the ears* of the former, and *perverts the reason* of the latter. But, as freedom and mental activity are to be found in Protestant countries, is it not possible that they may form part of the ingredients of the soil for the growth of Mormonism? Do not the facts testify to the truth of these words of the Mormon prophet, "It is the love of liberty that inspires my soul"? Mormonism and its founder must be judged by the ideal rationalistic stand, it is true, but their merits cannot be determined without reference to the Christian standard, and the actual state of the world at the time of its advent. Its doctrine, I affirm, is in advance of orthodox Christianity; and, with the New Testament even as a standard, it is more consistent than Liberal Christianity. Is it to the discredit of Mormonism that it works among the lower strata of society? By the heavens, no, if with pure motive it raises its converts to a better mental and physical condition. To the poor, the gospel is preached. The temporal and the spiritual Mormonism labors to make one. And it is but little known that among the saints is the largest and most perfect system of co-operation on the continent. Little credit is due a system that finds its material already fashioned and polished, as in the case of the cultured ecclesiasticism of the times; or to a system which attracts the cruder elements and fails to work any change in them, as in the case of the Roman Catholic Church. The more successful we are in proving that Mormonism receives its recruits from the most degraded class, the more we strengthen its claims to divinity; for we find its subjects have undergone a great transformation. For the Mormon people are more sincere than the average Christian, and fully as enlightened. I can see in Mormonism an "eruption of Judaism," it is true; but I see in it an eruption of common sense and humanitarianism, also.

It is asked: "To cure Mormonism, have we nothing to cure in ourselves? By what right does Talmage denounce the Mormons?" This sounds well. *But there is something besides the Bible that is responsible in this matter.* What is responsible for this Bibliolatry? Theological systems find their support in those frailties of the human mind which make passion and prejudice the main premise of every argument. Our social system, as it is, which fosters selfishness, pride, and hypocrisy, veiling oppression under fair promises and sounding names, makes inevitable the upspringing of such a faith as Mormonism, which is a sort of evangelical socialism, a revival of that true spirit of brotherhood which distinguished primitive Christianity. The intellectual formlessness of the times makes Mormonism possible. The special sciences have attained a wonderful development; but the average acquirements are superficial in the extreme, and the new philosophy has not yet sphered itself in thought.

I have claimed, it is true, that the attacks on Mormonism are themselves a travesty of the principles of reason, candor, and honesty. And this same spirit I see reflected in the debates of Congress on Utah affairs. I do not think polygamy defensible on any but the weakest ground. It is a transitional, not the ultimate form of marriage. Mormonism, being a theocracy, is at war with republicanism, and in many of its dogmas and teachings traverses known truths of science. But truth and virtue should confront error and iniquity. And the actions of a great government like this should be characterized by the highest form of justice and magnanimity. The present anti-polygamy bill is an outrage, and will accomplish nothing, save it be to increase irritation and misunderstanding, and make the saints more a unit than ever before. Congress has undoubtedly a right to act in the matter: its condemnation lies in its failure to combine courage and sagacity in its action. Its legislation on the "twin relic" has been mere make-believe. It had a haunting sense of the right course to be pursued, but cowered under the haughty stare of the mob of priests and gentry. Look at it. A prosperous community of two hundred thousand souls, outstripping its neighbors in the developments of agriculture, trade, and industry, self-made and independent, denied admission into the Union, because of the practice of polygamy, in which it believes as a unit, *both male and female*, while any State, by the vote of a majority of its citizens, *the male citizens only*, has the right to regulate its own domestic institutions, including that of marriage! If monogamy *is* the universally accepted principle of the relations of the sexes, why not embody it in a national statute or leave it to custom? Either of these methods would be better than our State laws, so conflicting with one another in their form and in, apparently, their origin also; for whether they receive their sanction from nature or the Bible, the State or the Church, nobody seems to know. Our government needs secularizing. We must pass on from this Christocentric or traditional stage of thought and life to the natural and the human. Let Congress make the religious amendment to the Constitution more clear and definite, or strike it out entirely. Give to woman the right of suffrage, and pass a uniform marriage law for the whole nation, *based solely on the will of the people*, and then say to Utah, You can be admitted into the Union by conforming to the law of the land. As matters stand, there is not the shadow of an excuse for keeping Utah in a state of territorial vassalage. The best method of battling with Mormon theocracy (and that is real evil) is in bringing Utah into the closest possible relation with our republican system of government, whose spirit, aided by general enlightenment, will prove itself more potent than any acts of special legislation; and its mandates will soon become to them superior to those of the "Holy Ghost" even. But what are we doing but legislating for Utah as a mere property, and treating her citizens as chattels, under that claim of the right of Congress to make "any needful rules and regulations for the government of the Territories"? We appoint over her a governor with an absolute veto power, and fill in the same way all the other highest and most important offices; and now we dissolve the Legislature and order a new election, under the supervision of a committee of strangers, five in number, who are before trial to determine who shall vote. The anti-polygamy bill disfranchises polygamists, and covers the whole of a man's past life; and, while a *believer* in polygamy is disqualified for a juror, the man who does not believe in it—having but one wife, but any number of mistresses—is qualified to sit in judgment on the accused. And, again, *polygamy* is confounded with *bigamy*: the latter implying *deception* and *abandonment*, whereas the former does not. And as great a fallacy is contained in the "twin relic" idea, though nobody would seem to be conscious of it. But who, with the least reflective power, will dare to place Mormon polygamy and African slavery in the same category? Was it not causes similar

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to these that provoked the colonies to rebellion against Great Britain? And, as if to make the parallel complete, Utah's delegate, Hon. George Q. Cannon, was expelled from the House of Representatives, on the flimsiest pretence, on the very eve of the debate on the Mormon question.

The Mormons will not give up polygamy: when it stops, Mormonism stops. The revelation is well authenticated to them. The *Christian Union*, Henry Ward Beecher's paper, suggests that the United States has at least the right to choose its own company, and Utah may therefore stay out of the Union. Kind, indeed, considering the source of the suggestion! The Mormons might not feel greatly hurt, if left severely alone. Said Joseph Smith: "I want to be resurrected with this people, whether we ascend to heaven or descend to hell. If we go to hell, we will turn the devil out and make a heaven of it. Where this people are, there is good society. Who cares where we are, so that the society is good?"

But will government leave them alone? The Rev. Joseph Cook thinks this cancer will have to be cut from the body politic, as was slavery, by a deep, prolonged plunge of the sabre. Talmage thinks the only cure is cannon and musketry. Surely, their words have meaning, when we consider how that bill was fairly heaved through Congress by the strong pressure from evangelical quarters. And, then, the gentlemen having the bill in charge on the floor of the Senate and of the House frankly observed that they meant to try the mildest of measures first! Be assured the Mormons will remain a "Territory" forever, or leave the United States, or even die, before forsaking their religion. No Christian sect will ever make converts among them. Their next step is into the domain of free rational thought. Let every liberal-minded man and woman be on the side of justice.

A member of the Church, resident in Utah, said to me in New York city recently, in answer to a question of mine: "No: though I myself have but one wife, I never once think of the Mormons giving up polygamy. We have gone too far; nay, it is a fundamental doctrine of our religion." But another question I failed to ask, I fear might not have evoked so ready a response. It is this, Would you feel justified in exercising rights denied to your brother who is practising polygamy? To me, it seems as if the Mormon people ought to accept or reject the rights of citizenship *as a community*. The man with but one wife should say, "The rights that are too good for my polygamist brother are too good for me: the right you deny to him you deny to me." No matter how the law dictionary defines polygamy, your God or your conscience will not approve of your swearing "I am not a polygamist," for any franchise under the sun. Plant your cause upon the highest ground. It is time the issue were drawn sharp and clear. Be faithful to your convictions, whatever they be; and you will have friends, and the world too will be profited by it. Compromise, and you are lost.

For *The Index*.

REFLECTIONS BY THE WAY.

BY MONT E. COLLINS.

Dreams are the pictures that present to us the possibilities of the soul.

Time is the point where the eternity of the past touches the eternity that is to be.

Life's holiest, sweetest thoughts are those that come to us as we contemplate the mystery that folds us in its unseen arms.

Education is the overgarment of genius; and, though it can pass very well even in good society without this finery, it generally wears it merely to keep up with the fashion, being conscious it adds very little, save to improve its external appearance.

The sage cannot fully express the reasons for the faith of the soul, but the reasons for the belief of the understanding even a child can tell.

The hours of sadness often bring to the heart the thoughts that heal our greatest grief, while the hours of sinful pleasure always crowd upon the soul those recollections that give to life its deepest gloom.

To him whose heart is at one with nature's Infinite Soul, all seasons are alike the inspiration of joy, —winter has no chilling blast, summer has no stifling heat, spring reminds him of life's bright morn, and autumn winds whisper that all is well.

The wise ever believe that no evil is eternal, that no sin can go unpunished, that no virtue can be unrewarded, and that loving deeds, borne on eternity's spreading wings, will yet return to bless the soul of him who gave them birth.

In the presence of those mysterious visitations of nature that sweep the earth with disease and death, we have small thoughts of God and great thoughts of ourselves; but, in the presence of those that give to life its light and joy, we have small thoughts of ourselves and great thoughts of God.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FAITH IN GOD AGAINST FAITH IN A MATERIAL UNIVERSE.

Editors of The Index:—

A correspondent, in your issue of August 10, criticising the assertion of the *Journal* that the more intense the faith in God the more earnest will be the purpose to do something in the service of humanity, declares, *per contra*, that the fact is that, just in proportion to a person's faith in God and a future life will be his desire not to benefit his fellow-mortals in this life, - to make them happier here, more intelligent, more truthful, more honest,—but simply to save their souls from the "heated term in the life to come." The Inquisition and Guiteau are cited as fair representatives of "faith in God" as conceived by the *Journal*, and the universal detestation in which both are held is viewed as an index to the change between the faith of men in God two hundred years ago and the faith of to-day. The reason why we have escaped from the old savageries which were perpetrated in the name of God is declared to be the fact that advancing civilization is steadily weakening the faith in God and a future life and establishing the faith in this life and in the material universe.

Now, whether the *Journal* be demonstrably right or not,—and we do not propose to discuss the point,—we believe your correspondent to be demonstrably wrong, and his position to be mischievous. We believe, moreover, that the serious interests of rational religion suffer from every such recourse to the redoubtable pre-Lessingite style of criticism, and that it is the duty of somebody within the camp, in each instance, to disclaim and neutralize it. This indeed is our only reason for recurring to the matter.

It is considerably too late in the day to ring the old changes on the Inquisition. That might do in the time of Reimarus, though we doubt whether it amounted to much, even then. But the serious appeal to the Inquisition now, as the natural or representative embodiment of "faith in God," simply makes the critical laugh, and is abortive with everybody. It is very much like holding the new faith responsible for the nondescript men in the dirty shirts whom I heard wrangling the other day in the convention of free-lances at Podunk. I suppose that most of those Spanish inquisitors really did believe in immortality and God; and so, it is said, do the devils, and tremble. And the Podunk men of the dirty shirts, if they are to be trusted, certainly believed very emphatically in "this life and a material universe," and made short work with eternity and the unseen spiritual. Yet I could not help feeling that, even with this high recommendation (?), I should hate to have them taken as representatives of the ideals or the capacities of the new faith. "Always put the best interpretation on a tenet," Emerson used to say. And when shall we learn that there is nothing so ridiculous and nothing so ineffectual as to argue against a thing by appeal to some bad caricature of it or some obstreperous, hybrid outcome? Every new faith has so big a menagerie of hybrids of its own to take care of that it can afford to be pretty magnanimous about the barnacles of the old faiths, even when they are as bad as Guiteau,—who, by the by, couldn't have been made the best kind of a saint we imagine, even by baptism into the stoutest kind of faith in "this life and a material universe." In this connection, would not your correspondent himself have let Guiteau off, if he could have established that his "faith in God and a future life" was really at the bottom of the murder? We have a notion that a genuine belief in the consistency of murder and godliness would be quite sufficient proof of insanity, at this stage of the world. Certainly, the Washington jury would not have asked for anything more. It should be said, too, in passing, that your correspondent is probably very much mistaken in thinking that the present universal detestation of Guiteau is the measure of the advance, in two hundred years, from the faith in God to faith in "this life and a material universe." Our own opinion is that Harry Vane and Milton and their benighted generation would have wasted very few words over Guiteau's "inspiration," but have provided him with a headsman on Tower Hill with an alacrity that would have quite eclipsed the "universal detestation" of our own highly "civilized" commonwealth.

We criticise the wickedness that is done in the world in the name of the Lord; and it is a very easy thing to do, so easy that it is really not often worth the effort. We laugh at the serious barbarities of the religious old Jews. But why do we laugh? Simply at the *inconsistency* of the savagery with "faith in God," as we conceive it. Does anybody imagine that they would have been a whit less barbarous without their religion, and with a stalwart faith instead in "this life and a material universe"? The Moabites and Amorites probably devoted much less time and thought to things unseen and spiritual, yet we doubt exceedingly whether they did any more on that account to make each other "more intelligent, more truthful, and more honest in this life." Joshua was savage enough, heaven knows, with the kings along Jordan; but we think the chronicles of Og, King of Bashan, if we had them, would reveal a much looser and rougher ethical code,—if we may for a moment make a question of ethics of what was really simply a question of education and civilization. Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal. The Gibeonites would not be content with anything short of seven men of the sons of Saul, to be hung up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul. These Gibeonites we say very little about, but Samuel is brought to the bar by every Reimarus for his summary proceeding. Why? Simply by reason of our instinctive demand that Israel's higher religious conceptions subject her to measurement by a higher moral and social code. Faith in God has always seemed to most people to have a natural partnership with better actions toward mankind; and we have thought that we had a better right to be hard on the man who claimed to be religious and yet proved to be a scamp than on the detected sinner who had never said anything about God and immortality. Claim to faith in God, in the midst of selfish and vicious living, has been felt to be hypocrisy, because men have felt that genuine faith in God must naturally express itself in moral excellence. "He that loveth not his brother, how can he love God?" is the question of an altogether primary assurance that true love of God and of man must go together.

Religion is only one element in civilization, and religious conceptions themselves are of slow maturing and purification. Faith in God does not suffice to make a perfect man; but certainly it cannot be shown that, if men were without faith in God, they would be more perfect or more philanthropic. The antithesis which it is often sought to fix between faith in immortality and God, and devotion to the present interests of society, is an altogether false and mischievous antithesis. It is true enough that the man who believes in eternity will not be satisfied with any scheme for the welfare of men as final which concerns itself alone with the needs of the life that now is: it must also "save their souls," if we please to use the language of the men who cut eternity in two. But it is also true that no men are doing so much to clothe the naked and feed the hungry, to make men "more intelligent, more truthful, and more honest in this life," as those who believe in God and the immortal life. The assertion that men are neglectful of social duties just in proportion to their faith in God and immortality is so absurdly untrue that it should be vouchsafed only a flat denial. The recognition in man of the divinity of immortality must needs, more than aught else, inspire endeavor for his emancipation and development.

With positive denial, too, is the assumption to be met that the movement of science is away from faith in God to faith in a material universe. Not only is this untrue of the general trend of science and philosophy, but it is conspicuously untrue of contemporary thought. It would seem that the statement were impossible from any one familiar with the scientific movements either of our own country or of England, Germany, and France. Philosophical materialism, whatever prevalence and strength it had twenty years ago, has been steadily waning since. Dr. Stan-

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ley Hall, probably the ablest physiological psychologist in America, and certainly the one whose acquaintance with European science is most intimate, has told us that almost no man of standing in his own province now professes materialism or can find in a materialistic hypothesis any adequate principle to subsume his facts. It is so with the physicists generally. We believe, in spite of the outcries of scared superstition, that the general tone of our physical science has never been really irreligious,—we are identifying religion here, for convenience, with faith in the spiritual and eternal,—but its tone is notably far more religious to-day than fifteen years ago. In general speculation, too, no movement is so general and strong in the philosophical world of Germany as the return to Kant with his belief in immortality and God as necessary practical postulates; no movement is more remarkable in England and America than the rapid spread of an Hegelianism that affirms immortality and God explicitly as constitutive principles; while, in France, the "positive" philosophy is entirely without eminent disciples. We would call attention in this connection to the remarkably suggestive article upon Littré and Pasteur in a recent number of the *Edinburgh Review*, republished in the current number of our *Popular Science Monthly*. We believe that this article simply affords illustration of the general fact that materialism and philosophical scepticism are confined to-day chiefly to literary critics who sport with the outside of things, and scarcely exist at all among the serious and profound scientific *workers*, who must needs have a synthetic principle.

We cannot forbear, in closing, to point out the irony of your correspondent's appeal to Emerson and Darwin to help him establish his thesis that "it is fact, not faith, that elevates humanity,"—meaning devotion to the things of the material universe *vs.* faith in the spiritual (we think that Darwin would have shaken his head very gravely at his "material universe"); and he seems quite to forget, for the moment, that Emerson was the great prophet to our age, which is so devoted to the *facts* of "this life and the material universe," of the unseen and eternal. His philosophy, above that of all other great Americans, was idealistic and religious. "Frightful," he said, "is the solitude of the soul which is without God"; and his whole strength lay in his unswerving recognition of spiritual laws and his abiding communion with the Over-soul.

The confiding tone of your correspondent's appeal to this great prophet of the ideal and eternal makes us half suspect that he is only half in earnest with his material universe, or rather that he did not say just what he meant. We hope that what he chiefly meant to do was to felicitate himself that the world is outgrowing the "mythology of Christianity" and the "faith" which "made it a crime to doubt the apostles' creed or the inspiration of the Bible"; and in this, of course, we should have no quarrel with him.

HUTTEN.

FAITH CURES.

Editors of The Index:—

What are we to understand as the purpose of Dr. Dixwell's and Mr. Connor's recent communications on faith cures, if it be not to discredit them altogether? Both admit such cures are made, but say they are limited to a certain class of ailments, and that the subjects thereof are limited to the ignorant and superstitious; while Mr. Connor leads to the conclusion that they can be as effectively performed by the ignorant and base as by persons of intelligence and high moral and religious character. I think the foregoing is a fair statement of the spirit of those communications.

Having admitted that cures are thus effected, why object to faith as the instrumentality? Why is not faith, imagination, or "expectant attention" as legitimate an agency in the curing of disease—so far as it can be successfully used—as jalap, senna, tartar emetic, and the lancet, or as chamomilla, nux vomica, and bryonia, in their ten-thousandth dilutions?

After Dr. Dixwell's statement of the experiments which he has himself made in faith cures, is he not in fairness estopped from an *a priori* declaration that consumption and valvular diseases of the heart, even, cannot be cured by the same potent force? When he tells us that he has himself produced a degree of mental action in a patient, which has not only cured a chronic trouble, but has also at the same time arrested the natural action of "one of the most powerful drugs known," and caused it to produce effects directly opposite to those of its normal action; and when he further relates how, through faith created in the mind of his patients, he has caused so neutral an element as water to act as a powerful remedy upon the most vigorous constitutions, do not his statements go a long way to convince us not only of the reality, but also the beneficence of faith cures? Does he mean to have us think that in his experiments he has exhausted the capacity of the faith element in the cure of diseases? If not, why are we not at liberty to conjecture, at least, that there may be a degree of faith possibly exercised sufficient to cure the very diseases named by him as incurable?

As to the assertion that only persons of the ignorant and superstitious class are subjects of the faith cure, I would respectfully say that facts are against the assertion. The whole body of Spiritualists throughout the world believe to a greater or less extent in what Dr. Cullis calls the prayer or faith cure, and in one form or another practise it. As a class, they are neither ignorant nor superstitious, but, in fact, stand immensely above the great majority in intelligence and freedom from superstition. Indeed, it is their teachings which have to a considerable extent dispelled from the popular mind the belief in miracles at all, and substituted therefor the rational idea that no event transpires except in harmony with law.

It is not necessary here to mention the name of conspicuous persons who are Spiritualists, and who are among the most intelligent men and women in the country. Indeed, the ranks of Free Religion would show a meagre following, if all those were left out who to a greater or less extent believe in faith cures.

It seems to me quite as difficult to accept the statement that character on the part of the one who performs these cures has nothing to do with their success as to accept the other, that only the ignorant and superstitious are their subjects.

I believe it is fast becoming the conviction among thinking people that the success of physicians, who treat their patients only in the usual way of administering remedies, has very much to do not only with intelligence in their art, but also with the whole character of the man. Finely organized, intelligent people are fast coming to believe that character in the man himself, aside from his knowledge of his art, his moral, religious, and spiritual life and sympathies, have greatly to do with a physician's success.

Since the researches of Riechenbach into what he terms the "odic force," and the experiments of Dr. Buchanan upon mental susceptibility, if not before, there has been a growing conviction that there is such a thing as a *personal sphere* or atmosphere, and that others coming within it are agreeably or disagreeably, healthfully or otherwise, affected by it. If such is the fact, how shall it be thought that character has nothing to do with the success of the ordinary physician in the treatment of his patients? And, if important in the case of the regular physician, how much more important where the physician uses that sphere or force, and is himself the imparter or vehicle of its impartation. I do not doubt that, in hundreds of instances, physicians carry to their patients influences a hundred-fold more injurious to their health, both of body and mind, than the diseases they are called to treat.

Why not let the faith cures stand or fall on their own merits, like any other cures? What the world is interested in knowing about them is whether or not they are genuine; and it is of no consequence whether every sort of disease can be thus cured. It is no objection to faith cures that only fools and quacks perform them, any more than it is an objection to any other forms of cure, because quacks and fools employ them. They will of course use them, unless forestalled by the wise and good. I wish not to have it inferred that I include Dr. Cullis in the category of quacks and fools. I do not know him, and therefore have no right or inclination to speak of him in any but respectful terms. I somehow have got the impression that he has been for years a successful homœopathic physician. The allopaths have always pretended to believe that the patients of homœopaths have no real disease, or, if they have and are cured, that the cure results from no efficacy in the remedies, but is owing to the patients' imagination or to constitutional vigor. Is it not possible that they have succeeded in convincing Dr. Cullis, and that he is now showing them how very right they are, and how subtle an agency the imagination is or may become in making the sick whole?

JOHN ORVIS.

OUR LIKES AND DISLIKES.

Editors of The Index:—

Are they "inscrutable and past finding out"? or, as a vigorous writer in *The Index* of August 17 put it, there are mysteries and miseries of our social system, "some of which will remain forever insoluble to human knowledge." But here permit me to avow my entire concurrence with the array of *facts* Mrs. Underwood so admirably brought to the very portals of those places where men and women congregate to traffic in the courtesies, amenities, and blandishments of life. My trouble does not arise on account of the facts contained in the essay, but rather with the statement that our "sympathies and antipathies" are enigmas, and will remain so forever. More than a hundred years before the essayist was born, Alexander Pope persuaded his thinking countrymen to believe that the springs or motives of men's actions are not only discoverable, but positively made "clear":—

"Search the ruling passion: there alone
The wild are consistent and the cunning known,
The fool consistent and the false sincere,
Priests, princes, women,—no dissemblers here.
This clew, once found, unravels all the rest:
The prospect *clears*, and Talmadge stands confessed."

The difficulty to account for our likes and dislikes, our frowns and favors, is not because they are enveloped in mystery. *It is* because those possessing this capriciousness of conduct generally prefer giving every other reason than the true one for what they do and what they leave undone. They are not ashamed to act; but they would tremble like an aspen leaf, if obliged to tell the reason of their acts.

The fact is our whole routine of social life, customs, habits, and manners, preside over the social and sensitive parts of our common nature; and the charges and delinquencies of those who give tone to social tyranny were justly rebuked by your correspondent. But the point in dispute is our likes and dislikes. Can they be reasonably accounted for?

Let me, if you please, introduce my first witness, Dr. Fell. The doctor was fortunate: he missed the love of the "damsel" who could give no reason for her dislike. Since the world began there never was a woman who could not give with painful accuracy the reason of her love or hatred. And why not? Are our likes and dislikes articles of our own manufacture? Find the man or woman who can love or hate without cause, real or imaginary, and you'll find a being who has no affinity with our common nature. As it seems to the writer, if there is but one phase in mental or moral philosophy that stands forth undeniably certain, it is that our volitions, whether overflowing with gratitude or disfigured with black revenge, result from antecedent causes. There is presumptive evidence in Dr. Fell's case of reaction in the mind of the spinster who discarded him: were it not so, she would not have invented the "*bouncer*,"—"The reason *why* I *cannot* tell." She could tell, but fear and shame deterred her, because the doctor's uniform kindness, his affectionate regard, had been overcome by the dazzling qualities of another (Dr. Bell), who "sighed and vowed, and she believed him. She was false, and Fell undone."

We have another set of social sinners whom your correspondent has omitted,—sinners they are who snarl at the hands that feed them and are stone-blind to heaven's bright light that shines around them. Men they are who are not "to the manner born," having eyes, but "see not" that the Yankee common school was the fountain from whence flowed light, liberty, and law; and, though it might have been "just a wee bit bigoted," it gave to the world what it never had before,—a Church without a bishop and a State without a king. But, withal, the Catholic press of the country snaps, growls, and would bite out of existence every vestige of New England's educational system, if it could; and Mr. Potter, Mr. Underwood, and *The Index* would receive the tender mercy of "our holy religion." The *ostensible* reason given is that the Bible is in the "pine-board Yankee schoolhouse"; but the true reason is, histories are there, which inform the young, with an index to the kindly persuasive eloquence that fell on the heads of Savonarola, Arnold of Brescia, and John Huss, and in modern times St. Bartholomew, Gunpowder Plot, and Mary of England, wife of "Spanish Philip," whose love of Protestants impelled him to say that

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he would rather reign over a wilderness than a populous city filled with heretics. The Bible is a pretext: they care as much about it as they do about *Poor Richard's Almanac*. But they do care about Prescott and Motley, Hume and Macaulay, whose pens opened the doors of the holy Inquisition and aided in sending the "Eternal City" tottering to her fall. It is only with tongue and pen Catholics deny the superiority of Yankee life: socially, they imitate, and, when exterior and speech don't betray them, "stick to it" they are Yankees. RODERIC RANDOM.

GLEANINGS FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

HUDSON TUTTLE writes from Berlin Heights: "We have just returned from Kansas. We met your Mr. F. Hinckley at the Bismark camp-meeting for the first time, and must say that he completely won us, as he did every one else, by his unassuming manners, profound thought, and honesty of expression. We feel assured that every one of his hearers went away with more exalted purposes and broader horizons of thought. It is a pleasure to think that such men as he are in the vanguard of liberal thought."

IN a pleasant letter to the junior editor of *The Index*, Mrs. Mary F. Davis writes from Orange, N.J.: "We are both greatly interested in your work as one of the editors of *The Index* and an advocate of free religion. I heartily indorse a sentiment recently received in a friend's letter. She says: 'If the Free Religionists do nothing more than to tax church property and keep God out of the Constitution, or Church and State distinct, they are doing a service to humanity, and will serve as a standing protest against religious fanaticism, which has cursed the world and done more harm than all the "infidelity" of the ages.' We were greatly pleased with Mr. Potter's reply to Prof. Adler's criticism, made at the time of his withdrawal from the Association. Never have I seen the principles of Free Religionists more clearly and nobly expressed, and surely Mr. Potter redeemed them as a body from the charge of lukewarmness in reform. Yours for the Free Religious platform."

A CORRECTION.

Editors of The Index :—

The work done by your printers and proof-readers is generally of so superior a kind that I shall not attribute to them a mistake in the article printed this week in *The Index*, and entitled "Theological Atavism." Without attempting to explain the cause, I wish simply to state that in the third paragraph of that article and in the sentence beginning "Even among professed Liberals," the expression "special past *relations*" should read "special past *revelations*."

Very sincerely, S. J. STEWART.

BANGOR, ME., Sept. 15, 1882.

HERBERT SPENCER.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, the eminent English philosophical writer, arrived in this country August 21. He has long desired to visit America, but has been deterred from the undertaking by his very imperfect health, and his apprehensions of the effect of the Atlantic voyage. He landed in a very exhausted condition, and, declining all social engagements and excitement, went quietly away to the mountains to rest and recruit.

Mr. Spencer was born in Derby, England, in 1820. His father was a teacher, a man of culture, of independent views, which he carried out in the education of his son. His fundamental principle in teaching was that only what the pupil does for himself is really valuable to him, and hence he labored to establish inquiring and self-reliant habits in the minds of his pupils rather than to help them to passive acquisitions. Young Spencer was educated on this principle in his boyhood by his father, and afterward by his uncle, an English clergyman. He early took to mathematics and science rather than to classical studies; and instead of going to Cambridge, as his uncle, a university man, desired, he went into railroading, as a civil engineer, at the age of seventeen. The great railroad reaction of 1845 threw him out of business, and he then took to a literary career.

Mr. Spencer is perhaps most widely known by the little work on Education, which was contributed first to the reviews, and issued as a book in 1860. It is written largely from the point of view of his own experience in methods of study, and is so strenuously favorable to the study of science, and so practically valuable as a guide to self-education, that it fell in with the tendencies of the age, and has exerted a very wide influence upon individual minds and upon practical school instruction, as shown by the fact that it has passed through many editions, and has been translated into a great number of languages in all quarters of the world.

Mr. Spencer's life has been outwardly uneventful, and the world is interested in him solely as a thinker and a representative of great modern ideas. In this respect there has been a remarkable unity in his intellectual career. No more striking example can be found of a man working on from his youth through life in a broad but continuous line of research, although, from the number and diversity of the fields he has had to traverse, there has arisen the notion that he has a great propensity to write upon everything. The simple fact is that he early got possession of a new all-comprehensive principle, and has spent his life in working it out in all directions.

In 1842, at the age of twenty-two, young Spencer published a pamphlet on *The Proper Sphere of Government*, an ethical discussion of individual rights and public duties. This germinal exposition was developed into a volume, and published in 1850 under the title of *Social Statics*. This book was an attempt to establish a scientific basis for private and public morals. Finding that the subject demanded far more extensive treatment, he projected a series of works, scientific in method, to bring out this view; and the last of them is a treatise on the *Principles of Morality*, of which the *Data of Ethics* has been recently published. He is thus upon the same track of thought that he entered forty years ago, and all his intermediate labor has been pursued with distinct reference to the final result.

But this alone will not account for Spencer's hold upon the thought of the age. He is widely known as the philosopher of evolution, but he was led into the investigation of this great doctrine by the necessities of his studies in ethical science. His first pamphlet is full of the idea of progress and adaptability in man and his social relations. In *Social Statics*, the idea of evolution, though vaguely presented, has become the key to the discussion; and, from 1850 on, Mr. Spencer made the working out of this doctrine his great object. This he did at first in a fragmentary way. Having to get his living by writing, he made numerous contributions of articles to leading reviews from 1850 to 1860, all implying, illustrating, or expounding the evolutionary principle in a large number of its aspects and applications. He then projected the *Synthetic Philosophy*, in ten volumes, as a twenty years' work to develop the doctrine of evolution, and has been at it ever since. To show how far in advance he was of all other thinkers in this field, it may be stated that he had written more than thirty elaborate articles in the chief English reviews, all bearing upon evolution (although by the rule of those reviews unfortunately anonymous), and had drawn up a detailed scheme of the evolution philosophy in the exact logical order which he has since followed, and all this before Mr. Darwin had published a word upon the subject.

Mr. Spencer's health gave way in the year 1855, after the appearance of his *Principles of Psychology*, perhaps his profoundest work, and which was written in eleven months. After this, he could do nothing for a year and a half; and he has been troubled with sleeplessness and much nervous irritation ever since. His main business for twenty-five years has been to economize his vital forces for the continuance of his work. All his books and letters are dictated, and at the best he has been able to give but about three hours a day to his amanuensis. He seeks relief from the strain of thought by recreations, such as billiards, concerts, and country excursions, and has found social excitements so disturbing that he has been compelled very much to restrict them.

In social intercourse, Mr. Spencer is easy and agreeable. He is a ready and interesting talker, though his capacity for society small-talk is slender. If conversation engages him, and he is in a vigorous condition, his talk is impressive and often brilliant; but, as such excitement generally costs him sleep, he is apt to decline and avoid serious subjects on social occasions. Indeed, he is more and more compelled in these latter days to avoid all argument and exciting discussion; and, if he is very much compelled to do so while in this country, his friends must credit it to his low physical condition, and remember that he regrets it more than anybody else.—*E. L. Youmans, in Harper's Weekly.*

BOOK NOTICES.

REMINISCENCES: chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. By the Rev. T. Mozley, M.A. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1882. $4.00.

The Oxford movement in English religious history, beginning fifty years ago and making a great noise for ten years or more, with effects which spread out widely and have lasted to the present time, ought to be better known than it is to all who are interested in the modern destiny of religion. It began, and was chiefly made, at Oxford University, by persons connected with Oriel College. Hence, the title of Mr. Mozley's extremely interesting and valuable *Reminiscences*. In the Oxford of that day there were two brothers Newman and two brothers Froude; and one of each pair went into the Oxford movement, while the other went as far to the other extreme, into advanced free thought. The most radical book against Christ and Christianity which has ever been made by a thoughtful scholar is Prof. F. W. Newman's *Phases of Faith*. James Anthony Froude, the historian, began his career with a little work on *The Nemesis of Faith*, in which he threw away the average Biblical and Apostolic Christianity, but with the intimation that, if we could get behind the mass of errors introduced by the apostles, evangelists, and other early disciples, and could recover the original pure teaching of Christ himself,—if we could have "*not the Christian religion, but the religion of Christ*,"—he would gladly be a disciple of that. The Froude who went the other way died early; but the Newman who set his face to the dead past, and was the chief of the Oxford movement, became a Roman Catholic, and at a great age is still living, at Birmingham, England, as the head of a little college of papists, which does some preaching and some school-keeping and some monkery, at a level of ignorance, superstition, and hypocrisy possible only in the Catholic Church. This Catholic Newman has been made a Cardinal by the Pope, one of those preposterous dignities for a disciple of Christ which seems inconsistent with honesty in an Englishman of Dr. Newman's opportunities to know better. The Rev. T. Mozley, who has given us two capital volumes of *Reminiscences*, married a sister of the Newmans, went into the movement, and was its main wheel horse behind John Henry (now Cardinal and Doctor) Newman as leader, and finally proposed to go into the Roman Catholic Church, when Newman himself, who had not yet gone, advised him to "think over it two years"; and the result was that thirty-nine years have passed, and he is still in the Church of England, and able to look back upon the characters and incidents of the movement with just the sympathy, as well as the knowledge, necessary to tell the whole story well and faithfully. The great number of vivid sketches of character, and the nakedly honest delineations of spiritual experience and free thought within orthodox limits, which appear in these crowded pages, make the work most entertaining and most instructive. It is a book which can be read a chapter at a time, and it has one hundred and twenty-nine chapters. Its author is more simply a man than any orthodox writer whom we can name. He goes to human nature for his foundation, likes a good deal of paganism because it is natural and human, and for the same reason likes a good deal of Catholicism, which he honestly confesses was borrowed from paganism. He seems to have remained in the Church of England, because his roots as a man, a husband, and a minister are in it. But he dislikes it, and speaks very plainly of the badness of its method, the poorness of its belauded services, and the meanness of the results at which it arrives. The points of doctrine which make up Orthodoxy are stripped naked, down to all their human uncertainty and natural weakness; and those who believe them are shown that they do so as much without reason as with. The book will help any man to think, and to be charitable, if not to believe; and it will be read with unfailing interest.

THE CHOICE OF BOOKS. By Charles F. Richardson. New York: American Book Exchange, 764 Broadway. 1881.

We find in the diary of a very noble youth the following entry: "This book with which I spent a whole morn, full of wisdom as it is, and not only useful reading, but exceeding pleasant, I met by accident. My landlady was taken sick only once during the many weeks I spent in X.; and this was the only time they were bold enough to ask me, a stranger

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boarding in their house, to go an errand for her to the doctor. The doctor himself being ill abed, I was asked into the parlor to wait. Upon the table, I found this little book, read into it for a dozen pages or so, became exceedingly interested, and inquired where the book could be bought. The lady of the house kindly offered to lend it to me. I took it, and I have ever since been feeding on the feast that is spread there not only for one meal, but for many. Thus doth nature throw in our way her gifts lavishly, just as we most need them; for I was just then groping in the dark about that enthusiasm of mine about books, not knowing into what channel to let it flow. And yet we call this accident, and dismiss the subject."

A book that has thus affected a struggling soul may be of use to some others. Mr. Richardson wisely chose to let the sages of the world speak on the topic so dear to him rather than to speak himself. Under appropriate headings, such as "When to Read," "What to Read," "Reading of Periodicals," "The Use of Note Books," etc., he connects with his own thread the words of the best in whose company it is ever a pleasure to dwell. In fact, if the thought to be carried away from this book were nothing more than this, that healthy spiritual growth is best attained by intercourse with superiors rather than inferiors, and that books are, on the whole, the best of each man, and that in the best of books we have the choicest possible society for our growth,—were the lesson of this book no more than this, verily, it were worth the perusal time and again. For do we not see much noble material misspent for mere lack of stimulus got from contact with pure minds? The company of the best among the living it is not ever possible to have. Nay, rather the contrary: too often does intercourse with men have the depressing effect on aspiration, because of the pettiness and littleness that ever stalks abroad. And, doubtless, the reason that so many noble youths have their fire quenched within them is just because in their attempts to fight pettiness they become poisoned by it themselves. We almost fear to mention Thoreau as a marked example, though few will not find some living example under their very eyes. But how soon is all this dispelled after spending a half-hour in the atmosphere of the dead yet ever living books! A play of Schiller, a passage from Franklin, a chapter of Tyndall, and—need we mention it?—a line from Emerson, Marcus Aurelius, or even Lacon, does leave us with a kindred sensation as being in the woods or in the sea-breeze, or as watching a sunset over the hills. A bracing, cheering sense it is. It is wonderful, too, not only how much pleasure books do give, but also how much pain they prevent.

THE October number of the *Popular Science Monthly* is one of great excellence. "Massage: its Mode of Application and Effects," by Douglas Graham, M.D., is an account of a combined operation of rubbing and kneading the body, systematically performed, as an aid to the curing of disease. Matthew Arnold's lecture on "Literature and Science" is the next article. A review of the paper in the editor's table exposes the utter insufficiency of Mr. Arnold's valuation of science. Dr. Andrew Wilson's "The Past and Present of the Cuttle-Fishes" is full of information about these most curious and varied inhabitants of the deep. "Mozley on Evolution," a reply of Mr. Herbert Spencer to some statements in the Rev. T. Mozley's recently published "Reminiscences," contains a clear and succinct outline, at first hands, of the whole scheme of the theory of evolution. "The Utility of Drunkenness" is found, by Mr. W. Mattieu Williams, to consist in the fact that it promotes "the survival of the fittest." In "Delusions of Doubt," M. B. Bill describes a curious mental disease which is sometimes manifested in most remarkable ways. The "Annual Address" of Prof. G. J. Brush, retiring President of the American Association, is next given; and the subject is "The Progress of American Mineralogy." In "Industrial Education in the Public Schools," Prof. Straight projects a scheme under which pupils should be turned out prepared to do honest, thorough work as a matter of course. Dr. Felix Oswald lends the unique charm of his keen humor to the discussion of "Physiognomic Curiosities." "The Formation of Saline Mineral Waters," by M. Dieulafait, is a suggestive study in chemical geology. "A Partnership of Animal and Plant Life," by K. Brandt, offers a solution to a biological problem that has caused much perplexity. The Portrait and Sketch are of Prof. Rudolf Virchow, physiologist, anthropologist, and advocate of popular rights. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE *Art Amateur* for September, in addition to its usual lively gossip about artists and their works, has some very excellent articles both on photography and decorative art. The directions for book-binding are excellent, showing how simplicity and consideration of real use produce far better effects than imitation of inappropriate subjects. The sketch of the Irish painter, William Magrath, is very interesting; and the woodcuts justify the praise given to his work in his own special line. Irish life is full of picturesqueness, humor, and feeling; and Mr. Magrath will have full scope for his talent in depicting phases of Irish life, many of which are rapidly passing away.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will lecture at Stoneham, in "the Christian Union Church," next Sunday evening.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, in his work *Among Americans*, written after his return from his first visit to this country, says: "Rev. Francis Ellingwood Abbot, the editor of *The Index*, interested me greatly. He displayed great capacity, and a Puritan force and pride in the integrity of the principles he represented. I know no one in England who has his fine enthusiasm for liberal and religious progress."

DR. PUSEY, the founder of Puseyism, who died Saturday, was born in 1800. His father, Philip Bouverie, was a brother of the Earl of Rednor, and assumed the name of Pusey. He graduated at Oxford in 1822, became a Fellow of Oriel College, Canon of Christ Church Cathedral, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1828. In conjunction with John Henry Newman, he wrote *Tracts for the Times* (1833), which produced great excitement. He was suspended from his pastoral functions on account of a sermon on the Eucharist, which he preached in 1843. He favored auricular confession and several doctrines and practices similar to those of the Roman Catholic Church.

DURING the reign of Lord Beaconsfield, when the hatred of London society for Mr. Gladstone was at its height, there was a smart dinner party, at which Mr. Bright was present; the other guests including a princess, two or three duchesses, and others high in that social range where Mr. Gladstone's name was odious. The talk turned on Mr. Gladstone, and the abuse of him was general. Said Mr. Bright to the Duchess of ——, next where he sat, "May I ask of you if you have any children?" She admitted she had. "Then let me beg of you to take them some day where they may see Mr. Gladstone, and, when they see him, tell them they are in the presence of almost the greatest Englishman who ever lived, to whom God has permitted to do almost the greatest service ever done by an Englishman to his country." A dead silence fell upon the company. Mr. Gladstone had not one other friend among them.

ONE of the pioneer Abolitionists of West Andover, Ohio, passed away on the 5th instant. The death of Mrs. Horace Lindsley was one of more than ordinary sorrow. She was one of the two remaining nieces of Hon. J. R. Giddings, and, like him, at an early date enlisted in the anti-slavery cause. During those stormy times, many a slave *en route* for Canada found shelter and comfort under her protecting roof. Capt. John Brown and his sons were her intimate friends and guests. Just prior to the Harper's Ferry raid, Andrew D. Stephens, who sacrificed his life in that unfortunate event, made his home at her house. At her funeral on the 7th, the procession was three-quarters of a mile in length, fully testifying to the love and esteem in which she was held. The Grange, of which body she was a member, conducted the service, and no minister took any part in the exercises; nor was there any prayer offered, only such as composed a part of the ritual of the Grange. The deceased had reached her sixty-fourth year, and was a woman of more than ordinary intelligence. She had been a subscriber to *The Index* almost from its initial number. Her creed was to do right, that every one is responsible for his own acts, and that there is no salvation except such as each individual works out for himself. Her own life was one of spotless morality, and her constant endeavor was to teach those around her to live pure lives. She leaves a husband and six grown-up children, all holding honorable places in society, to mourn her loss.

TO MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE F. R. A.

The Executive Committee of the Free Religious Association beg leave to call your attention to the following plan of work adopted at the late annual meeting:—

Resolved, That this Association herewith instructs its Secretary, acting with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, to superintend the following work for the ensuing year:—

1. The preparation, as thorough and exact as possible from data furnished by the State correspondents and other sources, of the following memoranda of information, namely:—

(*a*) A complete list of the names and addresses of members of the Free Religious Association, classified according to States, towns, and cities, and a similar list of well-known persons in sympathy with the Free Religious Association, not members.

(*b*) A full list of organizations, State and local, whose constitution and methods are in substantial conformity with those of the Free Religious Association, with names of officers and description of form of union and of work appended to each.

(*c*) A brief statement of the needs and conditions of each State in relation to the Free Religious movement, compiled from the returns of the State correspondents, so far as reported.

2. Aided by these memoranda of information, the Secretary, with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, shall choose not less than two (2) nor more than six (6) States which in their opinion present the most favorable conditions for the spread of our principles and their local organization, as the immediate field of work.

3. The Secretary, or some one selected by him with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, shall visit the selected States, and call in each, by letter and personal interview, a private conference of our members and friends, for the purpose of stimulating their interest in our cause, and urging them to pledge pecuniary and moral support sufficient to secure either a successful convention or a course of lectures by the accredited speakers of the Free Religious Association in the most promising centre of liberal thought in said States, the choice between the two methods of work being left with the Association's representative on the ground and the local friends.

4. When the local friends are unable to raise all the money necessary for this work, the Executive Committee shall be empowered to aid, in cases promising good results, as hereinafter provided.

5. The Secretary, or person representing the Association, thus visiting a State for the purposes indicated above, shall, if possible, be present and speak at the convention if such be held, or, if the lecture course be given, shall, if possible so to arrange it, deliver the first or last lecture, and in either case shall present the principles and objects of the Free Religious Association, and the need, the possibility, and the most practicable methods of organization for State or local work.

6. In order to carry on this work for one year, it is desirable that $2,000 be raised; and the Executive Committee are hereby instructed to take immediate steps to secure that sum. And whatever amounts shall be received for that purpose or used from the funds in the treasury shall be appropriated under the direction of the Executive Committee.

7. That the office of State correspondents be continued, and effort be made to secure one in all States not now represented by such an officer, in order that the memoranda of information be kept as complete as possible.

In accordance with this action of the Association, it becomes our immediate duty to appeal for contributions to the fund of at least $2,000, which it is deemed wise to raise for putting this plan into effect.

Cash subscriptions or pledges, large or small, may be forwarded to the Secretary at the office of *The Index*, or to the Treasurer, John C. Haynes, 451 Washington Street, Boston. Upon the sum placed at our disposal will depend the character and amount of the work to be done.

There are earnest men and women throughout the land to whom life is sweeter, truer, diviner, because of the ideas for which Free Religion stands. Many such have large means, many more have a competence; and all feel, we are sure, a desire to help carry to other souls the glad tidings which have come to their own.

We not only solicit, therefore, but we look forward with confidence to an early and a favorable response to this appeal.

For the Committee,

WM. J. POTTER, *Pres.*
FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y.*

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 145

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Protestant Jesuitism in Girard College, Wm. J. Potter, 146
A Sea-Change, Moncure D. Conway, ... 146
Orthodox and Liberals in Conference, Wm. I. Gill, . . 147
The Spencerian Metaphysics, M. A. Hardaker, ... 148
Philoprogenitiveness, B. W. Ball, ... 148
Unitarians in Conference, E. C. Towne, ... 149
Electricity and Life, ... 150

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 150

POETRY.
Sunrise, B. W. Ball, ... 151
The Voice of the Morning, Lita Barney Sayles, ... 151

ESSAYS.
Evolution in its Relations to Evangelical Religion, B. F. Underwood, Prof. P. A. Chadbourne, Prof. Asa Gray, ... 151

CORRESPONDENCE.
National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, Harriet H. Robinson 154

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 154

BOOK NOTICES.
Progress and Poverty, by Henry George, ... 155
The Century, North American Review, Atlantic, Catholic World, Sanitarian, ... 155

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 155

CURRENT TOPICS.

PROF. HENRY KIDDLE, who is well known as a Spiritualist, thinks that at "séances" there is "need of music, of singing especially, and not mechanical droning or dismal humdrum, but soul-stirring songs that cheer, exalt, and inspire, and thus focalize all the thought-force present. There is a kind of noise called singing which we sometimes hear at séances, that is calculated to appall both angels and devils, and thus produce a general stampede of all the spirits."

REV. DR. GOSS, an old-time Baptist minister, in the recent Illinois Democratic Convention at Chicago, prayed as follows: "O Lord, we beseech thee to save us from the devil. O Lord God, we beseech thee to save us from Star-Route and other thieves upon the public treasury. O Lord God Almighty, we pray thee to save us from Republicanism. For Christ's sake, Amen." It is stated that, following the "Amen," there was a storm of applause, and that many hats were thrown toward the ceiling.

JUDGE EDWARD A. THOMAS, in the *North American Review*, says, in substance, that in his judgment the oath should be entirely dispensed with, since it does more harm than good. He declares that the conscientious man will tell the truth, when legally called upon to do so, as thoroughly without the oath as with it, and that dishonest persons are seldom restrained by the utmost solemnity of the form. In short, he believes that the oath has lost its force as a restraint, and is merely the formula of an exploded superstition.

SAYS the Boston *Herald:* "It is related that, when Joseph Cook was a boy, he took a pile of books out into the fields, and became so absorbed that he forgot to come home to dinner. Joseph is now on his way back to Boston. Won't somebody send him some books? Perhaps, if the pile is big enough, he may forget to come back." We hope no one will act on the suggestion of the *Herald*. Joseph Cook is needed in Boston. His presence here will give inspiration to the wit of the Boston press. *The Index*, which has looked forward with interest to his return, would be greatly disappointed should he fail to appear and repeat his "incontrovertible facts."

A REVIVAL of religion may be confidently looked for among fashionable ladies this season, as "prayer rugs" are among the latest of fashion's freaks. They are imported from the East, and are such as Mohammedans use. An exchange describes them thus: "They are usually about three by four feet in size, and can be distinguished by the design, which always represents some large figure at one end, and pointed at the other. Places are indicated for the hands and knees. Devout women procure the real things from an importer, and, without facing Mecca, bumping their heads on the floor, or removing their shoes and stockings, like the sons of the Prophet, still actually do use them to kneel on while praying. They are said to be a great comfort."

THE Association for the Advancement of Women will hold their Tenth Congress at Portland, Me., October 11, 12, 13. The following are the topics for discussion and the names of the speakers who will address the Association, as given in a circular we have received: "The Chinese Question from a Woman's Point of View," Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, California; "Right of Women to Free Competition as Workers," Miss Laura Clay, Kentucky; "Regulations discriminating in Favor of Single Women against Married Women as Teachers, Guardians, Administrators," Mrs. Mary E. Foster, Ann Arbor, Mich.; "Vacations and Vacation Schools," Miss Eunice Sewall, Portland, Me.; "History and Results of Preceding Congresses," Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles, Connecticut; "Comparative Effects on Health of Professional, Fashionable, and Industrial Life," Dr. Anna D. French, New York; "The Condition of Women in Utah," Mrs. J. A. Froiseth, Utah; "Rights of Children," Mrs. Emma C. Bascom, Wisconsin; "Possibilities of Success for Women in the Industrial Arts," Miss Ella C. Lapham, Buffalo, N.Y.; "Needs of the Religious Nature," Mrs. Louise V. Boyd, Iowa; "Political Economy," Miss Emily J. Leonard, Connecticut; "A Study of Saturn," Prof. Maria Mitchell, New York.

JENNIE COLLINS, the warm-hearted and energetic manager of "Boffin's Bower" in this city, has issued her twelfth annual report of the workings of that beneficent institution. She reports the number of applicants for employment as 1,545; and the number of employers applying for help, 1,154. Three thousand and sixteen meals were furnished to those out of employment. The receipts, including the proceeds of the annual fair, and $200 from the State, amounted to $2,168; expenditures, $2,088. There is a lesson for all at present well-to-do women contained in a statement made in this report, that the hardest class to deal with among those who seek the help of the "Bower" are those who have seen better days. Miss Collins says of these: "The applications are stereotyped: 'I have never been obliged to do anything for myself, and can give the best of references as to character and respectability; could be a companion to a lady, keep house where there are servants, or read to an invalid.' And my answer has to be as completely stereotyped as the application, that 'no rational, self-possessed lady has time to waste upon a companion.'" Useful work it appears is the only sort of labor which is always in demand, and every one should be ready at need to do that kind of labor in a skilful manner.

THE National Liberal League, which was formed in 1876 for the work of agitating and educating in favor of State secularization, but which, the past four years, has been diverted from this work and identified in the public mind with the clamor for the repeal of postal laws against the transmission of obscene literature through the mails, will hold its next annual convention at St. Louis, September 29 and 30 and October 1. We say now, as we did last year when the repeal resolutions, which the year previously had driven Col. Ingersoll and others from the organization, were reaffirmed, that the foolish policy adopted and the course pursued by the League have repelled from it the great mass of Liberals who are in favor of State secularization, and thrown it into the hands of those with whom the repeal of postal laws against indecent literature is an object to which every other object seems to be secondary. That the members of the League, generally, design or desire to encourage the circulation of such literature, we have never stated nor believed; but that the policy to which it is committed tends in that direction we are confident. Since the League has persisted in this policy, is under the leadership of persons who are devoted to it, since it publishes a paper in which prominence is given to repeal, and those lecturers and papers only are encouraged that advocate repeal, since it uses money obtained from auxiliaries and individuals, and employs every available means to strengthen the sentiment in favor of repeal, it follows, of course, that those who sustain the organization with their money or their influence are committed to the policy and share in the responsibility for the work which they thus help to perform. The determination to persist in the repeal policy, and at the same time to secure the support of those who have no sympathy with that policy, by such a contemptible resolution as was passed at the Chicago convention last year, has deceived no intelligent person, and was simply a piece of trickery, so regarded even by some of the members who were present. We make these statements because they are true, and because they are needed, influenced in no wise by the wilful and persistent misrepresentation and vile abuse which this journal and its editors have received the past year from the leading representatives of the League, through its own organ and other unscrupulous sheets they have been able to command.

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PROTESTANT JESUITISM IN GIRARD COLLEGE.

Protestants have been accustomed to complain bitterly of the cunning and deception practised by the Jesuit orders of the Catholic Church. The claim that fraud and falsehood might be allowed when the object was to advance Christ's kingdom has been decried by zealous anti-Catholics as most abhorrent to the very soul of Christian morality and as a veritable instigation of Satan himself. Yet the *Sunday School Times* of Philadelphia, a paper of immense circulation, devoted to building up the interests of Sunday-schools in all Protestant evangelical sects, has recently confessed and defended a piece of unblushing "Jesuitism" in the management of Girard College, as genuine, we venture to say, as any which can be found in the domain of the Church of Rome within the present century.

As is well known, Girard College, in which orphan boys are gratuitously educated, was founded by a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, Stephen Girard, who was a native of France, and, though not himself a man of much education, was a disciple of the doctrines of Voltaire and Rousseau,—a freethinker. In accordance with his views, Mr. Girard provided in his will that, while the scholars should be trained in the "purest morality," the school should give no instruction whatever in the tenets of any particular sect or church or religious faith; and, to carry out this provision, he enjoined that "no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college," and, to make his purpose doubly sure, he forbade that any such person should ever be admitted, even as a visitor, within the college premises.

Now, it may be admitted that this last clause was a needless restriction and showed the illiberality of a professing Liberal; that it was one of Mr. Girard's eccentricities, by which he intended to cast public reproach on a large class of persons in whose work he had little confidence; and that there was even, as has been suggested, a spice of personal spite in it, having origin in some unhappy circumstance connected with his own experience. In our own view the fine moral and benevolent purpose of the will is marred by this clause. Yet a better interpretation of its motive is possible; namely, that the sagacious old merchant meant to guard against any surreptitious teaching of theological doctrines which might creep in through a missionary "visitor." But, however this may be, the intent of the will was as plain as words could make it. While the pupils were to be trained in morals, in knowledge, and in manual labor, their minds were to be kept clear from all theological indoctrination, so that, as expressly stated, on entrance into active life they should be free to adopt "such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer." And the will, though contested in the courts, and with all the force of Daniel Webster's great intellect, and contested particularly on the point that there can be no charity nor morality in an institution divorced from the Christian religion, was declared to be valid. The magnificent edifice was built according to Mr. Girard's plans, and the school was inaugurated to carry out his humane purpose. The letter of the will has been strictly observed, even to the clause most declaimed against. No clergyman has ever held office in the college; nor has any clergyman of any sect ever entered within its gates, unless it has been done in a disguise that has deceived the managers. But how about the *spirit* and *intent* of the will? Let the *Sunday School Times* give answer in the following paragraph from its columns concerning the recent death of President Allen at the college:—

> In the funeral services of Dr. Allen, President of Girard College, a good illustration was given, on the one hand, of the narrow bigotry of the founder of that institution, in forbidding the admission of any clergyman within its walls, and, on the other hand, of the folly of all attempts to shut out positive Christian influences or pronounced religious teachings from such a place by legal provisions and human guards. During the illness of President Allen, neither his pastor nor any other Christian minister could visit him; nor could his own son, if that son were a clergyman of any denomination whatsoever, have passed within those walls to receive the farewell of his dying father. If a Buddhist priest were excluded, under such circumstances, from entering the precincts of a Christian college or hospital in America, what brutal bigotry it would be called! and rightly. Nor, again, could any Christian minister come within Girard College walls to have a part in the funeral services at the chapel there. So much for the bigotry side. But President Allen had himself done the work of a clergyman in that college while living; and, at his funeral, Christian services were there led by Christian laymen. After this, his remains were taken into a neighboring church, where Christian liberality gave freer air; and there a score or more of prominent Christian clergymen united with a large assembly in paying another tribute of respect to the life and work of this distinguished Christian layman. As Joseph said to his brethren who had sold him into slavery, so it may be said to Stephen Girard as to his attempted stigma on the influence of Christian ministers in the founding of that college, "Ye thought evil; but God meant it unto good to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people." You can shut out air and sunlight from a dungeon, but you cannot shut out Christian influences by a ten-foot wall in any part of God's creation. The heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing in taking counsel together against the Lord and his servants, after this fashion. "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision."

As to the "bigotry side" illustrated "in the funeral services" here described, enough has already been said above. We repeat, let the bigotry be admitted, though we see no occasion for applying to it so strong an epithet as "brutal." Dr. Allen knew the terms of the will, and it is to be assumed that he was ready to accept them. He understood, when he became President of the college, that, if he were to be sick and die there, he could not have his pastor to visit him nor any Christian ministers to conduct there his funeral services, nor, if he had a clergyman for son, receive that son there to give him his dying blessing. If he thought there was intolerable hardship in these conditions, he was under no obligation to subject himself to them by accepting the Presidency. Indeed, if President Allen was not a man entirely ready to forego "Christian" consolations on his death-bed and "Christian" services at his funeral, it may be said that he had no business to be dying there at all. If he was one who felt that "Christian" teaching was a necessity of existence, he should not have been an officer of the college.

But what shall we call the other "side" of the illustrative story told by the *Times*? There is no attempt to explain away the intention and motive of Mr. Girard in making his will. In a longer article in a subsequent number, the *Times* says frankly that Mr. Girard wished to have the pupils leave the college unbiassed in favor of any of the special religions of the world, and that he gave, as the reason for his course, his desire "to keep the tender minds of the orphans free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce"; and it even adds that "his proscription of clergymen was obviously because of their possible instructions and influence." That is, it is admitted that Mr. Girard did not proscribe clergymen simply because they are clergymen, but that it was his wish and purpose to shut out the theological and sectarian teaching which clergymen are accustomed to give. Yet, in the face of this clear statement that it was not so much the clergyman as his work that the founder of the college meant to exclude, the *Times* declares (and makes the declaration with an air of boastfulness) that President Allen, in the guise of a layman, "had himself done the work of a clergyman in the college." In other words, while conforming to the letter of the will in not being an ordained clergyman, President Allen, with the consent of the trustees, had been doing all that an ordained Christian clergyman could do to turn the college into an institution for Christian propagandism, contrary to the explicit directions of its founder.

And over this act of cunning strategy, by which Girard's munificence has been turned aside from the channel into which he directed it and been perverted to uses which he expressly proscribed, the *Times* exults and glories. It even pictures God as looking down upon the act with blessing, and conniving at the sharp practice by which the free thinker was outwitted and the Christian Church got hold of his funds. And this is the kind of morality which the *Sunday School Times* commends to the Sunday-school teachers of the land. To us, the act looks very much like a fraud and a swindle, and none the less so because done under cover of a decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania that Christianity is a part of the common law of the State, and that the inculcation of the "purest morality" in the college would necessitate the use of the Bible and the teaching of the Christian religion there. The *Times* exults over an open betrayal of a trust. It evidently thinks that an "infidel," however rich he may be in this world's goods, has no proprietary rights which "Christian" honor and honesty are bound to respect. If the property which he leaves for a benevolent purpose, according to his own views, can yet be turned by any trick of interpretation to the building up of the Christian Church, the *Times* thinks the end sanctifies the means, and declares it all right. If the same act had appeared in the Catholic Church, we think the *Times* would have found the true names for it,—perfidy, fraud, theft.

WM. J. POTTER.

A SEA-CHANGE.

In early life, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote a curious tale which does not appear in any of his volumes. It is entitled "Mother Rigby's Pipe." A witch has the humor to turn her scarecrow into a fine gentleman. After a glittering career in high society, this fine gentleman becomes betrothed to a fine lady. But one day she catches sight of him in a mirror, and rushes from his embrace with a shriek. The fine gentleman also caught sight of himself in the mirror, and, according to my recollection, went back to the witch, and begged her to make him appear what he really was. Then, he was stuck up in a potato-patch,—a thing of straw, old hat, jacket, and pipe,—and there lived and died an honest scarecrow. Scarecrows have not always that grace after they have once become fine gentlemen.

This tale occurred to my memory this morning as I sat beside the bathing-beach, where a thousand people or more went into the looking-glass. They appeared, in a sense, as they really are; and, in many cases, the transformation was greatly to their advantage. But there is another sense in which the "silver streak" which separates England from the Continent is a revealing mirror. The English man or woman who crosses it is very apt to suffer a sea-change into something rich and

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strange. Perhaps I may include the Americans. There are over a thousand English-speaking people here, and on Sunday they would have gone to church, and perhaps rolled up their eyes if any one had suggested frolicking in the water all the morning and going to the theatre or the grand ball in the evening. There is an English church here, but few there be that find it. The zest with which the English and Americans take to Sunday amusements on the Continent is notorious. On Sunday evening, I went to see "La Fille de Madame Angot"; and I believe that, if the secret heart of each Englishman present had been revealed, he would have pronounced the English Sabbath a scarecrow, he would have agreed that the one thing most needful for London would be a Sunday theatre.

The Sabbath is only one bit of the scarecrow careering as an English gentleman. From ancient Syrian corn-fields has come that effigy of outworn superstitions, which has lived this long because of its cleverness in avoiding mirrors; that is, being looked at by reflection. Originally raised to scare thought and freedom away from sacerdotal enclosures, this figure of a deity, jealous about his Sabbath, exacting about ceremonies, and always menacing damnation, has been conjured into the form of an Englishman. But no sooner is this thing of shreds and patches carried out of England, and he whom it invests becomes temporarily free from the witchery of conventionalism, than it is seen for what it really is; and the man rushes from it. It does not, however, imitate Hawthorne's fine gentleman, and return to be the antiquarian scarecrow, useful in its place, but by no means a real thing. No: it goes over to Dover, and remains there till the Englishman comes back from his vacation, when it gets into him again, and he remains sanctimonious for eleven months more. Yet even at home, if one holds a mirror before the Englishman, by getting him alone within four walls, he will confide his opinion that what goes by the name of "religion" is largely humbug.

Sunday theatres are recognized by thinking men on the Continent as a great agent of refinement. It is almost hopeless to think of mitigating the brutality and sottishness of the masses without them. Even Milton's Puritanism did not blind him to this; and he suggested that it would be wise for the government to subsidize several theatres where on Sunday evening the masses might witness the best dramas. But how bitterly would Almighty God feel if he saw these millions happy on Sunday!

The extent to which English culture is sacrificed to a pietism largely conventional, if not hypocritical, has just had a fresh illustration. Competent persons who attended the first performance of Wagner's new opera "Parsifal" at Bayreuth declare that it is one of the most grand and impressive works of art which this century has produced. Yet the chief London papers have warned us that we are not to see it: it can never be given in England. And wherefore? Because, to quote the *Times*, "'Parsifal' is a 'Sacred Festival Drama,' a revival of the mediæval 'Mystery,' and like its prototype full of references to the spirit and even the outward forms of Christian worship. Those who undertake the pilgrimage to Bayreuth will, no doubt, fully enter into the deeply reverent spirit in which the master has done his work. Perhaps the same persons would be justly shocked if they saw the same work in an every-day frame of mind, or as one of a series of ordinary theatrical shows. 'Parsifal' is an exceptional work, requiring exceptional surrounding. In London, it would be out of place as much as the Passion-Play of Oberammergau." Exceptional surrounding! That is, at home the Englishman feels himself under the necessity of being a long-faced, self-sanctified, Pecksniffian pedant and Philistine. Such is the theory of these journals. The English crowd Oberammergau, have made its fortune, write eulogies on it, snivel over it, and then wage war against every manager who proposes to introduce the like of it into London. The subject of "Parsifal" is from the English Scriptures. It is part of the one only great British myth, that of the Round Table and the search for the Sangreal. Nothing in the mythology of Greece, unless it be the myth of Prometheus, is more beautiful. The Sangreal is the cup made of single ruby, with which Jesus was said to have administered the Last Supper, and which afterward held his blood. The search of the Knights for it was in the belief that it held that which each desired most on earth. This is the story in the "Morte d'Arthur." Wagner seems to have combined all the variations of the myth with exquisite art, and to have produced not only a noble opera, but a valuable poem also,—a poem which, if discovered in ancient manuscript, in an old library, would be worth its weight in diamonds. But, in the opera, Parsifal silently prays. We can't allow that in London. Also the knights gather around the Sangreal and taste it. Worse and worse! That suggests the eucharist. Admirable at Bayreuth, it won't do in England. With what scorn will the England of a hundred years hence look back upon a generation which allows itself to be defrauded of the great daybeams of art by such nonsense as this!

However, Philistinism and Puritanism may hug heir delusions. Wagner has added to his already magnificent achievements one which marks an epoch. He has begun the work most needed, that of transforming the symbols of mediæval Christianity into artistic beauty. This further development of his grand epical purpose was anticipated in "Lohengrin." (By the way, it must have been an oversight, which once made had to be adhered to, that the white dove, symbol of the Holy Ghost, is allowed to appear at Covent Garden.) The symbols of a discredited faith can only be made to serve a real purpose by being rescued and reproduced by Art. It was so that the gods survived the decay of belief, in the dramas and sculptures of Greece. When there is no Art that can do that, the symbols are trampled on and rot. That is likely to be their end in England, and I fear in America too; for, somehow, there does not appear to be in either country any promise of a great Art.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

ORTHODOX AND LIBERALS IN CONFERENCE.

We have just witnessed a new phenomenon, as striking as it is novel. An association of evangelical ministers of Boston and vicinity invited the junior editor of the liberal paper, *The Index*, Mr. B. F. Underwood, to read them a paper on the adverse bearing of evolution on Christianity. Mr. Underwood complied with the invitation, and Prof. Chadbourne of Amherst College and Prof. Gray of Harvard University answered him in the same meeting. Tell it in Gath, and publish it in the streets of Jerusalem. Think of Bishop Butler, who would not have a private solicited interview with David Hume, having a public discussion with the Tyndall of his time. But the Butlers of our day are coming to that or something like it.

On the part of the orthodox, this fact is worthy of being commemorated and imitated. It is a proof of their growing faith, courage, and critical scientific research. The weak in faith are always lacking in courage. They are naturally afraid to meet alleged or supposed foes, and are easily deterred alike from discussion and investigation. Hence, all sign of reluctance to engage in fair debate on disputed subjects is interpreted by Liberals as a confession of conscious weakness or, at least, of inadequate confidence. All manly Christians will therefore hail with joy such a fact as that we have recorded. To them, it is hopeful and inspiring; and on the opposing camp is forced an augmented respect for the orthodox spirit, if not its talent.

The effects of such discussions, so far as they reach, are entirely healthful on both sides. The parties see each other face to face, and all the amenities of a true human brotherhood have some scope for exercise. Each party is under the necessity of hearing the other at equal length, and each states his own position with all the clearness and force which it can receive from special study and conviction and personal magnetism. The opposing forces are now engaged in a fair struggle for existence, and we may rest assured the fittest will survive. Therefore, if the orthodox are thoroughly assured of being the fittest, they should be expected to covet such struggles everywhere, until no foe remains to struggle against, and the happy universal equilibrium prophesied by Spencer, or rather a better one than his, is attained.

I think that, in this case, the action of the orthodox is partly due to the excellent style and gentlemanly spirit in which Mr. Underwood always speaks and writes. He is a man of convictions, who respects the intelligent convictions of others; and he always treats his themes in a philosophic spirit and in the light of science, presenting in these respects a great contrast to the popular declaimer against all sacred things.

But he who thinks he can maintain, before the force of modern science and criticism, all the old interpretations of the Bible and the metaphysical heirlooms of old theologies, is doomed to disappointment. An unacknowledged conviction of this makes all modern mediævalists averse to all such discussions and suspicions of all who favor them. Every age should think for itself, and each should think better than its predecessor in some things at least. Theology was not done up for all time by the councils and synods, nor the Bible by Henry, Gill, Scott, and Clarke. If the Bible be of God, it must be, like nature, equally good for the early pre-scientific mind, and for man's ripest attainments; and theories and interpretations will succeed each other, till we attain the broadest and deepest, the true.

While we rejoice in the fact which we here commemorate, this fact is only better than nothing in that line. A portion of a single morning for distinguished advocates and opponents to contest it concerning the verity of Christianity, — how utterly inadequate! As Prof. Chadbourne said, in his speech, it is impossible to do such a subject adequate justice in a discussion of less than a week or ten days. But, if such a time were given to it, I think it would be made clear that his own chief assertions in that same speech against Mr. Underwood are untenable, and that he must seek some better method of defending theism. How slipshod, for instance, is his inference of divine Providence, because the great trend of the evolving forces is in the main in a good direction. In a fuller discussion, he would be taught to see that, for explanation of this fact, we need only say that the all-great and ever-acting force, unconscious below man and animals, works, as we find it working, by an intrinsic necessity of its nature, not by design and volition.

WM. I. GILL.

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THE SPENCERIAN METAPHYSICS.

Lovers of thorough thinking cannot help the conviction that the direction and degree of indebtedness to Herbert Spencer is at present seriously inverted; nor can they suppress the prophecy and the hope that this inversion may some time be corrected. The popular consciousness has imbibed more of his metaphysics than of his invaluable studies in biology, sociology, and ethics. This is natural; but it is also regrettable. It was probably inevitable in the sequences of psychologic growth that the part of Spencer's work which offered a substitute for the disappearing theologies should become most quickly popularized. The first hundred and twenty pages of *First Principles* (about a fourth of the whole book) are busied with a refined metaphysical problem, nothing less than what the late Prof. Clifford called an attempt "to solve the universe." The modesty of science takes things in parts, but nothing less than the universe contents the ambition of philosophy. Had Mr. Spencer been content with the glory of a *scientific* philosopher,—*i.e.*, if he had drawn his splendid generalizations solely from experience,—there would have been no loose stone in his beautiful temple. As it is, his metaphysics hangs by the loosest possible attachment to his physics. A slight pull will detach it: a breath will almost dislodge it. Let us see if we can make clear this instability.

The general criticism is not a new one, but is in range with that applied by John Stuart Mill to those English and French systems which diverged from his own. It is inconvenient that Mr. Spencer gave no distinctive *name* to his metaphysics. He calls the entire body of his work *A New System of Philosophy*, and nine tenths of it actually consists in the elaboration and application of the law of evolution. Thus, his real inductive philosophy is the majestic system of evolution. But on the narrow area of his metaphysics has been reared a popular and easily intelligible set of ideas, which its creators have named agnosticism. This statement must be taken with some local limitation however, since in England a modified Comteism has helped to create agnosticism. But agnosticism in the United States is generally traceable to Spencer's metaphysics. Then, in addition to this popular absorption and reproduction, helped by lecturers like Mr. Ingersoll, who have broken the Spencerian bread in a hurried way to the multitude, there have been scholarly and careful men like Mr. John Fiske, who, approaching their master in a reverent and philosophical spirit, have tried to interpret him to the intelligence of the critical. Thus, the thinking, if not the name, of Herbert Spencer, has been widely influential. It is to those who have taken his metaphysics into more thoughtful acceptance that this criticism appeals.

Mr. Spencer himself, and his disciples still more earnestly, would object to the application of the word "metaphysics" to anything which he has written. But what are all the minute arguments to prove an "Absolute," an "Unconditioned," or an "Unknowable," except reasonings toward a pure metaphysical entity? Sometimes, Mr. Spencer calls this *something* "Being," "Ultimate Reality," "Inscrutable Power," or the "Infinite"; but he always capitalizes it, and he reiteratedly and unqualifiedly affirms its existence. He makes science yield this "Absolute Being" as its final term: he makes religion yield it likewise. He makes it the substratum of matter: he also makes it the substratum of mind. In the chapter on the "Persistence of Force," he identifies the Unknowable with that abstraction: saying, "Thus by the persistence of Force we really mean the persistence of some Power which transcends our knowledge and conception. The manifestations, as occurring either in ourselves or outside of us, do not persist; but that which persists is the Unknown Cause of these manifestations. In other words, asserting the persistence of Force is but another mode of asserting an Unconditioned Reality, without beginning or end; . . . and this persistence of the universe (in consciousness) is the persistence of that Unknown Cause, Power, or Force, which is manifested to us through all phenomena." Here, and in other paragraphs, the great thinker endeavors to vitalize the Absolute so far that we shall accept it as an irrefutable, overawing fact or presence, while at the same moment that he thus breathes into it the breath of life, he tries to strike it dead by proving that it can never come into experience, that we can know absolutely nothing of it, that we may not even predicate unity of it, or liken it to anything else in thought, but simply admit its existence because of the impossibility of conceiving its non-existence. The chief part of the argument is given to the demonstration of the *existence* of the Absolute; and, at the end, the impression left on the mind which accepts the reasoning is that of a vague but intense *somewhat* penetrating or underlying the universe, hiding behind the personality of human minds, and making experience possible only by its self-revelations. The *reality* of this Absolute out of which phenomena emerge is as distinct to the reader as Plato's Over-soul. Invest Mr. Spencer's Absolute with personality, and it can at once be classified with the gods of Greece. Under its present statement, it approaches more nearly to the impersonal Brahm of the Hindu metaphysics than to anv other religious conception. It has no more title to existence than the "Absolute" of Hegel, a postulate which he arrived at quite in defiance of experience. It is philosophically identical with the entities and quiddities of the scholastics; *i.e.*, it is arrived at by an equally illegitimate process of thinking. It is difficult to see why Mr. Spencer, who promised us the deanthropomorphization of the universe, should have created and placed within it this huge ontological spectre.

It is not easy to indicate in brief space the faulty bases of the Spencerian metaphysics. The primary cause is doubtless inherited intellectual tendencies. Mr. Spencer is the heir of ages of unscientific thinking. He desires to take his stand upon experience, induction, and pure scientific ratiocination; but he has not done so. He also hopes to be the peacemaker in the old conflict of science and religion. A mind which holds strictly to experience, and to reasoning founded on experience, cannot evolve an "Absolute" beyond phenomena. The word "phenomena" is itself misleading, and should never have crept into modern speech. It has entered our speech because we are the inheritors of the unscientific thought which it expresses. The "phenomenon" is the correlative of the "noumenon"; and no "noumenon" can be found in experience, neither can any be inferred by right reasoning. The prop which upholds all these fallacies is the widely accepted doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. To deny the legitimacy of this doctrine is to be guilty of a philosophical heresy; yet it is a doctrine which is undoubtedly destined to fall with increasing knowledge. This doctrine teaches that we cannot know things *per se*, but only as related to our faculties. The capacity of consciousness is the limit of our knowledge of the external world. This idea is regarded by most scholars as so overwhelmingly self-evident as to need no argument. Granting the relativity of knowledge is in effect to grant the existence of the "Absolute," for the latter is identical with the "noumenon" and with the *thing in itself*. Now, science is continually advancing in the direction of making life or mind an intelligible thing. The mysteries of consciousness are one by one being gathered into the fold of verifiable scientific data. The subtle connection of subject and object is being drawn into the light. We get impressions of the world outside us by taking up motion from it through a system of nerves. These nerve vibrations can be measured, and the rate of progress of motion from afferent to efferent nerve recorded. Sound, mass-motion, light-motion, or electrical motion, occurring in matter not in contact with our bodies, may be brought into contact with them by normal physical processes; and these motions may be taken up by the nervous matter of our bodies through the correlation of force (or *motion*, for all forces are resolvable into motion), and these motions will produce in us their exact equivalents of consciousness or nerve action, precisely as mechanical action produces its equivalent of heat when transferred or translated to adjacent bodies, or as heat produces its equivalent of mass-motion in moving a train, or as electricity produces its equivalent of light when arrested by the carbons of the electric lamp. The human body with its specially responsive nerve system is correlated with all other matter in the universe, and takes up motion from it continually, this motion reappearing in the brain as thought, in the muscles as mass-motion, etc. The latest physiological researches are proving the human body to be but a medium for the transformation of energy, a wondrously sensitive and complex medium, but still only one in a series of material masses through which motion, or energy, passes in its ceaseless round. Physiology will be the destroyer of the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge by putting, in place of its mystic phraseology, proved and intelligible organic processes which can be distinctly stated, because understood. There is no more difficulty in conceiving the transformation of molecular or molar motion into sensation and thought than in conceiving them as transformed into electricity or heat. Improbable or not, the fact that they are so transformed is irresistible. We cannot see ourselves think, because thinking is not a motion which acts upon the optic nerve; but, if we had instruments sufficiently nice, we could doubtless see the physiological nerve motion which constitutes thought in the person or animal in whom it occurs. As knowledge advances, the "Absolute" must fade away out of mind and out of matter, like all its metaphysical kith and kin that have gone before.

M. A. HARDAKER.

PHILOPROGENITIVENESS.

Weeds are always a thriving kind of vegetation; and low-grade humanity is always philoprogenitive, always increases and multiplies in the face and eyes of its inability to maintain its progeny, which are cast upon society as waifs, to take their chances in the struggle of existence. Darwin tells us, in his *Descent of Man*, that the reckless, degraded, and often vicious members of society tend to increase at a quicker rate than the provident and generally virtuous members. Meantime, the mortality among the children born of such a parentage is always great.

This improvident, rapidly multiplying kind of population is known as *proletgires;* that is, as people who have many children and not much else. Out of its ranks, current industrialism draws its cheap laborers. In the English manufacturing districts, this description of population increases and multiplies wonderfully when labor is in great demand and well paid, and wanes and dwindles in hard times. Everybody remembers the Æsopic

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fable, in which some philoprogenitive animal, the rabbit, perhaps, is represented as taunting the lion with the smallness of his family. "It is true that I have but a single offspring," replied the king of beasts; "but that is *a lion*." Meantime, Dr. Allen, of Lowell, continues to indulge in jeremiads in regard to the decline of the family in New England. It is undoubtedly true that the matrimonial bond is not so strong as it used to be, and also that the stirring, locomotive populations of the present day are not likely to have, and do not have, such large families as the less enterprising, stationary populations of the past had. But we are living in a transition period.

Humanity everywhere is pervaded by new hopes and prospects. All its powers are taxed and called into intense activity by the exigencies of current civilization. Men will no longer consent to vegetate merely. But let not Dr. Allen be disturbed. There will be no failure of humanity either here or elsewhere; for the nature of things has so ordered it, has given the sexual passion in such excess, that there can be no such failure. As long as there are youth and beauty, there will be love and desire, and, as an inevitable corollary, progeny. Indeed, the tendency has always been, other things being equal, for populations to increase too rapidly for their own good or the good of the communities to which they belonged. Such an increase subjects the mass of the people in overcrowded countries to the extremes of poverty. Misery and epidemic diseases are liable to decimate, and do periodically decimate, such overcrowded countries, thus restoring the social equilibrium. Such overcrowding makes human beings too cheap, in fact the cheapest of all commodities. As ignorant, improvident, low-grade populations are apt to multiply the fastest, so they are apt to become turbulent and social nuisances by their mere numerousness. Since the mass of the rural population of France became small real-estate owners, the census of that country has remained almost or quite stationary.

The philoprogenitiveness of the French peasant is now restrained by prudential considerations. He has in fact, though unconsciously, become a Malthusian. Napoleon I. told Madame de Staël, who had inquired of him whom he regarded as the noblest woman, that the woman with the largest family was entitled to the foremost rank in her sex, in his opinion. But he wanted recruits for his armies and as food for powder in his perpetual wars. That was why he was in favor of a reckless and indefinite increase and multiplication of population. But the thrifty French peasant of to-day has no disposition to burden himself with a numerous family for the sake of furnishing cheap laborers or cheap soldiers to selfish capitalists or selfishly ambitious usurpers.

It is needless to say that overcrowded populations are necessarily at the mercy of wealth and ambition. Such political institutions as ours do not thrive in dense, poverty-stricken populations. Indeed, they were never intended for improvident, ignorant, proletarian communities, but for an intelligent, foresighted, well-to-do average people, with plenty of room and means to live in a state of self-respect, and material, moral, and political independence. It is among low-grade, dense populations that despotisms of all descriptions, both civil and ecclesiastical, thrive and have the best prospects of an indefinite continuance. Dense populations crowded into narrow territorial limits are kept down by their very numbers. Their only hope is in emigration. No change of government will better their condition.

The philoprogenitiveness of the German people, while it keeps them in straitened circumstances at home, is good for the world at large, because their straitened circumstances and compulsory military service drive them to emigration; and German immigrants are invaluable to all new, sparsely settled countries. Such considerations as the above are calculated to mitigate the melancholy of Dr. Allen over the decline of philoprogenitiveness here and elsewhere, albeit there is really no lack of children in our *live*, thriving towns and cities. On the contrary, the racket in the streets of many places indicates that there is a surplusage of them.

B. W. BALL.

UNITARIANS IN CONFERENCE.

I

Having attended at Saratoga the meetings held September 19, 20, 21, and 22, I propose to give in three papers a critical sketch of the present aspects of Unitarianism as represented in its National Conference.

It is instructive to note the indications given by Unitarian prayers, and in fact by many orthodox prayers. They consist largely of confused thoughts hastily meditated and uttered in view of the human audience, not the divine hearer. An avowed agnostic meditation could not be less real prayer, and might easily be more serious and suitable, than these thoughts spoken to men under the guise of an address to God. Dr. J. F. Clarke opened the first conference meeting with a prayer largely spoken to the audience.* In what he spoke to God, he said, "We come together as those who love thy Dear Child and our Dear Brother, Jesus." This exactly represents the survival of Orthodoxy which still does duty in the religion of many Unitarians. Instead of grand adoration of the Infinite, the Eternal, the Almighty God and Father, which is alone genuine Unitarianism and real religion, there is a feeble and dying worship of Jesus. If Unitarianism should prove unequal to its natural future, it will be from its failure to wholly and absolutely pass from the utterly wrong worship of the old faiths to an utterly genuine and pure worship. Does any one suppose that if the plainest and deepest teaching of Jesus himself had been heeded, to worship and serve only the Lord thy God and to take the only God and Father as the example of perfection, that any Teacher, Prophet, Master of truth and example, would be referred to as Christ is referred to by very many Unitarians? The theism of this worship of Jesus is so faint as to have almost no effect; and it seems to me that, on the conservative side of Unitarianism, a good deal more than on the radical, the truth and power of a genuine faith, able to meet agnosticism and to maintain a barrier against atheism, are wanting. To say that Christ was genuine and true as a man, pure and profound as a teacher, admirable as a human example, and grandly providential as a radical reformer, is intelligible, and is to me true. But this is not to say that he is a religious object. And probably the least suitable substitute for an infinite God ever acknowledged is the man whom Unitarians make Jesus to have been, while yet there survives with them a worship of him, the weakest and least useful possible. There is already taking shape a Free Religion of Orthodoxy, the root of which is pure adoration of the Infinite Father; and within no long time it will go to the front, and leave Unitarianism hopelessly in the rear, unless Unitarians can beat their music out to a grand pure theism, as the conservatives among them have not yet adequately begun to do.

Gov. Long, as President of the Conference, opened the conduct of business with a few fresh and inspiring words. As chairman throughout the meetings held, he was from first to last both able in his duties and broad and genial in his sympathies. He commended the Conference to the clearer light and the larger progress of the future, and his whole spirit and action were in harmony with this.

The Rev. G. Reynolds, President of the Council, made the report of that body. Mr. Reynolds is the ablest and broadest denominational agent ever employed by the Unitarian body. With solid good sense, sagacity, and tact, catholic sympathies, and sledge-hammer strength, he is the right man to get the most done with the least means, which is the problem given him to solve. He tells his constituents, plainly and justly, that on a not too certain expectation of thirty-five cents, they ask him to spend fifty cents. I refer to his office as Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, which gets $35,000 a year where its lowest limit for work to be done ought to be $50,000, and never gets that in good business season. But Mr. Reynolds is not sour in even his complaints, and in his hopes and resolution he is grandly cheerful. He conceives that the Conference exists to quicken and inspire, to advise and appeal, to make inquiry and to give instruction; and he desires that thereby the Unitarian body shall keep abreast of advance, shall know the subjects which are in the air, shall cause the movement of faith and life to be no monopoly of the clergy, and shall make union real and piety intelligent, and get work out of old ruts into new and broader fields. He considers, and wisely it seems to me, that the Conference is not so much a practical working body as it is a practical source of inspiration and influence, amply exercising practical power without taking in hand practical details. This ideal is not, however, very closely followed. There is too much of details, reports, and routine business, interfering with large discussion, broad attention to general plans, and close pursuit of inspiring inquiry. The Western men have an heroic Conference which does everything at once, not having learned that the Mary of fervent ideals and the Martha of denominational housework were best given each a place; and they are crazy to "amalgamate" the American Unitarian Association and the National Conference, and wildly prophesy the coming of the millennium if they can see Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Thayer, the two secretaries, in one jacket, which is to be the jacket, in this case, of the smaller man. They would only damage immensely the Conference as an organ of inquiry, of thought, of inspiration, by making it take in hand the multifarious work of the Association. What is wanted rather is to make the Conference, more purely than it is now, a school of broad plans, of large principles, of ample free discussion, and of grand inspiration; a school of liberty and learning, of fellowship and communion, from which ministers and delegates will go back to their homes nobly quickened and greatly instructed. The spasm of "work" which has had a beneficent side has had also a side of ill effect, in denying ideas and ideals, thought and enthusiasm, study and discussion, their due place. Unitarianism has so largely dealt thus far with negation and criticism, and so little with reconstruction and new positive development, that it peculiarly needs to use to the utmost the opportunities of free conference, which some of the more conservative are unworthily afraid of, and many of the more radical are not enough awake to the need of.

Mr. J. Page Hopps, an English Unitarian minister, opened the work of the Conference by an essay on "Jesus Christ's Unfulfilled Ideal of Religious Unity." To Mr. Hopps, Jesus Christ is a man simply, not an object of worship; and, had he done himself justice, his theme would have been fruitful of radical suggestions. He might have outlined

* Dr. Clarke began a passage of his prayer with these words: "And when we remember that dear brother by whom at first was done so much to form this union."

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the demands of the present time upon Christianity, and asserted that to meet them would only require a recovery of the original ideal of Christ. But Mr. Hopps proved an exhorter rather than a thinker and scholar. I asked as instructed and acute a critic as I could consult to tell me what his critical opinion of Mr. Hopps' essay was; and his reply was, "A pleasant and interesting statement of the thought of fifty years ago, with a touch of nineteenth century interest at the end of the paper." About all that Mr. Hopps had to say was that the ideal suggested in the Beatitudes and the command to love one another remain unfulfilled. He was commonplace; and he contrived to about half-spoil the delivery of his exhortation by lying down on the pulpit most of the time, and reading as if to a few persons under his nose instead of to the very large audience before him. It is a not uncommon English habit. Some points of Mr. Hopps' essay were very well put; and, though never very high, he rose steadily to the end. To talk of Christian unity, he said, was like telling an idle dream. The creeds are clearest in the clauses that damn. But, in the great hereafter, men will have to make the best of the fact that the great God proves to be no partisan. Half the bliss of heaven will consist in reconciling the enmities of earth. If a broad ideal carries us beyond Christendom altogether, and embraces the pagan, so much the better. There are other names given under heaven than that of Christ, whereby men may be saved. In fact, the highest intimations of divine unity will be found in the secular life of the nineteenth century, its spirit of universal brotherhood which grows out of the idea of the fatherhood of God. The ideal is not yet achieved, not yet approached even. There shall be not only a united church, but a united humanity. We may be sure that the ideals of man are the promises of God.

A good example of the inspiring instruction wanted on the conference platform was given in Dr. W. B. Carpenter's address, "Upon the Influence of Science on the Progress of Religious Thought." Dr. Carpenter is an F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal Society. The *Christian Register* gave to these letters of high dignity the meaning "Free Religious Society." Dr. Carpenter had nothing new to say; and he was conservative in his application of the truths of science, but what he said was interesting and quickening. He pointed out how creation had been found to be a continuous act from all time. The object of science is the discovery of laws expressing the uniformities of nature,—*not* governing, regulating, ordering phenomena, as is too often said, but expressing observed uniformities. We get from science a conception of energy, force, power,—not motion merely, but a cause of motion. All modern science grasps the idea of the unity of all the forces of nature, and we are by this left where we must see a constant sustaining action of creative power. Push evolution speculations to their utmost limit, and we only get to one force of which all forces are the expression. Science itself has obtained an immense emancipation from trammels of authority, such as the dogmas of Aristotle. Prejudice, stronger in Protestant lands than anywhere else, and strongest of all in Great Britain, has slowly given way; and with freedom of science has come the progressive enfranchisement of thought, and the love of truth for its own sake. Mistakes have indeed been made. Liebig said, "Show me a man who has made no mistakes, and I will show you a man who has never worked." Darwin was an incarnation of the love of truth, and there gathered at his burial an unexampled company of the men and women of intellect in England. The Darwin family are of long association with Unitarianism in England, a body that has never been afraid of any truth whatever.

The Conference was never so large in numbers as it has been now, nor more attentive to the serious business which brought so great a company together. E. C. TOWNE.

ELECTRICITY AND LIFE.

The Rev. Edward C. Towne, who has lately returned from several years' residence and study abroad, has in preparation three lectures on the Natural History of Creation and Development in the World of Life, the purpose of which is to announce and establish the following conclusions:

1. That all life in both animals and plants is due to atom charges of electricity carried into the living system by the oxygen of respiration; life being not at all the result of the properties of protoplasm, but of oxygenic electrisation of the protoplasm.

2. That the natural course of electrical action in protoplasm establishes functions and creates structure to corespond to function.

3. That variations arise from the influence of the environment upon electrically conditioned reproductive germs or embryonic forms, and give the true origin of species,—not by means of natural selection, as Darwinism teaches, but by a vastly easier and more rapid and efficient method of natural creation.

The views advanced in these lectures get rid of the protaplasm theory of the basis of life, and of the minor theories of Darwinism; but they confirm and greatly strengthen, Mr. Towne thinks, the main doctrine of evolution. If accepted as true, they must form an addition to human knowledge of the greatest significance and interest, discoveries in fact almost without a parallel, whether as contributions to science or in their relation to medical knowledge and practice. The special titles of the three lectures are: The Electrical Origin of Life; Creation and Development through Electrical Agency; and The True Origin of Species by Natural Creation.

It will be remembered that Prof. Helmholtz, in his Faraday Lecture last year before the Chemical Society in London, lent the highest authority to the view which, as Prof. Helmholtz stated, was first brought into notice by "the elaborate electro-chemical theory of the renowned Swedish chemist, Berzelius,"—the view that atoms are in a state of electrical charge, and that, in Prof. Helmholtz's words, "the quantities of electricity with which the atoms appear to be charged are exceedingly high." It is from this fact that Mr. Towne proceeds to show that in all protoplasmic forms in which liveliness or life appears, whether animal or plant, the vital state and vital motions are due to the charge and currents of electricity brought in from without by the oxygen atoms on which all life is found to depend. This is the "working hypothesis" upon which it is proposed to reconstruct the foundations of biological science and of medicine, and to give to evolution a basis much surer than the Darwinian.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

AT the National Unitarian Conference last week, Rev. M. J. Savage proposed that the following Article should be added to the Constitution:—

ART. 10. While we believe that the preamble and the articles of our Constitution fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches, yet we wish distinctly to put on record our declaration that they are no authoritative test of Unitarianism, and are not intended to exclude from our fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims.

The Article, being referred in regular order to the Business Committee, was reported back favorably, and, after the briefest remarks commending it by Messrs. J. F. Clarke and E. E. Hale, was adopted almost unanimously, without debate, and perhaps before a large portion of the meeting waked up to the fact of what was being done. Even Mr. Savage had no opportunity to make a speech upon it. Discussion evidently was not wanted by the majority. We understand, however, that Mr. Savage (who considers the points well taken in our recent article on the "Relation of Radicals to the Conference") is satisfied with the result for the present, as giving him a position in the Conference which otherwise he could not have had, and from which he can work for a more effective amendment hereafter. To us, the new Article seems inadequate, even more so than the compromise Article passed in 1868 and rescinded in 1870. But Mr. Savage is alert and vigorous, and he may be able to use his new vantage-ground to good purpose. We advise him, however, to keep his eyes open and be on hand early at the next Conference, or somebody on the other side, by the same quick process and without the unnecessary formality of a discussion, may get this year's Article rescinded by the like unanimity, and another adopted in its place, clinching the Conference anew to allegiance to the dogmatic Preamble. W. J. P.

THE following is from the *Presbyterian*: "It is stated in the *Advance* that, not long before Theodore Parker went abroad and died, Emerson said to him at Concord: 'We must get rid of that Christ, we must get rid of that Christ!' If the story is true, it agrees with everything known about Emerson, and with much written by him. He was an eminent and quite attractive Pagan, living in the nineteenth century, but living a life wholly apart from Christ, and ready, as the above remark indicates, to say, 'Away with him!'"

IT is strange that a scholar of Mr. Chadwick's critical ability should have imagined the very able work, *A Candid Examination of Theism*, was written by a weakling like Mallock. We quote the following from a communication in the *Christian Register*, by Thomas R. Slicer: "The most authoritative information came to hand only to-day from London, where the book was first published, saying that the author of *A Candid Examination of Theism* is G. J. Romanes, whose 'chief writings are on physiological subjects.' I am assured there can be 'no mistake' in the statement of the authorship. You will recall a book of Mr. Romanes just announced, *Evidences of Organic Evolution*."

THE *Christian Union*, last week, contained a very fair editorial on "An Important Discussion on Evolution," in which it gave the leading ideas of those who spoke at the meeting of the Evangelical Ministers of Boston and vicinity, held in Boston, September 11. We quote the concluding paragraph only: "It is worthy of mention that the views of Prof. Gray, as well as of Prof. Chadbourne, were received with great cordiality. Although the majority of clergymen may not be prepared to go as far as the Cambridge botanist,—the acceptance of evolution,—they are not only willing, but even eager, to know the evidence for the theory. The time when ministers scoffed and derided Darwin and his disciples has forever passed." The *Congregationalist* concludes its notice of the meeting thus: "Great interest was maintained throughout the meeting, many being unable to gain admittance. There was some criticism of the committee for having invited one holding such views as Mr. Underwood to address the meeting."

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MR. W. C. GANNETT explains in a recent number of *Unity* his motive for moving the reconsideration of the resolution concerning "Freedom, Fellowship, Character, etc.," adopted, as Rev. C. W. Wendte had declared, by a unanimous vote at the late Western Conference. It was, he says, because the vote was *not* unanimous, and our own conjecture as to his motive was mistaken. The following spirited words of his are worth quoting: "The very policy that we need to-day is a policy of daring faith,—a faith in rational and moral principles, not merely as necessary to religion, but *as necessitating religion.* Unitarianism has long stood for the first: it is the last which we hesitated to declare at Cleveland. And this last thing is the faith that will yet be formally declared,—if not by Unitarians, *then by others for lack of Unitarians.* And, if this faith be not Christianity, then on this faith, *for lack of Christianity, a new religion will arise.*" (The last italics are ours.) He retains his impression, however, that "Unitarians will yet be glad suitors for the apostleship of the high faith."

WE clip the following from the New York *Sun*:—

The death of President Allen of Girard College, Philadelphia, has called public attention to the provisions made in the will of Stephen Girard against Christianity being taught in the institution which he munificently founded. During Mr. Allen's illness, neither his pastor nor any other Christian minister could visit him, and none could go within the college walls to take part in the funeral services. But the exclusion of ministers does not seem to have accomlished what Girard intended. . . . The Girard heirs and the trustees of the fund are said to be a unit as to the propriety of teaching Christianity in the college, while technically obeying the will by excluding clergymen.

That part of Girard's will excluding Christian ministers from the college he founded, although its object was to protect the institution from ecclesiastical influence was neither liberal nor wise; but "teaching Christianity in the college" is as palpable a violation of a public trust under the forms of law as ever occurred, involves dishonesty and perfidy on the part of all who are responsible for it, is a disgrace to the State of Pennsylvania, and serves to illustrate what is now evident to all honest observers,—that zeal for evangelical Christianity is compatible with the absence of those common sentiments of justice and fidelity which are acknowledged by all honorable men. We make this statement deliberately, and hope to live long enough to see the decision by which this injustice was perpetrated reversed, and the will of Stephen Girard faithfully executed.

THE *Churchman*, like the other religious newspapers, has its say about Col. Ingersoll's reference to the picture of Mary at the cross in his speech in the Star-Route trial, and his comparison of her faithfulness with that of the wife of his client. Why, asks the *Churchman*, in the whirlwind of its passion, should Col. Ingersoll venture to take such a subject on his lips at all? "For one who has been for years deriding the Gospel and the Gospel story, whose mean ambition is to be known as a disbeliever in Christianity, and who but a few minutes before had insolently announced his doubts of the very existence of God, to dishonor the name of the Redeemer, by taking it upon his lips and dragging it into his address for dramatic effect, arouses the indignation and disgust, not of Christians alone, but of all lovers of decency." Concerning which brave language it should be remarked that, whatever is to be said of Col. Ingersoll's taste in his reference to the woman at the cross in connection with Mrs. Dorsey, the matter has nothing on earth to do with religion or the "existence of God"; and, in all good nature, we advise the religious newspapers to make capital out of something other than this, else the people will think them very hard up indeed. Col. Ingersoll has the same simple right to the illustration as the Bishop of Connecticut or the Pope of Rome or anybody else. The religious newspapers are indeed often very dull, but certainly none of them ought to be so dull as to imagine that Col. Ingersoll's "derisions" of some archaisms and absurdities in the "Gospel story" must needs affect his reverence for the character and teachings of Jesus himself or his appreciation of the faithfulness of the woman at the cross. The ecclesiastical mind seems to find it difficult to conceive of any reverential or even honorable attitude of mind toward Christ in one who does not view him as "the second person of the blessed Trinity"; and the *Churchman* evidently believes that all enthusiastic or even respectful words concerning Christ from such a one are mere sentimental buncombe or hypocrisy. The *Churchman* has much to learn, and, among other things, this,—that no "insolence" of Col. Ingersoll ever equalled the insolence of assumptions like these.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

SUNRISE.

With sudden flash behold the sun
New-risen intensely burning,
To glorious Cosmos once again
Night's formless chaos turning!
His blinding splendor flows abroad
In mighty inundation:
What wonder that the primal man
Bent low in adoration,
As if he heard ring in his ear
The fiat of creation?

Apocalypse more grand, august,
To prophet ne'er was given,
When, into awful vistas oped,
He saw the future riven,
The misty mountain-tops and vales
With Memnon-strains seem sounding
To hymn day's luminary vast,
Once more old night confounding.

B. W. BALL.

For *The Index.*

THE VOICE OF THE MORNING.

I sit on our "blessed veranda"
In the sweet early cool of the dawn,
Inhaling a life-giving fragrance—
The breath from its purity born.
Farewell to the night-wings of slumber!
Refreshed, at the coming of light,
I wait for the voice of the morning,
As we listened the hush of the night!

To the west, down our beautiful valley
The vaporous mist rolls afar:
It has followed the gates of the sunset—
Departing with vanishing star.
And clouds have the orient shadowed,
The day-god to hedge on his way,
But crimson and purple above them
Are promising tokens of day.

The birds sing their songs in the tree-tops,—
My heart is a-tilt with their song:
Above the dark cloud there is spreading
An exquisite glory along!
And HOPE is the voice of the morning
That carols its joy to my soul;
For sadness hath fled with the shadows,
And Love crowns the infinite whole!

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

VALLEY OF THE MISSISQUOI, VT.,
SUNRISE, July 18, 1882.

The Index.

BOSTON SEPT. 28, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

EVOLUTION

In its Relations to Evangelical Religion.*

Addresses of B. F. Underwood, Prof. P. A. Chadbourne, and Prof. Asa Gray at a Meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held in Boston, Sept. 10, 1882.

Address of B. F. Underwood.

Mr. President and members of the Association:—

I wish first to express my appreciation of the liberality evinced in your inviting an avowed free thinker to present before you for consideration and discussion objections to your faith, based upon science. In the letter in which your Secretary requested me to speak on this occasion, I was informed that the subject would be "Evolution in its Relations to Evangelical Religion"; and accordingly, in the time permitted me by your courtesy, I shall endeavor to state some of the principles of Evolution, with a reference to such facts as will serve to illustrate the theory, and to show some of the points of conflict between Evolution and Evangelical Religion, as I understand these two systems of thought.

Evolution implies a continuous process of change in which every event has an antecedent; in which the condition of any given age is the outgrowth and product of all pre-existing ages; in which a fundamental law is the integration of matter, and the concomitant dissipation of motion, exhibited alike in the crystallization of carbon into a diamond and the growth of an animal from a germ; in which, in the field of biology, where Evolution becomes a double process, there goes on, with the integration of matter, increasing multiformity, together with increasing coherence, definiteness, and mutual dependence of parts, and a

*Although the subject was announced at the meeting, "Evolution: Is what is proved about it antagonistic to Biblical Creation and Evangelical Religion?" it is given above as stated in the following letter, asking Mr. Underwood to give the address:—

SCITUATE, MASS., Aug. 16, 1882.

B. F. UNDERWOOD, ESQ.:

Dear Sir,—I have been shown in *The Index* some articles of yours on Darwin and Evolution, etc., and you have thus been indicated as one likely to do a desired service.

The Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston and vicinity, commonly known as the "Evangelical Alliance," has a regular meeting at Wesleyan Hall, Monday, 10 A.M., September 11. It is designed to have presented the subjects of "Evolution in its Relations to Evangelical Religion." It is presumed that you would take the ground that this evolution would damage the Bible and its account of creation, and disparage evangelical religion. If that is your position, will you do us the favor to present your views in a paper of twenty minutes or more, or an oral address? At that time, Rev. Dr. Townsend will follow on the other side.

There will be a large audience, mostly of evangelical ministers, usually some four hundred, who, I have no doubt, will give a respectful hearing to any views you may think best to present on that occasion.

Will you do me the favor to give me an early and I hope a favorable reply? Very truly yours,

WILL C. WOOD,
Secretary Evangelical Ministers' Association.

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subordination of the various parts and manifold functions to the movements of the whole structure.

Evolution teaches that in this process there is an orderly succession of phenomena in which the thread of continuity is preserved unbroken, and in which every manifestation of force is part of a rhythm of motion, and in the co-operant conditions of which are represented the forces adequate to produce all the phenomena that occur. A manifestation *without* antecedents would be a product without factors. If any one of the great generalizations of this age has been established upon an impregnable foundation, it is that of the conservation and correlation of forces. If the amount of force in the universe is constant, no event can occur without an antecedent in the natural order; for the persistence of force means that, whenever energy appears in one form or place, it has changed from some other form, or disappeared from some other place.

If a cannon-ball, while in a state of rest and operated upon by no external agent, should manifest force in the form of heat equal to the mass motion when shot from a cannon, we would have what I presume might be called a "miracle"; for it would involve a manifestation of force without a natural antecedent, an effect without a cause, a link forming no part of any known chain, the destruction of a link in a known chain, a breach in the ongoings of nature, and a violation of the principle of the conservation and correlation of forces.

But evangelical religion has recourse, for the explanation of certain alleged phenomena, to what are called "miracles," manifestations of force in the natural world without natural antecedents, thus interrupting the continuity of the order, prefacing or supplementing events with something which has no basis in the known laws of matter and mind, and forms no part of the natural order. For instance, when it is affirmed that God once stopped the sun and moon (or we will suppose was meant the earth in its diurnal revolution) in order to favor his chosen people, in battle with the Amorites, we have presented to us an alleged manifestation of power that had no antecedent and no consequent in astronomic phenomena or the cosmic order. And when it is alleged that a being having the form and faculties of man appeared on the earth, born of a natural mother but without a natural father, the statement can be accepted only by believing that the generation and birth of a human being in this world occurred without those co-operant conditions which are absolutely necessary to the continuity of the natural order, to the invariable sequence of phenomena, to the principle of the persistence of force, and to the unbroken reign of natural law in a universe in which, so far as science can discern, there is no deviation from the natural course.

Such a notion is utterly inconsistent with Evolution. If the numerous miracles of the Bible really occurred, then it is certain that numerous manifestations of force have appeared without natural antecedents to connect them with all the myriad interlacing phenomena of ages past; and if such miracles occurred in Judea, a few thousand years ago, they may have occurred in every land and in all prehistoric ages, in which case any reasonings in regard to the formation of worlds or the evolution of species, in accordance with law, by successive modifications and the operation of natural forces, would have no validity whatever. Rev. George B. Cheever, a well-known evangelical minister, evidently takes this view of the subject; for he says, "By their scheme [evolution] there never was, and never could have been, a deity interposing to instruct Adam, to educate Abraham, to inspire Joseph, to put down oppressing Pharaoh, to change the rod of Moses into a serpent, to create an additional frog, louse, or mosquito in Egypt, to call forth waters of a deluge, to spread abroad a rainbow, to speak to the rain to fall on one piece of ground and not on another, to commission a famine or a pestilence or a flash of lightning; every drop of rain and every shower and every ray of light and every blade of grass having been so unalterably woven out of the original supply of force in the web of order, continuous and unbroken forever, as not to admit of a possibility of interference or alteration." But this part of the subject, on which I have but indicated an argument which would require a long discourse to elaborate, I must leave, to consider the relation of evolution to "the Bible and its account of Creation," to which it is expected I will give prominence in this address.

Genesis is, it seems to me, hopelessly irreconcilable with the facts of astronomic and geological evolution, "There were and are," said Dean Stanley at the funeral of Sir Charles Lyell, in Westminster Abbey, "two modes of reconciliation, which have each totally and deservedly failed. The one attempts to wrest the words of the Bible from their real meaning and force them to speak the language of science, and the other attempts to falsify science to meet the supposed requirements of the Bible." The Humboldts, the Darwins, the Huxleys of science, without the aid of inspiration, amid opposition from its defenders, make their discoveries in regard to the order of nature; and when, in spite of the clamor raised against them by those who make the Bible their special study, their discoveries become established, it is declared that the supposed discrepancy is only imaginary, that the newly discovered truths are in perfect harmony with, and in fact a part of, revelation.

"When," says John Weiss, "Galileo pried a flat and inert earth out of the page of Scripture where it lay embedded, rounded it, and set it spinning in a fair orbit to the tune of law, men looked at their Bible with dismay; an empty pit where the earth had rested on its pillars, and all around its edge were texts left as ragged as a crater: the eccentric orb must be flattened into place again to restore the integrity of Scripture. And there stood Galileo, in the fatal nick of time, in the very spot where this readjusting process caught him, and neither God nor man could afford remorse at the spectacle. And all this happened because somebody in Joshua, exulting over a battle, said that the sun stood still until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. It must, therefore, previously have been in the habit of moving round a stationary earth. Nowadays, the credit of this miracle is saved at no expense except that of the common sense of the divine who said lately in its behalf that, although there seems to be a slight astronomical difficulty in the case, there must have been an apparent stoppage of the sun, produced, no doubt, by refraction; at all events, produced in some way, because the statement is unqualified."

That we have in Genesis two distinct narratives of the creation, which differ in almost every particular, is admitted even by some evangelical scholars, and never would have been doubted, if found in any other work, ancient or modern. In the first account man is the last, in the second the first, object of creation. In the first account, the earth is represented as producing herbs bearing seed and trees bearing fruit, before man appeared; while, in the second account, the herb does not grow till man has tilled the ground. In the first account, man is made in the image of God; in the second, he is punished for becoming like God in knowing good and evil. In the first account, man is created male and female; in the second, man is made, then beast and fowl, after which woman is made from one of the ribs of Adam. These are but a few of the discrepancies in the first and second chapters of Genesis, which some theologians still think can be made to harmonize with the facts of science.

According to Genesis, the first condition of the earth was a watery one; for "darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of Elohim hovered upon the face of the waters." This does not correspond with the theory now commonly held, that the earth was once in a nebulous, and afterward in a fiery, condition. A firmament is made to divide "the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament." That "the sense of solidity is combined with the idea of expansion and tenuity in the term" can be shown by the use of the word *rakia* in other passages, and is admitted by the best Hebrew scholars.

On the third day appear plants, including those having fruits and seeds, before any other forms of life were created, when geologists tell us that fruit-trees did not appear till millions of years after the appearance of animal life, and when science knows nothing of a vegetation that preceded by a whole period the appearance of animals. On the fourth day were made the sun and moon. "It is," says Colenso, "a mere evasion of the plain meaning of the words to say that Elohim made the sun and moon to *appear* first on the fourth day,—though they had been long before created,—that is, to the earth, when, however, according to the story, there were as yet no living creatures on its face to see them. The writer manifestly intends to teach that Elohim actually *made* the sun and moon at this time; and, in fact, he uses here the very same word that he had used before in verse seven, 'Elohim made the firmament,' and as he uses it again in verse twenty-five, 'Elohim made the animals of the earth after their kind.'"

Not only is there no warrant for the assumption that the writer meant to say the sun simply *appeared*, but such a notion involves an absurdity; for there was nobody for the sun to appear *to*, and there is no light (no luminousness) where there is no eye. The writer of the account had no idea that the earth was the child of the sun, but thought it was created for the benefit of the earth; nor did he see the absurdity of representing as existing before the sun plants bearing seed and fruit "after their kind," when from the sun alone they derive their vigor. The discrepancies between the order in which animals appeared on the earth and the account in Genesis have been pointed out by numerous writers, and the subject requires more time than can be given it in this short address. I will content myself with reading the following, from Prof. A. R. Grote: "Again, the distinction between 'the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind,' shows a belief that domestic animals were created in a state of domestication. The Hebrew word *b'hema* means cattle; *i.e.*, domesticated animals, in contradistinction to wild animals. The other term, *chayah*, means wild beasts, in contradistinction to tame animals. The use of both terms show that both kinds were believed to have been created 'after their kind,' and as distinct species. There is nothing contradictory in the conclusion that the statement was at one time believed in, because savage man still believes in parallel assertions; and this particular belief was generally current in Europe before naturalists had shown its contrary to be true, and that all domestic animals were originally wild, and by man's selection have been changed from their original physical condition. A vegetable diet is also assigned at first to beasts and man; but the physiologist knows that carnivorous animals have always existed, and that the instincts of animals are true to their teeth."

The account in Genesis evidently means to represent that the heavens and the earth were made in six literal days. "When," wrote Moses Stuart, a good Hebrew scholar and author of a Hebrew grammar, "the sacred writer in Genesis i. says 'the first day,' 'the second day,' etc., there can be no possible doubt—none, I mean, for a philologist, let a geologist think as he may—that a definite day of the week is meant, which definite day is designated by the numbers, first, second, third, etc. What puts this beyond all question in philology is that the writer says specifically, The evening and the morning were the first day, the second day, etc. Now, is an evening and a morning a period of some thousands of years? Is it in any sense, when so employed, an indefinite period? The answer is so plain and certain that I need not repeat it. If Moses has given us an erroneous account of the creation, so be it. Let it come out; and let us leave the whole. But do not let us turn aside his language to get rid of difficulties that we may have in our speculations." Since these words were written by Prof. Stuart, the great antiquity of the earth has become an established and accepted fact even among theologians, but the meaning of Genesis has not changed. And as Arch-deacon Pratt says, "It is extremely difficult to believe that the seventh day is a long period, and the Sabbath day an ordinary day; that is, that the same word 'day' should be used in totally different senses in the same short sentence and without any explanation." Says Prof. Grote, who is a good Hebrew scholar as well as an accomplished scientist: "To take these days as indefinite periods is a proof of a want of exact thought: it is an exploded statement with the new facts, rather than cut loose at once from demonstrated error. The Hebrew word *yōm* not only means a day of twenty-four hours, but it expressly means *day* in this connection.... It is clear also that it is only at the newer demands of science for more time in the creation of the world that the 'harmonists' have been tampering with the word *yōm*, and displaying an ingenuity and wisdom in their conjectures before which inspiration itself must 'pale its ineffectual fires.' The charge of blasphemy recoils on the heads of those who unintelligently handle things they themselves declare in advance to be sacred. We read in the fifth verse of Genesis i. that God called the darkness '*night*,' which cannot refer to 'cosmical' darkness, since the Hebrew word for night, *la-y'lah*, is derived from a root, *la-ah*,—*to cease, to rest*; and *la-y'lah* means rest-

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time, bed-time: hence, our day and night are meant on the very first day. Moreover, the Hebrew term for day, *yōm*, means 'day,' and nothing else in the ordinary acceptance of the word. And though, like the English word *day*, it may have a figurative value, yet in an historical narrative, as Genesis is assumed to be, the word has its natural, literal meaning; and all attempts to interpret it differently do violence to the spirit of the original Hebrew text and language. Both the Talmud and the Christian Fathers (notably Saint Augustine) insist that the natural meaning of words in the Scriptures shall not be dropped to give them a fanciful and doubtful interpretation."

Man is represented having been "made in the image of God"; while Evolution teaches that primeval man was an ape-like creature, with scarcely anything that is now regarded as the indispensable attribute of humanity. If the facts of homology, embryology, natural selection, etc., sustain the view that the higher forms below man are derived from the lower ones, then the conclusion is irresistible that the human structure is the result of the modification of pre-existing forms of life. The evolution of man from lower animal forms carries with it inevitably the conclusion that the mind of man, including every faculty and tendency, is just as much the product of the modifications, by natural causes, of lower minds as that the bodily structure is the product of the modifications of lower structures. If man bears in his body the results of innumerable changes of *form*, it is obviously a corollary that the powers of thought and the mental and moral characteristics have been developed from the lowest organic activities. We are not surprised that embryology shows, in one stage of the embryonic existence of every human being born to-day, there appears that animal appendage which, in reference to man, has been the theme of so much burlesque, and which, with other vestiges of an animal origin, is retained in a rudimentary condition through the entire life of the individual, indicating not that man appeared on the earth in majestic form or with a "godlike mind," but somewhat as described in that celebrated passage in Horace's *Satires:* "When animals first crawled forth from the new-formed earth, a stupid and filthy flock, they fought for acorns and places of refuge with their nails and fists, then with cudgels and weapons which, guided by experience, they had made for themselves. Then they invented names for things and words to express their thoughts, after which they began to abstain from war, to fortify the towns, to establish law," etc. A very fanciful and, in the light of modern science, a crude statement, but far nearer the truth than the Biblical account. As Prof. Whitney, our American philologist, observes, "Modern science is proving . . . that all the elements of culture, as the arts of life, art, science, language, religion, philosophy, have been wrought out by slow and painful efforts in the conflict between the soul of man on the one hand and external nature on the other,—a conflict in which man has, in favored races and under exceptional conditions of environment and circumstance, been triumphantly the victor, and is still going on to new conquests."

Although we are forced by Evolution to regard man as of lowly origin, yet, as Huxley says, "thoughtful men, once escaped from the blinding influence of traditional prejudice, will find in the lowly stock whence man has sprung the best evidence of the splendor of his capacities, and will discern in his long progress through the past a reasonable ground of faith in his attainment of a nobler future."

In geology there is no confirmation of the theory of six days, whether they be considered usual days or long periods. Lyell gives fourteen principal groups of rocks, formed during fourteen successive periods, and thirty-five subordinate groups representing as many periods. And rocks are being deposited now at the bottom of the sea, full of the remains of living creatures, in a manner similar to that in progress millions of years ago. The God of the Bible "rested" from his work, and was "refreshed." *Evolution never rests.*

Evangelical religion teaches the existence of a God infinite in presence, yet a personal being; infinite in knowledge, yet a being who contrives, plans, and designs; infinite in power and goodness, yet the author of a world full of imperfections; who is not the cause of evil, and yet once he alone existed, and everything has proceeded from him; who is unchangeable, yet remained inactive during a beginningless past, until his *first* experience in creating, when he assumed the *new* relation of a creator to the worlds he created; who made things right, and pronounced his work good; but that a being of his own creation introduced disorder and moral evil into this world; that, in consequence, man, who was originally upright and sinless, fell from his high estate, and owing to this fall all future generations of men are depraved; that from the effects of the fall we can be saved only through the merits of Christ; that, in response to prayer, the order of nature has been changed, and that to-day, drought and famine may be averted or the sick restored to health through prayer; that man has received a book revelation from God, and that beyond it human wisdom cannot go, with it human wisdom cannot compare; that the original condition of man was better than the present; that a portion of the race will recover from the effects of the fall, but not on earth, while millions will be hopelessly damned.

According to the philosophy of Evolution, there is self-existent power from which we come, to which we return, upon which we depend for existence, to which we can see no limits in space or time, which is revealed to our consciousness under the forms of force and matter, but the nature of which is inscrutable; that the cosmos of which we are a part is without beginning or end; that in the sequence of phenomena there are uniformity and regularity, without any supernatural or miraculous intervention; that worlds, life, intelligence, language, government, morals, religion, and civilization have come naturally by processes which are a part of the natural order; that evil is the result of non-adjustment; that man has come up from animals, and the civilized man from the savage; that our imperfect nature has come to us a legacy from centuries of savagery, not from a fallen Adam; that "salvation" from the inherited evil in us and from our immoralities can be secured only by natural methods, involving the suppressing of the bad and the strengthening and increasing of the good; that hurtful conditions in this world can be removed only by natural means; that all books, including the Bible, and the teachings they contain, are outgrowths of the human mind and a part of the product of ages of experience,—of suffering and joy, of ignorance and knowledge, extending through the long recorded and unrecorded periods of man's existence on this globe; that the present is better than the past, and the golden age of the world is in the future.

Address of President P. A. Chadbourne.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Association:—

I have received no letter or word of communication from any one here, except a telegram requesting me to be present at this meeting. The subject which has been presented is one of vast importance, and requires not minutes, but days, for its fair discussion. It is fortunate that we are to hear from Prof. Gray. I have been his willing student for many years. He is authority in his own department, and he trenches upon no other. He knows when an argument is fairly presented, and therefore I am specially glad he is present. I wish all the men could be here whose names are to be brought into this discussion. Dr. Gray is known as a Darwinian, whatever he might claim for himself; and yet it seems to me he has done much to cut up Darwinism proper by the roots. Prof. Gray has said that this variation of which Darwin speaks, and which we all recognize, "*is along beneficial lines*," or words to that effect. This implies plan, direction, and, consequently, a guiding intelligence. This statement Darwin would not accept. He plainly saw it was a deadly thrust at his theory of natural selection from indefinite variation in all directions.

The leading suggestion of the gentleman who has presented the paper, is that there has been an orderly evolution, by a natural process, from mere matter and force. To discuss this question in all its bearings on the Bible and religion would require many days, and the time has not yet come for a full discussion of the subject. Men have gone back on themselves. Lyell, who has been mentioned, has not answered his own arguments in the early editions of his *Principles of Geology* on the permanence of species. When all false arguments have been given up, and imperfect observations corrected so that we can get at simple facts, there will be but little left for us to answer. While the time has not come for a full trial or discussion of this subject, the time has come for a preliminary examination such as they have in law cases. It is not to be settled by mere authority. We have had too much of that on both sides. Men of ability have gained authority in one department of knowledge, and then have given opinions on other subjects of which they knew nothing; and men have accepted these opinions, not because their authors knew anything on the particular subject under discussion, but because they knew *something else*. There was a time when many men would doubtless have accepted an opinion from Agassiz on Hebrew, simply because he was authority in zoölogy, as they certainly did accept as truth plain contradictions in Maury's first *Physical Geography of the Sea*, simply because he knew a great deal about the sea. So it has come to pass that many of our learned works, even scientific works, are full of mistakes and crudities, still borne along by authority. We must go back to honest observation and experiment, learn to reason correctly, and to be sure of what we claim as facts. We are not to be bound by, or be held responsible for, the blunders and mere opinions of scientific men or commentators of the Bible.

For a fair examination of this subject, we need two classes of men certainly. First, the scientists,—the chemists, botanists, zoölogists, and geologists, those able to present all that is known bearing upon these subjects. Let every scientific statement be criticised, that we may know just how much is known and what is mere guess-work and theory. We want with them men who have been trained in all the processes of reasoning, men who are competent to weigh proof and test arguments. Let all such work together for weeks, honestly, without any special pleading, and we should have a good preliminary examination, such as we have never yet had. We may as well be honest in this matter, for the earth is too large and the rocks too deep and the laws that prevail too far-reaching for any man or set of men to permanently falsify their teaching. The truth will be sure to come out in the end.

After a careful study of these subjects for thirty years, I have seen no fact in nature and no argument from any of the great men to whom we are so much indebted for scientific labors, that has shaken my faith in the Bible; and, were I to select any part of the Bible as proof of its inspiration, it would be the first chapter of Genesis. The gentleman has presented Moses Stuart of Andover as authority that "day," or *yōm*, in this chapter means a literal day of twenty-four hours. We have only to look at the fourth verse of the second chapter to find how the writer of Genesis used the word *yōm*. He there speaks of creation as the work of one day, putting together the six *yōms* of the first chapter and calling them one *yōm* or period. So of the plants. The word translated "grass" means the tender plants springing up, in distinction from the seed-bearing plants,—a description which accords well with those simple algæ which were the early plants of the globe, and were probably abundant as early as the Laurentian period. The whole order is as they appeared in the rocks. The whales of the fifth day were the *tanninim*, or long monsters like the crocodile, according with the saurians that abounded in the mesozoic period. The gentleman says there have been many periods, thirty or more being recognized by some geologists. Certainly there are many formations, and subdivisions can be made, and geologists have differed much in making these divisions; but they can all be reduced to six great creative periods.*

I accept the statement that this earth was once a mass of blazing gas, the daughter of the sun; that it was, later, a molten ball without a living thing or germ of life upon it. But here we are this morning, men and women, this great city, and all the beings of the globe. How came we here from this melted mass? There must be for all this an adequate cause. Something does not come from nothing. The attempts to explain how we came here, from physical causes alone, have been like the attempts at inventing perpetual motion. The machines seemed all right theoretically, but needed an outside force to set them in motion. Darwin says in his *Origin of Species* that all organic beings were developed from a few germs. But whence the germs, and what were they? They either had in them, at the beginning, the power to develop into all these wondrous forms, or power must have been added to them, from time to time, from without. Any other reasoning is giving effect

* See *Natural Theology*, Lecture XII. My work on *Natural Theology* and on *Instinct* were both referred to. In them, my views on evolution are given at length.

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without adequate cause; and either theory implies an almighty, personal cause. We must judge from results. When I look at my watch, I see evidence of design; and my belief in that design is not shaken by being told that my watch was made with machines, and they by means of other machines. Men and women, as they now are, are to be accounted for on sound principles of causation. And here is the grand fault of Darwin. He ignores true causation, putting that which is plainly the cause of something as the cause of *something else*, which it is not adequate to produce; as though a stream of water, that under certain conditions could move a thousand spindles, were claimed to be the moving force of five thousand. A good steam-engine and small stream of water may together do the work, but they must both be considered in explaining the movement which neither could produce alone.

We are all greatly indebted to Darwin as an observer. He has laid all naturalists under great obligations to him; but, when he comes to reasoning, to the forming of theories, he overworks all causes and agencies, even the angle-worms in his last volume! From a few germs, the origin of which he has never accounted for,—germs with the power of reproduction and variation,—he attempted to account in his *Origin of Species* for all organic beings by the principle of natural selection. But natural selection, certainly, cannot originate: it can only preserve that which is already produced; and so Spencer's term, "survival of the fittest," is better than Darwin's. But how, I ask the gentleman, can he account for that wonderful variety of animals in the low Silurian rocks, such varied forms of life flourishing together in those seas apparently under the same conditions? Where was the isolation and other conditions necessary for the production of all those diverse, specific forms, according to the Darwinian hypothesis? And so of the sudden appearing of so many new forms of life at other points in the geologic series? LeConte, one of the ablest geologists and a Darwinian, confesses the difficulty, and suggests in his recent work that, at the beginning of those eras, animal life had some unusual tendency to produce new forms. All such explanations confess a breaking of the usual order, and confess difficulties which no theory of evolution from physical causes alone has ever met. The causes assigned for the effects are not adequate to produce them, so far as we can judge of their operation by observation or experiment. The most difficult things are left unaccounted for, or are assumed in the reasoning, as though needing no explanation. Darwin himself found that natural selection had been overworked, that it failed to account for some things in the animal kingdom even in his hands, so he brought in "sexual selection" to supplement it. But this was just as defective in its work. Take a single illustration. He accounts for that marvellous beauty of the peacock's tail by supposing that the females for many generations have chosen the most beautiful males, and have thus secured this wonderful perfection. But this theory requires a male with a beautiful tail to be chosen and a female with a highly æsthetic nature to appreciate the beauty and make the choice! The most difficult things to account for, the original beauty of the tail and the æsthetic nature in the female to appreciate it, both have to be given him before his machinery will begin to work. And so it is all through these theories: the wonderful germs, the most difficult things to account for, are wholly unexplained. In all his reasoning, the principle of causation is imperfectly applied. What we now need is to turn aside from our mistakes and false explanations on both sides, and go back to careful experiments and honest, sound reasoning. With other speakers to be heard from, there is time here to-day simply to indicate what ought to be done.

Address of Prof. Asa Gray.

Prof. Asa Gray, after stating that he had, in response to an invitation to attend the meeting, said that he might make a few remarks if any points came up on which he could give information, but that he was placed at the disadvantage of not knowing what the subject was till he entered the hall, spoke as follows:

Either nature is the outcome of mind, or mind is the outcome of nature. We have to choose between these two hypotheses, for no other appears. Until lately, the first hypothesis was almost invariably held to be the most satisfactory,—to be the only one by which adaptation of *means to ends*, which organic nature is full of, could be accounted for. Has modern science *proved* anything to the contrary? Has it even made the contrary hypothesis (namely, that mind is an outcome of matter) more probable than it was before Darwinism? I should say, Certainly not. Although the latter view has been of late years presented in new forms and supported by new arguments and illustrations, and although there are some who accept it, yet I suppose we may still say that science offers no hindrance to our belief that "God created the heavens and the earth."

At all events, this fundamental question, large as it is, is one upon which a distinct issue can be raised; and it lies at the bottom of the whole discussion.

But the question actually proposed, whether what is proved concerning evolution is antagonistic to Biblical creation and evangelical religion, is not a distinct issue at all. The restriction to what is proved concerning evolution may render that part of the proposition reasonably definite, if only we can agree as to what is proved and what is not; and here I should not altogether agree with the gentleman who opened this discussion. But what, for the purpose of this argument, are we to mean by Biblical creation and what by evangelical religion?

There is an element of change which has to be taken into account. Time was when all scientific beliefs were controlled and modified by religious belief. But, with the rise and development of astronomy, physics, geology, and later of biological science, the tables were turned, and now many religious beliefs—or what were taken for such—are controlled and modified by scientific beliefs, none more so than in the matter of "Biblical creation." The result, I suppose, is that no sensible person now believes what the most sensible persons believed formerly. In so far as the Biblical accounts of creation cover the ground which natural science covers, the relations of the two may be legitimately discussed. And, *on this ground*, settled scientific belief must needs control the religions.

Then arises the question how far and in what way "evangelical religion," that is, the religion of the gospel, is concerned with or responsible for the natural science of the Book of Genesis. I do not take much interest in this question, for I think that a Christian man need not assume this responsibility.

The really important question for us is whether modern natural science is, in any of its demonstrated results or well-established beliefs, antagonistic to the Christian religion. I do not think that it is, or need be. But this is a question well worth your serious consideration.

Concluding Remarks by President Chadbourne.

The suggestions of Prof. Gray are wise and timely, but it seems to me the first question to be considered in such a discussion is plainly the existence of a personal Creator. Till that is settled, the other questions cannot be properly treated. It was on this question of the existence of a personal Creator that I understood the discussion to start here to-day, and therefore on that my suggestions have been made.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Editors of The Index:—

The National Woman Suffrage Association of Maschusetts held its first convention of the season at Rockland, Mass., Wednesday, September 20. This is the fourth convention held by this association since its organization, the three preceding ones having been held in South Framingham, South Boston, and in Winchester. The afternoon session was opened by the President, Mrs. Harriette R. Shattuck, who stated the object of the suffrage movement, the reasons why suffrage is asked for, and the aims of the association, giving the reasons why the National Woman Suffrage Association, with its various auxiliaries, applies to Congress for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting disfranchisement on account of sex. Mrs. Shattuck also stated that the association works for suffrage in whatever form seems to be the most expedient, and affiliates with all societies whose sole object is woman suffrage. The next speaker was Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, who read a very impressive paper on the "Strength and Scope of the Woman's Rights Movement." She began by saying that the earnestness with which any reform is attacked is a measure of its progress, and that the cause is now too far advanced for its advocates to be frightened by any opposition, whether coming from writers in the *North American Review* and *Popular Science Monthly* or from those of fewer pretensions. The speaker then reviewed the progress and present status of woman in this and all other countries, and closed her admirable essay with words of hopefulness and encouragement to the workers in the cause. In the animated discussion which followed, the first question presented was whether we, as suffragists, ought to take any action with regard to the resolution passed by the Democratic State Convention. A decided difference of opinion was expressed. Some believed that we ought to support a candidate and a party who have thus, apparently, indorsed woman suffrage. But others, remembering too well the famous "Hail the Day" resolution passed by the Republican State Convention just ten years ago, how much it promised the women, and how little it had fulfilled its promises, opposed taking any action, believing that the Democrats are no more sincere in their promises than were the Republicans of 1872. Miss Huldah B. Loud, Mr. Ira F. Lowell, Dr. Julia C. Smith, Miss Emma F. Clarry, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Meserve, Mrs. H. H. Robinson, the president, and others, took part in this discussion.

Mrs. H. H. Robinson opened the evening session. Her subject was "Who represents Me?" Mr. Frederick Russell Burton, a graduate of Harvard, class of '82, made an effective speech, urging the men, as voters, to consider the question of woman suffrage as a political issue which in the opinion of the speaker it had now become. He specially advocated the voting of women in municipal affairs, and entreated the women to take advantage of their privilege of voting for school committee. The session closed with a long and interesting discussion on the question, "Is it right and expedient for women to vote?" The usual mild and courteous opposition, on the ground of expediency, added flavor to the discussion and called forth much earnest advocacy of this greatest of all reforms.

The regular monthly meeting of the association was held Friday afternoon at the house of Mrs. Fenno Tudor. The president left that evening for Nebraska, where, as delegate from Massachusetts, she will address the conventions of the National Woman Suffrage Association, to be held, September 26 to 30, at Omaha and at Lincoln, and afterward speak in different towns of the State until the election, November 8. At this election, the voters will decide whether the constitutional amendment, now pending, shall be adopted. If the affirmative prevails, the women of Nebraska will be the political equals of the men. Distinguished workers in the cause from the different States will be present as delegates and speakers. Among these may be mentioned Susan B. Anthony, Rachel G. Foster, Helen M. Gouger, May Wright Sewall, Matilda Hindman, Elizabeth L. Saxon, Phœbe W. Couzins, Elizabeth Boynton Harbart, Mary B. Clay, Eveleen L. Mason, Jane C. McKinney, Marietta M. Bones. The local speakers and workers in Nebraska will also be largely represented. Among these may be mentioned the names of Hon. E. M. Correll, President of the American Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Clara B. Colby.

HARRIET H. ROBINSON.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE following sensible advice to secularists is from an article we find in the London *Secular Review:* "Let the secularists assail the citadel of superstition with all the energy of logic and reason at their command; let them put forth every conceivable effort to educate and enlighten the human mind: but I would have them leave the paltry ground of slander and ridicule to those who champion a cause and are the advocates of a faith which can only be thrust down the throats of the people by such unworthy methods. If secularism is ever to make headway in the world, it must endeavor to range the intelligence of the world on its side; and, to do this, it must have only one standard of excellence and morality, and that one the highest. Secularism must be shown to be superior to Christianity or it is not worth the having. And, further, before you can hope to change the faith or belief of a nation or an individual, you must be able to show that the proposed change is from a worse

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to a better faith. That this cannot be done by ridicule, and ridicule of the worst kind, goes without saying; and I am only surprised that so much talent should be wasted in this direction by some of the secularist writers. . . . A secular journal should be so printed that it could be placed in the hands of any person without the slightest fear that any would have their religious feelings *needlessly* offended. No principle need be sacrificed in this: the truth may still be proclaimed in all its fulness and with the utmost plainness of speech. All that is desired is that the sensitive natures of the people shall be respected; and that secularists, while warring against bigotry, error, and superstition, shall avoid in the most scrupulous manner the bad example of their opponents, and shall in all places and at all times refrain from unnecessary and injudicious offences against good taste and the traditional feelings and habits of the people. . . . The grandest aim of any man or any party is to make thinkers, not proselytes; and this cannot be done by ridicule. Men's minds must be fertilized, not sterilized, and by the aid of reason must be won the world's great battle of the future."

SAYS the Springfield *Republican:* "George Jacob Holyoake states that his mission in this country is to amass information that will be valuable to intending English emigrants, which he desires to have produced in an *Emigrant Guide-Book* to be published by official authority. The government made a grant to meet in part his expenses, and Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of New York, gave him $500 for the same purpose. Other than this, he has no help, but has spent and still spends his own money, and will receive nothing for his work. These interesting financial statements he makes in consequence of some animadversion as to his motives: 'No man can do all he wishes, or everything he should; but he can, so far as he is concerned, keep a public question free from venality, and prevent it being put back by sinister associations.' Mr. Holyoake's scrupulous care for the reputation of his work is a good thing for missioners of all sorts to this country to emulate. The Irish patriots are not so careful about their 'skirmishing funds' and the like, which have taken so much money from the laboring Irish in this country and placed it in the hands of irresponsible men."

BOOK NOTICES.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. The Remedy. By Henry George. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1881.

The earnestness, thoroughness, and literary cleverness with which Mr. George has attacked an immensely important problem, and the audacity of invention with which he has put original theories forward, have made his book in the superficial sense remarkably successful. But it is another question whether his defiance of the best names of advanced science, such as John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Charles Darwin, can justify itself in even a single particular of his eccentric suggestions and his revolutionary conclusion. He hints the mood of the populace, especially that of Europe, and will have a great run in consequence; but whether he has hit the mark of science and of wise regard for the immensely important interests of labor is open to question. His denial of antagonism between capital and labor seems to me beyond a doubt the greatest mistake possible to be made by an economist. The antagonism exists: the problem of removing it must be solved, and we believe can be. Mr. George does not even attempt it. It is the same with the pressure of population upon subsistence. It is the second great problem of economic science; and, when the problem of capital and labor is solved, we can count on the solution of this second problem also. In rashly arguing, against the whole weight of advanced knowledge, that these problems are nothing, Mr. George does to labor as well as to truth a disservice of the greatest significance and magnitude. And, when he offers as a boon to have the State seize all land and let it out in lots to suit to the highest bidders, he proposes what would damage labor and injure human progress more than anything else which the wildest invention could suggest. The real remedy for existing misuse of land by those whose object is speculation or luxury Mr. George fails to see, just as he fails to see the remedies which must and can be applied to those immense evils, the injustice of capital to labor and the pressure of population upon subsistence. In discussing finally the law of human progress, Mr. George scouts the conclusions of our most radical and most able thinkers, such as Darwin and Spencer, and advocates theories which are as opposite to the truth of facts known to our best science as they are useful to his arbitrary and unscientific view of progress and poverty. There could hardly be a worse procession of the fates of labor and of the poor than would result from setting in motion the scheme of Mr. George, which is as badly conceived as it is smartly urged. It concerns labor and the welfare of the toiling even more than it does science to get a clear hold of the right solution of these problems. Mr. George promises a great deal, and labors at his task with admirable sincerity and earnestness; but his scheme is convicted by the whole weight of our best knowledge of error, the greatest of which the subject admitted.

FROM the rich table of contents which the *Century* for October offers its readers, it is hard to select what is most interesting. There is, in the first place, an admirable and strongly drawn portrait of President Lincoln, a copy of an ambrotype taken two days after Mr. Lincoln's first nomination, and a smaller portrait copied from a photograph taken six weeks before his assassination. "Life in a Mexican Street," by Robert H. Lamborn, and "The Corcoran Gallery of Art," are the most profusely illustrated articles of the number. Charles H. Farnham describes Quebec under the title of "The Gibraltar of America." In "An Inspired Life," W. P. Andrews gives a sketch of the life and work of Jones Very. R. S. Chilton gives "Some Letters of Charles Lamb to John Howard Payne," hitherto unpublished. Francis A. Walker, superintendent of the last census, has an article on "The Growth of the United States." And Howells' "A Modern Instance" closes with a divorce and marriage. There are poems by Sidney Lanier, Frances H. Burnett, Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt, Hjalmar H. Boyesen, and others.

THE October number of the *North American Review* opens with an article on "The Coming Revolution in England," by H. M. Hyndman. The paper is a very thoughtful though somewhat impassioned presentation of the grievances of the English laboring people, and an account of the agitation now going on for a thorough reconstruction of the whole politico-social fabric of that country. O. B. Frothingham writes very discriminatingly upon "The Morally Objectionable in Literature," and endeavors to point out the distinction between literature which is *per se* corrupting and that which is simply coarse. Dr. Henry Schliemann tells the interesting story of a year's "Discoveries at Troy." Senator John I. Mitchell, of Pennsylvania, treats of the rise and progress of the rule of "Political Bosses." Prof. George L. Vose of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology contributes an article of exceptional value on "Safety in Railway Travel," and Prof. Charles S. Sargent of the Harvard College Arboretum contributes an instructive essay on "The Protection of Forests."

THE *Atlantic* for October gives interesting instalments of the serials "Two on a Tower" and "House of a Merchant Prince." Both of these are decidedly unique in plot and treatment, and are refreshing changes from the popular style of novel-writing. Harriet W. Preston writes very learnedly and interestingly of a week spent "Among the Sabine Hills." In "An English Interpreter," Horace E. Scudder introduces an English artist to the notice of the American public. W. T. Hewitt writes of "University Administration"; the "Studies in the South" are continued; and Frank H. Cushing gives a second instalment of his delightful description of "The Nation of the Willows." The poems are by Whittier, Lucy Larcom, John McCarty Pleasants, T. W. Parsons, and Arlo Bates. Dr. Ellis' "The Red Man and the White Man in North America" and D'Haussonville's "Salon of Madame Necker" are the books reviewed at length.

IN the leading article in the *Catholic World* for October, entitled "Literature and the Laity," John R. G. Hassard deplores the lack of interest in Catholic publication, as evinced by the small and decreasing sale of Catholic books, and offers some suggestions to help arouse a new interest in Catholic literature among those who profess that faith. "The Comedy of the Conference" is intended to be a satire on "Evangelical Alliance" meetings. "The Greatest of the Mediæval Hymns" is what A. J. Faust calls the "Stabat Mater." The titles of other articles are "Incidents of the Reign of Henry VIII.," by S. Hubert Burke; "The Crusades," by Hugh P. McElrone; "The Good Humor of the Saints," by Agnes Repplier; "Memory and its Diseases," by Dr. C. M. O'Leary; "James Florent Meline," a biographical sketch; and "St. Anne de Beaupré," by Anna T. Sadlier.

THE *Sanitarian* for September is received, and is, as usual, replete with information on sanitary matters. "Trees in Streets and Parks," "Law relating to Removal of Corpses after Burial," "Hotel Poisoning," "Disease on the Defensive," "The Truth about Gen. Butler as a Sanitarian," are some of the topics treated in this number. A. N. Bell, editor and publisher, 113 Fulton Street, New York.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

JAMES PARTON will give a lecture in Paine Hall next Sunday afternoon at three o'clock.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE delivered an address last Sunday in Montreal before the Free Thought Club of that city on "My Early Religious Days."

MR. WHITTIER has written the introduction to the *Letters of Lydia Maria Child*, and Mr. Wendell Phillips has furnished the appendix. The book will be published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

MRS. HARRIETTE ROBINSON SHATTUCK, of Malden, daughter of "Warrington," and inheritor of some of his literary and political ability, will stump the State of Nebraska until the election in November in favor of woman suffrage.

MRS. HARRIET H. ROBINSON, widow of "Warrington" and author of *The History of Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement*, is to write the chapter in the forthcoming volume (the third) of *The History of Woman Suffrage*, on the part Massachusetts has taken in woman's rights.

WILKIE COLLINS' eyes are troubling him, so that he has to have an amanuensis. The fact that at least two of his works, *Poor Miss Finch* and *After Dark*, are based upon the affliction of blindness, would seem to indicate that he has had premonitions of such a calamity befalling himself.

REV. FREDERICK MEAKIN has resigned the pastorate of the Unitarian society in Taunton, Mass., on account of his "inability to see any evidence of the continuance of the personal life and the reunion of friends after death." The parting, it should be said, was a most amicable one. Mr. Meakin is a man of rare philosophical spirit and ability, and it is to be hoped will have freedom to continue his favorite studies.

OF Emerson's appearance in his school-boy days, N. P. Willis once wrote as follows: "We remember him perfectly as a boy whom we used to see playing round Chauncy Place and Summer Street,—one of those pale little boys, moral sublimes, with their shirt collars turned over, who are recognized by Boston school-boys as 'having fathers that are Unitarians'; and though he came to his first short hair about the time we came to our first tail-coat, six or eight years behind us, we never lost sight of him. In the visits we have made to Boston in later years, we have seen him in the street, and remembered having already seen him as a boy, little suspecting that there walked in a form long familiar the deity of an intellectual altar upon which, at that moment, burned a fire in our bosom."

THE Boston *Transcript* says: "Mr. Holyoake's works fill several volumes; and every word is readable to-day, a thing seldom true of controversial productions after ten years' time. The *History of Co-operation in Rochdale* is a work of sense and substance: the *Trial of Theism* is perhaps the most radical thing of its kind in the language, and seems literally to exhaust the whole field. Mr. Holyoake is the author of delightful children's text-books, also of more pretentious essays on grammar, logic, rhetoric, and mathematics. His political works have the smallest spice of partisanship and the largest infusion of humanity. His review of American Spiritualism, entitled *Public Performances of the Dead*, is one of the best things he has written. He says, 'We knew American cousins had a wrinkle or two, but the making a show of the dead is certainly the latest "Yankee notion."'

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God is Love.
The Three Pentecosts.
Spiritual Force and its Supply.
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Practical Value of Belief in God.
Moral Narcotics.
The Devout Life.
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The Faith of Jesus.
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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 157

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Why we do not go to the National Unitarian Conference, Wm. J. Potter, ... 158
Puseyism, B. W. Ball, ... 158
Unitarians in Conference, E. C. Towne, ... 159
Transcendentalism at Bay, B. F. Underwood, ... 160

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 162

POETRY.
The Equinox, B. W. B., ... 162

ESSAY.
Matthew Arnold on Culture in America, Rev. Edward C. Towne, ... 163

CORRESPONDENCE.
Missionaries in India and China, Theodore Stanton, . . 165
Cruelty on the Niger by Agents of the Church Missionary Society, Van Buren Denslow, ... 165
Darwinism, J. M. Peebles, ... 166
America Fifty Years Ago, ... 166
"The Index" and the National Unitarian Conference, M. J. Savage, ... 167

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 167

BOOK NOTICES.
The Peak in Darien, by Frances Power Cobbe, ... 167
St. Nicholas, Wide-Awake, ... 167

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE *Freidenker*, or *Free Thinker*, of Milwaukee, expresses cordial sympathy with the agitation for female suffrage in Nebraska, especially with the labors of Mrs. Clara Neymann.

SAYS the Meriden (Conn.) *Evening Express*: "A 'Church of Humanity' was formed at Middletown Sunday, and meetings will be held Sunday evenings to improve the minds and morals of six thousand citizens who don't go to church."

A MONUMENT to Hecker, the German revolutionist, was dedicated at St. Louis Sunday afternoon, October 1, when the Turners were present in great force. Speeches were made by Mr. Rombauer in English, and Mr. Züdeking in German; and Miss Stella Hecker unveiled the statue.

GEN. ABE BUFORD, the reformed turfman, being asked whether he were not liable to be turned out of church for betting at horse races, said: "If they ever turn me out of the church, they will have to turn a good many more with me; for I stand just where Alexander Campbell stood., Liberty of conscience and freedom of thought were his tenets."

THE long-continued cold weather of this year, shortening Iceland's always short summer, has made the crops there a complete failure; and, if help is not soon sent them from more favored climates, many of the inhabitants of that sterile region are likely to die of starvation. In London, a relief committee has already collected about $11,000 for the Icelandic sufferers.

WALTHAM greatly needs more gospel light apparently, since it is "grieving the spirit" by the action of some of its citizens, who are freely signing a petition asking that a Methodist revival there should be "abated as a nuisance" in consequence of the noisy character of the services. The petitioners, as a Boston daily explains, "don't ask for shorter prayers, but they want softly delivered ones."

IT is to be hoped that one of the advantages arising from British domination in Egypt will be the adopting of measures for the prohibition of slavery and the slave trade, which the Egyptian Government has for years merely pretended to stop. Polygamy will probably continue without interference, since it is allowed by the Mohammedan religion which prevails in Egypt, and has always been tolerated by the British Government in the East Indian possessions.

A CONVENTION of the National Woman Suffrage Convention closed at Omaha, September 28, after several well-attended and spirited meetings. Addresses were delivered by Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Harriette R. Shattuck of Boston, and Mrs. Clara Neymann of New York. Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was elected President; and among the Vice-Presidents appear the names of Miss Phebe W. Couzins, Mrs. Olympia Brown, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Lillie D. Blake, and Mrs. Harriette R. Shattuck.

IT is stated that in Lucknow and Cawnpore forty-five publishing houses are engaged in issuing anti-Christian books and pamphlets, and that one Hindu publishing house at Lucknow lately sent to London an order for $25,000 worth of paper on which anti-Christian tracts and other works are to be printed. The missionaries in India, instead of finding everywhere people willing to listen to them without argument or questioning, as many suppose, in many places encounter determined opposition of an intellectual character.

AN old woman at Ipswich, Eng., having the reputation of being a witch, obtained ten dollars from the parents of a sick girl as the price of removing the spell they believed the invalid was under. She was fined five dollars by a magistrate, and made to return the money she took. Another woman in Normandy, who tried to convince the jury that she was an honest witch, has been convicted as a swindler, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, notwithstanding several witnesses swore that she burned five hundred and seventy toads in their presence in order to drive the evil spirit out of a cow, and that they distinctly saw a black cat leap from the cow's mouth.

THE Unitarian National Conference resolved to raise $150,000; and Mr. J. H. Wade promised to give $350,000 to make a minimum sum of half a million dollars for the founding at Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, of an entirely new theological school. Mr. Wade promised further that, if $50,000 more were raised, he would himself add $50,000, making the whole endowment $600,000. The scheme, in the hands of a man of Mr. Wade's intentions and means, is not unlikely to grow to something considerably larger than this even; and it may be expected to make a new departure in the study of religion and the preparation of young men and young women for the liberal religious ministry.

PROF. JOSEPH LE CONTE, of the University of California, having examined the footprints which have lately attracted attention at Carson, Nevada, says that the strata exposed in a quarry consist of heavy bedded sandstones, alternating with thin layers of shale. The stone has been removed down to an even stratum of shale which forms the floor. The whole area thus cleared is literally covered with tracks of many species of mammals and birds. He thinks they were made in the early age of man's existence; but he doubts whether any of them are the imprints of human feet, though some may possibly be so. Those of gigantic elephants are unmistakable, and others are of extinct species of birds.

THE proclamation of Abdallah Nedim to his troops, quoted from the Arabic journal *El Taif* by the New York *Tribune*, exhibits in a striking light the Oriental fatalism and the strength of the religious faith which is the object of this appeal: "'Sons of Egypt!' the proclamation says, 'rise, tear up treaties, break false oaths, drive out these marauders. Are you afraid of them? God is more worthy to be feared. Sacrifice your property and your lives in this holy war in God's path. What is death? The term of each man's life is decreed. Sons of Egypt, when your hour of death arrives, there will be neither delay nor haste. He that dies not by the sword dies from other cause. Many are the causes, but death is one. Rise; meet it.'"

A BERLIN correspondent of the *Nation* writes: "Do not imagine that our political elections are carried on with that candor and fairness which becomes an educated people. On the contrary, in this respect we have but too soon imitated the manners and customs of the oldest political constituencies. The tone of a Berlin election, for instance, will not stand much behind a primary of a New York ward, with the sole exception of revolver-shooting, to which the German is not yet accustomed. And what is worse here than with you, if I am permitted to finish the comparison of Berlin with New York, is, that here it is not only the small fry, the political rabble, which attends to the mean business of electioneering, but clergymen, like the notorious court-preacher Stöcker, officials, so-called young noblemen and officeholders in high positions, who wish to draw attention to their patriotic merits, and to be rewarded accordingly, strike the keynote in the Conservative camp. For the last Reichstag election, the Conservatives, although they ought to have known beforehand that they could not conquer a single seat in this city, gave free theatrical representations, concerts, public amusements, and free lager to the voters, in order to win them to their side. . . . The Liberals, on the opposite side, having less means at their command, must raise every cent among themselves, and number less influential persons in their ranks, but they work with greater energy and with more method. Their country press is better organized, and gives the people plain truths, which every voter understands; while the Conservatives' pamphlets, except those which indulge in abuse and personal attacks, are written in a professorial tone, unintelligible to the masses. The Liberals, too, agitate better in the rural districts, and attract greater crowds to their meetings."

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WHY WE DO NOT GO TO THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

Since the Saratoga Conference of Unitarians, several friends have said to us: "You ought to have been there. It was a grand, inspiring meeting. Most of the prepared addresses were broad, progressive, radical. Even those most conservative in doctrine were catholic in sympathies, and had a forward look. The talk and the action were all in the direction of liberty and a large fellowship. The stimulus, socially, morally, spiritually, was of the best. We all came away feeling that we belonged to a live and moving body. You ought to have been there to have felt the progress that the Unitarian denomination is making." Concerning all which, we have no question, except as to the inference that we ought to have been there. We do not doubt that the Unitarians are making progress. In some sections of the country, they are making rapid progress. Nor do we doubt that we should have found much at the Conference that would have commanded our sympathies, stimulated thought, and been exceedingly enjoyable. A Unitarian company is always intellectually bright and socially attractive. The essays, whether agreeing with them or not, we could hardly have failed to find instructive and suggestive; and some of them, we can readily believe, were incisively radical. Messrs. Batchelor and Learned could not well be otherwise, nor Mr. Ames be himself without being most genially broad and catholic. We are too well acquainted with Unitarians not to know how much we lose by not having denominational fellowship with them and attending their meetings.

But all this does not affect the question of our duty in regard to holding such fellowship and keeping connection with the National Conference. We should have been very glad to retain both. But, when the lines were drawn defining the conditions of the connection and bounding the fellowship, we could not do otherwise than recognize the simple fact that we were outside the lines. It was not a question of choice, of will, but only a plain question of eyesight,—of seeing our position in relation to a boundary line that had been run; and, having eyes, we saw. The Conference defined its membership as disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ and believers in his special sonship to God, and we were not of that number. To have moved our position and gone within the boundary line of the Conference would have been to sacrifice principle for the sake of fellowship; and, much as we prized the fellowship, the abandonment of conviction for it never ocurred to us as a possible solution of the problem. We saw that a general organization of Unitarianism had been formed, leaving us outside; and we merely stayed where we were because it was the only honest thing to do. Knowing well the cost socially and professionally of so staying, and grieving that the boundary had been established, yet it can hardly be said that we counted the cost; for no other course than just to stand in the place of our own conviction was for a moment considered. And this is the reason why we are not in and of the National Unitarian Conference.

But it is said that, though the limiting words are there, the spirit is broad; that, though the theological boundary defined by the Constitution remains, bars of generous length have been let down through it, by which those outside and those inside can amicably mingle. It is true that, for the sake of relieving the consciences of the radical minority, the Constitution for two years was so amended as to absolve those members who could not accept all its declarations from technical responsibility for them. And something similar, though not so broad, has been adopted again the present year. Doubtless, to many radical Unitarians, the opening of such widely hospitable gates seems amply to justify their entering the Conference as members. But for ourselves, even if we still retained general fellowship with the Unitarian denomination, we should feel impelled to stay out of the Conference, in order to protest against the keeping of the theological fence that necessitates the opening of the gateways. Our association with Unitarianism led us specially to prize it for two inculcations,—the right of free inquiry and character more than creed. When it nationally organized, we hoped it would make a consistent application of these two leading principles. Failing to do this, we had but to recognize the limitations it had made, and combat them from the outside where the limitations themselves placed us.

Moreover, it has not seemed to us a very dignified proceeding for the Conference thus to play at *seesaw* with its own Constitution. Now the Preamble goes up and now it goes down, according as the conservatives or the radicals secure the splicing of the amending Article on the other end. It looks as if the Conference did not know its own mind concerning the theological declarations of its Constitution. And it is evident that the majority do not want to have the mind of the Conference on the points in question probed by a discussion. There is too much ground for the suspicion that the majority of the Conference attach no very definite meaning to the theological phrases which trouble the consciences of a few radicals, and do not care seriously to consider what is their meaning. It is insisted that they be retained. Yet it is said to the radicals: "Come in, and never mind them! They are not worth disputing about." In our view, this is an attitude that is not conducive to intellectual integrity. Words of such deep import as these have had in religious history should not be used thus lightly by any body of religious people. If they do not mean anything, let them be frankly dropped. If they do mean something, let their meaning be frankly stated and manfully defended.

Just what is the theological status of the Unitarian National Conference under the conditions of its new constitutional amendment is not easy to say, unless we may say of it in Paul's phrase that it is "made all things to all men." But we suppose it will be generally conceded that it remains a "Christian" body. The *Christian Register*, speaking of the amendment, says, "The Conference did not in the slightest abandon the Christian basis on which it was erected." Messrs. Hale and Clarke, the only persons who spoke on the amendment, said that they should vote for it, because they believed that the spirit of it was in the Constitution already, and that it made no essential change; and Mr. Clarke added that he had never regarded the Preamble as intended for a creed, but only that the members, "in a large and general way, were to consider themselves as followers of Jesus Christ." And Mr. Savage, the proposer of the amendment, made no speech, and therefore did not explain whether he accepted this interpretation of it or not. The Conference would seem to have voted for the amendment on this interpretation. Besides, the full name of the body is "National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches." For these various reasons, the Conference seems to us to be distinctly and exclusively a "Christian" organization. We can understand how an advanced radical, who in a general sense still calls himself a "Christian," may, under the new article, conscientiously become a member of the Conference; but we do not see that non-Christians are even invited into its membership. For this additional reason, therefore, we can neither exercise nor claim any rights there.

Several years ago, we came to the conclusion that no one who would not call himself a follower of Christ in a different sense from that in which he might call himself a follower of Socrates or Buddha or Emerson is properly entitled a "Christian." And, since that time, we have not assumed the name. To apply it, as some radicals do, to the ethical and humane principles of universal religion, appears to us not only illogical, but unjust and derogatory to those who have reached the same principles from other religions than the Christian. To illustrate, Dr. Adler and Mr. Salter are in substantial agreement on religious problems theoretically and practically, the one coming from Judaism, the other from Christianity. Why should Mr. Salter insist on calling their common beliefs and conduct "Christian" more than Dr. Adler should insist on calling them "Jewish"? Both abjuring as they do the special authority of the religions from which they have come, they are more rational and more just to drop also their old religious names for some new name that shall impartially cover their new common faith. And this is what we have felt ourselves impelled to do. There is much in the practical aims and work of the Unitarian Conference that has our sympathies, and there may be within "Christian" limits a broad and admirable fellowship. But, in the practical interest of what seems to us a more comprehensive truth and a wider fellowship, the triumphs of which are to come in the future, our position and work are outside the lines which the Conference has made its bounds.

WM. J. POTTER.

PUSEYISM.

The recent death of Pusey, the man who gave a name to the famous Oxford Tractarian Movement, so called, makes ecclesiastical Christianity, prelacy, the papacy, and the whole category of spiritual despotisms and superstitions, current topics. Reaction is a phenomenon which has been witnessed at all stages of history and human development. The Oxford reaction was a freak of the human mind under certain conditions. The revolutionary excesses in France, and their sequel of Napoleonic conquest, produced naturally enough an intense reactionary disgust. The European nations concluded that their immemorial institutions ought not to be torn up by the roots, but that a certain historic continuity was necessary to a healthy progress.

Human society cannot be continually starting anew, cannot be continually taking an entirely new departure. The past cannot be entirely broken with. The past was not all wrong. We of the present have our roots in it. The old propagandists of revolutionary doctrines in France in the eighteenth century did not recognize this truth. Hence, they stigmatized the past as all wrong, morally, mentally, socially, and politically. They undertook to uproot everything, the entire Church and State of the old *régime*. At length, Waterloo put a quietus on the spirit of revolution for a time. The pope was reinstated, a reactionary literature began to make its appearance,—namely, Scott's poetry and romances.

Then arose in France and Germany what were called the Romanticists in art and literature, who turned their backs on their own age, and endeavored to lead the life and think the thoughts and entertain the beliefs of the so-called Ages of Faith. About this period, the sentimental French *littérateur*, who was poet, traveller, novelist, historian, and politician all in one, Chateaubriand, full of the

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spirit of his native Brittany, the province of loyalty to kings and priests and of legend and blind faith, wrote his book entitled *The Genius of Christianity* (*Génie du Christianisme*), to rehabilitate Roman Catholicism or Latin Christianity in France and cause its overturned altars to be re-erected. It was a weak, rhetorical, sentimental book, almost laughable in its grave demonstrations of the superiority of Jehovah to Jove, of Mount Zion to Mount Olympus, and of that curious mixture of paganism and Christianity known as Romanism to the old Greek and Roman paganism pure and simple. It produced a powerful reactionary effect, because it appeared opportunely, when it was easy to produce such an effect on account of the general disgust with revolution and Napoleonism. German artists turned Romanists in great numbers, with the idea that they would feel the inspiration of Raphael if they adopted his religious faith. Our American poet, Longfellow, sojourning in Europe at this time, was infected with the prevailing romanticism in art and literature. Hence, it is that so much of his poetry is tinged with mediævalism, so that one would infer from his "Evangeline" that he was a sort of sentimental Romanist. But, though his poetry gives great aid and comfort to papists, he was really a Free Religionist and an American in every fibre of his nature. But on the poetic side of that nature, which was the largest side of him, he was, of course, peculiarly susceptible to ecclesiastical legend and the fair humanities of the old anthropomorphic faiths, whether Roman Catholic or pagan, pure and simple.

Thus, it will be seen that at the time it broke out, fifty years ago, the Oxford ecclesiastical craze and reaction known as Puseyism was a part of the *res gestae* of the period. But, nevertheless, Puseyism and Newmanism were strange social eruptions in industrial, practical, this-worldly, rich modern England, when the sturdy insularity, solid sense, and determined independence and individuality of the average Englishman are taken into account. For John Bull is about the last collective personage of whom a weak, reactionary sentimentalism would be predicated. Although he kept prelacy or hierarchy alive in his Established Church, still, after all, that Church is more a State machine than it is an ecclesiasticism. Even when John Bull was a Roman Catholic in religion, he was jealous of the intrusion of foreign priests and prelates into his insular concerns. In Shakspere's "King John," that monarch is represented as saying to a papal legate, "Go tell your master, the pope, from the mouth of England, that we will suffer no Italian priest to tithe or toll in our dominions." And King John, in saying this, voiced the immemorial hostility of the English race in both hemispheres toward an intrusive foreign priesthood who undertake to intermeddle in their political and social affairs.

But Oxford, where Puseyism was engendered, always has stood in the shadow of the Middle Age. Matthew Arnold, one of her children, speaks of that venerable university "as steeped in sentiment, as she lies spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantment of the Middle Age." Pusey, Keble, Froude, and Newman, the fathers of Ritualism revived, were not practical modern Englishmen, but cloister-reared dreamers of the past, who preferred its twilight to the sunlight of to-day. But even a craze, when it occurs opportunely, or at a certain juncture favorable to it, spreads for a time and exercises great influence. Thus, Puseyism or Ritualism has made a great noise in the English-speaking world, and covered it with churches in the mediæval style of ecclesiastical architecture, and inspired mediæval epics such as Tennyson's "Idyls of the King"; but its day is nearly over. It has long been a matter of ridicule, or, rather, it has ceased to be such, because it is, in vulgar parlance, "played out."

Thus did the iconoclasm and utter contempt of the past, which characterized the French Revolutionists of the close of the eighteenth century finally eventuate in an attempted revival of the mediæval spirit in religion, art, and literature, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus does one extreme beget another. In France, fifty years ago or later, fanatical reactionists like De Maistre and Lammenais denounced modern civilization and science as abominations, thus emulating the democratic, atheistic fanaticism of the eighteenth-century French revolutionists in the opposite direction. Orestes A. Brownson in this country became a disciple of De Maistre, and undertook to demonstrate that the only hope of the preservation of our free American social and political system was, forsooth, in Americans becoming Papists, and blindly submitting to the spiritual dictation of the Pope.

What wonder is it that now, after such exhibitions of self-stultification, ecclesiastical folly, blind faith, and abject submissiveness to priestly authority on the part of such eccentric Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans as De Maistre, Lammenais, Pusey, Newman, Brownson, *et al.*, and after the revival of pretended shrine-cures at Lourdes, Knock, and elsewhere, all sensible people should conclude to take no further stock in the alleged supernaturalisms and miracles of any religion, or in any theological dogmas, being as they are, all insusceptible of the least particle or scintilla of proof or verification? What wonder is it that Puseyism has been followed by Agnosticism, which is merely an accentuation of the fact that the theological gods, demons, hells, and heavens are the merest imaginations and unrealities? What wonder is it that, all over republican France, priests with their bitter assaults on popular government and popular education are regarded and treated as social nuisances? And, to come to this side of the Atlantic, what wonder is it that the attacks of an imported Roman hierarchy on our American Church and State and educational system should have excited the disgust of all classes of Americans to the manner born, except a lot of vile demagogues and unprincipled politicians, who are mainly anxious to conciliate the Catholic vote?

B. W. BALL.

UNITARIANS IN CONFERENCE.

II.

Rev. C. G. Ames preached to the Conference on the evening of the first day a written sermon, which fills ten columns of the *Christian Register*. By his method of innumerable bright brevities, many of which are exceedingly good, and none are poor, and by reading instead of speaking, Mr. Ames needlessly taxed himself, and failed to do himself justice. The sermon was a very good hash of very good things; but if the preacher had lost his manuscript, and had forgotten about a thousand of his lesser bits of good wit, and with five or six chief points, logically arranged and separately urged and illustrated, had spoken his best message of well-considered and well-reasoned thought, the effect would have been greatly improved, both in the character of the sermon and in showing Mr. Ames at his best. Both Mr. Ames and Mr. Collyer stop short of their highest possibility when they use a manuscript, and when they are tempted by the sensational away from the pure great thoughts and highest emotions to lesser wit, and popular sentiment, and all sorts of bright bits, the very stuff of brilliant conversation, but not of preaching as great as a Collyer and an Ames ought to rise to, and as at their best they have shown.

Rev. George Batchelor gave on Wednesday morning a fine example of the higher method of a strong discourse. He looks, to begin, a small, simple, commonplace man, with no marked quality of voice, presence, or manner, and no magnetism. It soon appears, however, that he can stand well up to his work; can read as if speaking, a rare gift; has a bold, ringing voice; knows how admirably to mark off his thoughts; and can put just the right emphasis on every point and every phrase. There will be in his preaching a counterpart to that of Mr. Collyer, much less to touch sentiment and strike the popular ear, but far more to bring home truth to character, and principle to life, and reason to religion; more of large learning, if less of pleasant literature and anecdote; more of strong appeal and sound counsel, if less of the flowers of sentiment and the beauties of speech. It will be a succession to Mr. Collyer's best, which will not fail to give Unity Church in Chicago just the ministry which it needs.

Mr. Batchelor called attention to the beneficent *secular* character of Unitarianism. Unitarian money, he said, goes to aid humane purposes, and the present need of society,—to do in the best manner the secular work of the world. To Unitarian religion, our laymen do not give very freely, because it fails to take a strong hold of them. It is using still the outworn phrases and watchwords and ideas of the sects. As a Church, it has not put forth its full strength nor taken its rightful place. Its ideals are commonplace, and it has a small though honorable place, every year becoming less conspicuous. The imagination of our practical men is not struck by our slight religious work. But we have another function, not to be a sect or a denomination, but a foremost social and political factor, with beliefs about man, education, and government. We have aimed at a perfect human society. We have used ethics as the test of thought, moral sentiment as the foundation of faith. Ethics we have made the substance of our Christianity, the root of our doctrine. In man, we find the soil to be worked; the eternal life we see in the present life, and the whole drama of eternity already set. In this secularism has been at once our strength and our weakness. We have left enthusiasm unimproved. The splendid services of Free Religionists, of Agnostics, of Positivists, fall yet behind our own secular ideal, because they do not make even the effort, as we do, to save and use the Church. For us there are vast problems, extra-denominational and secular, on which our Unitarian thought and feeling are expended, all of them turning on moral sentiment. There might, by a backward movement, come to us reabsorption into the old faiths, but our destiny lies not that way. The prime requisites to us of all good work are love of truth, moral sensibility, and spiritual insight. The moral causes which produced Unitarianism have produced our best civilization. And they are moral causes. We do not need to carry a body of doctrine, but only its spirit. "I know not his faith, but his goodness," answers to our ideal. Calvinism will melt away, and liberal thought take its place, whenever you get science into the mind. More nearly than any other, the Unitarian is a national church, close to the national life. We stand for unshaken confidence in God, kinship to whom alone creates the tie of human brotherhood. The strongest faith and the most cheerful hope are excited by work for man. Let our men of means take $25,000 a year, and plant twenty-five churches in a State like Ohio, and they would see Literature, Science, Art,

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and Statesmanship as the fruit of their work. Our Church ought to plant herself, like Wisdom, in the highways of the world.

These views of Mr. Batchelor upon the strong secular position and saving secular character of Unitarianism leave it very plain that he does not see much in Unitarianism as religion in the deep, inner sense. Externally, Christianity as it came from Christ, founded on his law of love and his Beatitudes, was a Divine Secularism; and it was in this character especially that the early Church insisted on it, before dogma had begun to impose its yoke and ecclesiasticism its bonds. But the early Church directed also a passionate faith to Christ as not, indeed, the full co-partner of the Infinite and Eternal, but as the nearer God, the immediate Divinity, the present or coming King of heaven and earth. Liberal thought has found out the error of this, but no liberal faith has yet made the Infinite and Eternal as immediate and present and dominant as a true Divinity must be. Theodore Parker did it, and, in doing it, embodied in himself more pure Christianity than all Unitarianism beside; but he was not accepted, because he altogether removed those orthodox ideals which in Unitarianism had quite lost their ancient identity with God's infinite personality and God's absolute mind. These ideals had become idols, mere small gods of human imagination; and Unitarians, in worshipping the Bible after reducing it to a literature, however valuable, and Christ, after reducing him to one of humanity, however exalted, were in the way to lose religion more than any other sect whatever, and to lose it all the more in proportion as the liberal thought of Unitarianism should be carried out. This is the present position of Unitarianism. Its thought has destroyed orthodox faith, and has not yet created a liberal faith, a very small survival of Orthodoxy about the Bible and Christ serving as a faith, and that with fast dying adequacy. The Bible need not lose its place as literature, nor Christ his office of Teacher; but Unitarianism will utterly fail, unless it can forget both, to a very large degree, as Christ himself did, and would do now, in the intellectual range and the emotional depth of an absorbing consciousness of and consecration to the Infinite, Eternal, Living God. The orthodox Bible or Book of the third person of the Trinity, and the Trinitarian Christ, are dead gods to Unitarians, yet are they more interested in their funeral and their memory than they are in, as Mr. Emerson said, reanimating and reorganizing the true Church, the pure worship.

Rev. J. C. Learned's admirably executed essay on the "Future of Religion," which was given on Thursday morning, laid all the emphasis of Unitarian faith upon ethics. It was a paper more radical than Mr. Batchelor's, more finished as a literary performance, and finer in its insight and its suggestions; but even more than in Mr. Batchelor's conception of Unitarianism as a secular movement did Mr. Learned's ethical vision see religion vanishing in the distance,—an eternal reality indeed, to come again in power and purity some time, but gone now, and not to be seen of us very soon. Mr. Learned is of the best order of radical minds, but he has not laid to heart this thought of Emerson: "In your metaphysics, you have denied personality to the Deity; yet when the devout motions of the soul come, yield to them heart and life, though they should clothe God with shape and color." Samuel Johnson was even more radical than Mr. Learned, but he preserved the deep passions of religion, piety, and adoration, submission and trust and love; and his prayers were almost the perfection of religious utterance, direct address and direct petition, yet with no taint of selfish superstition. Mr. Learned represents very finely indeed the purest ethical revolt against selfish superstition; and there linger in his allusions the old ideals of piety, or are hinted in them the new ideals of the piety that is to be. He said: Prayer has dropped out of our homes, and only a poor fragment of it is left in our public devotion. The form of devotion ought to be left absolutely free. The personality of God is as much asserted in saying I as thou. Prayer is man's attitude of spiritual effort, the soliloquy of the soul. Religion does not exist without sacrifice. Ritualism has declined just in proportion as belief in miracle has yielded to belief in law. God is enlarged to include the natural in the supernatural. Natural events may suggest our sacraments, custom and symbol setting forth our holiest purposes and purest faith. There is the sacrament of marriage, the consecration of infancy, the festival of our sorrow, and confirmation as marking the dawn of manhood and womanhood. It is only on the basis of duty that active worship finds expression. The Church that we know is destitute of earnestness: it neglects its own ordinances and professions, and even jeers at them. Other morals, of the world, it criticises. What are its own morals? Blind with selfishness or idiocy, what is any effort of the Church worth, setting up for saints and going forth to save the world? Complacent philanthropies that are a weak extension of poor living at home! What we want is men banded together for spiritual realities. The few tried and faithful alone make fitness to reach the many. First meditation, then enthusiasm, will give the true Church,—the Church of the sanctifying Spirit, of the master of Divine Truth with no more than twelve disciples, of but two or three who never meet without the Revealing Son of Man in their midst. When priest and iconoclast are both slain, the motions of new construction will appear, marked by the spirit of self-sacrifice, which churches so little show, as in politics, in science, in the education of man. The deeper word is Morals, a knowledge of right, justice. The lesson of the hour makes conduct all of life, not doing simply, but knowing and being. Light on moral questions is the one thing in letters, theology, science, art. Spencer puts his work on Ethics forth as of chief importance. The love of the Best, the soul's vision of the Perfect, is what we want. There is impending a revival, a new movement in behalf of the perfect life. This generation will see some of these things. There has never been such a time of promise. The Church alone is against it. But no rotten diction will debar us from honest creeds. With the death of an ease-loving ministry, we shall have an unselfish Church. Then, and not till then, shall we begin to see the long predicted redemption of man.

Mr. Learned's essay was an advance upon Mr. Batchelor's in its vision of religion, as also Prof. F. G. Peabody's essay on Friday was an advance upon Mr. Learned; but, still, Mr. Emerson would justly say, "I see character, insight, truthfulness, movement, but not piety and adoration, not religious submission and abandonment; I see not how the great God prepares to satisfy the heart in the new order of things." The sole difficulty is that the great God of Emerson's adoration has not yet his church and his worship. The very small gods, which even the best Bible and the truest Christ can make, still hold the ground. The gospel of ethics is saved from the former, and the gospel of sacred history from the latter; but there is yet no adequate gospel of the Infinite, the Eternal, the Almighty God and Father.

E. C. TOWNE.

TRANSCENDENTALISM AT BAY.

Mr. O. B. Frothingham, in his *History of Transcendentalism*, referring to Mr. John Weiss, Mr. David Wasson, and Col. T. W. Higginson, says: "These men, nursed in the Transcendental School, thoroughly imbued with its principles, committed to their defence, look out now upon the advancing ranks of the new materialism as the holders of a royal fortress looked out on a host of insurgents, as the king and queen of France looked out on the revolution from the palace at Versailles. The onset of the new era they instinctively dread, feeling that dignity, principle, and spiritual worth are at stake. They will fight admirably to the last; but, should they be defeated, it is yet possible that the revolution may bring compensation to humanity, which will make good the overthrow of their diadem towers."

Mr. Weiss is gone; Mr. Wasson is an evolutionist; and, judging from his latest essays, has been able to accept so much of the experiential philosophy that his attitude toward it is friendly. But Col. Higginson remains unchanged, uncompromising, and hostile, losing no opportunity to defend Transcendentalism as it was taught thirty years ago, or to assail whatever appears in the name of science or philosophy that is opposed to it. That he has ever given his adhesion to the theory of evolution in any form does not appear from any of his writings which we have read. We admire his courage, and are not unmindful of his valuable services in the field of literature as well as in that of reform; but we wonder that he does not see that the intuitionalism and the sensationalism, which were so vigorously defended by their respective adherents when Col. Higginson was a young man, have both been swallowed up in a larger philosophy or fused in a deeper synthesis, in which the error of each has been eliminated, and the truth of both united and made to contribute to a mental philosophy which is based upon undeniable psychological facts,—a philosophy which fully recognizes all the intuitions of the mind as transcending the experience of the individual, and yet finds their explanation in the experience of the race, and is entirely consistent with evolution.

This philosophy is gaining every year as fast as it can be understood, and its opponents to-day are chiefly those who remain under the influence of theological teaching or of metaphysical theories accepted and established in the mind prior to the psychological researches of the past quarter of a century.

The notion that this philosophy takes away the basis of morals is without any just grounds. Six years ago, Mr. Frothingham wrote: "It is now contended that conscience itself is a product of education, a deposit left in the crucible of experiment, a habit formed by the usage of mankind. The justification of this view has gone so far that it seems likely to become the recognized account of the matter; but, in course of substantiating the doctrine, a new foundation for ethical feeling and judgment is laid, which is as memorable as the 'transcendental facts of consciousness.' The moral sentiments are represented as resting on the entire past of the race, on reefs of fact built up by the lives of millions of men from the bottom of the deeps of humanity. The finest moral sensibility caps the peak of the world's effort at self-adjustment as the white, unsullied snow rests on the summit of the Jungfrau. The intuition is referred to in another genesis, but it is equally certain. The difference of origin creates no difference of character. Moral distinctions are precisely the same for idealists and sensationalists. Here,

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at least, the transcendentalist and his adversary can dwell in amity together."

There is no reason for calling the philosophy here referred to the "new materialism"; and its most eminent representatives, while expressing a preference for materialistic terminology, have repeatedly and, for thinkers, at tedious length shown the utter inadequacy of what is commonly understood by "materialism" to meet the demands of modern scientific and philosophic thought. According to this philosophy, we know matter only as a phenomenal manifestation of that which, except as revealed in consciousness, is inscrutable. Its ablest representative is universally admitted to be Herbert Spencer.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

FROM an article on "Free Lances in Evolution" in the *Independent*, giving the gist of the recent discussion in this city before the Evangelical Ministers' Association, we quote the following: "If, as a body, the American clergy are ignorant of the later developments of modern science, they are willing to learn. If a few still believe that these developments have left untouched the traditional interpretation of Scripture, the large majority incline to the opinion that recent scientific theories do somewhat affect our view of the teachings of the Bible. The relation of evolution to Christianity is the most important problem which thinking men are to-day considering, and it is a problem upon which the clergy are eager for light. It was in this mood of the searcher for truth that a large number of the ministers of Boston and suburban towns assembled to hear a discussion upon the question, 'Is Evolution and what is proved about it Antagonistic to Biblical Creation and Evangelical Religion?' The occasion was one of a series of meetings which the evangelical ministers of Boston hold at stated intervals. The disputants were Mr. B. F. Underwood, of Boston, and President Chadbourne, of the Agricultural College at Amherst. Prof. Asa Gray, of Cambridge, also made some remarks upon the question. Mr. Underwood, in opening the discussion, expressed his gratitude for the courtesy that invited him, a confessed disbeliever in the Christian religion, to address an assembly of clergymen. The Church and her ministers have doubtless deserved the charge of bigotry and narrowness; but the charge is less deserved to-day, if deserved at all, than in any former age. What body of professed infidels ever asked a Christian clergyman to address them?" This statement is fair and just, the implication of the last sentence excepted. It has been for years, and is now, both in England and in this country, common for "infidel" associations to invite Christian clergymen to address them in their halls in defence of the Bible and Christianity; and in every way possible they have encouraged public discussion like the one that recently took place in this city. Indeed, a general and well-founded complaint among "infidels" has been that Christian ministers can rarely be induced to address a body of free thinkers, or to discuss in public the relations of science to the Christian system, under circumstances which admit of the presentation of both sides of the subject. We are pleased to note a disposition on the part of some of the clergy to adopt the "infidel" method of advancing truth by free and open discussion, and regard it as an indication of increasing liberality in the Church; but, at the same time, we object to the attempt to make it appear that "infidels" have been opposed to this method, and that Christian clergymen have been the first to give it encouragement.

THERE are cool shaded nooks and mountain recesses, where snow is found unmelted almost to midsummer. Everywhere else there is verdure, sunshine, bloom, and fructifying heat. So there are stagnant, out-of-the-way populations and eccentric races that are scarcely influenced at all by the spirit of the age, and who remain in spite of it in the ruts of the past, maintaining old beliefs and usages unchanged and clinging to them with a desperate tenacity. This kind of people are, of course, in striking contrast to the live communities of to-day, that are pervaded by the spirit of current civilization. The swelling tide of European emigration to our shores brings to this, the most modern of countries, many of the peasant class from the byways of Europe, who belong, as far as their notions and beliefs are concerned, to the Middle Ages rather than to the nineteenth century. It is such kind of people who support that grotesque anomaly in a republic like ours; namely, an expensive and domineering hierarchy or priesthood, with its cardinal, archbishops, and bishops, who are ecclesiastical princes and nobles to all intents and purposes. The manifesto issued some months ago by this hierarchy through a Provincial Council at Cincinnati, impugning and calling in question the fundamental principle of our American political system,—namely, that all political power is derived from the people,—was so frank, open, and *naïve* that we could hardly take offence at it. But the sovereignty of the American people is a fact that cannot be successfully called in question by any power on earth. Its influence is spreading throughout Europe, and helping transform society there. The priesthoods are effete at head-quarters in Europe. The various European governments will brook no dictation from them or undue interference in politics and other secular matters. The great, rising tide of European republicanism is overwhelming them gradually, but surely. And the ecclesiastics may thank themselves for the bitterness with which European Liberals and Republicans regard them. European priests transferred to American soil find popular sovereignty an established fact, and master of the situation here from the start. Popular rule is not a thing on trial here, an innovation with a long royal and priestly past behind it; but it is the very bed-rock of American institutions.

ABNER KNEELAND, in the city of Boston nearly half a century ago, in an appeal to the court for an arrest of judgment, after the jury had convicted him of blasphemy, said: "The punishing of men for opinion's sake has an immoral tendency. It will not affect me; but every man has not the firmness that I have: neither can they have it until their heads shall be differently organized. Only use coercive measures to extort a confession of belief or to cause men not to avow what they sincerely believe, and you will at once make at least two-thirds of the human race either slaves or hypocrites. What a bribe, what encouragement, is given to hypocrisy and deception, when to tell the truth is considered a crime, and to act the part of a hypocrite leads to posts of honor and profit! But I contend that all laws concerning religion, more than to protect each and every one in the peaceable enjoyment of his own, are of this stamp! I contend that the law has no right to say what is or what is not religion, what is or what is not blaspheming God. But I acknowledge that, for the sake of the peace of the community, we must submit even to bad laws, as long as they are in force. But send me to prison for publishing my honest belief, and you make me a martyr in the cause of truth at once (as far as the punishment goes) in the opinion of nine-tenths of the whole community. Imprison me for opinion's sake, and long after each of our heads shall be laid in the dust, when all our prejudices, bigotry, superstition, and even religious hate, if we have any, shall have received their quietus, my name and memory will be hailed with gratitude by future generations as a bold and fearless pioneer in defence of civil and religious liberty,—in defence of the freedom of speech and of the press, when the names of my persecutors, if remembered at all, will be remembered with execration, and ranked with a *Jeffreys'!*"

A CHRISTIAN minister writes from Maine to the *Independent* about the "pernicious theory and practice" of so-called faith-cures, such as have attracted attention at Old Orchard. He says that the woman who had used crutches twenty years, and was cured by the prayers of Dr. Cullis, is now as lame as ever, and has been sent to an insane asylum. "Nor is this a single case," he continues. "I am persuaded that, if the number of those who lose their 'cure' were set over against the 'cured,' the one class would nearly balance the other. I write this advisedly, because I have now in mind six cases, all of whom have fallen back into their former diseased condition; and some of these are much worse than before their 'cure.' That the Lord hears prayer we all believe; that, in his wisdom and goodness, he often raises the sick, blessing the means in answer to our petitions, we are very sure; but that he has placed the gift of healing in the power of any man's 'faith' is a delusion and a snare. The facts here given prove it." The believers in faith-cures might say that the failures cannot offset the successful cases; that the former are due to lack of sufficient faith in the invalids, that the relapses are caused by sins committed since the cures were effected, that the conditions on which depend complete and permanent cure are perhaps so exceedingly complex, and some of them of such a delicate nature that disregard of them may account for the failures to which sceptics and scoffers point. If "the Lord hears prayer," and "often raises the sick, blessing the means in answer to our petitions," why not admit that the cures at Old Orchard were effected supernaturally in response to the petitions of Dr. Cullis? Once admit that petitional prayers are answered, as the New Testament plainly teaches, and we do not see how a Christian can deny the claims of Dr. Cullis and his adherents.

SAYS the Springfield *Republican:* "The Supreme Court of Utah has affirmed the validity of the woman-suffrage law in that Territory. Its legality was doubted by the gentiles, and a test case was brought up for decision. One of the three judges composing the court dissented from the provision which allows the franchise without the prerequisite of tax-paying, but the others accepted this feature of the Mormon act along with the rest. There is naturally considerable disappointment among the gentiles over this decision, coupled with disparaging criticism of the logic by which it was reached; for, without the incubus of woman suffrage, the liberals feel that with the new system of registration they could readily attain political ascendency. The registration is now completed, and it is estimated that thirty thousand Mormons have been disfranchised. This registration, by the way, has afforded the first opportunity of really approximating the extent of polygamy in Utah; and it shows that the number of plural marriages has been greatly underestimated. The lists contain a total of about twenty-five thousand voters, of whom fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand are Mormons; and four out of five, women."

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

"THE New England Anti-Compulsory Vaccination League" was organized at Hartford, Conn., last week.

FRIENDS of *The Index* can assist us in increasing its circulation by sending to this office the names of all persons they think would like to see sample copies of the paper.

WE are sending out bills this week to all our subscribers who are in arrears; and we will thank those who receive them to send to this office, at once, the amounts due on their subscriptions.

THE junior editor of *The Index* has received a number of applications for lectures the past fortnight. He will start West on a lecture trip next month. Meantime, he is open to additional engagements.

MR. JAMES SARGENT, of Rochester, N.Y., writes to the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* as follows: "I beg to remind you that my offer of $100 to 'Slade or any other medium,' for a written communication in sealed slates, is still open; and I would be quite willing to include genuine 'materialization' in the offer."

SAYS the Indianapolis *Age:* "The worst foes to the advance of Liberalism to-day are alleged Liberals who are clamorous and noisy and ambitious to lead, and to be talked about and praised and flattered, and to be regarded as famous. Egotism always accompanies shallowness, and ambition and jealousy are sure to accompany both."

THE *Sunday School Times*, in a notice of Dr. Felix L. Oswald's *Zoölogical Sketches*, says that "the essays which make up this book are in a certain sense attractive, and the illustrations are good"; but it finds in the volume such statements as "Monkeys seem to believe in the efficacy of vicarious atonement," and "Miracles usually end where the age of reason begins," and pronounces the book "unsafe and pernicious."

SAYS the Boston *Herald:* "Prof. Gulliver of Andover complains that the seminary is now quoted in 'Universalist pulpits, grog shops,' and other low places, as 'teaching a doctrine which we abhor,'—namely, that weak and sinful mortals may have, in the boundless goodness of God, a chance to be saved in the next world. This is quite in line with the remark of the orthodox old lady who said, 'The Universals they b'lieve that not everybody outside the fold will be damned; but, as for us, we hope for better things'!"

A DISCRIMINATING writer on "False Modesty" in the Boston *Courier* speaks of "a bold, immodest, and self-conceited vulgarity, a vulgarity that is emphatically *smart*, and knows how to employ every means for its own advancement,—a vulgarity that courts notice, even if this notice is nothing but contempt; that insists upon being spoken of, even if the words addressed to it are curses; that demands publicity, even that of the pillory. It addresses itself to the animal instincts of the masses; satisfies the small and the large desires of scandal by its immodesty; howls and screams, grasps, pushes, overturns, tears, ascends from the mud to the clouds, grows like a giant, masters us, and sings its pæan of victory with its foot on the neck of decency."

INTELLIGENCE of the unexpected death from typhoid fever of Miss Margaret S. Cheney, only daughter of the late Seth W. and of Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, was received last week among their numerous friends and acquaintances with feelings of profound sorrow, and with sincere sympathy for the mother in her terrible bereavement. A beautiful, gifted, and charming young lady, the only child of her widowed mother, to whom she was companion and comfort, has been suddenly taken from the happy home whose light she was! There are no words, it seems to us, in which fittingly to express our sympathy; and we are sure our regret will be shared by all our readers who have come to know Mrs. Cheney through her frequent contributions to the columns of this journal.

ENGLISH friends, whom this number of *The Index* may reach, will see that we specially appeal to them in our essay, which sets forth opinions formed by Mr. Towne, after extensive and long-extended observation in England, preceded by wide knowledge of America and thorough acquaintance with American history; and we trust that, through editors and others to whom it may come, it will do something to correct English opinion of America and Americans. The article by Mr. B. W. Ball, on "Puseyism," cannot fail to interest our English readers. We may here state that a number of English writers, among them George Jacob Holyoake and William Clarke, are contributors to *The Index*. From Moncure D. Conway we publish a letter every month. It would give us much pleasure if any of our friends, who receive this number, would take an interest in extending our English circulation. Charles Darwin was one of our supporters; and, in sending on his latest subscription, he sent also a gift of £25 in aid of our efforts to strengthen our work, which is also encouraged and sustained by the patronage of a number of English scholars and thinkers.

A WRITER in the *Independent* observes:—

It would be a most interesting book that should gather up all the information bearing upon the history of successful examples of literature. A feature of Col. Higginson's literary life illustrates what I have just said. A few years ago, he came to his present publishers, and suggested to them the feasibility of bringing out a small History of Massachusetts. He was urged to prepare a smaller History of the United States, instead, on the ground that the latter might have a general sale, while the former could not be expected to have more than a local sale. Out of the arguments and discussions between author and publishers grew the *Young Folks' History of the United States* one of the most successful books ever issued in this country, and certainly one of the most satisfactory and the best of its kind ever attempted anywhere. Col. Higginson's little book, which is still growing from year to year, and which is truly a classic, has suggested the host of "Young Folks'" histories that have followed its first publication. Only the other day, the London *Standard*, in commenting on the work and the fact that it had already been translated into French, German, and Italian, expressed the hope that some competent English writer might be tempted to do for English history what Col. Higginson had so beautifully wrought for American history. Thus, once again, our cousins from over the water find in bleak New England a model and a literary standard. Surely, the times and the people have changed!

SAYS the *Sunday School Times:* "It is a well-known fact that an attempt was made to break Girard's will on the ground of the impropriety of an institution for the training of the young, with Christian teachings excluded from its walls; but that, on the trial of the case before the Supreme Court of the United States, it was shown that, notwithstanding Girard's apparent hostility to religious teaching, as shown in the sneers of his prohibitions, he had inserted in his will the positive provision that the instructors in the college should 'take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality'; that the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania had declared that 'Christianity is a part of the common law of this State,' and that, 'waiving all questions of hereafter it [Christianity] is the purest system of morality, the foremost auxiliary and only stable support of all human laws.' Under this decision, it was claimed that, to teach 'the purest principles of morality,' the Bible must be taught, and Christianity must have its recognition in the college. And so, to-day, Girard College is a noble Christian educational institution, doing a glorious work, standing as an illustration of the pervading influence of Christianity in Pennsylvania, and of the spirit of religious freedom which has been manifested in this Commonwealth from its inception."

IN an article on the recent meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in this city, the Boston evening *Transcript* pertinently observes:—

In the way of a moral, it is worth while to allude to one of the singular intellectual distortions which beset very honest men, and which crept into the discourse of President Chadbourne of Amherst, who led yesterday's discussion in reply to Mr. B. F. Underwood, of Boston. Dr. Chadbourne affirmed the radical weakness of Darwinism to be that its author "overworked" the principle of natural selection; that he was a studious collector of facts, but had a poor conception of causation; and that his application of sexual selection in explaining the beautiful plumage of the peacock was useless, because it presupposed an attractive male and an intelligent female bird. The applause which greeted the last statement showed that the audience considered Dr. Chadbourne a better thinker than Mr. Darwin. But students of Darwin know that instead of "overworking" his theory, no one of his successors in science has stated its defects so fully and frankly as himself. Moreover, both the beautiful plumage and the feminine preference are in keeping with the philosophy of development. Mr. Darwin hints at explanations, and Mr. Spencer has carried them to elaborate length. It is no doubt true that evolution has been "overworked" by pseudo-scientific philosophers, but the impression that it was "overworked" by the careful and conscientious naturalist himself should not be left uncriticised. In justice to a great man's memory, it must be eternally and vigilantly remembered that Darwin left his theory in the form of a personal conviction merely, to whose support he brought much evidence, and to whose confirmation or destruction he invited the co-operation of all investigators. In further justice to his philosophical power, which Dr. Chadbourne questions, we may cite the words of Prof. Huxley, uttered two years ago: "If the doctrine of evolution had not existed, paleontologists must have invented it, so irresistibly is it forced upon the mind by the study of the remains of the tertiary mammalia which have been brought to light since 1859."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

I USED to hear, and I am not sure but I used to say, "Blessed is he who wants little." It is an ignorant saying. I have lived with those who wanted little, and it is pitiful. Rather would I say, "Blessed is he who wants much." Wanting implies life. It brings activity. It stirs the mind and makes the body subservient. It brings us together; and, by uniting our labors, our wants are supplied. Then new and higher wants come to develop a new and higher combination, and thus mankind rises out of the natural plane of brotherhood.—*Alice C. Fletcher.*

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

THE EQUINOX.

The sorrow of the autumn rain is here,
But Summer's foliaceous locks hang high,—
Not soiled gold yet in woodpaths lone they lie,
Though 'mong them many a leaf is stricken sere.
An Indian swarthiness bronzes the year,
Such as the ancient sylvan continent wore
Far back in immemorial days of yore,
Making the savage past to reappear
Forever in our New-World bounds, as oft
As autumn comes with rustling Indian ear,
And breezes from the south-west breathing soft,
And blue-skied noons, ethereal, sunny, bland,
And eves, apocalyptic visions grand,
With mystic sunset gleams of woods and waters clear.

B. W. B.

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The Index.

BOSTON, OCT. 5, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

Matthew Arnold on Culture in America.

BY REV. EDWARD C. TOWNE.

In the preface of 1869 to his *Culture and Anarchy*, Mr. Matthew Arnold, the most accomplished of English critics, and a high authority upon questions of education in Europe, delivered a confident judgment upon the state of education in America and the American lack of superior culture, in the form of a quotation from Renan, which ran as follows:—

"The sound instruction of the people is an effect of the high culture of certain classes. The countries which, like the United States, have created a considerable popular instruction without any serious higher instruction, will long have to expiate this fault by their intellectual mediocrity, their vulgarity of manners, their superficial spirit, their lack of general intelligence."

Mr. Arnold was provoked to bring forth this opinion of Renan by a declaration which Mr. John Bright had been making in regard to the state of culture in America. Mr. John Bright, in radical Birmingham, for which he is a member of Parliament, or at his home near semi-radical Manchester, is a man who goes about the business of humanity more intent on the Golden Rule and the implied brotherhood of mankind than on any principles of Church and custom, such as are held in reverence at the great universities of England and in the higher circles of English society. Unconscious of the Anglican and Oxford restraints, to which for some time Mr. Arnold has lent a sweet and enlightened tone, Mr. Bright had been saying, in a speech to his Radical Birmingham constituents:—

"I believe the people of the United States have offered to the world more valuable information during the last forty years than all Europe put together."

Mr. Arnold interpreted Mr. Bright's declaration as meaning:—

"America, without religious establishments, seems to get ahead of us all, even in light and the things of the mind."

And, further, Mr. Arnold drew out the, to him, dreadful sense of Mr. Bright's radical estimate of America in these terms:—

"Mr. Bright avers that not only have the United States thus informed Europe; but they have done it without a great apparatus of higher and scientific instruction, and by dint of all classes in America being sufficiently educated to be able to read and to comprehend and to think.'"

Against this, Mr. Arnold quoted Renan as above, and then said:—

"No doubt, in America all classes read their newspaper and take a commendable interest in politics,* more than here or anywhere else in Europe. But . . . when Renan says that America, that chosen home of newspapers and politics, is without general intelligence, we think it likely, from the circumstances of the case, that this is so, and that, in the things of the mind and in culture and totality, America, instead of surpassing us all, falls short."

By the circumstances of the case, Mr. Arnold explains that he means the case of Mr. Bright compared with M. Renan. The former, he says, has excessive and foolish faith in politics; while the latter has faith in real culture. And, hence, Mr. Arnold presumes, on the start, that America must be as Renan says, and not as Mr. Bright says.

But, unhappily, this proceeds too much upon that method of elevated superiority to real knowledge which Mr. Arnold at Oxford has inherited from the scholasticism of the Middle Ages. In the genuine scholastic fashion, Mr. Arnold allows himself to be, on this subject of culture in America, quite above knowing anything beyond certain assertions which have come in his way, and which strike him as most useful to the Anglican and Oxford argument which he wishes to make, and which, as a fine scholastic of the newest spirit, he touches with sweetness. The sweetness is capital. Mr. Arnold could be a Radical himself, if it were not for a large and wealthy inheritance of fine old clothes, which really, to the æsthetic eye, to social and conventional pride, and to traditional feeling, "could not be replaced." Culture, as a fine treacle on the dry bread of the Establishment,† Mr. Arnold would bestow everywhere. But of culture, thoroughly free and radical, he cannot hear without doubt and antipathy. The report that it exists in America makes him put up the usual shield, behind which the superior Englishman fights,—his omniscience. What he does not know upon the warrant of studied, sifted, and verified facts, he can know by superior opinion. He does not dream of opening his fine mind to anything so common and so unpleasant as information. He uses his rare power of reasoning and of criticism, not upon a large and fair show of facts, but upon most doubtful, second-hand assertions. With accidental bits of suppositious knowledge which are at hand, he makes an apparent argument on the principle, almost, that, if the facts do not sustain it, it is so much the worse for the facts. The overmuch strength of will and of logic in the English mind, for at least far the larger half of the English people, habitually acts in this way. It is with great fitness that, in English use, "stupidity" implies, not defect of intellect, but excess of will and opinion.

The truth is that Mr. Arnold suffers from the close hold which Oxford has upon him. He is a free thinker in scholastic bonds, an apostle of culture whose fine intentions do not supply him with anything like the knowledge requisite for his great mission. He makes, too, the prodigious mistake of thinking his situation as an Oxford man, a servitor of the Oxford spirit, to be the happiest situation in the world, quite unconscious that many of his sentiments lag some hundreds of years behind his better perceptions; that his apostleship of culture is greatly the worse for the atmosphere of chamber-maid intelligence left in the cloisters of Oxford Anglicanism by the Roman Holy Mother in celibate breeches; and that he is pressing forward in the race of enlightenment with the black rags of Latin Africa‡ flying from his shoulders and his head under a cap that should have been thrown away with the other rubbish of the pope. Thus, Mr. Arnold says:—

"Oxford, the Oxford of the past, has many faults; and she has heavily paid for them in defeat, in isolation, in want of hold upon the modern world. Yet we in Oxford, brought up amid the beauty and sweetness of that beautiful place, have not failed to seize one truth,—the truth that beauty and sweetness are essential characters of a complete human perfection. When I insist on this, I am all in the faith and tradition of Oxford. I say boldly that this, our sentiment for beauty and sweetness, our sentiment against hideousness and rawness, has been at the bottom of our attachment to so many beaten causes, of our opposition to so many triumphant movements."

Very far at the bottom, one might say, with Latin Africa, in the most unenlightened type of backward Anglicanism, at the top. The present writer had, at the moment when he was first acquainted with Mr. Arnold's comparison of American and Oxford culture, just seen Oxford for the first time, and had wondered to see, both in the town and in the academic cloisters, so much that gives an impression not at all of sweetness and beauty, but of the want of these. He thinks that he receives at its just value all the intellectual wealth of Oxford, but that its exterior is often a blackened scab of mediævalism goes without saying. On the principle that forgiveness of defects deepens love, he can understand that the unsightliness which so disappointed him may have awakened a love exceedingly deep; and, as a cover to those treasures of fineness within, he knows that any exterior may be pardoned. But, really, the black scab of Latin Africa—the tradition of Tertullian, Athanasius, and Augustine—goes deeper than the surface; and far the most that has made the glory of Oxford has belonged rather to the English race than to the Anglican school, to an intellectual manhood, which thorough Anglicanism sadly eats away and miserably degrades. It is the incidental traditions of Oxford, the great men that have been there and gone away, the minds destined to some mastery of affairs or of faith, to whom it has been a Nazareth: the occasional periods when the angels of England's relation to the kingdom of God have brought a great light into the scholastic prison, and sent some apostle free into the world,—these incidental things of Oxford are among its chief glories. Otherwise, Oxford has been the seat in England of a scholasticism which began to be out of date from the time that Chaucer's sweetly human verse, and Piers Ploughman's deep-thinking appeal to the free vision of holy truth, and John Wyclif's masterful moving—against Church and university and throne—of the previous question of English religion by a translation of the Bible into the tongue of the people, had begun to open to the English mind and heart and faith the gates of emancipation from Latin African servitude. And, when Mr. Arnold lends the smiles of sweetness and light to the assertion that Oxford, since the day that she cursed Wyclif into the common English crowd and put up Anglican bars where the Reformation tore away the pope's gate, has maintained her sour and imbecile opposition to all free English advance solely because of her sweet sentiment against hideous rawness, he speaks, not indeed in the spirit of chamber-maid intelligence left by Rome to Oxford cloisters, but yet with the voice of a mere Anglican refinement upon that spirit, which quite lacks the manly (and no less womanly) tone of honest English preference for sweetness and beauty without consecrated scab or scurvy, dust or dry rot, or the black rags and cap of Latin Africa.

And so, in his reasoning from a comparison of second-hand assertions, in total disregard of facts, and upon assumptions that show the blankest ignorance, Mr. Arnold has spoken as an Oxford scholastic and Anglican Pharisee rather than as an English scholar and Christian. He says that "*hole-and-corner* forms of religion inevitably favor provincialism," and speaks of "the narrowness generated in Puritanism by its hole-and-corner organization." And yet, even more than Puritanism, he makes a hole-and-corner dark-

* The vulgar interest in politics seems to me, after several years of careful observation in England, much stronger superficially in England than in America, but far less instructed, and vastly less conscientious, vastly more unprincipled, or weak-principled, and mercenary than in America. Voters in great numbers must be carried to the polls, they would not take the trouble to walk; and public journals reap a great harvest by publishing political matter as advertisements. What may be called "reputable corruption" is tenfold worse among English voters than it is among American.

† I use this illustration advisedly. In England and in America, the genuinely cultivated and refined class are neither specially English nor specially American. But, going below the best class, there begins to be this difference,—more profession with less performance in England, less profession with vastly more performance in America. In Mr. Arnold's favorite Church—excepting the best class, which I will assume to be not small—there is a great breadth of vulgarity, very bad vulgarity, under a thin surface of Anglican treacle. Often enough, the priest at the altar is of this vulgar type.

‡ See any of the authorities in regard to the Latin-African nativity of Tertullian and Cyprian, Athanasius and Augustine, the Fathers who did most to originate the style of church and creed, of faith and worship and learning which Anglicanism has inherited, and the signs of which are still worn by English undertakers and English university men. In Dean Stanley's *Christian Institutions* may be read the story of the old clothes which Church and culture in England so much affect, for no reason whatever, historically, except that of survival in church usage of old fashions of dress. The Roman peasant prayed and exhorted and served the altar in his shirt-sleeves. The German barbarian, when he came, pulled a shirt on over his fur coat. Hence, the *surplice*. The gown and cap are equally survivals, mere old clothes, originally vulgar, and worse than vulgar now.

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ness in the Oxford cloister, where he thinks he sees the world reflected in the mirror of scholastic meditation. Puritanism in America, driven out into the world two and a half centuries ago, has ceased to be Puritan. The provincialism is in Mr. Arnold's exceedingly narrow outlook at Oxford and in the Anglican influence which has kept England to this day full of the holes and corners of mediævalism. An apostle of sweetness and light, who prefers his own smiles to sunlight, and cloister sentiment against hideousness and rawness to valuable information and accurate knowledge, cannot fail to make woful mistakes, both of observation and of reflection. It will not be difficult to show that Mr. Arnold has neither observed correctly nor reasoned justly, and that his entire view of culture in America is an Oxford hole-and-corner view, which he could not have taken if he had been, as the present writer happens to be, a descendant, through several American generations, of one of the English Puritans, who, when Laud was at work and before Cromwell had come, found England a good hole and corner to leave, and New England a refuge of freedom.

If Mr. Arnold could only have come a little out of his Oxford "hole-and-corner" superiority to real knowledge of the honest facts about culture in the great New World of America, into which England has been extending now for above two hundred and fifty years, he must have seen evidence close at hand sufficient to suggest that Renan, spite of smiling the identical Oxford smile about culture, was quite preposterous in his declaration that America has "created a considerable popular instruction without any serious higher instruction," and "will long have to expiate this fault by intellectual mediocrity, vulgarity of manners, superficial spirit, and lack of general intelligence," and that Mr. Bright had no less erred if he indeed claimed that the attainment of the people of the United States had been made without a great apparatus of higher and scientific instruction. Renan has had little, if any, opportunity to know accurately about America; and Mr. Bright, who has used so well what he has known, has been no scholar in American history. On a late occasion, for example, he had not so much as heard of Dr. Channing. But a great critic, like Mr. Arnold, should be equally a scholar, and as such he might have known the truth about culture, character, and manners in America.

Mr. Arnold knows that in England there has been special activity for the extension of university culture only within a very short time. That activity in America dates from the settlement of New England, and many things which England is just now getting or trying to get, New England has never been without. The leaders of both the Pilgrim church and the Puritan churches, in the New World, were Cambridge University men. There were Oxford men also; but of Cambridge men there was, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, one for every two hundred and fifty inhabitants,—a planting of English culture without a parallel. These two colonies gave birth to Harvard and Yale, universities which are the Cambridge and Oxford of America, and the sons of which are foremost leaders throughout the whole country of the progress which sways all hindering and dangerous elements to ends of increasing good. The story, as our historians tell it, is a noble one. Bancroft says:—

"It was ever the custom, and it soon became the law, in Puritan New England, that 'none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue.' 'To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers,' it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies 'that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and, where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university.'" Harvard University was established in 1636, the colony, not yet ten years old, voting a sum equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, which at the present time for the same colony would be £200,000. Not only the wealthier began at once the American practice of profuse liberality for good learning; but the whole community far and near sent help, as of old the Jews to their temple. On one occasion, every family in all New England gave twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in good Indian shell money. Before 1650, the middle of the seventeenth century, every New England colony, except small and eccentric Rhode Island, had made public instruction compulsory. "In these measures," says Bancroft, "especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received as its birthright a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind."

In the colony of Pennsylvania, a disastrous policy was adopted, at the demand of the Quakers, who would not have free schools for all alike, because they already had denominational schools, and thought it would be enough to add other schools "at low prices." The very plan England is now following was preferred in Pennsylvania to the New England plan of free schools, with the result that Pennsylvania lagged far behind New England in social and political progress. Those two colonies especially into which originally were gathered the greatest number of ardent friends of free learning for all the people, Massachusetts and Connecticut, easily became the nurseries of all that is best and that is dominant in American progress. America, educated, and using with all the world the rule of peace and good-will, is fast winning a position of power and prosperity well in advance of all other nations; and, of this success, the chief secret has been that for full two hundred and fifty years the pure English ideal of liberty and learning, which was lighted chiefly at Cambridge University, and was by noble scholars and devoted students borne over the sea and into the wilderness, has been, with fervent zeal and patient courage and untiring self-sacrifice, carried over the continent in the system of free schools. It was in 1629 that twelve gentlemen met at Cambridge in England, and made an agreement to go with their families to America as the leaders of the most conspicuous emigration by which New England was founded. Seven years had not passed before an American town of Cambridge saw the beginning of Harvard University, and unweariedly from that time to this has the great work gone forward of planting pure culture and pure freedom as free to all men as the air they breathe. When Lord Bacon published in October of 1620 his most famous work, the *Novum Organum*, there appeared on the title-page a symbolical picture of a harbor with incoming and outgoing ships, and the motto, *Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.* At that moment, the "Mayflower" was in mid-ocean, bearing the earliest company of New England settlers on their perilous venture to break the ice on the shore of a savage world for all that might come after. The fulfilment of Bacon's prophetic anticipation has come beyond his utmost expectation. If you should visit to-day the spot where the Pilgrim Fathers landed, and were to land at the point outside their harbor, where a light-house stands at the far end of a long sand-bar, some miles from any population, you would find a school-house, where in summer a free school is kept at the charge of the town, although for no more than six pupils. It is typical of all America. Go where you will forward from that landing-place of those English Pilgrims, and you will find the free school-house, either come or coming. It was the misfortune of the South that its origins were to so great an extent, if not at the low level of ignoble ignorance, at least unattended by any provision for schools, for learning, and for literary cultivation, and that, with this sufficiently bad beginning, worse was added by the degrading influences of negro slavery. The most eccentric hallucination * got voice by Mr. Roebuck when he said that the South were English and the North were not. The twenty thousand Englishmen who came into New England before 1640 were the purest picked English, and they have grown into ten or twelve million of people, with less mixture of blood with other races than England itself can show. Their best historian has justly said that they "are a singularly unmixed race," and that "there is probably not a county in England occupied by a population of purer English blood than theirs." Not only so; but, while they certainly did not represent the beef-eating type of John Bull, they did represent the better intellectual type of the best English stock, and they made in New England a race excellent for character and culture above the average English race. They have formed about one-third of the people of the United States. The second third has come from the English, who settled in the other early colonies along the Atlantic, from New York to Georgia; while the last third goes back to Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, German, Swedish, Spanish, and other immigrants. The English of the second third were about evenly divided between North and South, those of New York and Pennsylvania and Maryland going with the North, while those of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and Georgia, formed the Atlantic front of the South. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the character of the English had been such as to assimilate the culture of these States with that of New England. Both New England ideas and New England people had gained a foremost place in these States. At Baltimore, for example, where the South almost prevailed, Mr. Peabody, a son of Massachusetts, who had become a citizen of Baltimore, and then a resident in London, and who had founded a vast charity for London with a gift of $2,500,000, and had bestowed in Massachusetts, at Danvers, $270,000 for an Educational Institute, also founded the Baltimore Institute of Science, Literature, and the Fine Arts, with a fund of $1,400,000, and further established at Baltimore, on a basis of $8,000,000, a grand charity designed to promote the support of schools in the South. At Baltimore, too, Johns Hopkins' gift of $3,500,000 for a University foundation has brought into existence one of the most promising seats of superior culture to be found anywhere. So that at this point, where the North meets the South, we see Maryland made, for liberty and learning, for freedom and culture, the equal of Massachusetts; while Mr. Peabody's gift in aid of schools casts over the no longer dark and desolate South the pure light of a great beacon of knowledge. I need not go through the list of American schools of culture, naming only the universities and colleges where the standard is fully as high as the best English, in order to show that the Atlantic front of the North is marked by great bulwarks of culture, which mean *more a good deal* for our people than the like English seats of culture mean for England, and that, going back from these, other schools of the best superior culture fill the whole North, the chief and characteristic, the intellectually and morally dominant, portion of the country. If Mr. Arnold had known anything at all to the purpose of sound criticism of the state of culture in America, he would not have borrowed Renan's statement on the subject. "Without any serious higher instruction," said Renan, whose statement Mr. Arnold adopted in 1869. "Without a great apparatus of higher and scientific instruction," said Mr. Arnold, echoing Renan's criticism. But in a curiously superficial essay of unfavorable opinions on America, which he has lately served in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Arnold so far forgets himself as to say with reference to America: "About superior or university instruction, one need not be uneasy. An institution like Harvard is probably all that one could desire." Probably! Mr. Arnold has heard of Harvard since 1869. He has perhaps a suspicion that there are other seats in America of superior instruction, and he virtually admits that his criticism of 1869 took a false view of the facts. What he now alleges in support of his opinion of American culture is that "good secondary schools" are wanting in America. Evidently there is a good deal in America of which Mr. Arnold has not yet heard. He could not more manifest want of information about America than in his assumption that "good secondary schools" are as little known in America as in England. The American High Schools, many of the academies, and many of the smaller colleges are such schools. Mr. Arnold hints at the superficial and shoddy character of English academies. To be just, he ought to make many exceptions. The fact is big enough and bad enough without the exaggeration which is one of Mr. Arnold's faults. But the fact, as it very generally appears in England, hardly exists at all in America. It is one of the facts which England owes to her Church and to other sources unknown in America. Comparatively poor as many American schools may be thought to be, the vulgar shoddy of the English type is unknown. Conventional and church reasons suggest in England a shoddy programme. America has had from the

* The state of English culture, in respect of profession exceeding performance, vulgarity under Anglican treacle, and conceit doing duty for culture, has been broadly and painfully illustrated in the extent to which English opinion has been as open-eyed and sympathetic toward the civilization which included slavery as it has been blind and prejudiced toward that which illustrated, as no other has ever done, the best ideal of freedom and culture.

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first "a serious programme"; and if Mr. Arnold could come here, without his Oxford and English omniscience, study our history, really find out our spirit, and adequately observe our schools, he would see that "good secondary schools," to do just what he requires, are largely and broadly at work here, even if not doing all that needs to be done. Mr. Arnold speaks far too confidently when he says that secondary schools would greatly mend English civilization. For the most part, they would be only a little more Anglican treacle.

Mr. Lowell is quoted by Mr. Arnold as describing his own nation as "the most common-schooled and the least cultivated people in the world." Mr. Arnold should judge whether this is a serious and sound judgment, or something else. How much does Mr. Lowell know his own people? How much any people but his own? He has not lived widely among Americans. He has not lived at all among any other *people*. His words quoted by Mr. Arnold only mean that, from his nook of fine culture, he looks out upon his own people with irritation. But if he knew other peoples as closely and as well, and yet as unsympathetically, as he knows his own, he would see that the largest and brightest fact of human history at the present time is the diffusion of culture in America. Taken as a whole, the American is far the most cultivated people in the world. It may not mean much to a sensitive apostle of culture. Yet, comparatively, America stands, in cultivation of her whole people, well in advance of every other nation. Mr. Arnold convicts himself of absurd ignorance when he quotes approvingly a Frenchman, in whom he sees a fine omniscience, and who draws from Mark Twain's works this conclusion:—

"In spite of all its primary education, America is still, from an intellectual point of view, a very rude and primitive soil, only to be cultivated by violent methods. These childish and half-savage minds are not moved except by very elementary narratives composed without art, in which burlesque and melodrama, vulgarity and eccentricity, are combined in strong doses."

This sapient Frenchman has heard of nothing in America but Mark Twain's works, and he constructs in his own consciousness a people whose cultivation consists in reading Mark Twain! And an Oxford Pharisee of British culture says that it is done "soundly and correctly enough"! Not only could it not be more villanously done, but the comparative fact, as to Mark Twain, Artemas Ward, Walt Whitman, and other exceptional products of America, is that the taste for them is much stronger in England than it is in America. Mr. Arnold really ought to borrow ignorance which has some touch of probability.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MISSIONARIES IN INDIA AND CHINA.

Editors of The Index:—

It is an open question, even among many professing Christians, as to the real efficacy of missionary work in what we are pleased to call heathen lands; and yet, if you make this assertion in the presence of clergymen, ninety-nine out of a hundred will pronounce it false, with the *ex cathedra* air peculiar to their calling. I well remember how some years ago my rather unorthodox parent, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, awakened the religious ire of a narrow-minded preacher in a little Michigan town by touching casually in the course of an address upon the small outcome of centuries of missionary labor; and I recall still more distinctly the reply which I was delegated to prepare in response to a letter from the pen of this same preacher published in the town paper, wherein Mrs. Stanton was overweeningly called upon to prove the truth of her assertion. I did not have to go outside of the shelves of my own private library to collect an array of testimony which, if it did not convince the Michigan divine of the failure of Christian propagandism in non-Christian lands, must at least have shown him that the arguments are not all on one side.

In a recent number of the London *Times* appeared an able letter from a Singapore correspondent of that journal on "Missionaries in India and China," which I should send to my clerical friend in Michigan, if I had not long ago forgotten both his name and address. But perchance my whilom letter may have worked marvels, and this champion of foreign missions may be to-day a reader of *The Index!* However this may be, I cannot resist laying before your readers the statements of the correspondent of "The Thunderer," even though I run the risk of cloying the aforesaid convert to Liberalism by so doing:—

"The interest of the Anti-Opium Society in the Chinese people," says the writer of the *Times*, "is of illegitimate birth,—the progeny of the disappointed zeal of the missionaries rather than the spontaneous outcome of genuine philanthropy. The whole agitation has, in fact, been got up by missionaries, who, having failed in China, as they have too often done elsewhere, are driven to find plausible reasons for the failure, the true one being too unpalatable. One old excuse of the missionaries has been the ill-defined relations between the sexes, for which they blamed their countrymen abroad, and which they alleged formed an obstacle to the spread of Christianity. But, perhaps, on considering more carefully the impression the missionary establishments themselves might be making on a people whose ideas of sanctity were indissolubly associated with a celibate priesthood, the China missionaries, at all events, appear to have dropped this question, and to have thrown the weight of their objurgations on the opium trade. There is no reason to doubt the truth of their assertions, that the Chinese do allege the opium trade as a reason for their not becoming Christians. One reason is as good as another, and this one they know to be the most acceptable to their interrogators. But whether in India, China, or elsewhere, the failure of the missionaries, according to their own standard of success, is uniform and complete. Hence, the special reason assigned for their special failure in China is irrelevant and superfluous."

The letter then goes on to state that missionary work from one point of view has been attended with great success. As philologists, educators, and colportors of religious and secular books, missionaries have done much good; but, knowing very well that this is not the kind of labor that the home societies expect of them, they despise these achievements: they must save souls! And this is precisely what they do not do. But listen to what the Singapore correspondent says on this point:—

That the missionaries do not make converts is, of course, true. At least, the numbers are so insignificant in proportion to the machinery employed as to suggest positive and not merely negative failure. The explanation may be partly contained in that very word, "machinery," which just fell from my pen. You can do many things by machinery, and it is even possible to change the nominal religion of a nation by its means; but to convert populations in the higher sense in which our missionaries understand the term transcends the apparatus of secretaries and treasurers, committees, and hired messengers. You may get men of average attainments to go abroad as missionaries, just as you get clerks or engineers. But they who adopt propagandism as a means of living—and it is no disparagement to the missionaries that they do so—are not exactly the men to impart a living impulse to the hearts of masses of people. Xaviers and Bishop Pattesons, indeed, appear at intervals, to prove that the apostolic spirit is not yet extinct among men; but such exceptional phenomena fail to redeem the commonplace character of the ordinary missionary field force. It is rare that a man becomes a missionary, if he can "do as well," in a pecuniary point of view, at home. He will not go to the "ends of the earth," as he calls it. Consequently, it is scarcely even the best of the rank and file of preachers and teachers that enlist for foreign service. By looking round on the quality of the men who fill average English pulpits, therefore, you may form an idea of the calibre of the force that is calculated, in the estimation of the promoters of missionary enterprise, to remove the mountains of heathen unbelief. These good people, of course, shelter themselves behind the pseudo-pious excuse that the meanest instruments may be used by the Almighty,—a principle, however, which they never act upon when they want a house built or a suit of clothes made, or a new organ for their worship. Strange that the flimsiest rag of sophistry should be thought good enough, when the religious welfare of mankind is concerned. . . .

Thinking they are invading a country as soldiers of the Cross, attacking the strongholds of Satan (misapplied Biblical rhetoric is unwholesome food for babes), these young missionaries go forth conquering and to conquer, denouncing the beliefs, the traditions, the worship of the people, calling on them to curse all that they have ever held sacred, and to accept, on pain of eternal perdition, the peculiar arrangement of beliefs which the missionary has compounded for them, and of which Christianity is one, but not always a very perceptible ingredient. And so the poor heathen, hungering, however unconsciously, for the bread of life, is offered instead the Shibboleths of a very Babel of sects. Is it surprising that this method of propagandism fails? Does it deserve to succeed? Nay, would its success be altogether desirable? . . .

I have suggested that the very slight success of proselytism in India and China stamps the failure as positive, and not merely negative, by which I meant to imply that the quality of the small Christian conversions that were effected was not always satisfactory. There are nine hundred thousand nominal Christians in India, or less than one-half per cent. of the population. Of these, more than half are in the Madras Presidency, and are nearly all what may be called historical Catholics. Of the remainder in the rest of India, probably one-half are also Catholics, which would reduce the number of non-Catholic Christians to about a quarter of a million, all told, or one-eighth per cent. of the whole population. In China, the case is somewhat similar, though there are no trustworthy statistics,—five hundred thousand historical Catholics, and such a small number of other sects as not to yield an appreciable percentage of the population. In both countries, the majority of the so-called converts belong to the lowest classes of the population. Not that there is any harm in that, for the gospel addresses itself specially to the poor. But there are usually reasons other than real conviction which decide the change of religion; and, when effected, it is found to have merely added the Christian forms to the substrata of the old superstitions. In every crisis of life, the Christian convert falls back instinctively on his heathenism, as a man will speak his mother tongue. Christian employers will not have Christian servants, because they learn from experience that the unconverted heathen are better. In every equivocal employment, Christians are to be found; and, even among the unfortunate class to whom vice furnishes a living, the Christian profession is not altogether unpopular. Of course there are some, perhaps even a considerable number, whose views of life are really elevated by their Christianity; but it is a fact worthy of all attention that the really devout Indians who have, under the influence of Christian teaching, cast off Hinduism, have preferred to create a new and, as they say, purer religion for themselves rather than accept Christianity in the form in which it is presented to them by the missionaries.

There is food here for much reflection. The testimony of this observer is to the effect that the non-religious efforts of missionaries—that is, the spreading of learning—is a grand success, while their purely religious, sectarian labors are a perfect failure. What course therefore should our Boards of Foreign Missions pursue? The answer is very plain. They should send out the schoolmaster armed with Webster's Spelling Book. In this way, doctrinal Christianity might gain fewer proselytes, but modern civilization would secure new devotees, which is a thousandfold more important. The motto of every missionary would then be,—I leave souls to God, and busy myself with brains.

THEODORE STANTON.

51 RUE DE VARENNE, PARIS.

CRUELTY ON THE NIGER BY AGENTS OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Editors of The Index:—

Allow me to enclose this scrap of paper to you. Perhaps you may be able to see better than I what it means. A relative and several friends of mine, who have spent some time in the Indian Ocean and neighboring seas, astonished me by their concurrence in the statement that a large portion of the funds sent out by Christians here for missionary purposes were employed in trading and merchandizing, many of the missionaries owning ships and acquiring fortunes. It was quite common, on inquiring of a master of a vessel, "What ship is that?" to be told, "It is a missionary ship." "Missionary ship?" inquired my brother the first time this answer was made to him. "Do you mean a ship engaged in carrying missionaries to the heathen?" "No: a trading ship bought with mission funds. Most of the trading in these parts is done by the missionaries, who get tired of trying to convert the heathen, and who make use of the funds sent to them to go into trade."

The enclosed article from the *St. James Gazette* raises the question whether the agents and schoolmasters of the Church Missionary Society haven't gone into the slave catching business. What is called "ransomed" in this article seems to mean "purchased from native captors," which is the approved Christian mode of buying slaves. The fact that they were brought back after running away indicates that the fugitive slave law is still in full force on the Niger in behalf of church missionaries.

VAN BUREN DENSLOW.

CHICAGO, Sept. 25, 1882.

[The following is the article referred to by Prof. Denslow in the above letter:—]

A Girl flogged to Death.

Newspapers published on the West Coast of Africa contain reports of the hearing of a charge against William F. John, Phœbe John, John Williams, and Kezia Williams, of having flogged a girl so cruelly as to cause her death. John

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and Williams were described as *agents and schoolmasters of the Church Missionary Society at Onitsha on the Niger.* The female prisoners were their wives, and the girls whose ill-treatment led to the accusation *were persons whom the prisoners had ransomed.* The offence alleged was committed in 1877, when both girls ran away *from their employers, but were brought back.* As a punishment, they were taken to the prisoner Williams' house, when they were stripped and tied back to back. The allegations are not only that the two male prisoners savagely flogged the girls with their own hands, but that a number of natives were also ordered to keep up the punishment, which they did with guava whips, canes, ropes, and other instruments. Not content with this, the male prisoners ordered some pepper to be brought, and rubbed it into the bleeding wounds of the girls as they lay upon the ground helpless and *rolling* about in agony. This was in the morning; and the girls were left lying on the ground in the broiling sun, without shelter or aid of any kind. At mid-day, a number of boys came up from school and commenced to flog them again, by order, it is stated, of the prisoners; after which, two negroes again rubbed pepper into the wounds. During whole of the afternoon, the two victims, still tied together in the way described, lay in the sun, and, having succeeded in rolling toward a clump of bushes to seek for shade, it is said the prisoners dragged them back into the sun. In the evening, they were *untied*; and one of them, who afterward died, was taken away and lashed to a guava-tree in the yard of the prisoner John. She was then in a very weak and prostrate condition, the other girl having apparently suffered less severely. Three days after this, the girl who subsequently died was seen in the yard of the prisoner John, lying on the ground and bleeding from a fresh wound on the head, while beside her was standing Mrs. John, holding a stick about an inch in diameter. The female prisoner said that the deceased was shamming, and that she had been trying to make her get up, but in vain. The next day, the girl died. A large number of witnesses were called at the Police Court, Sierra Leone, on various days between the 2d and 7th of August, who deposed to these facts, stating that the female prisoners were looking on and laughing while the pepper was being rubbed into the bleeding flesh of the two girls, and giving other particulars of the outrage. The prisoners, against whom true bills were presented, reserved their defence, and were to be tried on the 21st ult.

DARWINISM.

Editors of The Index:—

In a recent issue of *The Index* there occurs a criticism upon a lecture of mine, published a year or two since in the Chicago *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, under the heading "The Eclipse and Decline of Darwinism."

In the criticism, the writer (anonymous) pronounces the quotation from Darwin, in said lecture upon the decline of Darwinism, "garbled," and then adds, "Darwin does not say 'life was originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one.' He does not affirm *any* theory as to how life originated."

Let us see. I am not accustomed to being charged with "garbling," hence, I repeat, let us see.

In the sixth edition of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, p. 269 (see also Appleton's reissue of it in America, p. 429), I find the following paragraph upon the origin of life, which I quote *in extenso*:—

It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. There is grandeur in *this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one*, and that, while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed laws of gravity, from so *simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved.*

There is the quotation, italics mine.

And I submit that, if the paragraph means anything, it means what the words indicate, that "life, with its several powers," was "originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one," from which "simple beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved."

William Denton, a zealous evolutionist before "Darwin wrote a line upon the subject," in his late book, *Is Darwin Right?* refers several times to this paragraph of Mr. Darwin relative to the origin of life, and criticises it mercilessly. Prof. Denton believes in spontaneous generation. Prof. Gunning and other evolutionists, to my knowledge, seriously object to the *position* of Mr. Darwin in the above-quoted paragraph, and object to it because it implies a special act on the part of the Creator, the equivalent of a miracle.

Is it not passing strange that many Darwinists make such wry faces at the Mosaic miracle of God's breathing "the breath of life" into dust-formed man, and yet swallow with such gusto Darwin's miracle of the Creator's breathing life into "a few forms or into *one*"?

And, further, kindly allow me, Mr. Editor, to quote the published words of Alfred R. Wallace (*Human Nature*, 1878) relative to the difference between him and Mr. Darwin upon the origin of "life" or the influx of life when man appeared. "Darwinism," says Mr. Wallace, "may be true as far as it goes, but not be the *whole* truth. Darwin's laws of natural selection and variation are true laws, which will account for much, perhaps for all the material organizations of plants and animals. He admits an influx of life from the Creator at first. I think an influx of a *higher life* occurred when man appeared. He does not *think* this necessary. This is the *real difference* between us." The above, even to the emphasizing, are Mr. Wallace's words upon this important subject.

Finally, as an individual disliking controversy, I have only to say that I am a firm believer in evolution, but not in Darwinism. J. M. PEEBLES.

HAMMONTON, N.J.

To show how little reason Mr. Peebles has for complaint, we here reproduce the "criticism" to which he objects:—

In a published discourse by a prominent Spiritualist (Mr. J. M. Peebles) on "The Eclipse and Decline of Darwinism" occurs the following:—

The fact that Darwinism is posited upon a miracle is enough of itself to throw suspicion upon the whole hypothesis. . . . These are Mr. Darwin's words *verbatim*: "Life was originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms, or into one; and, while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning, endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved."

Now, it is not true that "Darwinism is posited upon a miracle." It is not true that Darwin affirms belief in a miracle as the origin of life on this globe. The quotation given by Mr. Peebles (from some unfair opponent of Darwinism, second-hand, probably) *is a garbled quotation.* Darwin does *not* say, "Life was originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one." He does not affirm *any* theory as to how life originated. But in his *Origin of Species*, written more than twenty years ago, he attempts to allay religious prejudice by saying, in substance, what is quite true, that the origin of life is a mystery which his theory leaves unexplained; that this fact is not a valid objection to his theory; that the development of species from a few forms or from one is in no way derogatory to the character of Deity; that, on the theory of direct, divine action, the idea of God breathing life into a few forms or into one, and evolving therefrom, according to law, all the organic forms now on the earth, is quite as grand as the idea that all species were created by miracle. But it is best to give, on this point, Darwin's own words, including the sentence which is garbled in Mr. Peebles' lecture:—

It is no valid objection that science as yet throws no light on the far higher problem of the essence or origin of life. Who can explain what is the essence of the attraction of gravity? No one now objects to following out the results consequent on this unknown element of attraction, notwithstanding that Leibnitz formerly accused Newton of introducing "occult qualities and miracles into philosophy." I see no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious *feelings* of any one. It is satisfactory, as showing how transient such impressions are, to remember that the greatest discovery ever made by man—namely, the law of the attraction of gravity—was also attacked by Leibnitz as "subversive of natural and inferentially of revealed religion." A celebrated author and divine has written to me that "he has gradually learned to see that it is just as noble a conception of the Deity to believe that he created a few original forms capable of self-development into other and needful forms as to believe that it required a fresh act of creation to supply the void caused by the action of his laws." (*Origin of Species*, p. 429, fifth edition. 1870. D. Appleton & Co.)

After mentioning the laws of growth, reproduction, inheritance, variability, struggle for life, and natural selection, Mr. Darwin adds:—

Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving—namely, the production of the highest animal—directly follows. *Thus there is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.* (Ibid., p. 437.)

It will be seen that the quotation given by Mr. Peebles as *verbatim* is just as we stated, *garbled*; and nothing in his communication either explains the fact or lessens the force of our comments. Darwin does not say, "Life was originally breathed by the Creator," etc.; nor is that proposition implied in the sentence from which Mr. Peebles' quotation is garbled. That Darwin believed in miracles, or that he believed even in an intelligent Creator, cannot be shown by anything in the *Origin of Species*. That William Denton was an evolutionist before Darwin wrote his *Origin of Species* is likely enough, for men have written in defence of evolution more than two thousand years. This, however, will not diminish the fame of the great naturalist in connection with his discovery and application to organic life of the principle of *natural selection*. But why refer to Mr. Denton to indicate Darwin's views, when we have his own writings before us? Mr. Denton and others have, we believe, made the same mistake as that of Mr. Peebles indicated above.—ED.

AMERICA FIFTY YEARS AGO.

Editors of The Index:—

English books on America have but too commonly afforded the Englishman at home a poor chance to correct bad opinion by a knowledge of truth. But there have been exceptions, and one of them is well worthy of notice, as giving impressions formed half a century since.

While on a short stay at York, one of the finest survivals of ancient England, we met with a couple of volumes of *Letters from North America*, which Adam Hodgson, a Liverpool merchant of character and standing in his day, wrote home from the United States between the autumn of 1819 and the spring of 1821. Mr. Hodgson used a sagacity and candor very exceptional among English observers of America. When he had seen for himself, one of the conclusions to which he came was this:—

With respect to America, indeed, as well as every other country, there are two sides of the picture; but, unhappily, many of our travellers have seen or at least exhibited only one, and that, too often, the most unfavorable side. I have met with no travels in America which do not contain much that is true, but many which, in consequence of important omissions, produce an impression which is entirely false.

Even in himself, Mr. Hodgson detected a tendency to come to false conclusions, and he justly doubted whether the average traveller's conclusions can have much value. This was his statement:—

I have sometimes been ashamed to find how much my opinions were influenced for the moment by humor or circumstances. I shall in future have little confidence in any general conclusions, respecting a country, founded on the experience of a single traveller.

Mr. Hodgson pronounced this judgment:—

The American character, to be estimated correctly, must be regarded as a whole; and, as a whole, it has been calumniated to a degree derogatory both to the intelligence and the generosity of my country.

Speaking of the difficulty of reaching conclusions worthy of trust, Mr. Hodgson said:—

I would gladly relieve myself by some bouncing assertions, if I could do it *with sincerity*; but there have been *bounces* enough on the subject of America already.

Of "the largest proportion of the American population," Mr. Hodgson said:—

It is distinguished from the corresponding classes of my countrymen by greater acuteness and intelligence, more regular habits of reading, a wider range of ideas, and a greater freedom from prejudices, provincialism, and vulgarity.

He admitted also that in debate the manners of America are better than those of England. Thus, he said:—

The Americans have the advantage over us in coolness and courtesy in argument, and scarcely ever interrupt the speaker.

This is one of the contrasts which is still very great; but it should be said that it, like so many other national characteristics, is seen in England, in the mass of the people, and that, in a large superior class, a fine serenity of temper and courtesy of manner may be seen, which are all the more perfect, as many examples of the finest English excellence are, from the fact that they are a conscious victory over a prevailing habit of the people. Another point of contrast found by Mr. Hodgson was the following:—

The cities, except New Orleans, present nothing of the disgusting effrontery and unblushing profligacy which the streets of our large towns exhibit after dark.

Still another point was this:—

The bribery of subordinate custom-house officers, so disgracefully common in England, is very rare here.

And even before the great reform of fifty years ago, which put a great gulf of distinction between England and America in respect of the open toleration of

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drinking habits, Mr. Hodgson could compare the two countries in the following terms:—

On the whole, I would say decidedly that, taking America generally, from Maine to Louisiana (I have seen few of the Western States), the sin of intoxication prevails less extensively there than in England; that, whatever may be the injury to the constitution from the common use of spirits instead of malt liquor, there is less derangement of the faculties, less waste of time, and, perhaps, of money, and far less misery entailed on suffering families from intemperate drinking in this country than in our own.

On a matter of vast importance in the comparison of England and America in the history of freedom and culture, Mr. Hodgson spoke with a justice none too often found in English writers. After witnessing the sale of a negro woman and four young children, he wrote:—

The melancholy feelings with which I quitted this scene were not diminished by the reflection that it was *my* country which first transported the poor African to these Western shores; that it was when they were the shores of a British colony that slavery was first introduced, by British ships, British capital, and with the sanction and encouragement of a British Parliament. Would that I could forget that, in a single year, no less than thirty thousand slaves were introduced into America by more than a hundred vessels belonging to a single British port; that the efforts of many of the American States to abolish the importation of slaves were long defeated by the royal negative, which was put on those acts of the colonial legislature which had for their sole object the extinction of the slave trade; and that Burke was but too well justified in stating in Parliament that "the refusal of America to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of negro slaves was one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain."

One great and glorious fact in the early history of New England Mr. Hodgson got a glimpse of, sufficient to make him say:—

I am surprised by the proofs which are presented to me of the learning of the "Pilgrim Fathers," as they call the first settlers, and with their active solicitude to found seminaries for learning, while wanting almost the necessaries of life.

Mr. Hodgson saw and heard Daniel Webster at Plymouth, in 1820, and heard him say, with reference to Lord Brougham's "plan of national education" for England, which had yet a long time to wait before Parliament would do anything:—

We see nothing in the plan but an approach to that system which has been established in New England for more than a century and a half.

Assembled on this very spot, one hundred and fifty-three years ago [in 1667], the legislature of this colony [Plymouth] declared, "Forasmuch as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics, this court doth therefore order that, in whatever township in this government, consisting of fifty families, or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school, such township shall allow at least £12 to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants."

"THE INDEX" AND THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

I confess to just a little disappointment at your editorial reception of the new Article of the Constitution of the National Unitarian Conference. And my disappointment is not a personal one, based on the fact that I originated and carried it through. I am not desirous of discussion; but I want to ask a question, make a remark, and then say why I am disappointed.

The question. Wherein is this new article "more inadequate" than the one of 1868?

The remark. In what Mr. Potter says about its being hurried through without debate, he implies that the Conference may hardly have known what it was doing. In fact, there was no debate *because none was needed*. Nearly fifty of the leading men—*prominent representatives of both extremes of thought*—had given their names to it *in advance*. No debate was needed then, because the men *who would have debated* were all ready to vote in its favor.

My disappointment. This relates purely to the attitude of *Free Religion* toward a definite movement in favor of a wider religious fellowship. I had expected that such a movement would have received at least a word of welcome. If *Free Religion* does not mean a cordial hand-clasp for all who are willing to waive individual, speculative opinions in favor of a stronger emphasis on the grand essentials of fellowship and character, then my own sympathy for it has been resting on a foundation of mistake.

Something indeed may be pardoned to the not over-pleasant memories of past debate. But I am sorry *The Index* did not rise to the generous height of crediting the Conference with larger growth and good intentions, at least until it *knew* the contrary. This would have been genuine "heaping coals of fire," etc., and would have tended toward broader sympathy and better fellowship.

M. J. SAVAGE.

Sept. 30, 1882.

[We have from Mr. Chadwick a note of similar tenor to the above, but too late for insertion this week. Our article in the present issue, defining our personal relation to the Unitarian Conference, was in type before we had seen either of the communications. Yet, in part, it anticipates and replies to them. It will be seen that we do credit the Conference with growth and progress. We welcome all evidences of its moving toward a "broader sympathy" and a "wider religious fellowship." It would have been better, if our brief note last week had also said this. But we do not want our radical friends in the Conference to be too happy over their this year's victory, as if they had come to the end. Their great victory is yet to be won: *the amendment that shall strike the theology out of the Constitution altogether*. This is all we have room to say now, in reply to Mr. Savage's welcome communication. Next week, when Mr. Chadwick's letter is printed, we shall consider the points which they both make in common.—W. J. P.]

PERSONAL ITEMS.

HERBERT SPENCER spent last week quietly at Washington, seeing few callers, but going out much. One day, he was several hours at Mt. Vernon.

THE first Life of John G. Whittier yet written will soon be published by S. E. Cassino of Boston. It is by W. Sloane Kennedy, and will contain a full bibliography.

THE wife of Mr. Francis H. Underwood, a most estimable lady, died on Monday, September 25. She was a lady of great refinement, fully sharing her husband's literary tastes; and her graceful presence and amiable manner added a rare charm to the social gatherings of *literati* which were wont to assemble at their pleasant South Boston home.

THE venerable Robert F. Wallcut, of the old anti-slavery rooms, with his worthy wife, celebrated his golden wedding on Monday last. He is now in his eighty-sixth year. Something over two thousand dollars were contributed by personal friends to aid in making their journey through life easier and more agreeable than it might be otherwise. Many hearty congratulations were sent them.

A SET of Brownson's *Quarterly Review* brings $200, and a complete copy cannot be had even at this fabulous price. The demand for Dr. Brownson's writings has at length induced his son, Mr. Henry F. Brownson, of Detroit, Mich., to bring out a complete edition of everything that his father wrote after he entered the Roman Church. This will be in seventeen octavo volumes, of about five hundred and fifty pages each, the first of which will appear early in November, the others following at intervals of three months or less, and the price for each being $3 a volume.

MISS CHARLOTTE O'BRIEN, the philanthropic young Irish woman who is making the sanitary arrangements for steerage passengers on our ocean steamships her peculiar mission, arrived in New York last week, and took up her abode with a tidy Irish family near Castle Garden, with the view of finding out the real needs of emigrants to this country. She is described by a reporter of the New York *Sun* as "a tall, slight woman, blue-eyed, fair-haired, and almost girlish in her frankness, enthusiasm, and good humor. Hers is one of the most noted families of Ireland. Though apart from this, her work has made her conspicuous, she is thoroughly unassuming.

IN Canada, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake has been the recipient of marked attention from the government, and has had several interviews with Sir John Macdonald and Hon. J. H. Pope, minister of agriculture. At Toronto, he was the guest of Prof. Goldwin Smith, who manifested a keen interest in the object of Mr. Holyoake's visit. On Friday last, Mr. and Miss Holyoake were entertained at dinner by the minister of agriculture, a distinguished company of government officers and others being present; and, on Saturday, they took luncheon with Sir John and Lady Macdonald. Before leaving Ottawa, Mr. Holyoake also dined, by invitation, with the Premier at the Rideau Club.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE PEAK IN DARIEN: With some other Enquiries touching Concerns of the Soul and the Body. An octave of essays. By Frances Power Cobbe. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street. Price $1.00.

This is a series of eight of Miss Cobbe's latest essays on different subjects, and takes its somewhat misleading title from the last in the series, which treats of "The Riddle of Death" as guessed at from the prevision of the dying, or, as she puts it, "Does our forerunner on the hill-top show by his looks and actions, since he is too far off to speak to us, that he beholds from his 'peak in Darien' an ocean yet hidden from our view?" Inferentially, from the tone in which she speaks of the instances of these apparent previsions or hallucinations of the dying, we should judge Miss Cobbe had answered this question for herself in the affirmative. The first essay of this volume, "Magnanimous Atheism," is even more misleading in its title than "The Peak in Darien"; for the purport of it is to prove that atheism is selfish in all its characteristics, and is wholly lacking in magnanimity. In "Hygeiolatry," Miss Cobbe attacks selfishness under the guise of what she thinks excessive care for one's health. In "Pessimism, and One of its Professors," Schopenhauer's life and philosophy are severely criticised. "Zoöphily" would make an excellent tract for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and is an earnest protest against vivisection. "Sacrificial Medicine" treats of former superstitions in medical science. "The Fitness of Women for the Ministry of Religion" is one of the longest essays, and is a discussion of the pros and cons of this question so far as the author understands them, with the evidence apparently in favor of the pros. "The House on the Shore of Eternity" is an allegory indicating reasons for a belief in immortality. All these are very readable, and some of them thought-inspiring, even when the reader's views are in direct opposition to those of Miss Cobbe. The book is nicely bound and neatly printed.

THE October number of *St. Nicholas* is the last of the present volume, which thus ends very brilliantly. The frontispiece, "When we were Boys," a fine copy of a drawing by W. T. Smedley, is suggestive of half a dozen stirring stories of the youthful pranks of the two old men apparently relating to each other their boyish exploits, and will cause the boy readers of *St. Nicholas* to regret missing the recital. The opening story is by Prof. H. H. Boyesen; "Radishville," by W. O. Stoddard, gives an excellent idea, in story form, of how Western new towns are built up; "The Captain of the Orient Base-ball Nine" points an excellent moral to others besides base-ball players; "The Story of a very Naughty Girl" is delightfully told by 'Lisbeth Hall; Charles Barnard's "Learning to Ride," with its spirited illustrations by Kelly, will be read with interest by all young equestrians. Margaret J. Preston tells in some pretty verses, "Guido's Complaint," something of the story of the great painter. Mrs. Dodge's serial, "Donald and Dorothy," is brought to an interesting and satisfactory conclusion. These are but a few of the attractions of this number, which must be seen to be appreciated.

"WIDE-AWAKE" is always a welcome and entertaining visitor, and the October number is no exception to this rule. The frontispiece is a dainty drawing by Miss McDermott, designed to illustrate the pretty, fanciful story by Miss Susan Hale, entitled "The Hope Works"; Luthera Whitney, in "A Suit of Home-Spun," explains in an intertaining way, and with the aid of fifteen illustrations, the old-fashioned process of clothes-making; Mrs. A. M. Diaz tells in her own inimitable style a jolly circus story, under the title of "The Strimpcetts' Sunrise Party"; Mr. Talbot's comedy, "No Questions Asked," and Miss Harris' beautiful "Wild Flower Papers" are brought to a close in this number; E. E. Hale explains the present state of the Egyptian question very clearly to the young readers of this magazine. Among the best of the poems are Mary E. Blake's "Wonderful Country of Good-Boy Land" and Clara Dolliver's "Turkey-Tail Brooms." The Chautauqua Series is interesting and instructive as usual.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 169

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

An Argument that doesn't Work, Wm. J. Potter, . . . 170
The Peak in Darien, Lee T. Vance, ... 170
Why should Naturalistic Evolution be mainly Evil? Wm. I. Gill, ... 171
On Some Defects of the Daily Press, W. S. Kennedy, . 171
Unitarians in Conference, E. C. Towne, ... 172
Roman Catholicism and Paganism, B. F. Underwood, . 173

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 174

POETRY.

The Mystical River, S. B. Brittan, ... 175

ESSAYS.

Principles and Administration of Free Government, L. F. Hodge, ... 175
The Gospel of Law, William Emmette Coleman, . . . 176

CORRESPONDENCE.

The New Article of the National Unitarian Conference, John W. Chadwick, ... 177
An Offer to the Spiritualists of America, Joseph Templeton, ... 178
Woman Suffrage in Nebraska, Harriet H. Robinson, . 178

BOOK NOTICES.

History of Woman Suffrage, ... 179
Socrates: Apology and Crito of Plato; Socrates: The Phædo of Plato, ... 179
The Great Epics of Mediæval Germany, by George Theodore Dippold, ... 179
Wit and Wisdom of Don Quixote, ... 179
Baby-Land, Art Amateur, Sanitarian, ... 179

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 179

CURRENT TOPICS.

BISMARCK is denounced by the Milwaukee *Freidenker* as the leader in the persecution of the Jews.

A PILGRIMAGE is being made to the Holy Well of St. Winifred in England, to pray for the recovery of the little son of the Duke of Norfolk.

MRS. CLARA NEYMANN, while pleading in Nebraska for female suffrage as an essential element of a republican government, has openly and earnestly disclaimed any sympathy with the agitation for prohibition, which is, in some places, associated with this movement.

THE oldest newspaper in the world is published at Pekin, in China. It is called *King-Pan*, is over five hundred years old, and has not changed in size since 1351. Three editions daily are issued, two on yellow and one on red paper, and each edition has a name of its own in addition to the general one of *King-Pan*.

THE *Presbyterian* informs its readers that *The Index* acknowledges that the clause in Stephen Girard's will, excluding ministers from the college, was neither "liberal nor wise"; but it does not intimate that this journal denounces the practical violation of the will, in making the college a Christian institution, as "dishonesty and perfidy," nor has it one word to say in condemnation of this great wrong.

SAYS the Boston *Transcript:* "The Roman Catholic Central Society, which is holding its sessions at Milwaukee, Wis., has before it resolutions making it obligatory upon Catholics to have their children taught in Catholic parochial schools, and not in public institutions. Catholic societies may pass just as many such resolutions as they wish, and still the children of Catholic parents will be found in the public schools of the country, and imbibing a spirit that will lead them more and more to resent the encroachments of the Church."

THE comet, which is now exciting so much interest and attracting all eyes to the morning sky, seems to be very effective in frightening and converting the negroes in the South. A despatch from Raleigh states that many of the negroes believe the end of the world is at hand, and are making preparations accordingly; that, whenever the comet appears, the bells of their churches are rung, meetings held, and petitions offered up that the flaming monster may be directed away from the earth. According to the despatch, this comet has "caused more repentance among colored brethren than any revivalist or camp-meeting exhorter during the present generation."

THE National Reform Association, in a call for a Convention, which was to be held at Pittsburgh, October 3 and 4, reiterated the following with which our readers are already familiar: "The Constitution of the United States makes no acknowledgment of Almighty God, the author of national existence; nor of Jesus Christ, who is the ruler of nations; nor of the Bible, which is the fountain of law and good morals, as well as of religion. This has, from the beginning, been a matter of deep regret. It may have been an oversight; but it was, and it is, both an error and an evil. It does not reflect the views of the great majority of the people upon these matters. It dishonors God." The Association persists in its demand for "such an amendment to the National Constitution as will remedy this great defect, indicate that this is a Christian nation," etc. This movement does not seem to be gaining strength, and attracts but little attention at present.

ONE cannot read, without a blush of shame for a progressive nation and an advanced age, the facts brought out by the vigorous protest of the young deserter Kenneally against being taken back to the Elmira (N.Y.) Reformatory (?). He declared he would much rather be shot than be returned to the tender mercies of the persons in charge there. An agent of the New York *Herald*, investigating the matter, found out that the *reform* methods of the Reformatory consisted in striking men with iron bars, jumping upon them, kicking them, turning a hose of water on them by the hour, tricing prisoners up by manacled hands and paddling them. If, in America, we can do no better than this, it is time some Charles Reade showed us up in our true colors as Reade did the English government in his novel, *Put Yourself in His Place*, and shamed somebody into energetic measures to remove and punish such cruel officials, and institute a more humane and truly reformatory method with our criminals of all grades.

MR. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE recently said: "A paper published by Sidebotham, the son of an old friend, was sent me, in which I was given to understand that, if my mission was to encourage emigrants to come and cheapen wages, that I might expect no sympathy from the trades unions. I cannot conceive how they should have so misunderstood me. I have steadily advised against emigration to such centres as the larger cities, where the new comers would only injure others as well as themselves. It is just there that the value of such an official guide book will be perceived. The only information of an official character now obtainable comes from the agents of corporations, who either do not know, or, for reasons of their own, misrepresent the conditions. What an emigrant needs to know is the cost of living, the diet, clothing, the dwellings he would have to occupy, the exposure to be undergone, the true conditions as to health, the maladies to be guarded against, and the state of the money market, and all other facts that would guide his decision where to go. If the governments should take this in hand, it might be truthfully done. Governments, you know, never lie, when it would serve their purpose better to tell the truth. Such facts, at least, it could not prove to their interest to misrepresent, and that is more than can be said of those now depended on to furnish the information. I shall endeavor to persuade the powers that be at Toronto and Washington that the work is best in their hands."

THE *Nation* has the following remarks in reference to the recent meeting of the Liberal League: "The League transacted some important business in adopting a new calendar as a substitute for that now in use, with the year 1600 B.C. as the starting-point. For the letters A.D., the letters E.M. are to be used, meaning Era of Man. This action seems to be hasty; for, however poor an opinion he may have of Christianity, even a Liberal must admit that, if the performances of the human race are to be taken as a basis for the new calendar, man had not distinguished himself in the year 1600 B.C. nearly as much as he had at the opening of the Christian era. And, as every Liberal must believe in continuous human progress, even by 1600 A.D. man had not reached the proud position he occupies in the current year. Indeed, there can be no point at which the Era of Man can be said to begin, unless it is when our primeval ancestor parted company with his simian congeners, and set up for himself as a human being. The difficulty about this as a starting-point is that it was before historical times, and the precise year in which it took place has not as yet been ascertained. But, since that time, whenever it was, there has been continuous progress year by year and month by month; and therefore, while it is perfectly fair for Christians to maintain a calendar based on what they believe to be an important religious date, no Liberal, without unfairness to Man, can possibly have the right to fix upon an arbitrary date, and assume that as the starting-point of progress; and Liberals, of all people, ought to remember that Man's unfairness to Man makes countless thousands mourn." Although we have seen no report of the proceedings, we surmise that the proposed starting-point is 1600 A.C., not 1600 B.C. But a calendar that excludes from the Era of Man the ages of Pericles and Augustus, two of the most brilliant periods of history, is more objectionable even than one making the Era begin with the year 1600 B.C.

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AN ARGUMENT THAT DOESN'T WORK.

The *Christian Statesman*, in a recent issue, has a good article on "The Nation's Struggle with Corruption." That is, it is good in its statement of the premises; but, in its conclusion, it is singularly illogical. The *Statesman* well depicts the "corruption in a thousand forms, from the bribing of a legislature to the robbing of the treasury," with which the nation is in a life-and-death struggle. It instances the "sordid motives" which are so largely operative in our political contests; the "salaries and perquisites and opportunities for private thrift at the public expense," which one party seeks to keep, and another to get at the polls; the "base means" of trickery and fraud resorted to, in order to carry an election; the "flat purchase of votes" in many places, now grown to be "a public scandal"; the increasing nomination of candidates with reference to their wealth and the liberality with which they are expected to use their money in the election campaign, amounting in some cases to the virtual buying of the office; "the pledging of offices to party henchmen in the event of election"; the political "assessment of office-holders to replenish campaign treasuries"; the growth of the "machine" and "boss" power in politics; the Star-Route frauds on the post-office, by which men who have stood high in national office and have been leaders in political councils are implicated in "plundering the nation's treasury of nearly two million dollars a year," and have only escaped punishment by a jury decision which "seems to have been purchased with the money stolen from the government."

Another evidence of corruption in a different form, close at the *Statesman's* own door, it gives a special paragraph to, which we quote in full: "A committee of one hundred citizens of Philadelphia has been unearthing the rascally transactions of one municipal department after another in Philadelphia for three years past; and every fresh revelation astonishes a public which might well have lost ere now the faculty for being astonished. The latest discovery is that the guardians of the poor and the superintendent of the almshouse have been systematically robbing the paupers, and fattening on the liberal appropriations regularly made for the relief of the destitute."

The *Statesman* then turns to consider the remedy, and in this part of its article appears the astonishing *non sequitur* in its argument. It admits that there is encouragement in "the activity and determination of the battle" against these corrupt practices; in the growing interest in civil service reform; in the rising political revolution, shown in many quarters, against bad leaders. It thinks that "the masses of the American people are honest, and desire honesty and integrity in their rulers," and that the country has not reached the point at which exposure of fraud "draws after it anything less than political ruin." But, in its view, all these are only signs of temporary and superficial improvement: they do not touch the source of the evil, and therefore do not bring any real cure. According to the *Statesman*, the source of the evil lies in "the loss of all conception of government as a divine institution," as evidenced by the fact that the national Constitution contains no acknowledgment of Almighty God; and the remedy is to put into the Constitution "a simple authoritative recognition of God as the Author of civil government and of the moral laws of the Christian religion." That we may not be thought to do the argument injustice, we quote more at length: "The only remedy lies in the restoration of the Bible idea of government as a power ordained of God. To this end, the nation must proclaim in its Constitution its own conception of the nature and purpose of government. If our fundamental law contained a brief acknowledgment of the divine origin and moral accountability of government, the masses would feel that some inquiry into the moral and religious character of those whom they elevate to office was not altogether irrelevant."

Surely, if the remedy be so brief and simple, it would seem to be a most heinous crime to delay it a single day. But, unfortunately for the *Statesman's* argument, the remedy is no new discovery in political therapeutics. It has been long tried, and never been known to cure. The moral diseases which the *Statesman* enumerates are quite as prevalent in State and municipal politics as in national politics. Some of the worst of them, in fact, prevail far more under the political machinery of the States than in the national government. Yet the State Constitutions, with hardly an exception, have the very acknowledgment of the authority and power of Almighty God which the *Statesman* prescribes for the national Constitution. They have always contained this saving religious clause declared to be so efficacious, and in some of them the theological phraseology has been even a good deal stronger than that which the *Statesman* asks for. If, then, this remedy is so sure, why has it not cured or prevented the political corruption in the States?

For instance, the *Statesman's* own State, Pennsylvania, has in its Constitution a very explicit "recognition of God as the Author of civil government." Unless a change has been made within a few years, every member of its legislature has even to affirm this creed: "I do believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, the Rewarder of the good, and the Punisher of the wicked; and I acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be given by inspiration." Moreover, the Supreme Court of the State has made official declaration that Christianity is a part of the common law within the State. Yet there is a very wide-spread belief that hardly any State in the Union is deeper in political corruption than Pennsylvania, unless it be New York. The Harrisburg legislature, in spite of its creed, is popularly supposed to have had many wicked men among its members, and to have been the scene of numerous corrupt bargains. And the city of Philadelphia, existing under the very ægis of all these constitutional guarantees of religion, founded and long administered on "the Bible idea of government," and continuing under stronger evangelical influences than any other city in the United States, is the city where, the *Statesman* being witness, a committee of citizens has been, in the last three years, unearthing various "rascally transactions" in municipal administration, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, ending with the discovery that the guardians of the poor have been systematically enriching themselves by robbing the paupers of the appropriations voted for them! Now, how could all this be, if the insertion of religious words in constitutions were so effectual a remedy for political corruption as the *Statesman* argues?

In our view, there is no remedy for the disease short of a deeper indoctrination of the people in the old ideas of justice and probity; nor does history show that this kind of indoctrination is helped by the use of theological phrases in government documents. What is needed is not so much the *saying* of "God" anywhere as the *doing* of righteousness; not so much that legislators should profess belief in the Bible as that they should enact just laws. We, too, believe that government, in ideal, is a divine institution,—divine because existing to enforce an idea which mankind have discovered, indeed, through experience, but did not invent,—the idea of justice. Justice is the foundation of the moral universe. When men shall have learned to do exact justice and to keep probity one with another, the political millennium will have come; and the moral diseases of our politics will vanish in proportion as this end is approached. But it may be reasonably doubted whether the ecclesiastical type of religion which devised and now defends and glories in the moral crookedness by which the trust-funds of Girard College were perverted to uses expressly proscribed by their donor can render effective aid toward this result.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE PEAK IN DARIEN.

If for no other reason than its problematical title, this book, issued by George H. Ellis, Boston, would be sure to attract even passing attention from readers. As a volume of thoughtful essays, it is quite ambitious, and does not belie its name. It endeavors to climb up to those mountain-peaks of thought where eternal Day reigns supreme. Curiously enough, it would seem that, instead of beginning at the foot of the peak, the writer is already upon the summit. For instance, the very first essay is an elaborate discussion of the existence of God, and of the modern doctrines of immortality. Now, if these problems do not constitute "the peak of Darien," it is certain they constitute a peak of the Himalayas in modern philosophy. The authoress of this book, Frances Power Cobbe, has been an inquirer in the fields of philosophical speculation for the last quarter of a century; and the position she has gained heretofore seemed unattainable to the feminine mind. Miss Cobbe should be well known in New England, as she was once prominently identified with the movement of which Theodore Parker was the stirring spirit.

The essays in this book are not at all closely connected. Each one seems to form a landmark by itself. The first, entitled "Magnanimous Atheism," is the old controversy between theism and agnosticism, presented in another light. The writer examines the different views of atheists upon a future life. First, the positivist doctrine of "posthumous activity" is examined, and the conclusion reached by the essayist is that it offers no satisfactory explanation of immortality. So, in the same manner, the idea of annihilation is viewed in all its bearings. I do not find anything very novel in this argument. The proposition so often advanced, that the idea that death ends everything, is again asserted as cheerless and wearisome beside the glorious advantages offered to all by Christianity. The writer shudders at the prospect of annihilation, and regards the philosophy that teaches such a doctrine as vicious. Miss Cobbe cannot conceive how eternal sleep can be for a moment compared to the sleep in Paradise. It may be that she forgets the lines of Lucretius. They are worth repeating:—

> "Nil igitur mors est, ad nos neque pertinet hilum,
> Quandoquidem natura animi mortalis habitur."

The Roman philosophers halted between affirming a belief in a future state and in looking upon death as the final end. Yet the calm hope with which these men met death commands admiration from the strictest Christian. The thoughts about a future life do not disturb the mind of the man who is busily engaged in the daily affairs of this life. Theologians are slowly recognizing that word-pictures of "that invisible land" in the next world appeal more strongly to the imagination than to the reason. The conclusion arrived at, however, in this essay is this: that the doctrine which Chris-

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tianity holds out concerning a future life, with its high rewards and severe punishments, is far more valid and satisfactory than the doctrines which "magnanimous atheism" lays down concerning death as some form of annihilation.

The essay on "Pessimism, and One of its Profes sors," is in some respects one of the most entertaining, if it is not one of the soberest essays in the book. The manner in which Miss Cobbe handles the person of Schopenhauer, "the professor" of pessimism, is at once suggestive of a feminine mind. The cleverness and the sprightliness with which the essayist gives little home-thrusts is eminently characteristic of the sex. In some places, it would seem as if the writer was personally aggrieved over the peccadilloes and individual failings of Schopenhauer. The asperity displayed is not always in excellent taste. We have read somewhere that it was a feminine trait not to distinguish the individual character of an opponent from the opinions he maintains. I am sorry the pessimism of Schopenhauer is so disagreeable. The character of Werther was not so offensive to Charlotte, although he was the means of leading many a German youth astray. If the pessimist is so silly as to blow his brains out, like Charlotte,

> "When his body is borne before her on a shutter,
> Charlotte, like a well-conducted person,
> Went on cutting bread and butter."

The most puzzling essay of the lot is called "Hygeiolatry." We do not see anything that would warrant the selection of out-of-the-way headings. The essay is an attempt to show the falsity of the materialist in affirming that mind and body act on one another, and are resolvable into matter and motion. She denounces vigorously those who regard "mere bodily health as the *summum bonum*, for which personal freedom, courage, humanity, and purity ought all to be sacrificed." This is an exceedingly ingenious method of stating the issue. But I would take issue with the essayist for its scientific accuracy. We know the familiar remark of Carlyle, that the condition of men's minds is influenced by the condition of men's livers. Schopenhauer's current phrase, "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," means nothing beyond what all materialists assert concerning force and matter as directed by volition. The powerful influence of the body upon the thoughts and habits of man is accepted as the teachings of science.

The essay on "The Fitness of Woman for the Ministry" opens such a broad field for discussion that nothing like a full and free statement of our own views could be given in this short sketch. Of course, Miss Cobbe is enthusiastically in favor of permitting the women to exercise the same holy calling as men. Women have hardly yet demonstrated their ability to cope with the arduous tasks which modern clergy are called upon to perform. The question is not one of "fitness," but of propriety and necessity. We do not look upon the fitness for women entering the ministry in the same way as her fitness to exercise the right of suffrage. The one is a question of duty, the other a question of political equality. "The heroines of free thought" have been the heroines of the home and hospital, ministering to the distressed in body and in mind.

At last, we reach the Peak of Darien. We have started from lower crests until we firmly plant our feet upon this, the highest. Miss Cobbe means to represent "the peak of Darien" as the dividing-point between the two worlds, with the two great oceans on either hand. This metaphor is to represent the position of the essayist. The gist of the essays seems to be this: There are the two worlds of life and death. The question is, whether at the moment of death the dying ever get a glimpse of the blessed life beyond,—in short, whether the dying see signs of a newer and higher life. Some very instructive anecdotes are recorded of dying persons, who seemed to distinguish the Presence beyond. However, Miss Cobbe concludes that, as proofs of personal immortality, though instructive, these visions are of no practical account. They may confirm our faith in a future life, but they do not reveal to us its positive existence. This conclusion very few will care to dispute, except that the Spiritualists may find fault with the testimony.

This book, the outlines of which have been sketched out, is not all that we could desire. Some of its defects will strike the reader, others may well be passed over. Still, as an earnest endeavor to correct the unstable doctrines of atheism, and with a genuine desire to reach that peak upon which all can resolutely stand, this book can confidently be recommended.

LEE T. VANCE.

WHY SHOULD NATURALISTIC EVOLUTION BE MAINLY EVIL?

It is a very general assumption among Christians and Theists that the evolution of nature-force must be evil in the main, unless it is guided into good directions by a personal Deity. On this assumption, Mr. James Martineau has disported his eloquence with no small *éclat* against evolution. On this basis, a long yet lively article in the *Independent* of July 20 (the very date of an opposite article from my pen in *The Index*), entitled "The Lion and the Lamb," entirely upsets evolution. Finally (would it might be finally!), the speech of Prof. Chadbourne in Boston, September 11, against Mr. Underwood, takes the same ground, and makes Dr. Gray of Harvard, and even the great Darwin himself, occupy the same.

All this is fundamentally erroneous. If Dr. Chadbourne can show us any passage in the writings of Darwin or Spencer or Fiske or Lewes or Haeckel or Huxley, which unequivocally utters such a thought, we should like to see it. That would enlighten one mind at least, as I have never seen such a passage, while opposing passages I find in abundance.

Indeed, the supposition is a nullification of the great unitary thought of evolution. It affirms that nature is on the whole beneficent, and so much so that its evil is either preliminary or incipient good, or at the worst temporary mal-adjustment, as Mr. Underwood said, using our last word in his address on the occasion referred to. According to the theory of evolution, the result of a vast series of inductions, it is only because the great trend of things is in the good direction that natural forces can at all operate. In the animal world, natural selection is the selection of the most agreeable by the most agreeable and most powerful and therefore the happiest. In general, the survival of the fittest is the survival of that which has the advantage of condition and circumstance and disposition, and that in the main must be the best. Further, as evolution is a continuous progressive advancement, the idea of prevailing good is woven into the very texture of the theory. Increasing differentiation of definite heterogeneity also makes provision, or at least leaves ample room, for the evolution of all the higher faculties of a moral and spiritual order; and, the further this is carried with intellect as the growing light and physical power as the sub-agent, the more fully is the theory of evolution exemplified. Finally, it is adverse to the spirit of modern science and to the philosophy in question to assert *a priori* what nature should be. Evolution is planted on the experience, not the anticipation of nature; and from this experience it is an induction, not a deduction from a preconception of nature-force. Hence, it can have no ground for the supposition that anything whatever which appears in the course of nature, whether good or evil, is not the product and expression of the force of nature.

This view of the doctrine is also, without doubt, held by all the respectable disciples, as well as by the head masters of evolution; and Christians do themselves no credit by their failure to see this, and to give it due recognition.

WM. I. GILL.

ON SOME DEFECTS OF THE DAILY PRESS.

I.

The Index seems to be the appropriate place to say some plain things about the ethical shortcoming of the newspaper press, and especially the daily press. Matters have come to such a pass that we shall soon be (if we are not now) tyrannized over by this great institution almost as much as the Middle Ages were by pope and priest. If things go on as they have been going, daily newspaperdom will get to be as great a nuisance as Catholic priestdom; and, in freeing ourselves from the grasp of the latter, we shall only have exchanged one form of hypocrisy and greed for another,—that is all. No man or institution can afford to forego the benefits of searching and kindly criticism. The waxing arrogance, vulgarity, and mercenariness of the great daily newspaper, need to be sternly rebuked, and that frequently. It is as plain as daylight that the institution has grown false to the true nobility of its mission. What a splendid opportunity it has,—a sentinel upon the watch-tower of society, the modern representative of the Greek agora, the tribune of the people, the detective's lantern of society, that without which vast democratic governments would be absolutely impossible, the medium of universal intercommunication, the safety-valve of popular passions, the promoter of commerce, the educator of the people! And how completely most great newspapers have lost sight of the true grandeur of their function! How they corrupt the language! What old-women gossips they are! How they reek with filth and slander! How they waste our time! And how morally rotten and mercenary they are! They are proverbial as falsifiers and manufacturers of news. They are the pets of the people, and yet everybody distrusts them. Among some eight thousand journals in America, there are, perhaps, about half a dozen of first-class rank that are known to stand by the truth at all hazards, and at whatever cost to their pockets. It is true that newspapers are checks upon each other, and that by reason of their number it is almost always possible to get the truth stated at some time or in some place; that is to say, the truth upon every subject but one,—namely, their own faults. As far as concerns criticism of themselves, they form a close corporation, a kind of Cæsarian autocracy that can fulminate its decrees of annihilation over the unhappy wight who dares to criticise or censure. Can they not make and unmake fortunes? Do they not yearly blast the lives of thousands by their slander and gossip? Are not the politician, the merchant, the preacher, the author, the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker all at their mercy to make or mar forever? Who, then, will dare to lift a finger against them? Nobody. *Hinc illae lachrymae.*

Pity that our noblest popular institution and bulwark of liberty should so long have escaped criticism. Let us marshal the indictments against it. Let us review the shortcomings of the great newspapers, especially the dailies.

First. *The insincerity and untrustworthiness of*

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their editorials on the moral issues of the day and hour. Nobody but old ladies, shopmen, and callow students ever think of attaching any great import to these editorials, except in the case of a very few papers which are known not to belong to the weather-vane fraternity. The heroic age of journalism seems almost to have passed away. There are very few Horace Greeleys and William Lloyd Garrisons in journalism now. We well remember the shock it gave us when we learned the inside history of one of the chief dailies, and discovered that those sounding religious editorials which we had been devouring so implicitly were mostly written by mere turncoats and hirelings, hacks who will take either side in a discussion at the pleasure of the editor-in-chief. George William Curtis, in his October "Easy Chair," has well characterized them as writers who "expressly renounce convictions, and blow hot or cold as the chances of probable profit, and the apparent tenor of public opinion at the moment invite." Such writers have, he says, "no legitimate influence whatever. They produce a certain effect by mere publicity and reiteration, and ridicule, and distortion and suppression of facts, and appeals to prejudice. There is a legitimate and an illegitimate power of the press. A lion and a skunk both inspire terror." Mr. Curtis' entire article is a most admirable one. He shows how serious a delusion it is to suppose that a journal can retain its influence when it transpires that its editorials are written by insincere hirelings, men whose opinions have no moral weight whatever. He admits that the organization of correspondence, collection of news, "making up" the paper, etc., demand a single responsible and supervisory executive; but he simply asks that that executive, as well as all other editorial writers, shall not write what he does not believe to be true. He says, truly, that an editorial writer is not like a paid legal advocate to be retained indifferently, "and with equal morality upon either side," and he might have given this as a reason; *i.e.*, that the function of a noble newspaper is an educative one. "The best use of a journal," said Horace Greeley, "is to print the largest practical amount of important truth,—truth which tends to make mankind wiser, and thus happier." But the papers of which we are complaining take not merely the view of Manton Marble,—that "a journalist is a merchant of news, who buys it everywhere, and sells it in any market not stocked with his own commodity,"—but also the view that the journalist is a soulless machine, a mere cat's-paw for the raking of gold into the coffers of the corporation or of the single proprietor, as the case may be. What an immoral effect the carrying out of such views must have in the case of the unhappy wretches compelled to prostitute their manhood in this kind of work is evident to everybody. And the number of such persons is very large. In thousands of instances, men are *not* able to attach themselves to journals the views of which accord with their own. But any great daily will take their contributions, and no questions asked; and so they barter their manhood for a mess of pottage.

Although keen minds easily detect the many insincere editorials of the day, yet until a short time ago, we believe, no newspaper had been bold enough openly to advocate insincerity, and announce it as its own policy. This has now been done. One of the chief dailies of the country, editorially reviewing the article of Mr. Curtis which has been quoted, has scoffed at the idea of editorial honesty. "Adaptable men," says this journal, "are more in demand than 'viewy' men." "*The claim made by Mr. Curtis, that 'a paper which represents convictions, and promotes a public policy in accordance with them, necessarily implies sincerity in its editorial writing,' seems to us, with due deference to its author, to be absurd.*" "Neither the public nor the responsible management cares to make inquisition as to the private views of the individuals whose labor is necessary" to the production of the paper. "It is the paper that needs to be held firmly, honestly, and impartially to the expression of its real convictions, because it is greater than any proprietor, stronger than any editor, and more important than any individual interest or personal view."

"What does the paper say?—not what Smith, Brown, or Robinson think,—that is the question."

The logic of these astounding utterances is not more fallacious and flimsy than the sophistry is odious. For what, pray, is this "paper" but a man of straw, a fictitious scapegoat? Hath a newspaper eyes and ears and brain? "*Its* convictions," forsooth! Put proprietor or editor-in-chief in place of "the paper," and everything is clear. It is solely because the chief dignitary wishes to put money into his purse that the editorial writers must blow hot or cold as the exigency demands. And it is for the same reason that "adaptable men" are more in request than "'viewy' men." The truth is that a great policy steadily adhered to is adopted by only a very few of the great dailies: the weather-cock policy is the more common one, and it is precisely such arguments as those we have quoted that are used to give speciousness to such policy. Rather than that a set of men should band together to prostitute their intellects in the service of hypocrisy, let them go and dig, or chop, or sail the sea. Insincerity in its leaders injures the moral tone of all society; and in the end it is bad policy for the paper itself. Let a paper, of course, pursue certain great lines of policy; let it have pronounced views on tariff, the woman question, civil service reform, State rights, evolution, etc. But let it not pride itself on a false consistency: let it demand thorough honesty and entire good faith in all of its editorial writers; and then their every word will be like the blow of a hammer to rivet tighter the nails of their arguments. If the managers of sophistical dailies could only overhear the remarks of the people in coffee-houses, in parlors, and on the streets, they would soon discover that, while their advertisements and news make their papers to be bought and read, yet the editorial portions have scarcely any moral weight with people. They are odious to men, and are only on their tables by sufferance. When people want truth, they look to the few papers known to be absolutely incorruptible. It is too late in this article to enter upon a discussion of the evils of impersonal journalism. Not the least of these is that it permits so much priest-like masquerading, and hypocrisy, and deception of the people.

W. S. KENNEDY.

UNITARIANS IN CONFERENCE.

III.

The idea of WORK has got hold of many Unitarians in recent years, to the exclusion of other guiding ideas; and the result is a position quite like that which Felix Adler takes. Ministers who hold from fifty to one hundred meetings in the year for nothing but worship, thought, and inspiration, and who do their chief part in these meetings solely by talk, come to the Conference to denounce it as a fraud and occasion of self-indulgence, a mere Saratoga picnic, because it is in great part a Conference for inspiration, for thought, for knowledge of religion. The Western men, who do not themselves lack religious interest, but who feel very keenly the need of aggressive work, of new meeting-houses in fact, and new societies for liberal faith and worship, have especially caught the Adler idea,—that what a minister or lecturer is always and chiefly doing at home it is a shameless waste of time and energy to do in public conference or convention. They would have the Conference give itself to denominational business; and, since an Association for this already exists, they would bring this Association and the Conference into one,—would merge the former in the latter, or consolidate the latter with the former.

To men that are both practical and thoughtful,—who desire business to be done in the wisest way, and the whole of religion to be thoroughly cultivated,—the scheme can never approve itself. Dr. Bellows proposed it, but on mature consideration relinquished all idea of it, and fully concurred in an adverse report. Two years ago, Dr. Bellows stated that "the critical question before this session is the possible consolidation of the National Conference with the American Unitarian Association, so as to make one corporation, and thus complete the organism of our body, now in an anomalous state." This failure of Dr. Bellows to see that one body for business and another for large and free culture was in accordance with all experience where freedom exists, and that to get culture under the control of a corporate ecclesiasticism is to stifle and enslave it, he entirely corrected upon more careful reflection. Even the Church of England has for some years past held a great free Conference annually for discussion of its chief questions. The orthodox Congregationalists of England have such a conference, so have those of America. Those bodies which meet only under a corporate ecclesiastical form are relatively in a backward and enslaved state.

Dr. Bellows cannot have had a clear idea of the true function and immense importance of the Conference as an organ of religious culture rather than of denominational business, when he said, in the report of two years ago:—

> We have, it is to be feared, seriously hampered the usefulness of our Conference by yielding so much of the time due to our missionary work to questions that more properly belong to our Ministerial Institute. The Council have endeavored to mend this error by inviting for this year only half the usual number of papers, and by having only one of a scholastic character. But it is doubtful whether a still more exclusive attention to denominational business would not be an advance in wisdom.

On the contrary, as Dr. Bellows came to see, business, as such, is no matter for a great popular conference. The true object of this is to do work similar to that of the Ministerial Institute, only for the churches as well as the ministers, and adding also other work designed to promote plans as well as ideas, and to build as well as inspire. To resolve on, and to create enthusiasm for, large plans and special schemes, belongs naturally to a Conference; but ordinary business does not.

The whole question was left two years since to a committee of seven; and, after the most careful consideration, a report was agreed upon by all but one of the committee, and was presented by Hon. Dorman B. Eaton. Mr. Eaton's report for six of the committee, appointed to consider how the Conference and the Association "may most effectually co-operate, without sacrifice of the advantages belonging to either," was an extremely able one, most wisely suggesting means for making more perfect the outline and basis of the two bodies, while maintaining their separate function as a Conference for legislation and an Association for executive work. It very clearly showed that work in a large way may be promoted by the Conference, and, as clearly, that the more particular care of work must be left to the Association. Rev. J. Ll. Jones, the seventh member of the committee, who had been out of reach on a vacation in Wales, and had not met with the committee at all, met the

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report with a statement of his individual dissent, which Mr. Chadwick characterized as "untrue, unjust, and ungrateful." He declared that "a logic back of our reasonings is impelling the Conference to a more corporate life and a more disinterested and executive attitude." In proof of it, he pointed to the raising that morning of $2,000 for a special purpose, "contrary to the designs of the management." But it was *not* contrary to any designs; and Mr. Forbush was unconsciously, but entirely "untrue, unjust, and ungrateful," when he said, later on, that the Conference "had never undertaken to *do*," until two years ago it set a special committee at work to build a church at Ann Arbor. In the second Conference, at Syracuse, a single deed, carried through on the spot, was the raising of $30,000 for the Meadville Divinity School. Mr. Jones specially roused Mr. Chadwick by saying: "Men and women are beginning to be ashamed to come to Saratoga in the name of religion, simply to enjoy themselves. There is a growing sense that it is a fraud to turn what was meant to be and what ought to be a biennial pilgrimage to the altar of religion, where sacrifice is to be offered, into a picnic." "Let this Conference go to work!" was his demand, or "it will droop, dwindle, and die on our hands."

Mr. Jones could not have violated truth and justice more than he did in this line of remark. There are three things of equal necessity in religion, to two of which Mr. Jones seems to be not adequately attentive. In *Work*, including both character, the conduct of life, and the doing of good for others, there is the form and fact of true religion. Two-thirds of this Mr. Jones seems to denounce as mere self-indulgence. *Truth*, given by thought, is the intellectual side of religion; and the study of this Mr. Jones seems to denounce as self-indulgence in mere talk. So all that side of religion he makes little or nothing of. If thought gives the truth of religion, feeling gives its power; and we have *Worship* as the culture of feeling. This seems to be especially nothing to Mr. Jones. He is all for building meeting-houses, sublimely indifferent to what they are to be used for. If he took the whole ground of Felix Adler, he would be consistent.

The Conference aims, or ought to aim, broadly at better worship, purer truth, finer character and conduct, and *general* plans, with *select* special ones of work; and because the careful execution of ordinary special plans and of details is left to a purely executive body, Mr. Jones denounces the Conference as a picnic for self-indulgence, and Mr. Forbush says that it has hardly begun to *do* anything, and that we allow the enthusiasm of the Conference—"the splendid enthusiasm generated here"—to be "dissipated and lost." Mr. Jones might learn from Mr. Forbush what is generated by a conference. Mr. Forbush needs to consider that the natural work of the Conference is to generate enthusiasm, truth, principles, and plans, which the individual *churches*, through the public report, and through their ministers and delegates, will take up and work out,—first in *their own* worship, truth, and work, and then in the work of which the Association is their agent.

The building of more meeting-houses is the very smallest part of Unitarian work; and the new churches of the West, for which Mr. Jones prophesies, are least provided of all with the things of the spirit and the heart, the higher consciousness and the deeper conscience, and are most overdone with worldliness and indifferentism. Let Mr. Jones storm ahead helter-skelter, without any due order for real conference apart from business, and he will see the shutting up of meeting-houses following fast on the building of them. There is no future for any body of churches whatever whose chief aim is not to have a genuine religion *in* the churches, a pure worship, a knowledge direct and deep of truth, and a profoundly good life among their members.

These Western men forget nine-tenths of the whole matter, in their zeal for meeting-houses. They forget all fitness and propriety, all truth and justice, when they dash at the matter with wild charges like Mr. Jones's and proposals like Mr. Wendte's, who got a resolution passed to refer back the report, and request that next year another be made with a definite and detailed plan for amalgamation of the two bodies, which Mr. Eaton had so clearly shown could not be united, and ought not to be. Mr. Eaton's committee cannot stultify itself by accepting the Jones-Wendte view of the matter, and evidently the Conference did not see what it was doing in passing Mr. Wendte's resolution.

The chief need, and far the greatest need of Unitarianism, that of internal culture, is met by the Conference as it now is: only it needs to be more free and open, both as to its admissions to membership, and as to discussions, which are too much crowded out by mere business. The new Liberals appearing in every sect ought to find their way into the one body which can consistently be a conference of free churches; and all the new practical problems, of truth, of worship, of good work, of better and happier living, ought to be not only reported upon in able essays, but discussed freely and broadly.

The Western men ought to see that it is wisdom for them to accept for their Conference a place parallel to that of the American Unitarian Association, and like the latter come to the Conference not with a lot of business, but with their best matured plans, to get them indorsed and taken to heart,—the cash-as-well-as-conscience heart. Time will teach them, in their own Conference, to mature their business in committee, not in open Conference, and to hold separate meetings for business, as all other bodies do.

Thoughtful men and women can set themselves, in our time, no more important task than that of keeping culture abreast of work, even if it be only secularist culture,—a fine spirit as well as good work. A bad spirit, a deep defect of culture, has been the damnation almost of the crude radicalisms and raw reforms of the last twenty years. Mr. Jones has something to learn here. If for the next decade he could have nothing to *do*, in his sense, and could give himself wholly to bringing his culture up even with his work, he might be less of a storm among extemporized tabernacles on the prairie, but he would be far more a power for vital progress, and would more realize what is, I am sure, his own highest ideal.

E. C. TOWNE.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND PAGANISM.

Says our esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review:* "For men like the writers on *The Index*, whom we believe to be earnestly seeking for light, and who rejecting irreconcilabilities and incongruities claiming to be the Christian faith, we have all respect and deep fellow-feeling. Their weakness is to confound Christianity with the system claiming to be Christian, from which they have emerged into earnest questioners; and the bitterness of their revolt is so great that in their disappointment they turn against the divine Founder of the one system that holds this world together, so far as the proneness of man to evil will permit it to stand.

"The divine faith in its entirety, this true and only religion worthy of man and of man's Maker, exists only in the Catholic Church, for which reason the rebels against God and his revelation are bitterest against the Catholic Church, incessant and earnest in their attacks. For the spurious and second-hand Christianities that unhappily abound in this world, they have nothing but scorn. For the Church that says with divine command, 'You must obey my precepts, you must abide by my law, for God is in me, appeals to your reason and your freedom,' they have nothing but steady hostility. Their crime is that of Satan, and his their motto, 'I will not serve.'"

This extract which is from a two-column article in reply to some of our recent strictures on the Roman Catholic Church fairly indicates no doubt the attitude and feeling of the representatives of that system toward the various Protestant sects and toward unbelievers in Christianity. We have been told a thousand times that, if we would rightly estimate the religion of Jesus Christ and appreciate its divine beauty, unmarred by the sinful influence of man, we must be careful not to confound it with that monstrous perversion of the true faith called Roman Catholicism. We can only remark here on this honest difference of opinion regarding what constitutes Christianity,—that, if an infinite Being has, in consequence of man's inability to save himself from the effects of sin, supplemented his natural powers with an objective revelation, designed to make known the divine requirements and purposes, it is strange this Being has permitted his meaning to be so obscured from one cause and another that learned and honest men cannot agree as to the true doctrine and the true church of Christ.

Speaking for ourselves only, we do not believe that the Roman Catholic Church was founded by Christ, or that he authorized others who should come after him to establish any such system as Roman Catholicism. Christianity, as originally taught, was evidently a simple faith, in which moral enthusiasm was a prominent feature; but Roman Catholicism is a complex system, which appeared only when upon the teachings of the New Testament had been foisted numerous dogmas, and with the growing faith had been incorporated no small amount of that paganism amid the ruins of which ecclesiastical Christianity made its conquests. The Roman Catholic Church antedates, of course, all the Protestant sects of to-day; yet there are few, if any of them, that do not, in our opinion, represent "primitive Christianity" more correctly than Roman Catholicism.

The Roman Catholic Church, as it exists now, is the result of centuries of growth, in which there has been continual adjustment to conditions and a co-ordination of parts to the general purpose of a powerful hierarchy. This system is therefore consistent, coherent, and strong. Protestantism, on the other hand, is a revolt, in which much of the old system is retained, while the authority to decide doctrines and impose beliefs is virtually repudiated. It represents a transitional condition of thought. There is nothing abiding in the dogmas of Protestantism. The assertion of the right of private judgment is utterly inconsistent with the creeds of all the orthodox churches. Hence, as Prof. John Henry Allen says in his late work, *Our Liberal Movement in Theology:* "Protestantism as a life has been very great and noble. As dogma it has been simply an expounding and attenuating of the older creed.... Sentimentally, Protestantism helps to keep up the tradition of ecclesiastical authority, in belief and practice, with the unwholesome craving for it, and so plays fatally into the hands of its opponents. Intellectually, Catholic theologians hold their Protestant adversaries (justly or not) simply in contempt, or at least take pains

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to make us think so. Their own learning is at least equal: their reliance on authority is far more consistent and distinct. But behind Protestantism itself there is a spirit and a power which they know they will have to meet presently and take account with face to face. They understand as well as we that the really formidable alternative is not 'Protestant or Catholic,' but 'Reason or Rome.'"

In our article to which the *Review* replies, we gave certain facts in the history of letters to show that the Catholic Church has hindered intellectual progress, and supported these facts by citations from Mosheim, Hallam, and Lecky. Our esteemed contemporary makes no attempt to prove our statements untrue, but coolly remarks "that no one of these is a competent judge or even a fair critic of the Catholic Church." Is an historian then not qualified to write the history of the Middle Ages or the history of learning, unless he is an adherent of the Roman Catholic Church?

Our esteemed contemporary concludes its reply by an attempt to show that "only for the Catholic Church there would have been no real progress of man, still less of woman." "Paganism," it is declared, "is the degradation of man, the worship of stocks or stones or trees, of imaginative deities, which were simply a subterfuge in the most part for the gratification of the lower appetites and base passions in man." "The gods of great Greece and of greater Rome were, to a reasonable mind, just as low, degrading, and abominable as fetich worship." "There was nothing whole, moral, or sound in all paganism, until Christ came to break the spell," etc.

These statements are distortions of the truth, and this method of defending systems of faith or philosophy is almost obsolete among the representatives of modern scholarship.

"No judge," says Max Müller, "if he had before him the worst of criminals, would treat him as most historians and theologians have treated the religions of the world. Every act in the lives of their founders, which shows that they were but men, is eagerly seized and judged without mercy; every doctrine that is not carefully guarded is interpreted in the worst sense that it will bear; every act of worship that differs from our own way of serving God is held up to ridicule and contempt. And this is done not by accident, but with a set purpose, nay, with something of that artificial sense of duty which stimulates the counsel for the defence to see nothing but an angel in one client, and anything but an angel in the plaintiff on the other side. . . . We can admire the temples of the ancient world, whether in Egypt, Babylon, or Greece; we can stand in raptures before the statues of Phidias; and, only when we approach the religious conceptions which find their expression in the temples of Minerva and in the statues of Jupiter, we turn away with pity or scorn, we call their gods mere idols and images, and class Perikles, Phidias, Sokrates, and Plato, their worshippers, with the worshippers of stocks and stones."

That there were many evils in the pagan Rome, and great wrongs and flagrant vices, does not admit of doubt; but that they have been greatly exaggerated, that in some instances vices which were confined chiefly to certain classes, and which were abhorred and condemned by the better class, have been represented as general practices; that isolated cases of barbarity and anomalous features of society have been fastened upon to illustrate the general character and conduct of the pagans, while the better and brighter side of their life has been almost wholly concealed by the old type of Christian writers,—no one will deny who has carefully studied the history of Rome, and is familiar with theological literature. What a picture of this age could be presented, if writers two thousand years hence should adopt the same method in forming an estimate of the character of this country, or of European nations as they exist to-day! The practice of theologians of raking together all the crimes and vices of pagan nations and contrasting them with the virtues of Christian lands, or the teachings of religion and ethical systems, in order to show the indebtedness of the world to their faith, is quite as unfair as would be an effort to show the superiority of pagan Greece and Rome over modern nations by drawing dark pictures of the latter without one bright spot, and dwelling in contrast on the noble lives, the sublime sayings, and the splendid achievements which shed undying lustre on the old pagan nations.

If we would judge inductively the worth of any system, we must wait until it has been tested by being brought in contact with the conceptions and temptations of social life; for its true value must consist in its power to instruct men in the right, and to furnish motives to impel them to the love of truth and the practice of virtue.

The *Review* gives an exaggerated description of the *evils* of paganism, when that system had been the established faith for hundreds of years and when there had, consequently, been time for the development of all in it which was bad in its tendency. Suppose our esteemed contemporary takes a glance at Christendom when pagan religions had been obliged to succumb to the Roman Catholic Church, when, for more than ten centuries, every opportunity existed for it to demonstrate its power to improve and elevate the mind of man, when, too, there had been time for doctrines, which at first exerted no perceptible effect, to assert their legitimate influence.

The Byzantine Empire, founded by the first Catholic emperor, existed nearly eleven centuries. Of that empire, Lecky says, "the universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, without a single exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilization has yet assumed. . . . The Byzantine Empire was pre-eminently the age of treachery. Its vices were the vices of men who had ceased to be brave without learning to be virtuous. Without patriotism, without the fruition or desire of liberty after the first paroxysms of religious agitation, without genius or intellectual activity; slaves, and willing slaves, in both their actions and their thoughts; immersed in sensuality and in the most frivolous pleasures, the people only emerged from their listlessness when some theological subtlety, or some rivalry in the chariot races, stimulated them into frantic riots." . . .

"And the Dark Ages, as the period of Catholic ascendency is justly called," says Lecky, . . . "rank immeasurably below the best pagan civilization in civic and patriotic virtues, in the love of liberty, and in the number and splendor of the great characters they produced, in the dignity and beauty of the type of character they formed. . . . Few men, who were not either priests or monks, would not have preferred to live in the best days of the Athenian or of the Roman republics, in the age of Augustus or in the age of the Antonines, rather than in any period that elapsed between the triumph of Christianity and the fourteenth century. When we remember that in the Byzantine Empire the renovating power of theology was tried in a new capital, free from pagan traditions, and for more than one thousand years unsubdued by barbarians, and that in the West the Church, for at least seven hundred years after the shocks of the invasion had subsided, exercised a control more absolute than any other moral or intellectual agency has ever attained, it will appear, I think, that the experiment was very sufficiently tried." (Lecky's *History of Morals*, vol. ii., pp. 13–17.)

That the Roman Catholic Church has performed a necessary work in the evolution of society, that some of its teachings are beautiful and ennobling, that among its adherents there have been in the past and are to-day multitudes of noble men and women, is freely admitted; but the same is true of Buddhism to-day and was true of paganism, not only in Greece and Rome, but in more ancient Egypt.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE so-called prisoner of the Vatican is amusing himself with catching birds in nets.

TWO NEWSPAPERS in Venice have been put under the ban, and writers, printers, venders, and readers are all excommunicated.

THE Louisville School of Pharmacy is now open to women, its first young lady student having recently entered with the intention of taking a full course.

FRIENDS of *The Index* can assist us in increasing its circulation by sending to this office the names of all persons they think would like to see sample copies of the paper.

RUSSIAN journals are now liable to immediate suspension by the government, the rule, allowing three warnings and three months' notice after the third, having been given up.

WE are sending out bills this week to all our subscribers who are in arrears; and we will thank those who receive them to send to this office, at once, the amounts due on their subscriptions.

IN a Franciscan church in Athlone, Ireland, a shower of stars is said to have fallen recently, on Sunday evening, just after the sermon, on the head of a statue of the Virgin, which then raised its arms to bless the congregation.

CABINET size photographs of Herbert Spencer from Martin's gallery, Montreal, where the distinguished philosopher sat for his picture a few days ago, can be had at this office for fifty cents each; also photographs of George Jacob Holyoake of the same size and price and by the same photo-artist.

WE have for sale at this office, in pamphlet form, the addresses of B. F. Underwood, Prof. P. A. Chadbourne, and Prof. Asa Gray on *Evolution in its Relations to Evangelical Religion*, given at the meeting of the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston and vicinity, held in this city Sept. 10, 1882. Price five cents each, twenty-five copies for a dollar.

"LESSONS FOR THE DAY" is the title of a serial to be published weekly in London, to meet the demand for the discourses given by Mr. Moncure D. Conway at South Place Chapel, Finsbury. The number published each week, it is announced, will, as a rule, consist of the discourse delivered on the preceding Sunday morning. The price of the serial will be one penny per number.

"THE way of the transgressor is hard" in the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Tresson, a good Catholic of St. Louis, fell in love with and married a pretty Protestant; and, to satisfy the religious scruples of both, they were doubly tied by both Catholic and Protestant ceremonies. But, in spite of this, the official journal of the diocese declares that, in so doing, the doctor has made "a covenant with hell and a league with the devil, for the sake of a Protestant wife."

SOMEBODY writes to the "Inquiring Friends" column of the *Christian Union* as follows: "Do we

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know things in the other world as we do here? If one of our friends dies, father, mother, brother, or sister, and is eternally lost, and we were in the better world, how could we be happy if we knew it?" To which, the *Union* ambiguously replies: "This is one of the problems concerning which we must substitute trust for knowledge. We may well put our trust in God, who has provided so amply for us in this life, to make his own wise and blessed provisions for the happiness of his loved children in the life to come."

COMMENTING on a circular, in which the Liberals of the country are requested to join the New York Freethinkers' Association and make it a national organization, the Indianapolis *Age*, after stating that the Association is "a regular auxiliary of the National Liberal League," observes: "A large body of infidels throughout the country, probably a large majority of those who favor organization, do not desire to attach themselves to *that* organization. The attitude it holds before the country is believed to be one not eminently calculated to command for free thought the respect and confidence of a free people. It is believed to be laboring under disabilities that disqualify it for extensive and general usefulness. At best, it is but a faction, and represents but a class of Liberals. While it declares for all the measures for which we all in common contend, it has bent its entire energies for the success of one, and that one a measure that interests well-meaning Liberals no more than it does well-meaning Christians—a question not of free thought at all—thoroughly foreign to the objects of enlightened and manly free thought; and it has made this question and the personal adulation of its instigators the test of 'Liberalism.' Any free thought move should be made openly, not insidiously. . . . There are Liberals who believe no organization is better for the cause than one that has been warped to illegitimate ends and that has promoted not unity, not peace, but war among those who should have been friends and co-workers in a common and a noble cause."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE MYSTICAL RIVER.

A Midnight Vigil.

The pulses come and go,
That mark the ebb and flow
Of vital currents in that form so dear:
The crimson on the cheek,
And lips that almost speak,
Greet the calm minister we all revere.

SLEEP! thou silent angel,
With the sweet evangel,
I thank thee for thy coming in the night,—
In the hours so dreary
To the worn and weary,
Who fain would hold thee till the morning light.

Watching by the sleeper,
Slumber grows the deeper,
And gently moves the life-wave evermore.
Musical forever
Is the mystic River,
That bathes the silver sands along the shore.

The tide comes soft and low,
As zephyrs gently blow,
To lift the spotless cov'ring of her breast:
Sleep from the bosom bare
Removes the "sleeve of care,"
And all the innocent find peaceful rest.

S. B. BRITTAN.

NEWARK, N.J., Sept. 30, 1882.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCT. 12, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought: It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

Principles and Administration of Free Government.

BY L. F. HODGE.

The question propounded by Senator Mitchell, of Pennsylvania, in the *North American Review*, "How shall the people govern their rulers?" must wait for a solution till the people are prepared, by their adverse political experience, to eliminate the elements of despotism from the federal Constitution, and establish the foundations of the government in democratic principles. The civil power must be wrested from the hands of men who are perverting it to subserve their own ambitious ends, and must be vested in the public will before the people can control the official action of their public servants. Extend the elective franchise of the people and invest them with the veto power, and we need not ask how the people shall control their rulers. They would then have no rulers, but only agents to do their public business.

The elements of despotism which pollute the Constitution have defiled the men in power and contaminated every branch of public service, until governmental power and patronage and money take the place of the elective franchise of the people, and political chicanery and schemes to rob the treasury take the place of needed legislation in the halls of Congress. The germ of despotism which was planted in the Declaration of Independence and transplanted in the Constitution has grown until its branches overshadow the republic. Its fruits are poisonous usurpations, intrigues, plots, official misdirections, legislative robberies, briberies, intimidations, frauds, and legalized monopolies, which make the nation sick. The measure of political iniquity is full of these abominations of perverted power; and, to purify the civil service, we must clean the Constitution.

The natural rights of all might find protection in the Constitution, if the civil right of each to an authoritative influence in the State were recognized. But that right has not been made a subject of artillery discussion, and has therefore never been conceded; nor will it be conceded till the few in power are convinced of its existence by the force of military argument.

The signers of the Declaration of Independence, who hurled the principles of freedom, justice, and equality into the face of despotism, and suggested the best plan of government that men had ever known, may justly claim the veneration and the gratitude of all succeeding generations; but their work was human, and the trial of a century has revealed therein a vulnerable point. For, in connection with the affirmation that governments are instituted to secure the natural rights of man, we find the guarded proposition that they derive their powers not from the *will*, but from the *consent* of the governed.

This implies that nothing more than acquiescence or compliance on the part of the governed is requisite to warrant the assumption and continued exercise of governmental powers on the part of rulers, for consent is only passive yielding to the will or choice of others. We have here a principle which underlies all forms of arbitrary or despotic government. The despots of the world rule by the popular consent, and oftentimes apply the civil and the military power to compel consent. The people may unwillingly consent to the unjust requirements of those in power over them, in order to evade some greater evil which might result from obstinacy. Consent has no impelling force: it carries with itself no weight of authority, and cannot properly be said to be a source of power. And, hence, the affirmation that governments derive their powers from the *consent* of the governed is an absurdity.

But the will, the mental power, of which volition is the act, is the impelling power of mind which gives activity and energy and force to character, and which impels all action in the sphere of life as force impels all motion in the realm of matter. The will commands, the hands consent and do its bidding. Its exercise is always voluntary, its demands imperative, and its decrees authoritative. The will, whether it be that of despots or of the people, is the primary source of all governmental power: and, where that power is vested in the will of despots, there is despotism; but, wherever it is vested in the public will, there is democracy. Sometimes, the public will arrays itself in conflict with the will of men in power, the consent of the governed is withdrawn, and there is rebellion. To say, therefore, that governments derive their powers from the public will is to affirm that those powers exist by virtue of the voluntary choice, determination, and direction of the people; but to say that they exist by popular consent conveys the idea that they continue in existence because the people do not object.

The main trouble is that the people of the United States are governed not according to their will, but by their consent, and are supposed to yield consent to one act of usurpation and aggression after another, until governmental tyranny compels them to the last resort of revolution.

The signers of the Declaration recognized the fact "that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed"; but they suggest no means by which insufferable evils at the hands of government may be prevented. They allow that abuses of the civil power may become intolerable, and concede the right of revolution when the people can endure no more; but they seem not to have conceived the thought that a restrictive veto power in the hands of the majorities would not only prevent the binding force of bad legislation and the insufferable evils resulting from it, but would obviate the necessity for future revolution.

Our government is grounded in the ancient theory of despotism, that the people have no hand in the direction of affairs of State. Insufferable evils come from the abuse of power in wrong hands, and we now need a new Declaration of Independence to proclaim that governments derive their powers from the *will* of the people.

The framers of the Constitution earnestly desired to secure the greatest good to the greatest number; but, unfortunately, they also believed in the political consensus of the competent, forgetting that the competent are oftentimes the greatest rascals. They were too distrustful of the popular intelligence; and, therefore, they impaired the efficacy of the public ballot by undue restrictions, which they fastened on the elective franchise of the people, and placed the civil power not mainly in the hands of the majorities, where its integrity would be maintained, but altogether in the hands of representatives, who have employed it for the slow extinguishment of honest principles in the administration of the government.

It was by a close vote in the Constitutional Convention that the people were allowed a direct vote in so much as the election of members of the House of Representatives. That is all the authoritative voice the people have or ever had in anything relating to the Federal Government, and even that was regarded in the Convention as a dangerous excess of democ-

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racy. The election of members of the Senate was committed to the legislatures of the States. The election of the President and Vice-President was placed in the hands of electors, who might be constitutionally chosen by the people or by the legislatures or the governors or school committees, as the legislatures might direct. The legislatures have, with one exception,* confided the election of electors to the people; but the people cannot claim it as a constitutional right, nor are the electors agents of their State majorities and bound to recognize the wishes of the people in the election of President and Vice-President. They are indeed pledged to vote for particular persons, who have been put in nomination by their party convention, and to disregard their pledges would be held as dishonorable and treacherous to their constituents; but the Constitution leaves them free to violate such pledges and to vote for whom they will. The power to appoint all other officials of the United States was vested in the President and Senate. The elective franchise of the people, then, is restricted by the Constitution to the election of members of one branch of Congress: the few in power make and execute the public laws without the slightest reference to the public will; and we still continue to talk about our government by the people, as if they had authoritative influence in the government.

Let us not delude ourselves with the idea that the people rule. They have no part in the matter but to choose some of their rulers, and accord consent to any regulations which the few in power may impose. Nor have the people ever delegated any powers whatsoever to the general government. Its powers are delegated by the Constitution, but the people never authorized the Constitution to delegate powers. Their representatives in the legislatures and conventions of the several States attended to that without consulting the opinions or the wishes of the people. It is true, the Preamble of the Constitution assumes that "we, the people, . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution." But, in fact, the people of the United States had no more to do about the framing or adoption of the Constitution than they have to do about the framing or adoption of the laws by which they are misgoverned. They never had any authoritative voice in either; but they consent to both, and will consent until abuses of the civil power shall have reached the limit of forbearance.

The power of appointment and removal vested in the President and Senate is applied not altogether to secure integrity, intelligence, and efficiency in the civil service, but mainly to keep the ruling party in power. Fidelity to the party, which means co-operation in the political intrigues of the leaders, will secure appointment to position of high trust where fitness for the office fails. The man who can engineer primaries, pack conventions, control nominations, and influence votes to bolster up the party, is the man most wanted for position in the civil service. Each senator and representative in Congress, who bears the party stamp, must have a due proportion of the patronage at his disposal. This he distributes among the convention packers and local politicians of his district, as will best improve his prospects at the next election. The entire civil service is converted into a vast political machine propelled by governmental power, patronage, and money, to keep in place men morally unfit to wield the power of the State. Large numbers of honest men, whose numerical strength might control the elections, are disgusted with the bribery, intimidation, trickery, and fraud employed by men in power to perpetuate their hold upon the treasury keys, and therefore stand aloof from both the primaries and the polls; and the full control of primaries and elections passes by default into the hands of the political bosses of the party in power. The natural result is that bad legislation checks the wheels of industry and trade, and legalized monopolies impoverish the people, that millionnaires and men in power may gather up the spoils of national calamity, and build colossal fortunes on the general financial ruin.

But returning to the question, "How shall the people govern their rulers?" The Constitution must be reconstructed on a democratic basis; the power of appointment and removal must be taken from the men who are abusing it, and vested in the people where it belongs; and the veto power must be transferred from the President to the people before they can control their rulers.

* In South Carolina, the electors are chosen by the legislature.

To effect so radical a change in the foundation of the government, the honest men must come out of the political Babylon and consolidate a new party upon that issue. Indeed, the new party is already organizing upon various issues of reform, and will consolidate its forces at the proper time and in the proper manner to insure its ultimate success.

All members of the legislative branch of the government, the chief executive, the heads of the departments, and all other officials of the United States, excepting representatives of the government on foreign duty, detectives in the secret service, and perhaps a few other officers whose places cannot be used for political purposes, should be elected by the people. The chief executive and department officials at the seat of government should be elected by the whole people and be removable by impeachment. Those whose official duties are confined to local offices should be elected by the people of the district in which their offices are located. If the people of New York and Boston are qualified by their intelligence to vote properly for presidential electors and representatives in Congress, they ought to be competent to choose their own postmasters and collectors for their ports. The people could better afford to devote an hour to that duty when a vacancy occurs than to change officers with every new administration and take whom the President and Senate choose to inflict upon them for political ends. But, if the people fail to elect, the government should appoint, that the offices may be filled. There is no good reason for changing the entire *personnel* of the civil service every four years. Efficient officers, familiar with the duties of the service, and faithful in the discharge of their official obligations, might better be retained in office until age unfits them for the work. They should hold their positions during good behavior, and should be removable at the instance of either the government or the people, but only by the court and for just cause, after an impartial trial.

The power to make the public laws of binding force and to invalidate bad legislation belongs of right to the people. It is a dangerous power that can bind the people with a law without the sanction of the public vote, and in spite of public protest. A bare majority of a quorum in both branches of Congress with the approval of the President can and do bind the people with injurious laws; and the only remedy the people have lies in the slow, uncertain process of electing better men to fill the halls of legislation and the chair of the executive. But we have found by our experience that, with the elective franchise of the people hedged about by constitutional restrictions, and the whole power and patronage of the administration backed by the grand army of office hunters and both houses of Congress against it, the one remedy is not easily nor speedily applied. The government may and must be invested with some discretionary powers, the people cannot legislate in any case, nor would they take the trouble to vote yes or no upon every measure of public policy; but all statute laws should be made of binding force by the vote of people.

Under the present despotic system, the question with legislators is, Can we force this law upon the people? will they bear it? But, if the people were invested with a full elective franchise and the veto power, the main question would be, Do the people want this law? will they accept it? A better class of men would fill the offices of trust, the civil power would be applied to beneficial uses, and the people might perhaps "govern their rulers."

For *The Index*.

THE GOSPEL OF LAW.*

BY WILLIAM EMMETTE COLEMAN.

The last fifty years marks an important epoch in the world's religious development. During this period, the "scientific method" has been extensively applied in determining the facts and principles underlying the genesis, growth, and decadence of the theological faiths of humanity, the results attained being of great utility and vast importance. In conjunction with its sister sciences,—also the offspring of the present century,—comparative mythology and comparative philology, the nascent science of comparative theology, in the hands of its few well-equipped expounders, is casting much light upon many hitherto unsolved problems in religious history and experience. The analytical researches of specialists devoted to the study of the world's great religions,—of Müller, Muir, Benfey, Weber, Wilson, Whitney, Lassen, Bhandarkar, Goldstücker, etc., in Hinduism; of Rhys-Davids, Fausböll, Oldenberg, Kern, Cunningham, Beal, Childers, Bühler, Senart, etc., in Buddhism; of Haug, Spiegel, West, Dannesteter, Windischman, Westergaard, Justi, etc., in Parsism, or Zoroastism; of Kuenen, Wellhausen, Graf, Colenso, Goldziher, etc., in Judaism; of Strauss, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Davidson, Hooykaas, Zeller, etc., in Christianity; of Legge, Edkins, Faber, Chalmers, Eitel, Plath, etc., in the Chinese religions; of Sir William Muir, Wüstenfeld, Palmer, Syed Ahmad, Bosworth Smith, Dozy, Von Kremer, etc., in Mohammedanism; of Renouf, Tiele, Lepsius, Ebers, Maspero, Schiaparelli, Pierret, Brugsch Pacha, Pleyte, etc., in ancient Egyptian religions; of Sayce, Oppert, Lenormant, Smith, Boscawen, Rawlinson, etc., in Akkadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian religions,—the researches of these and many other specialists have been of incalculable service to humanity in pointing out the successive stages of religious growth and progress the race, under varying conditions and diverse environments, has evolved in its anxious search for truth.

Pari passu with this theological unfoldment, all permeated with the rationalistic spirit of the age, physical science has been steadily advancing. Coincident with the scientific exposition of the dominance of the law of evolution in the realms of theology, mythology, and ethics,—the outcome of historico-critical exigesis,—the same law of evolutionary unfoldment has been demonstrated to be regnant in universal physical nature, this one grand primal law being found to be the central principle of being, immanent alike in mind as in matter, and in their every expression. Consequent upon the discovery of this truth, the universal dominance of law as expressive of the myriad phases of evolutionary sequence, the religions of the world, in so far as the light of modern science may be enabled to reach them, will need to be radically reconstructed; and, it being in so-called Christian countries that these alike destructive and constructive truths of rationalistic science find their chief embodiment and expression, the Christian religion, perforce, is the first of the world's creeds that is called upon to reconstruct its bases of faith and adapt itself, so far as in it lies, both in its material and spiritual aspects, to the science of the day. This some of its adherents are endeavoring to accomplish. The phases of Christian thought represented by the Dutch and German schools of Kuenen and Keim, the Broad Church of England, and the more advanced Unitarians of America and England, are doing much to liberalize the older and more conservative confessions of faith; and, in general, they have largely utilized the "scientific method" in their attempts to unite pure rationalism with the peculiar and idealized form of Christianity to which they still cling. Carried to their ultimate, though, even these comparatively unobjectionable forms of Christianity must, under the workings of the law of evolution, eventually pass out of existence. No form of religion based on the life and teachings of a personal founder can possibly survive. All forms of historic religion must perish; and the religion of evolution (so ably expounded by Rev. M. J. Savage), the religion of humanity, not the religion of any one man, of a Jesus, a Buddha, or a Mohammed, must in the end cover the earth.

Prof. Kuenen, in his recent (1882) Hibbert Lectures, dissents from the above. In his concluding observations on the universal religion (*National Religions and Universal Religions*, pp. 313-317), he advances the idea that, though Buddhism and Islam are incapable of supplying all the religious needs of the world, and hence cannot become the universal religion, yet Christianity, through its inherent mutability and power of adaptation to the ever-varying demands of human nature, is capable of becoming, and he has hope that it will become, the one and only universal religion. While it is evident that the emasculate form of Christianity professed by Dr. Kuenen and his school—which really is, in essence, pure scientific rationalism, with a thin crust of what may be called Jesusism superadded thereto—approximates much nearer to the requirements of the universal religion of the future than Buddhism or Mohammedanism (it is impossible that either of these should ever become the religion of European and American rationalists),

* THE GOSPEL OF LAW: A Series of Discourses upon Fundamental Church Doctrine. By S. J. Stewart. Boston.

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still, so long as the coating of Jesus worship obtains in a religion, in so far is it debarred from being the religion of the untrammelled scientist or philosopher. If, by successive permutations, all the distinctive features of Christianity, whether primitive, mediæval, or modern, are eliminated, with naught remaining but the name "Christian,"—the several Christianities of Jesus, the Twelve, Paul, the fathers, etc., having all vanished, and the religion of humanity, of the "Gospel of Law," alone remaining,—of course such a religion might become the world's religion. But such a religion, I opine, would never be called Christianity. The name "Christian" may, and doubtless will, be retained—very inconsistently—by many, to distinguish the form of faith cherished by them, though really in their faith no positive Christian element inheres. But this anomaly cannot last: the name itself is destined to perish along with the ideas and principles giving it birth. Historically and etymologically, the word "Christian" has but one legitimate signification; that is, one who believes Jesus of Nazareth to have been the Christ, the Jewish Messiah. The Messianic hope is a purely local, an exclusively Jewish conception, based on false ideas of God, nature, the world, and humanity: hence, the idea of the universal religion of humanity being based upon and bearing the name of a conception false in its essence, untrue in its realization, and local in its character, is so manifest an incongruity that the common-sense of the rationalistic thinkers of the future will assuredly spurn it. No truly universal *cultus* can ever be reared upon the Hebraic *Ha-Mashiakh*: the idea is preposterous, in my judgment.

Cultured Liberalism vs. Crude Antitheological Bigotry.

Though this is pre-eminently an age of education and widely diffused knowledge, yet great ignorance may be said to universally prevail. What a rarity is strictly accurate knowledge upon any subject, save in cases of the few specialists who may be devoted thereto! Some vague, general idea of the trend of modern science and of rational religious thought is abroad in the world; but, in most cases, even among those tolerably well-informed, naught but a mere smattering is known. Free thought and rationalism, we know, are in the air, so to speak; and yet how crude, how superficial, are most of its expressions! The world needs a cultured free thought, an accurately comprehended and accurately expressed rationalism. To further this *desideratum*, the Free Religious Association is sustained; but how little is it doing to relieve the ignorance and crudeness of radical propagandism! Mr. Underwood has recently, in *The Index*, written quite plainly concerning the antitheological madness of much that passes current for free thought, and I most heartily indorse his truthful and timely utterances thereanent. By what means are the masses being led into free-thinking forms of thought? What is the character of most of the literature and the oratory of the Liberalism of the day, and what their effects upon its converts and devotees? In sorrow be it said that coarseness, crudeness, intolerance, bigotry, misrepresentation, slander, are very largely represented in its make-up. Books, papers, tracts, flood the country, filled with exhibitions of this antitheological mania.* These productions are as rabid against Christianity, in spirit, as the Roman Catholic Church was against the heresy of the Reformation. Scurrilous abuse and misrepresentation of Jesus, the Bible, and Christianity, pollute the pages of this literature, and disgrace free-thought oratory in large measure. With these writers and speakers, everything that can be collected derived from the four winds of heaven abusive of these three, without regard to truth, honor, or decency, is greedily seized upon and scattered broadcast, to the disgrace of true Liberalism and an enlightened, conscientious rationalism.

With many of the adherents of this *soi-disant* Liberalism, for a true friend of genuine Liberalism to protest against this coarse, illiberal species of free-thought proselytism, and to deplore its unhappy effects, is, seemingly, for him to commit one of the worst possible crimes; for, let any cultured rationalist express his honest convictions concerning the bad effects of this rabid antichristian folly, he at once becomes the target for the abuse, ridicule, and denunciation of those in sympathy with this inferior type of Liberalism. His private character is assailed, his culture and scholarship laughed at and denied, his motives impugned, and expletives and epithets showered upon him in rich profusion. Of course, this class of Liberals embraces the free-lovers, the obscenity-law repealers, and the "tag-rag and bobtail" of free thinkers, as Mr. Underwood aptly termed them a few years since.

The misleading and illiberal character of much of the "liberal" literature accessible to the masses necessarily has a more or less pernicious effect upon its readers. They gather incorrect ideas concerning religion, Christianity, the Bible, Jesus, the apostles, the Jews, etc., such literature being largely permeated with untruth and error, born of prejudice, ignorance, or love of falsehood, some writers erring ignorantly, some knowingly and maliciously. And, through such writings, the masses of Liberals are being indoctrinated with prejudice, spite, illiberality, bigotry, and dogmatism, as baneful in their tendency as the same qualities when manifest in the orthodox. Illiberal Liberalism is poisoning the people with its noxious dogmas, its falsehoods, and its maliciousness; and still the evil goes on. We need a higher standard of liberal thought and endeavor at work among the masses. As it is, they are practically left to the mercy of the lower, more popular, and more unscrupulous advocates of a crude, coarse, perverted Liberalism. Converts from Orthodoxy crowd the liberal ranks, bringing with them the heritage of a long line of ancestral superstition, intolerance, narrowness, and spite. In many cases, these qualities seem to be intensified after acceptance of so-called liberal views; and this keeping alive and intensification of such deplorable mental qualities are largely due to the character of the popular free-thought literature, in much of which these qualities are strikingly manifest. Now, as of old, sea and land are compassed to make one proselyte; and, when he is made, he is tenfold more the child of hell (bigotry and intolerance) than before.

Adaptation of Mr. Stewart's Work to Present Needs.

The work whose name heads this paper, in my judgment, is an excellent representative of the class of books needed for general circulation as a counterpoise, somewhat, to the lower class of liberal literature above adverted to. Though radical and far-reaching in its sweep and conclusions, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of rationalism, in harmony with the advanced scientific and philosophic thought of the age, it is commendably free from the coarseness, irreverence, fanaticism, and scurrility conspicuously marring most of current free-thought literature. As a popular compendium of the results of the best scholarship of the day in the domain of theology, Christology, Biblical science, and cognate subjects, I have seen no other work so well adapted for its purpose. It fills an important void in liberal literature,—a work adapted to the average, common mind, voicing the best thoughts of cultured rationalism, in simple yet expressive diction, free from the asperities and bitternesses so apt to disfigure antitheological writings, adapted to popular perusal, comprehension, and digestion. Portions of the ground covered by this excellent work have been embraced in previous works, such as Mr. Chadwick's *Bible of To-day*, and in a much larger degree in his book, and in Mr. Savage's series of admirable works. Yet no one volume has, I think, included so complete a range of topics embodying the principal religious problems engaging public attention.

Much of current Free-Religious literature is of a character fitted only for scholars and thinkers, and, consequently, unadapted to reach the masses of the people; but few are philosophers, capable of appreciating or assimilating the strong mental food often given us by minds like Wasson, Weiss, and Abbot, or even Adler, Frothingham, Potter, and Underwood. The average mind cannot be made to think philosophically or scientifically except by slow growth. Mental food adapted to each class of minds, all of a clean, healthful character, is a *desideratum* in Free Religion. It is a mistake to confine the attention exclusively to the cultured in our midst, leaving the great bulk of the community, as it were, the prey of unscrupulous free-thought propagandists,—free-lovers, obscenity-law repealers, social anarchists, etc., materialist, spiritualist, and agnostic. The more cultured should be sufficiently imbued with the true philanthropic spirit to be interested in the elevation of the people at large, so far as possible, to their own plane; and, to this end, they should be willing to sacrifice a trifle of their dignity, if required. They should try to adapt their writings and oratory, in part at least, so as to reach with good effect the uncultured and the less refined. Plain, simple, common-sense presentations of the great truths of the day in morals, religion, and philosophy generally, readily comprehensible by all, in my judgment, should be prepared by the better class of free-thinkers, such as the workers and leaders in Free Religion,—works free from the debasing influence of the coarser kind of antitheological works now meeting us on every hand.

Mr. Stewart's work, in my opinion, is just such a one as the times demand, and is calculated to do good service of the character above alluded to, if it can be utilized as it merits. Could works like this supplant those of the objectionable class referred to, an elevation of sentiment, such as all true Liberals would delight to witness, would very likely obtain among free thinkers in general. As it is, would it not be well to utilize, so far as practicable, Mr. Stewart's book, replete, as we find it, with so much rationalistic truth, beauty, and efficiency? Nearly all the fundamental problems underlying current theology are frankly yet reverently discussed in his unpretentious volume, and are presented in so attractive a simplicity, alike free from the eruditely pedantic and the abstrusely metaphysical, that almost any person of ordinary intelligence, at all interested in the subjects treated, will necessarily have his attention enchained during its perusal, and be unwilling to lay the volume down till its entire contents be mastered. Its calm, dispassionate treatment of the momentous questions involved; its freedom from vituperation, harshness, and all traces of rabid antitheological mania; its evident sincerity and conscientious search for truth; its manifest appreciation of the highest ethical code, of all things good, true, and beautiful,—these, and other excellences, render the *Gospel of Law* one of the best books to be placed in the hands of inquirers after "the right way" in this age of theologic doubt and unrest.

PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

* It is but just to say that the writer was, a few years ago, considerably affiliated with this wing of Liberalism; but having, by a process of mental evolution, passed beyond its influence, his sympathy therewith, he is confident, can never be revived.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NEW ARTICLE OF THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

Your editorial note concerning the constitutional amendment passed by the Unitarian Conference at Saratoga did not appear to me to be so generous or even so just as it might and should have been. It sounded just a little as if you were sorry that the Conference had taken a great step in advance, because, henceforth, your occupation as a hostile critic of the Conference would be gone. You say that the new article seems to you inadequate. Inadequate it is to make the Preamble and the Constitution ideal expressions of our radical faith. To make them this, the obnoxious expressions should be removed from the Preamble, and the ninth article—Mr. Hepworth's bit of sentimental bunting—should be abolished altogether. But I cannot see why the new article is not adequate to the comprehension of yourself and all other earnest radicals of whatever speculative belief within the fellowship of the Conference on the most cordial terms. If you do not come in, after this, and work with us, we shall feel that it is because you do not like our company, and not because you do not like our creed. Why the new amendment is not as adequate as the compromise article of 1868, I also fail to see. Devised by M. J. Savage, it was certainly intended to be as broad as the most exacting radical could wish. As for the passage of the article without debate, it was in this wise: the debate was all behind the scenes. But it was very full and perfect. It was presented to the Business Committee, backed by a list of fifty of the most influential members of the Conference. If a debate had been brought on upon the floor of the Conference, every one of these fifty men would have supported the amendment, and it would have been carried by a more enthusiastic vote than it actually received. We have no fears of any going back from this position. You would have none, if you had been at Saratoga. The general spirit of the meetings would have given you complete assur-

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ance. The fact that Batchelor and Sunderland and Thayer and Hosmer are on the Council of the Conference, and that its Secretary is Russell Bellows, would have made assurance doubly sure.

I write as I have written not a whit less earnestly because I did not vote for the amending article. I opposed my solitary No to the immense majority, because I do not believe that "the Preamble and articles of our Constitution fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches." If they do now, they will not in 1884, if our present rate of growth continues. But this erroneous statement does not affect the spirit and intent of the amendment. Its passage was indeed "a famous victory," though a more peaceful victory was never won; and those of us who were upon the ground feel that we have a right to expect from *The Index* a much more hearty message of congratulation than you gave us in your editorial note. Yours affectionately,

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

BROOKLYN, Oct. 1, 1882.

[REPLY.—We would reassure our radical Unitarian friends that we fully appreciate the excellent hospitality of their intentions in securing the passage of the new amendment to the Constitution of the National Conference; and we rejoice that the spirit of the Conference was broad enough to give it a practically unanimous vote. Nothing would delight us more than to have our "occupation," so far as it is that of a critic of the Conference, entirely "taken away" by the entire removal of the theological phrases from its Constitution. Though it is an "occupation" that does not now take very much of our time, we shall cordially welcome the day when it shall be wholly numbered with the things past and done. But, as we said last week, in our brief note appended to Mr. Savage's communication, this final victory for liberty and fellowship in the Conference is yet far from being won. And we must confess to some doubt as to whether the action this year will help or hinder such final victory,—a doubt that is rather strengthened by Mr. Chadwick's apparent acceptance of the action as amply sufficient for removing all impediments to membership in the Conference from the consciences of those of us who have hitherto felt compelled to stay out. For ourselves, we must still say, "We like your company, but not your creed." When we go to the Conference as a member, we want to go on terms of perfect equality with all other members, and not by a special door opened for our benefit. We cannot so go yet. By what rights of equal justice and fellowship does a part of the Conference, even if it be a majority, have certain of their beliefs embodied in the Constitution contrary to the beliefs of another part? If not meant as a creed for all, or as a test of fellowship, all the more should they be removed in the interest of fellowship and equality and common fairness.

And, in connection with this remark, we may revert to a point in Mr. Savage's criticism, where he speaks of his mistake concerning "Free Religion," if it "does not mean a cordial hand-clasp for all who are willing to waive individual, speculative opinions in favor of a stronger emphasis on the grand essentials of fellowship and character." Certainly, genuine "Free Religion" does have such a "hand-clasp." But, in the case of the Unitarian Conference, we do not see that the majority have "waived" their individual speculative opinions. They still keep them inscribed in the Constitution at the mast-head of the Conference. Saying that they will not insist on adhesion to them by the minority is not saying that they are willing to take those opinions down, and to sail under the neutral flag that the radicals ask for. Yet to do this is the only practicable way in which they can "waive" their opinions equally with the radicals. And this, the complete removal of the speculative beliefs of the majority as well as those of the minority from the Constitution, is the legitimate goal to which Unitarian principles should progress. In this, we suppose our radical friends would agree with us.

But when so advanced a radical as Mr. Chadwick appears disposed to rest upon the victory this year as if all obstacles to the broadest religious fellowship were now removed, we can but query whether the victory may not prove a loss rather than a gain. A loss it will certainly be, if the radicals rest content with it. And here we may reply to the criticism which both Mr. Savage and Mr. Chadwick make of our remark that the new amendment appeared to be hurried through without debate. Since they were on the spot, their opinion on this point may be worth more than ours. Yet, from information that has come to us, we are quite sure that it was the policy of the conservatives to prevent debate. Some of them, we learn, were very anxious when they heard of Mr. Savage's proposition, and endeavored to stave it off; but, when they saw that it must come, they apparently resolved that the next best thing was to vote for it without raising any opposition, and thus get the firebrand out of the way as quietly and quickly as possible. No debate was needed, it is true, for passing the article. Yet it seems to us that something was due to the five hundred and twenty-eight delegates who were not among the fifty "behind the scenes." A public discussion might have enlightened the meeting and the public as to the significance of the amendment, and at least would have prevented the remark made by more than one delegate we have chanced to meet: "The whole thing was so quick that we hardly knew what was going on before it was done. *It did not seem to mean much of anything.*"

Our reasons for thinking the new article "more inadequate" than that of 1868 may be best given perhaps by printing the Constitution (or those parts relevant to the case) as it stood then and as it stands now, thus:—

1868.

PREAMBLE.— *Whereas* the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration, at this time, increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building up of the kingdom of his Son,—

ART. I.—Therefore, the Christian churches of the Unitarian faith, here assembled, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches, to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination with which they are connected to the largest exertions in the cause of Christian faith and work. . . .

ART. IX.—To secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, it is hereby understood that all declarations of this Conference, including the Preamble and Constitution, are expressions only of its majority, committing in no degree those who object to them, and dependent wholly for their effect upon the consent they command, on their own merits, from the churches here represented or belonging within the circle of our fellowship.

1882.

PREAMBLE.— *Whereas* the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration, at this time, increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building up of the kingdom of his Son,—

ART. I.—Therefore, the Christian churches of the Unitarian faith, here assembled, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches, to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination with which they are connected to the largest exertions in the cause of Christian faith and work. . . .

ART. IX.—Reaffirming our allegiance to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and desiring to secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, we invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ.

ART. X.—While we believe that the preamble and the articles of our Constitution fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches, yet we wish distinctly to put on record our declaration that they are no authoritative test of Unitarianism, and are not intended to exclude from our fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims.

It will be remembered that Article IX. of 1868 was rescinded at the next Conference, and the present Article IX. put in its place. Mr. Savage, we have no doubt, intended that his new Article (Art. X. of 1882) should be equivalent to that of 1868. Its terms do not seem to us quite so clear and conclusive as those of the rescinded Article; but, waiving this point, it strikes us that the retention of present Article IX. makes the effect of the new Article much less than the effect of that of 1868. But we confess to great uncertainty as to what is effected by it and what not. We think it might puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer to tell from the present Constitution, as a whole, who are the inviters and who the invited, who it is who reaffirm their "allegiance to the Gospel of Jesus Christ," and who can come in without making that declaration. We are willing therefore to rest our remark that the new amendment is more inadequate than that of 1868 (though not considering it a very important point to establish) on the greater general indefiniteness and contrariety of the patchwork *mosaic* which the Articles of the Constitution now present.—W. J. P.]

AN OFFER TO THE SPIRITUALISTS OF AMERICA.

Editors of The Index :—

As some three months have elapsed since the exposure of Slade, and full accounts of it have been published in many of the papers, we will not impose on your space by sending statements; but, as several articles have appeared in Spiritualistic papers, saying that Henry Slade can never expect fair treatment on British soil, and hinting that his exposers took this way of fleecing a poor medium out of his earnings, that the climate was unfavorable, and other excuses, we feel ourselves called on to make the following offer, which please publish.

Yours truly, JOSEPH TEMPLETON.

To the Spiritualists of America :—

To settle all doubt, which seems to be thrown on the Slade exposure by Spiritualistic organs, we make the following offer, on behalf of the parties who took part in Slade's exposure. We will send a committee to any convenient city in the United States, where Slade may be performing, provided that one hundred dollars be deposited in some reliable person's hands, to cover our expenses in case Slade fails to appear. And we think it will be enough to convince, even the most credulous Spiritualist, that Dr. Henry Slade is a complete humbug, if he is unable to produce phenomena when the conditions are such that fraud would be impossible. Hoping to hear from Dr. Henry Slade or his friends, in reply to this offer, which we make a standing one, we remain, on behalf committee,

Truly yours, J. L. LEWIS.
S. D. BRADSHAW.
J. R. NORTHCOTT.
JOSEPH TEMPLETON.
A. MCGINISS.

P. S.—By "convenient" is meant close to Canada as New York, Boston, Rochester, Oswego, Buffalo, Detroit, or Chicago, for instance.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEBRASKA.

Editors of The Index :—

The National Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony are the leaders, has just closed two very successful conventions in Omaha and in Lincoln, Neb. At Omaha, the opera house was crowded at each of the three days' sessions by audiences of whose enthusiasm we cool Bostonians can have no idea. The town was thoroughly aroused, and the people talked of nothing else but the convention. The reception at the Paxton House was a very brilliant affair, and the most cultivated people of Omaha were there to welcome the brave women who had come so far to help fight the battle for woman's enfranchisement. On this occasion, a number of gentlemen who had attended the convention declared their intention of voting for woman suffrage at the coming election. Several prominent business men were introduced to Mrs. Anthony; and they told her that they had never before heard the matter fairly discussed, but, now that they had heard it, they were thoroughly converted.

The following speakers at the National Convention are detailed for active campaign work until the election, when the voters will decide whether the constitutional amendment now pending shall be adopted: Susan B. Anthony, May Wright Sewall, Helen M. Gougar, Rachel G. Foster, Elizabeth Lisle Saxon, Phœbe W. Couzins, and Harriette R. Shattuck. It is the intention of these ladies to push the work with vigor, and to speak in all the principal towns and cities in the State. Rachel G. Foster is the organizing spirit, and has planned the whole campaign with marvellous executive ability. Miss Foster is a young lady of wealth and position, who devotes her time and her means to the cause of woman suffrage. A great deal of missionary work has been done in remote localities, where the subject is new or has seldom been presented. It is always necessary to "work up" a woman suffrage convention, even in Massachusetts; and this is the way it is done in the wilds of Nebraska. After it is decided to hold a convention in a certain place, we will say Nebraska City, the organizing spirit goes to see what arrangements can be made. When she arrives at her destination, she takes a horse and carriage and goes to the different school-houses, talks with the teachers, who tell the children, who tell their parents, that the meeting is

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to be held and what it is all about. She then goes to see the ministers of the different churches, calls on the leading women of the town, drops in to see the business men, and talks the matter over with them all, and gets their assistance if she can. If she is very persistent, she sometimes does her missionary work as she goes along the street. A certain "National" was seen one day last week haranguing, from her carriage, a group of school-children who had just been dismissed. Among them were several negro children, who, when she told them what the meeting was about, said, grinning, "Is it free?"

The people of Nebraska are very friendly and hospitable to the women suffragists. To show how generously they are treated, I will relate a little incident that took place a few days ago. One of the ladies had lost the last evening train for a certain town in which she was advertised to speak, and was in great distress about it. She went at once to the superintendent of the road, told her story, and tried to hire an engine. The superintendent was so much interested in her case that he sent for a special car, used by himself only, took the lady with him, free of charge, and on the way was converted to woman suffrage. Could anything be more friendly to the cause and its advocates than this?

The "Nationals" are not very sanguine as to the adoption of the woman suffrage amendment; but, whether it succeeds or not, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that they have done good and substantial work in its behalf. HARRIET H. ROBINSON.

BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. Vol. II. New York: Fowler & Wells, publishers.

The very appearance of this ponderous and handsomely bound volume, filled as it is with the records of the efforts made in this country in behalf of the equal representation of American women in governmental affairs, combined with the fact that it is only one of three like volumes devoted to the same subject, ought to carry conviction to the minds of the most sceptical of the vastness, strength, and earnestness of the woman's movement, if not of its early triumph. Although woman suffrage is not yet an accomplished fact, it is none too early for such record of the movement in favor of it to be made, while yet all the records are accessible and fresh in remembrance. These volumes make a part of our national history, and as such should form part of every library in the land. Not the least interesting feature of the present volume are the biographical sketches of a number of eminent women, leaders of the movement, and the full-page steel-engraved portraits of others. Anna Dickinson's is the frontispiece portrait, accompanied by the characteristic, *fac-simile* autograph sentence, "The world belongs to those who *take* it. Truly yours, Anna Dickinson." The other portraits of the volume are those of Clara Barton, Dr. Clemence S. Lozier, Rev. Olympia Brown, Jane Graham Jones, Virginia L. Minor, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Belva A. Lockwood, Ellen Clark Sargent, Myra Bradwell, Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, and Julia Ward Howe. To those interested in the subject, no one of the nine hundred and fifty-two pages will be found unworthy of perusal or dry reading. The motto on the title-page is a quotation from the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." The eleven chapters of the "history" in this volume treat of the following subjects: "Woman's Patriotism in the War," "Congressional Action," "National Conventions in 1866-67," "The Kansas Campaign, 1867," "New York Constitutional Convention," "Reconstruction," "National Conventions, 1869," "The New Departure under the Fourteenth Amendment," "National Conventions, 1873-75," "Trials and Decisions," and "American Woman Suffrage Association." In this volume will be found an account of the attempts by women in various parts of the country to vote under the provisions of the fourteenth amendment, that clause which forms the motto of the book, with the arrest and trials which ensued. Among these is given a full report of the proceedings against Susan B. Anthony for voting at Rochester, N.Y., at the election in 1873, with the address delivered by her previous to the trial.

SOCRATES: APOLOGY AND CRITO OF PLATO. Price 50 cents. SOCRATES: THE PHÆDO OF PLATO. Price 50 cents. Boston: Roberts Brothers, publishers.

These two are companion volumes, the ninth and tenth of the "Wisdom Series" issued by this publishing firm. They are taken unabridged from Prof. Jowett's translation of Plato. They give the story of the trial, imprisonment, and death of Socrates. "The Apology" is supposed to be Socrates' defence of himself at his trial. Crito was one of his friends, who, visiting him in prison previous to his death, proposed to him to escape; and the gist of Socrates' argument in refusal of this plan is given from Plato. In the dialogue of Phædo is given Plato's account of the last hours of Socrates, and the subject is chiefly immortality. The first of these gem-like volumes gives a short but interesting sketch of the life of the great Athenian philosopher. They form hand-books of reference, and will make good holiday gift books.

THE GREAT EPICS OF MEDIÆVAL GERMANY. An Outline of their Contents and History. By George Theodore Dippold, Professor at Boston University and Wellesley College. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price $1.50.

The title-page of this volume as given above tells pretty fully its aim, which is fairly accomplished in the work itself. It is not a history of the literature of mediæval Germany, only an account of the great epics in which Prof. Dippold thinks we find expressed the very life and soul of ancient nations. The principal epics treated of in this volume are "The Nibelungen Lied," "The Lay of Siegfried," "Godrun," "Parzival," "Tristran and Isold," and "Iwein." The stories are outlined in prose, and versified translations by Prof. Dippold. The book is interesting in style, and will be found a useful introduction to those who are interested in the study of early German literature.

WIT AND WISDOM OF DON QUIXOTE. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price $1.25.

This handsomely bound volume is what it purports to be, a compilation of the best things in *Don Quixote*. The book will be of especial benefit to those who wish to recall in conversation or writing the many sensible and apt words of the famous Knight or his sturdy, common-sense squire, Sancho Panza. To this end, the general "Index" and "Index to Proverbs" will be found of great service. The twenty-five pages devoted to the biography of Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, written by Emma Thompson, add to the value of the book.

BABY-LAND for October opens with an enticing picture of two sweet little girls with the nicknames of "Little Drops" and "Little Crumbs," and the accompanying story explains why they are called so. The story of "Three Queer Dolls" is told in picture and verse, "Rogue Rabbit," "Ida's Doll," and "How Danny said he was Sorry," with the "Outline," "Slate," and other pictures, make up the contents for this month.

THE *Art Amateur* for October is even more entirely devoted to decorative art than usual. It contains many bright suggestions in regard to the adornment of the home, and practical hints in amateur photography and embroidery. Its art news is lively and entertaining. We should be glad to feel that the public demanded and the journals could supply more varied and serious nourishment to the artistic taste.

AMONG the subjects treated of in the *Sanitarian* for October, we have space only to mention "Movements of Epidemics," "New York Tenement Houses: their Victims and their Tyrants," "Practical Argument for Sewers," "Horseback Exercise and Malaria," "Yellow Fever," and "Why Sewer Traps are Unreliable."

PERSONAL ITEMS.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN is said to have five hundred descendants in the United States, and probably more than double that number of namesakes.

THREE of ex-President John Tyler's sons are living. One destroys cancelled national bonds at Washington, the second doctors folks at the capital, and the third teaches school at Memphis, Tenn.

BJORNSTERNE BJORNSON, the Norwegian liberal, celebrated his silver wedding with poetry at his estate in Gausdal, Norway, last August, the American flag being among those floating over his door.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR was fifty years old on Thursday the 5th inst., and the *Herald* of this city hints that the close of his half-century of life is "just as good a day as New Year's to turn over a new leaf."

BEBEL, the Socialist leader, who was recently acquitted at Zwickau, has been so ill at Leipzig that his death was reported. He is now out of all danger, except that of being soon imprisoned again.

MR. JAMES K. APPLEBEE, in connection with the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, has just organized a series of social recreations and a Shaksperean Club for the study of the works of the great bard.

PROF. VAN BUREN DENSLOW, President of the Philosophical Society of Chicago, will give the opening lecture before that society this season, on the evening of October 14, on "Conflicts in Philosophy." The next lecture will be the 21st, by George Jacob Holyoake, on "Migration."

SENATOR S. S. COX was fifty-eight years old on the 30th ult., and wrote to a friend apropos of the anniversary: "I am becoming rather a memory than a hope daily. We do as we grow older. For the loss of the gay, luminous, all-abounding shrine of life's morning, we have the serene, reminiscent evening."

LETTERS have been received from Prof. Morse, dated at Kobe, Japan, August 18. He had just returned from a trip inland of five hundred miles, including a visit to the inland sea. He proposed to visit the city of Kioto next, and to go to China eventually; but the date of departure to that country he does not hint.

THE "Wilde" craze seems to have had its day, when one of our Boston dailies chronicles, under the heading "Minor Events near Home," the fact in very small type that "Oscar Wilde lectured before a fair-sized audience at the Lynn Music Hall last evening," and Herbert Spencer characterizes him as "an outlandish person who attempted to reconcile idiocy with art and nambypambyism with sentiment."

NOT many little children have had so distinguished a following to the grave as Gladys, the fifteen months' old daughter of Julian and grandchild of Nathaniel Hawthorne, who, dying recently, was buried beside her grandfather in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Concord. Among the attendants at the funeral were Rose Hawthorne Lathrop and her author-husband, Judge Hoar, Miss Ripley, and son and daughter of R. W. Emerson.

COL. INGERSOLL says: "They say I was defeated for Governor of Illinois because I was an infidel, and that I am an infidel because I was defeated. That's logic. Now, I'll tell you. They asked me whether I was an infidel, and I said I was! I was defeated. I preserved my manhood, and lost an office. If everybody were as frank as I was, some men now in office would be private citizens. I would rather be what I am than hold any office in the world and be a slimy hypocrite."

THE death of Miss Adelaide Phillips, the well-known singer, is announced as having occurred at Carlsbad, Germany, where she had recently gone by the advice of physicians in hopes that the baths there would restore her to health. Miss Phillips was born at Stratford-on-Avon, Eng., in 1833, has been on the stage since 1842, making her first appearance at the Tremont Theatre, this city, in January of that year. Her private life is said to have been "as pure and blameless as her professional works were grand and ennobling." She will be sincerely mourned by her many friends in this and other cities.

PROF. HENRY FAWCETT, the present Postmaster-General of Great Britain, although totally blind, is one of the best informed men of his time. He is a distinguished political economist, a profound mathematician, and is remarkably well read in all matters of history and literature. He is a good though not eloquent speaker, having at his command a wonderful array of facts and figures which his surprisingly retentive memory enables him to master without difficulty; and he is greatly respected by his fellow-members of the House of Commons. As Postmaster-General, he has done excellent service in spite of his physical disability, constantly introducing new, sensible, and practical reforms in his department. In many ways, he is assisted by his accomplished wife, whose attainments in literature and science are nearly as great as his own.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 181

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
- Sovereignty of Mind, Wm. J. Potter, ... 182
- Progress and Degeneration, John W. Chadwick, . . . 182
- New Phases of the "Holy War," Walter L. Sawyer, . . 183
- Worship, B. W. Ball, ... 184
- Sophistry of Webster, Charles K. Whipple, ... 184

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 185

ESSAY.
- The Strength and Scope of the Woman's Rights Movement, Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, ... 186

CORRESPONDENCE.
- The Radical Unitarians and their Critics.—Both Sides, S. J. Stewart, ... 188
- Our Relation to the National Unitarian Conference, W. H. Spencer, ... 189
- Orthodoxy as Consolation, E. B. B., ... 190
- "Natural Religion," J. Ruddh, ... 190

BOOK NOTICES.
- Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education, . . 191
- Revue de Belgique, Sidereal Messenger, ... 191
- Urn Burial, issued by the New York Cremation Society, 191

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 191

POETRY.
- Whispering Pines at Night, W. S. Kennedy, ... 191
- Cockaignes, B. W. Ball, ... 191

CURRENT TOPICS.

TWO NEW provinces are contemplated in the north-western part of Canada, one to be named Saskatchewan, and the other Q'Appelle.

THE ashes of Diderot, editor of the great Encyclopædia, are to be placed beside those of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Mirabeau, in the Pantheon at Paris, on the centennial anniversary of his death, July 31, 1884, when it is designed that a suitable monument shall be erected in a public square henceforth to bear his name.

THE afternoon of October 1, Prof. Felix Adler and Mr. W. M. Salter addressed a large and deeply attentive audience at the Grand Opera House, Chicago; and steps were taken to organize a Society for Ethical Culture in that city, similar to the one in New York, which is now widely known by the noble work it has done and is doing.

ON September 13, at Batavia, N.Y., was unveiled a monument erected by the National Christian Association in commemoration of Capt. William Morgan, whose disappearance, as many living can remember, was a most exciting event in the history of this country, and led to the formation of an anti-masonic political party. About a thousand persons were present at the unveiling. The ceremony was performed with religious services. The monument is a granite column sixteen feet high, surmounted by a granite statue of Morgan, seven feet high.

A DETACHMENT of the Salvation Army consisting of three men and one young woman has invaded Bombay. The men wore yellow coats reaching to the knees, pantaloons, turban, shawl, and English boots, while the woman wore a yellow dress and gayly trimmed hat. On landing, they engaged bullock carts as their war chariots, and paraded the principal streets to the music of a tambourine played by the female department of the "army." The natives enjoyed the procession hugely, taking the four missionaries for circus people. Could the worshippers of "idols of wood and stone" by any possibility act more senselessly?

PROF. WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, in his address at the recent Unitarian Conference at Saratoga, said: "I could not point to any more notable exemplification of that attribute — the love of truth for its own sake — than was given in the life of the great man whom we have lately lost. With Charles Darvin, as Prof. Huxley said, 'the love of truth was the passion of his noble nature.' And what has been the result? With a splendid carelessness of personal calumny and all selfish considerations, he simply followed on, step by step, his great inquiries. Nothing was too small or low for his investigation. The earth-worm was not too trivial a subject for his study. Nothing was too mean, nothing too remote from his scientific range of thought. Everything was brought in and combined by that wonderful philosophic power of assimilation which he possessed in a degree beyond any man of his time, perhaps of all time."

THE Association for the Advancement of Women, otherwise known as the Woman's Congress, held a series of successful meetings in Portland, Me., on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of last week. Among the noteworthy participants in the proceedings were Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, Abby W. May, Mary F. Eastman, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Laura Clay (daughter of Cassius M. Clay), Mrs. Henrietta L. T. Wolcott, Dr. Marie Zakrzewska, Mrs. Gen. Lander, Dr. Lorenza Haynes, Miss Emily J. Leonard, Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles, and many others more or less known to the public as thinkers and leaders. The topics discussed took a very wide range. The rights of women, the rights of children, Chinese emigration, religion, art, labor, finance, hygiene, astronomy, political economy,— these were among the problems considered by the Congress, and we have no doubt with as near an approach to success in solving any or all of them as would have been made, had they been grappled with by an equal number of men.

THE Chicago Philosophical Society enters upon the tenth year of its work, and the programme it offers to the public for the season of 1882–83 is an attractive one. Lectures will be given by a number of eminent thinkers, among the names of whom we notice those of George Jacob Holyoake, President John Bascom, Hon. C. B. Waite, Rabbi E. G. Hirsch, Prof. W. T. Harris, Prof. Felix Adler, President J. B. Angell, and Dr. George M. Beard. "Only such persons," says the prospectus of the society, "are invited to lecture by the committee as are believed competent to treat topics with philosophical candor, learning, and completeness. We avoid 'popular' lectures, and, so far as possible, lectures 'which, dealing wholly with details, manifest no perception of the bearings of these details on wider truths.' We aim to keep from our platform hot-headed enthusiasts, people of one idea and visionary schemers. We do not ask nor care what views our lecturers hold on controverted questions; but we expect them to treat adverse views with judicial calmness, and 'to be slow to assume that error is more likely to be on the other side than on their own.'"

LIEUT. DANENHOWER, of the unfortunate exploring expedition in the "Jeannette," in his recent lecture in Brooklyn said that the dangers of the expedition began when Wrangell Land was sighted in September, 1879. The sun disappeared September 9; and soon after the vessel was caught in the ice field, which did not relax its grasp until the following June, and then only to allow the vessel to sink. The arctic night was very dark between the hours of eight and ten of our mornings, but at other times was clear except during storms. The auroras were not so bright as the lecturer had seen at home. Among the displays were auroral curtains and arches. The absence of icebergs in the part of the Arctic Sea traversed by the Jeannette was specially noticeable. The ice which covered the sea in all directions was true polar ice, the frozen salt water of the sea, which grows from eight to ten feet in thickness in a single winter, and when broken up by the winds and currents becomes tumbled and heaped as "'pack ice.'" The chief amusement during the winter was hunting seals and bears. The summer season proved less comfortable than winter, owing to chilling fogs and the general dampness of the ship. The retreat of boats to the Siberian shore began on the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17.

THE great high priest of Rome, who is personally a feeble old man, wears a visage more rueful and woe-begone than that of Don Quixote. His utterances are all elegiacal. He is a man with unnumbered grievances, and feels himself slighted and overlooked, and left out in the cold in the world of to-day. He weeps, because, forsooth, there is no longer a papal police in Rome to drag its citizens out of their domiciles and imprison them without warrant or explanation for neglect of some ecclesiastical rite or observance, or for cherishing a manly aspiration for freedom. A zealous Southern partisan of slavery, during the famous Lecompton debate in Congress long years ago, which was on the question whether Kansas should be admitted as a free or slave State, enlarged on his deep affection for his old black nurse, and wanted to know of Ben Wade whether he was to be deprived of the privilege of taking her along with him to Kansas in the event of his concluding to settle there. Wade replied that he saw no obstacle whatever to his taking his black nurse out there with him, even if Kansas should be admitted as a free State, unless, perchance, he "wanted to sell his old granny." So the Pope is grieved because the citizens of Rome have rights which a clerical despotism can no longer trifle with. That is one of his grievances. Meantime, let him solace himself with the scholastic ethics of St. Thomas Aquinas, the seraphic doctor, with whose works he proposes to displace those of Kant, Mill, Hamilton, and Spencer.

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SOVEREIGNTY OF MIND.

To a good many people who like to meditate on curious problems, it is a question of fascinating interest, Which was first in the order of things, mind or matter? It does not appear to be a question that is likely soon to be settled by the scientific method, on account of the difficulty of securing the requisite observation of facts; and no other method of settlement will satisfy the modern world. Meantime, it seems to be just as well to rest on the assumption—which is, however, not mere assumption, but is supported by all the facts that we know—that mind and matter have always existed together. Indeed, were we to hazard a conjecture, we should say that, if science ever does settle the question, the probability is that it will decide thus: Neither mind nor matter was prior in time, but both, in their essence, were coeval elements in the most distant primordial beginnings of the universe, and each has always been necessary to every manifestation of the other; but, as between the two, the moving and vitalizing principle existed in the element of mind.

But, whether this conjecture should be true or not, there is another point concerning the relation between mind and matter which is of vastly greater practical importance, and on which we may speak with complete assurance. In the historical evolution of the universe, mind has risen more and more to manifest domination over matter, until in man the mental principle attains the point of conscious sovereignty. Moreover, in the history of the human race, progress in enlightenment, in civilization, in power, has been in direct proportion to the control which the human mind has acquired of the material forces and conditions of nature. In a word, the title and crown of *human* nature—of manhood both in the intellectual and moral sense of the word—consists in that sovereignty of mind over matter with which man by his natural capacities is invested. There is no question which of the two *ought* to have the first and controlling place in the conduct of human life. However the fact may be in individual cases, it is certainly nature's intent and aim —her *idea*, so to speak—that man's mind shall be superior, within of course certain limits, to his material environments; and, though numerous may be the exceptions where mind is enslaved to body and its physical surroundings, yet in the long courses of human history nature's idea and aim to make mind the master in human life is accomplished.

And at this day, when physical science and social science are dwelling with so much emphasis on the influence of hereditary tendencies and of the existing environment in determining both mental traits and moral character, it is especially well to keep in mind this fact of mental sovereignty, which science also discloses as a natural principle of progress. There is, indeed, a host of dark facts showing how enslaved and dwarfed the mental and moral nature may become. When we consider the wretched hovels, the poisoned atmospheres, the filthy alleys, the damp, dark cellars, the vicious neighborhoods, where great numbers of human beings are born and bred and live, and the ignorant, drunken, degraded parentage from which they come, the wonder is that anything above the lowest material existence should ever appear amidst such conditions. Animalism, brute tastes and passions and violence are almost the necessity there. And, on higher levels of life, there are daily toils and drudgeries for the bare necessities of physical existence, grim conditions of poverty and constant urgencies of physical labor, which serve almost the same purpose of enslaving the mind and degrading it to a mere appendage to the animal organism. By the one law of prenatal influence, many human lives are almost doomed to vice and crime by ancestral transgression. The soul is chained, as it were, to a body of death from the beginning.

But there is another class of facts which show the triumph of mind over most unfavorable material surroundings, and are as encouraging as those just noted are discouraging. We not infrequently see exhibitions of an inward mental and moral power which makes what to others would be stones of stumbling the very stepping-stones for its advancement,—a power that seizes untoward circumstances and converts them into a staff to walk by; that takes hereditary evil tendencies and thrusts them beneath as its footstool. Many of the real kings among men, the natural leaders in thought and action, have risen to their high places of power in just this way,—by the inherent force of inner aspiration and will controlling hard, material conditions and narrow circumstances to the service of their lofty aims. Look at the careers of such men as Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, Richard Cobden, James A. Garfield. Judging from their surroundings and antecedents, it would not have been predicted in these cases that a great character was to appear; and yet an exceptionally great character did appear. Yet oftener the power which is to lift human beings out of bondage to material conditions comes from sources beyond the range of their own hard lot. It comes from other human beings who are better off. It is a power, however, still stored in the human race. It is to be looked for in no miracle, but through the natural supremacy which the mind of the human race as a whole attains over its physical organism and environment. The help comes, and should come, from those favored portions of the race that, by their superior knowledge and capacity, are able to improve the conditions by which the minds of so many of their fellow-beings are kept in degrading bondage.

And slowly, yet surely, the imbruting influences of even the worst evil surroundings are being ameliorated. The light of a better knowledge is spreading. The heavy burdens that press upon men's shoulders are being lightened. To mental and moral endeavor, persistently and wisely applied, even the most evil hereditary tendencies will yield at last. Science and philanthropy are learning ways for converting bad blood into good. Gradually, by the increase of wisdom and temperance and self-control, by the uplifting of the weak and the redemption of the vicious, mankind are accumulating a mental and moral power which will one day be irresistible. The mind that can tunnel mountains and seas to make highways for its thought and its enterprise, that can harness fire and wind to run on its errands, that can scale the highest heavens to resolve a spot of cloudy matter there into a system of shining worlds, that can do all the wonderful things for overcoming and using the forces of nature with which our modern journals of science and the arts are filled, —the human mind which is doing these things is surely not destined finally to be the victim and prey of material powers, but rather to rise into complete supremacy over them.

Humanity is still largely in the rough clay, earthy, unfinished, uncouth. But slowly, through the divinely artistic power with which man's own thought and hand are invested, by here a touch and there a touch, the human lineaments are being shaped into comeliness and beauty and grandeur. The uncouthness, the imperfection, the earthiness, are vanishing. Soul shines through the clay, and at last shall possess it wholly. Already, this sphinx—half animal, half man, and half-imprisoned in the soil—thinks and loves and aspires, and by and by it shall stand erect and free, and walk the earth in the full majesty and glory and liberty of sovereign mind.

WM. J. POTTER.

PROGRESS AND DEGENERATION.

The conceit of progress has had a potent ally in the doctrine of evolution imperfectly understood. The popular understanding of the doctrine of evolution is that it is synonymous with universal progress in a straight line. But this is not its proper implication. Prof. Lankester's "Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism," is one of the liveliest reminders of this fact that has so far appeared. A very interesting chapter it is, though its illustrations are for the most part confined to some of the humblest creatures. Prof. Lankester defines degeneration as a gradual change of the structure, by which the organism becomes adapted to less varied and less complex conditions of life. There is suppression of form corresponding to the cessation of work. The causes of degeneration are various. One of the most notable is any new set of conditions which make it a good deal easier than it has been for any animal to secure its food or safety. We should expect then a parasitic habit of life to act in this way. And very obviously it does. "Let the parasitic life be once established, and away go legs, jaws, eyes, and ears: the active, highly gifted crab, insect, or animal, may become a mere sac absorbing nourishment and laying eggs."

A commonplace of the biologist is that certain phases in the development of the young of various creatures are recapitulations of the phases through which the ancestors of these creatures have passed. For example, the creature which emerges from a frog's egg is not a frog, but a tadpole, a little aquatic creature with external gills and a tail. As the tadpole grows older, he gradually develops a pair of hind-legs, then a pair of fore-legs; then his tail grows "small by degrees and beautifully less," till finally we have an amphibious creature as much at ease upon the land as in the water. Now, it is well agreed that the various stages through which the tadpole passes on his way to the frog are reproductions of the different grades of ancestors from which the frog is descended. And what the phenomena of degeneration exhibit is a tendency of the higher forms to relapse into the lower. A certain verbal puzzle makes it plain how a man became his own grandfather. Degeneration is a puzzle, in the course of which the shrimp or barnacle becomes his own grandfather several times removed.

To illustrate: The shrimp is an active little creature, quite elaborate in his structure and tolerably varied in his modes of life. But let him settle down, as I am grieved to say he sometimes does, into an immobile parasitic life, he reverts to the external and internal structure of his remote ancestors. Or take the ship's barnacle, a little cousin of the degenerate shrimps. The egg of the barnacle gives birth to an actively swimming creature, the history of which is very astonishing. "After swimming about for a time, it fixes its head against a piece of wood, and takes to a perfectly fixed, immobile state. Its organs of touch and sight atrophy, its legs lose their locomotor function and are simply used for bringing floating particles to the orifice of the stomach," so that an eminent naturalist has compared one of these animals to a man standing on his head and kicking his food into his mouth. Again, the spider at the best impresses us as a degenerate animal; but, physiologically speaking, he is highly organized. Let him however settle down into a stationary parasitic life, and he becomes legless, daggerless; more like a worm of the dust

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than like the spider of the poet. The tendency of the animal in degeneration is to become all stomach. But there are certain worms called *convoluta* that degenerate across the line which separates the vegetable from the animal world. From being an active seeker for its food, this creature settles down into a process of vegetative nutrition, living upon carbonic acid gas.

Now, what is true of evolution in these humbler walks of life is true of evolution everywhere. It is not synonymous with steady progress, uninterrupted advance. Incidental to the process of evolution, there may be many an instance of degeneration. Fixity is itself degeneration; and how many savage and barbarous races are at present in a state of arrested development, which, though far removed from their original condition, is much more hopeless! In that there was the possibility of infinite development. There is everything in *going on*. The locomotive on my train the other day broke down, and we had to go a hundred miles or more with one drive-wheel. As long as we kept going, we went very well; but, when we stopped, to start again was almost an impossibility. Confucius said, "If you have only put the first shovelful of earth upon the ground, and *go on*, you are building the mountain." And Browning sings:—

> "Be all the earth a wilderness,
> With darkness, hunger, cold, distress,
> Only let me *go on, go on*!"

But the barbarous and savage races of to-day do not all stand for mere fixity, arrested development. Some of them are undoubtedly descended from races that possessed a civilization much more highly developed than their own. The Indians of Central America, the modern Egyptians, the descendants of the ancient Persians and Babylonians, are cases in point. To these, our later studies add the Fuegians, the Bushmen, and even the Australians. Tennyson sings,—

> "Perhaps vast eddies in the flood
> Of onward time may yet be made,
> And thronéd races may degrade."

Why not? If it should prove to be so, the course of history will but recapitulate some of its phases in the past.

Even where there is progress on the whole, there may be a good deal of incidental degeneration. And it may be brought about by means peaceful or warlike. Mr. Galton reckons that the average European brain was smaller three hundred years ago than the Greek brain in the time of Pericles. He thinks we have monasticism to thank for this, — its absorption of the larger brains without reproducing them. War has been one of the most effective instruments of progressive evolution. In the long run and the wide sweep, the eagles of victory have perched upon the banners of the more intelligent races and nations, and the more highly moral. But it must never be forgotten that all wars are not made out of the same piece. Some are fruitful and creative, some are sterile and desolating. The wars of Alexander were a great ploughshare furrowing the soil of Asia and Africa for the seed-corn of Greek thought. The law of Alexander as well as that of Moses was a pedagogue, a child-leader, bringing men to Christ. But, on the other hand, a cautious writer reckons that Germany was thrown back two hundred years, compared with Holland, France, and England, by the Thirty Years' War. It does not seem unlikely, when some of the statistics are considered. "It is a proved fact that not till 1850 did Germany recover the amount of capital and material well-being that she had in 1618." What was the state of Germany in 1648? Hundreds of flourishing cities were reduced to ashes. There were towns of eighteen thousand inhabitants which could only muster a few hundreds. Ground which had been tilled for ten centuries became a wilderness. Thousands of villages had disappeared. At Weisbaden, the public market was a piece of brushwood full of deer. The population of Würtemberg was reduced from four hundred thousand to forty thousand! A messenger from Dresden to Berlin walked thirty miles, through a district once thickly settled, without finding a house to rest in. "Two-thirds of the houses, three-fourths of the population, nine-tenths of the cattle, had been destroyed." And, as was the material, so was the intellectual and moral condition of the people. A generation that had grown up during the war regarded robbery and fighting as the chief end of man. The lowest vices flourished everywhere. There was no private honesty or public trust. The rulers were tyrants, and the ruled were willing slaves. But this war was only one of many that have pushed back the hand upon the dial-plate of history.

These facts are ugly and incontrovertible. Do they remand us to despair? Are "old results that look like new," or is positive degeneracy from a higher to a lower state, the best we can expect? Let us not believe it. The fact of progress is still large enough to take up all of these ugly and depressing facts into its mighty sweep. That is the river: these are the eddies that have formed along its course. Such a conclusion will, I think, be borne in irresistibly on any healthy mind that is conversant with a wide order of phenomena, physical and animal and human. Looking narrowly, we may see much arrested development, much of positive lapse. Looking widely, we shall see that both arrest and lapse are incidents of a majestic order that from the original fire-mist has produced the present forms of things, and will from these produce yet better and the best.

But, henceforth, we cannot talk of progress quite so airily as we have sometimes done. It is not as if the army of God had moved right on, centre and flanks abreast, from the beginning of the great campaign. Many a squadron has reeled and broken; many a company has been shattered into nothingness; many an individual soldier has turned a coward back upon the advancing hosts of ignorance and wrong. However, then, we may rejoice, it must be with certain reservations. The thing that has been may be again. "History never repeats itself," the proverb says. The facts of history do not repeat themselves. Its principles are being always repeated.

There has been no degradation without cause. No race or nation has gone backward but through disobedience of the laws of life. No nation has gone forward but through obedience to these same laws. And there is little consolation for us in the assurance that the great average of life is progressive, if simultaneously we are obliged to feel that our own nation, state, or city, or our own individual life, is an illustration of those principles of degeneration and decay which have their illustrations upon every plane of life, from the ascidian to the saint.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

NEW PHASES OF THE "HOLY WAR."

The city of St. Louis, Mo., is a long distance away from the town of Newton, Mass. The doctrines professed by "orthodox" believers are, apparently, widely different from those held by the adherents to the Roman Catholic Church. Yet, as it is possible to bridge the miles which intervene between the Western metropolis and the quiet little Bay State village, so may theological narrowness make Protestantism and Catholicism one.

Each of the St. Louis dailies of the 30th ult. gave more or less space to a discussion of the outrageous assault made by the *Western Watchman* upon a newly married pair residing in that city. The *Watchman* is the Catholic organ of the diocese, and is edited by the Rev. I. S. Phelan. Of the parties whom it so grossly vilified, the groom is a Roman Catholic, and the bride is a Presbyterian. They were married by a Catholic priest; but, in deference to the prejudices of the bride, the union was afterward "blessed" by a clergyman of her faith. It is in allusion to this latter occurrence that the *Watchman* says: "The Devil supplied the argument in this process of apostasy. He said the girl had as much right to her religion as he had to his. That was not true; but, even granting it, it was not against her religion to be married by a priest, while it was a violation of his religion and conscience to be married by a minister. Every Protestant in the world recognizes as valid and lawful any marriage that the State approves, and every State recognizes the marriage solemnized by a priest. She said she had a conscience as well as he. Granted; but her conscience would not be wounded by being married before a priest, while his would be violated by a marriage before a minister. Were she a member of the strictest Protestant sect in Christendom, she might approach the Lord's Supper in her Church without censure the day after her marriage; while the moment he did the sacrilegious deed he was barred from the sacraments, and excommunicated from the Church's pale. He did it for love. Accursed be the man who so loves a woman that he would sell his soul for her, deny his God for her, sacrifice home and heaven for her. Such a wedding is a covenant with hell and a league with the Devil."

Thus does the "Church of the Fathers," as it so fittingly calls itself, apply to the holiest of all sacraments the narrowest of all dogmas. It ignores the progress of which we see to-day the ripening fruits, as it had not been. The orthodox admirers of exploded superstitions do not go to the same length as do their Catholic brethren. Nevertheless, the former have, indirectly, somewhat to say on the mooted question of infallibility; and their retrogression is sufficiently apparent to establish the fact that they also live in the past.

In the issue of the Boston daily *Journal* bearing date of September 28 was printed an account of the controversy which led to Prof. E. P. Gould's withdrawal from the Newton Theological Institution. Prof. Gould, who, it appears, held the chair of New Testament Interpretation, had been asked to resign; and, declining to do so, he was finally removed by vote of a committee which had the matter in charge. This action was taken because of the professor's "unsound" teachings, and because of "differences of opinion" between the President (Dr. Hovey) and himself. "The differences were sufficient, in the judgment of the President, to be prejudicial to the interests of the institution. There came there, he said, young men with minds not yet trained to form opinions: it was those opinions that they were to receive; and if they had one set of opinions impressed upon them in one class room, and a different set in another, it would lead to discussion, not only as to the merits of the instruction, but of the instructors as well, which would result in harm to students and professors alike."

As between this example of Roman Catholic bigotry and this assumption of orthodox ministerial infallibility, it would not be difficult to draw a parallel. Father Phelan declares that a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant is "a covenant with hell and a league with the Devil." President Allen intimates that his students are not to be taught to think for themselves, but that they are

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to receive their opinions at second-hand. Father Phelan represents the results of the system which President Allen upholds. President Allen is attempting to mould other Phelans for the Baptist ministry.

There is, apparently, a certain community of feeling which is shared by the Roman Catholic and the orthodox churches. The latter bodies do not, to be sure, publicly excommunicate, but their creeds are as all-embracing as a papal bull. The Catholic Church sends one to hell after he commits open sin: the orthodox creed affirms that, except in the event of certain occurrences, he must go to hell, because "in Adam all sinned." The Catholic Church is the outspoken opponent of all truth or speculation which is not a part of itself. Remembering the "anti-music" decision of the Philadelphia Presbytery; the trials and examinations of Prof. Smyth; and, more recently, the condemnation of Prof. Gould's methods,—one may pertinently inquire, Are the evangelical bodies of America starting out upon the same path which has so long been monopolized by their traditional enemy?

WALTER L. SAWYER.

WORSHIP.

An English writer, Mr. Louis Grey by name, thinks that agnostics should attend church, because the teaching in church does more good than harm, and because the example of such attendance is good. Meantime, of course, the agnostic is known to have discarded the creed and dogmas of the Church; and yet he is recommended publicly to play the hypocrite by way of good example to the common people. Another English writer gives agnostics quite different advice. "Let all agnostics," he says, "be true men outside of the Church, and not sham Christians within it." We are told by still another English writer that, "even if it be granted that there is no hereafter for the individual consciousness, *worship still remains the most becoming attitude of man*,"—a proposition which one cannot help respectfully but firmly denying.

Of course, every form of worship or religious adoration implies a personal governor or government of the world or cosmos, and not only that, but a governor open to adulation and fond of glorification. For worship means just that. The old theological God was a jealous, arrogant, irritable, vain personage. His name was not to be taken in vain, or used except in prayer or to give sanctity to an oath. Utter prostration of mind and body on the part of his worshippers was what was demanded, utter abasement of the *os sublime* of man and of his naturally erect form. Hence, it has been that the religions thus far have been nurseries of despotism in rulers, and of slavishness in the ruled or the masses, and the foes of manliness and liberty and of an erect attitude, so to speak, of mind and body both. In the presence of the mystery which surrounds him and overshadows him, man, in his vividly conscious inability to cope with it and solve it, naturally enough feels a sentiment of awe; but, in the intelligent, free modern man, this awe expresses itself not in superstitious rites and the abject prostration of himself before the mystery of the universe, but in a rational endeavor to investigate his own nature and the world to the extent of his ability. In the case of the modern man, the contemplation of the universe produces science or rational knowledge; in the case of the primitive man, it produced pompous ritualisms and abject forms of worship to propitiate some imaginary omnipotent despot or despots. Thus, while religion is based on fear and servility, science is founded on reason and a struggle and aspiration for enlargement, or "mehr Licht," to borrow Goethe's final words. Theology has had the past up to within a century almost exclusively to itself; and, except among the intellectually most advanced moieties of the populations of the most advanced nations of to-day, it still reigns as of old.

In theological countries, men are exhorted to do right, not in accordance with the dictates of their own higher nature, but of some revelation or miraculously given decalogical mandate of which some old prophet was the medium, who had alleged direct communication with the theological God. As long as men continued to be grossly ignorant of their own nature and of the phenomenal world which they found given in their consciousness, they of course continued in the theological mood. They were governed by fear, and not by reason. The majority of the race are still thus governed. But the era of reason and truth has dawned, and the old, abject, degrading theological mood is sooner or later to be succeeded by a nobler, unselfish, and higher mood. The latest and grandest system of thought has taught us that we have a Sinai within our pure reason, and that we need not go to any hoary tradition or mouldy parchment to ascertain what our duty is to ourselves or to others, but to look within. Then, again, *natura rerum*, the investigation of which theology denounced, is found to be infinite in extent and duration, an eternal evolution, a boundless realm for the discipline and development of conscious spirit, and no dead, inert materialism, but an everlasting play of eternal forces. Under the influence of theology, society has been organized on the principle of the subordination and subserviency of the many to the few; that is, theology has fostered popular degradation, ignorance, and superstition.

The era of rational knowledge and of a rational morality we can already see means popular intelligence and popular liberty and an indefinite utilization of the forces of nature for the greatest good of the greatest number. We have every reason for believing that the rational and scientific stage of human development will be an immense advance on the theological stage, which began in the shades of prehistoric years and has lasted so long. But, it will be asked, in the total absence of dogmatic theology and its soothing syrups for sickness, bereavement, vital decay, and extinction, what provision will the higher reason make for sin, sorrow, and death? It is agreed that mere "cosmic emotion," or the sentiment of the natural sublime, affords no direct consolation for bereavment and the pangs of death-stricken love. But let it be remembered that the intellectually full-statured man of the future will not be appeasable, so far as the laceration of his heart by death is concerned, by the stock assurances and celestial condiments of primitive mythology and theology. "The fair land of Canaan"; "the beautiful shore beyond the river," "with its fields dressed in living green";

> "Valhalla's halls
> And skulls o'er brimmed with mead; Elysian plains;
> Eden, where life was toilless and gave man
> All things to live with, nothing to live for;
> The Moslem's bowers of love and streams of wine
> And palaces of purest adamant,
> Where dark-eyed houris, with their young, white arms,
> The ever-virgin, woo and welcome ye;
> The Chaldee's orbs of gold, where dwells the primal light,"—

all these immemorial mythologic and theologic vistas of future bliss deceive no sensible people even now. They are understood to be the mirage of the imaginative faculty and that ideal hunger for ideal felicity which dominates human nature, and is a guarantee of its grandeur and final triumph. If the bereaved man were immortal here on this bank and shoal of time and did not quickly follow his loved and lost into the shadow and eclipse of death, he might be inconsolable, as the Eleusinian mother was, according to the myth, who envied

> "Mothers of happy human clay,
> That shared at least their children's doom,
> And when the loved ones passed away
> Could track, could join them, in the tomb."

But a common fate quickly overwhelms us who have survived friends and kindred almost dearer than life. Meantime, there is no intention of speaking derisively of these consolatory dreams of bliss and reunion beyond the dark portals of the grave, wherewith the much-enduring and sorrow-stricken generations of men have in all ages and climes endeavored to lighten the load of mortal existence. Such dreams and idealisms may be, and are likely enough to be, inadequate adumbrations of unspeakable realities not describable in terms of this present life. "Hope springs eternal in the human breast," and peers confidently through the cloud of dust and ashes, into which our organs are finally dissolved, for gleams of a better life. It is a fact full of significance, and to be accepted as such.

B. W. BALL.

SOPHISTRY OF WEBSTER.

The maxim, "Say nothing but good of the dead," however right in its general intention, has one manifest exception; namely, in the cases where persistent, undeserved eulogy of a famous man seems likely, if uncontradicted, to pervert the record of history, and pre-eminently where the faults of a famous man are rhetorically gilded in the attempt to make them pass as virtues. Such an attempt I find in the eulogy of Daniel Webster, uttered at Dartmouth College, June 28th of the present year, by Senator Thomas H. Bayard of Delaware, and reported the morning following in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*.

Seeking to illustrate "the religious element of Mr. Webster's character," Mr. Bayard quotes the following passage from his argument in the Girard will case as follows:—

> There is nothing that we look for with more certainty than the general principle that Christianity is part of the law of the land. This was the case among the Puritans of New England, the Episcopalians of the Southern States, the Pennsylvania Quakers, the Baptists, the mass of followers of Whitefield and Wesley, and the Presbyterians. All brought and all adopted this great truth, and all have sustained it. And where there is any religious sentiment among men at all, this sentiment incorporates itself with the law. *Everything declares it.* The massive cathedral for the Catholic; the Episcopalian church with its lofty spire pointing heavenward; the plain temple of the Quaker; the log church of the hardy pioneer of the wilderness; the mementos and memorials around and about us; the consecrated graveyards, their tombstones and epitaphs, their silent vaults, their mouldering contents,—all attest it. *The dead prove it as well as the living.* The generations that are gone before speak to it and pronounce it from the tomb. We feel it. All, all proclaim that Christianity—general, tolerant Christianity; Christianity independent of sects and parties; that Christianity to which the sword and fagot are unknown; general, tolerant Christianity—is the law of the land.

This extract, instead of showing a religious element in Mr. Webster's character, shows rather his unscrupulousness as a lawyer, his readiness to maintain the cause of his client in opposition to truth and fact, and his skill in making glittering generalities pass for argument, and wholesale assumption for demonstration.

Taking for granted, to begin with, that "Christianity is part of the law of the land," he insists, with the emphasis of italics, that *everything declares it*. Looking, however, at the specimens he himself has selected from "everything," we find that not one of them declares it. He quotes the

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Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Puritan, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and the Methodist systems as sustaining his ground. Not one of them sustains it; and so sharply are they at variance with each other in regard to what Christianity includes and implies that, if any two of them could agree upon an interpretation of it, most of the others would controvert and oppose them. It is true that most or all of these sects would be glad to have its own particular view of the theory and practice of Christianity imposed upon the country as a law. The Roman Catholics have always tried to do this where they had the power; and the Puritans, who in this country had the power for a while, did succeed in perverting the laws of Massachusetts, to a considerable extent, to the support of their peculiar theology. Most of those perversions we have now happily got rid of, though the descendants of those people still impose upon us by law some observance of a sectarian institution which they falsely call the "Christian Sabbath." But, let it be noticed, these Puritans, when they had the power, sternly suppressed Catholics, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Quakers, just as the Episcopalians, when they had the power in England, had suppressed the Puritans; and just as the Catholics, whenever they were in the ascendant, had suppressed all dissenters.

But this is not the worst of Mr. Webster's sophistry. After quoting these Catholics, Episcopalians, and Puritans (who have always been as cat and dog to each other), as if their theory or practice supported his case, Mr. Webster has the hardihood to say that the Christianity he means is "tolerant Christianity; Christianity independent of sects and parties; that Christianity to which the sword and fagot are unknown"! That is to say, a Christianity quite distinct from what either Catholics, Puritans, or Episcopalians mean by that word!

Not one of these sects has ever established or desired to establish a tolerant, unsectarian Christianity. But, even if we make the extravagant supposition of their union in maintenance of a specific formula of Christian doctrine and practice, who has authorized these sects to make laws for the people of the United States? Are our senators and representatives to yield the halls of Congress to them, and are the people at large to bow to their dictation? We oppose, as a decided evil, the *union* of Church and State. What Mr. Webster suggests (in behalf of his client who wished to break the Girard will) is to make the State thoroughly subordinate to the Church.

To the false assumption of Mr. Webster in the extract above quoted from his plea in the Girard case, I oppose two facts, one negative and one positive, showing that Christianity is *not* part of the law of the land.

1. A society called the National Reform Association has existed in this country many years, the object of which is to *make* Christianity a part of the law of the land, and thus counteract what they complain of as "the silence of the Constitution of the United States in this respect." Of course, if the law still needs to be made Christian, it is not now Christian.

2. In a treaty made between the United States and the Bey of Tripoli in 1787, and executed January 3d of that year, it is expressly stated that "the government of the United States is in no sense whatever a Christian government." This declaration (which seems to have been called forth by some questionings of the Bey) is incorporated in Article XII. of that treaty, and the fact which it states has never been disavowed by any official authority.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

NOTICE.

In addition to its other work this year, the Free Religious Association seeks to make a list, as complete as possible, of all liberal societies and organizations. If the local friends of such movements will forward at once to the undersigned the name, date of organization, and article or articles of association *in full*, of their respective societies, they will greatly help this undertaking.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Secretary*.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

COPIES of *Mind* for October, containing Mr. Abbot's article on "Scientific Philosophy," have been received and are for sale at this office. Price $1.00.

FRIENDS of *The Index* can assist us in increasing its circulation by sending to this office the names of all persons they think would like to see sample copies of the paper.

A MEMBER of the Free-thought Club of Montreal writes: "The Holyoake lecture before our Club proved a grand success. The audience, assembled by special invitation by cards issued, was a full representative body of the intelligence and culture of Montreal. Men of science, members of the bar, physicians and clergymen were present; and the cordial mingling of mutual good-will and mutual respect was one of the most pleasing experiences of my life."

AMONG the recent cable reports from Cairo occurs the following incident: While the annual caravan, which departed with imposing ceremonies was moving toward Suez on the way to Mecca, the canopy of the sacred carpet was caught and overturned by a telegraph wire. This accident, which exposed to view the sacred emblem, excited the deepest concern in the minds of the dervishes; and the despatch says that the caravan will probably return to Cairo to perform over again the ceremonies of setting out. This instance of the jostling of the new against the old is very suggestive.

SAYS an exchange: "An American medium, Miss Wood, found great favor with the Spiritualists of England, and not the less because she was young and handsome. She gave materializing séances, like those invented by the Eddy Brothers; but she did not take the precaution to guard the returned spirits against assaults by the spectators. The result was that, at Peterborough, a stalwart man seized the form of 'Poche, an Indian girl,' who ventured too far from the cabinet, the lights were turned up, and Miss Wood, in Indian costume, was seen struggling violently in his arms."

SOME of our readers will remember a review of Dr. R. P. Stebbins' *Study of the Pentateuch* which appeared in our columns a few months ago. It was by no means flattering, and may have impressed our gentler readers as unduly harsh. But, in the *Modern Review* for October, the book is reviewed by the Rev. Philip H. Wicksteed, one of the ablest and most scholarly of the English Unitarians, and in terms that will make our own review soothing as balm to Dr. Stebbins' lacerated heart. It is called "a bad specimen of a bad style of book." Many of the points made by Mr. Wicksteed are the same as those made by our own critic. He says of Dr. Stebbins' most conspicuous and monumental misconception, "The merest tyro who had heard a single popular lecture on the criticism of the *Pentateuch* could not have made such a blunder." This is "putting it strong"; but it "states but the facts," to quote the language of the poet.

THE family and day school of Mrs. Emily J. F. Newhall, at 91 Newbury Street, Boston, deserves the special interest of liberals in religion. In a degree rarely sought, and still less frequently realized, this school, in all its aims and methods, stands for the evolution of character. To thoroughness of instruction, recognizing always the superiority of thought to the forms it from time to time takes on, is added respect for the individuality of each pupil, and an endeavor to develop in a natural and unsectarian manner the moral nature. Sound ethics and mental training are made to go hand-in-hand; and wholeness of life, physical, mental, and moral, is the ideal aim set before all the scholars in this institution. Those who know Mrs. Newhall best can easily understand that her own breadth of character will necessarily make its impress upon all her work; and the friends of natural religion will be especially pleased to hear that so good an opportunity is now offered for a comprehensive culture of the whole nature of girls and young women, reverent in its controlling spirit, and yet free from all sectarian cant and theological bias.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* has the following interesting correspondence respecting the religious views of Charles Darwin: —

Sir,—The enclosed is the translation of a letter written by Mr. Darwin in answer to an inquiry from a young student at Jena, in whom the study of Darwin's books had raised religious doubts. It is, perhaps, not altogether irrelevant, at a time when priests of various creeds are claiming Darwin for their own, to publish an authentic statement of what his views really were, particularly as this statement will be widely read in Germany, and Darwin's own countrymen ought to be at least as well informed on the subject as foreigners. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, KATHARINE MACMILLAN.

FRANKFORT-ON-MAIN, September 20.

Letter from Mr. Darwin to a young student at Jena, quoted in a lecture by Prof. Haeckel at the Natural Science Congress at Eisenach.

Sir,—I am very busy, and am an old man in delicate health, and have not time to answer your questions fully, even assuming that they are capable of being answered at all. Science and Christ have nothing to do with each other, except in as far as the habit of scientific investigation makes a man cautious about accepting any proofs. As far as I am concerned, I do not believe that any revelation has ever been made. With regard to a future life, every one must draw his own conclusions from vague and contradictory probabilities. Wishing you well, I remain your obedient servant, CHARLES DARWIN.

DOWN, June 5, 1879.

THE proposition to start a new Congregational paper in this city does not receive the approval of Rev. Dr. E. B. Webb, of the Shawmut Congregational Church. He said last Sunday: "If you care for the harmony of our parishes and the fellowship of good neighborhood, do not establish another denominational paper. We have papers enough now,—papers open to the freest discussion. . . . A new paper must beget controversy and alienation of brother from brother, and turn the minds of our church-members from the work of saving the lost to a wicked and shameful crimination and recrimination of each other. To publish and circulate a new paper now is to drive a hot ploughshare, divisive and destructive, right through all our peaceful parishes. . . . Dear brethren, my locks are whiter than yours, and possibly I do not run with sufficient alacrity to embrace and defend the new things. But hear me, I pray you; hear me for the sake of the harmony of the beloved Zion; hear me for the sake of a new baptism of the Holy Ghost upon ourselves and upon our churches; hear me for the sake of a hearty, generous union to honor the name and advance the cause of our Divine Master, who loves peace and good-will; hear me, and pause and think and pray awhile before you commit us to the support of a second denominational paper."

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The Index.

BOSTON, OCT. 19, 1882.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

The Strength and Scope of the Woman's Rights Movement.

An Essay read before the National Woman's Suffrage Association at Rockland, Mass., Sept. 20, 1882.

BY MRS. SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

I do not by the term "Woman's Rights" mean merely what to us Massachusetts women that term has come mainly to imply through its being the one right which at present we are the most earnest in our endeavors to obtain,—namely, the right of suffrage,—but rather all progressive movements in all parts of the world, looking to woman's social, intellectual, and moral advancement, as well as to her legal recognition as man's equal.

Let us first briefly review the present status and outlook of the woman's movement in this country,—an outlook which was never more encouraging than it is to-day, in spite of the many necessary things yet unattained. In view of the fact that legislature after legislature votes down (sometimes, however, by a very small majority) our demand for the elective franchise; that here and there influential American magazines open their columns to vigorous attacks upon woman by pseudo-scientists; that the majority of American newspapers, while treating the movement every year with more and more respect, have yet failed to accept it as a vital issue; and that its successes, though always increasing, are gained so slowly,—there are many of the workers for it who become discouraged and lukewarm in their efforts for enfranchisement. But these very obstacles should, viewed rightly, only become added incentives to renewed endeavor. The earnestness with which any reform is attacked is the measure of its strength and worth. At every stage of every progressive movement there is always to be found a large minority of timid or conservative or intellectually limited or morally stunted people who gather themselves into as imposing a phalanx of opposition as possible, and loudly but unavailingly cry, "Halt!" to the new movement. But the Woman's Suffrage Movement in this country is by far too strong and too far advanced to be either hurt or frightened by any warning cry of "Retreat!" from such sources. No other reform carrying with it such wide-spread results and upheaval of rooted prejudices has ever before made such rapid strides as the woman's movement in this country and in England.

Each session of the legislature which meets under the dome of the State House in Boston cedes always some item of the demands made by women. The sessions made this year are: first, that women may practise as attorneys-at-law in all the courts of the State; second, that, in case of a wife's dying without making a will, only one-half of her personal property, instead of the whole, as formerly, shall go to her husband. These concessions may seem to some insignificant; but they show progress, and not retrogression. "By the amended statutes of Massachusetts" (I quote now from the Boston *Transcript*), "the old theory of the legal identity of husband and wife has dissolved into thin air. The wife may now keep and use her separate property. She may do business on her own account without let or hindrance from her husband by making proper record thereof. Her property cannot be taken for his debts. She may carry on a civil process, sue and be sued, act as executrix, administratrix, or trustee, give bonds, and act as guardian, without any control by him. The law even discriminates in her favor: for, while she is not liable for her husband's debts, he is still liable for hers; and, while the law permits her to make a fortune on her own account, it stills holds the husband liable for her support. . . . The laws of the descent of property, as now amended in this State, put husband and wife upon almost exactly the same legal footing. Husbands and wives may now make their separate wills, favoring or excluding each other up to a certain point, which the law makes alike for both."

Five successive governors of our State—Claflin, Washburn, Rice, Talbot, and Long—have recommended woman suffrage to legislative consideration in their annual messages. Our most prominent Senator, Judge Hoar, "fights the battles of the women at Washington," as one of our daily papers expresses it, and our best writers and thinkers are, or were when living, in favor of woman's right to the elective franchise, including such leaders in thought as Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Col. Higginson, Bronson Alcott, Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Senators Wilson and Hoar. And no influential journal in Massachusetts openly opposes the movement; while many, like the Springfield *Republican*, are outspoken in their advocacy of it. Nearly all the leading papers and many of the lesser lights of Massachusetts journalism have on their editorial or reportorial staffs one or more women; and these women, you may be sure, are not the weakest writers on the force. Although the admission of women to certain rightful privileges, as for instance admission on equal terms to Harvard College and to the Medical Association, is still denied in this State, yet the vote against such admission is so nearly even that it needs but a year or two more of patience before the votes in favor will overwhelm those against it. As an index of the position of the best thinkers among Massachusetts men toward woman's suffrage, let me here quote from Ralph Waldo Emerson words written as far back as 1862, when his intellect was at its prime:—

"It is very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. Educate and refine society to the highest point, bring together a cultivated society of both sexes in a drawing-room to consult and decide by voices in a question of right, and is there any absurdity or any practical difficulty in obtaining their authentic opinions? If not, there need be none in a hundred companies, if you educate them and accustom them to judge. And, for the effect of it, I can say for one that certainly all my points would be sooner carried in the State, if women voted.

"On the questions that are important, . . . they would give, I suppose, as intelligent a vote as the Irish voters of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. . . . For their want of intimate knowledge of affairs, I do not think this should disqualify them from voting at any town meeting which I have ever attended. I could heartily wish the objection were sound. But if any man will take the trouble to see how our people vote,—how many gentlemen are willing to take on themselves the trouble of thinking and determining for you, and, standing at the doors of the polls, give every innocent citizen his ticket as he comes in, informing him that this is the vote of his party, and the innocent citizen, without further demur, carries it to the ballot-box,—I cannot but think that most women might vote as wisely. For the other point, of their not knowing the world, and aiming at abstract right without allowance for circumstances, that is not a disqualification, but a qualification."

But Massachusetts, in the vanguard as she is, is not alone nor exactly the leader in the woman's rights movement in this country. The Empire State is yearly making rapid strides in this reform, and no paper in the United States is more outspoken in favor of or more independent in its affirmative position on the question than the *Independent* of New York city; and it was only the other day that in that bluest State of Puritan New England, Connecticut, the decision was made by the Chief Justice of its Supreme Court that there is no clause in the laws of Connecticut whereby a woman may be disqualified from practising law in that State; and, on that decision, Miss Mary Hall has been admitted to practise as attorney-at-law. But it is in our Western States, peopled as they are with wide-awake, sensible, go-ahead men and women, the best blood of our New England States, that the movement is pushed with the most vigor. Already in two of the most promising Territories of the country, Wyoming and Utah, women are already allowed to vote on all questions. Only a few days ago, the annual meeting of the American Woman's Suffrage Association was held at Omaha, Neb., a city which has grown up within the memory of most of you present. And, within a few days, another woman's suffrage convention will be held there, to which your president, Mrs. Shattuck, is a delegate, and already engaged to stump the State in behalf of the cause so dear to her, until the November elections. Of the suffrage meeting already held there, the Eastern papers give us this encouraging report, which we hope will be more than duplicated by the coming one: "Reports of work were made by sixteen State societies. Letters were read from George William Curtis, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Governor St. John of Kansas, and Chancellor Elliot of Washington University in Missouri. Sixty-eight delegates were present from twelve States and Territories. Governor John W. Hoyt and Judge Kingman, of Wyoming Territory, addressed the convention, and claimed that the experience of thirteen years of woman suffrage in their Territory was an unqualified success, and that it had proved so beneficial that all parties were now united in its support. It was voted to make an active campaign in Nebraska during the coming six weeks for the passage of a woman suffrage constitutional amendment, which is to be voted upon in the State next November."

All the Western States are keenly alive to the need of improved legislation in regard to woman's position before the law, but most especially is this the case in those States where woman's vote is needed on questions involving moral issues of any kind. Most of the leading journals in the West, in addition to employing women on their staffs in various departments, are even more outspoken than Eastern papers on this question; and it is a common occurence to meet in their columns articles written in the same spirit as the following paragraph from the Louisville (Ky.) *Courier-Journal*, an influential Western paper: "The day has gone when the 'woman question,' with its varying relations to human life and its many-toned appeals to human feeling and reason, could be whistled down the wind of masculine derision. A day has come when the rights of women hold a direct and definite correspondence with the duties of men. It is nowhere doubted among enlightened peoples that reforms of the most sweeping and radical description are indispensable: and he who either regards, or affects to regard, the subject with disdain, and who would dismiss it with a scoff or sneer as a passing fancy, the offspring of feminine vanity and caprice, exposes himself to the charge of brutality, ignorance, and bigotry."

Let us now turn our attention to a few of the things women are doing in this country in occupations comparatively new to the sex, but manifestly appropriate. A writer in a recent number of the *North American Review* undertook to demonstrate that woman's occupation, like Othello's, was gone. He says, "There is now insufficient work for women to do who are willing to work, and must work to escape starvation." In this view of the case, he continues, "who can wonder that the vigorous advocates of women's rights so called, are alive and earnest; that they are seeking blindly, perhaps, for light; are grasping wildly, perhaps, for work?" "Is that 'progress'?" he says further. "Is this civilization which forces women to unsex themselves, to enter into a race in competition with man in which she is sure to go down; which brings her to starvation wages; which involves a ruin of health and temper; which forbids all enjoyment of life; which crushes the great function of her being; which makes merchandise of human virtue,—is that

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a civilization which women ought to admire, defend, or preserve?" The matter over which this writer thus works himself up into this hysterical mode of questioning is whether woman ought to enter into any of the employments hitherto monopolized by men, and, as we read, we wonder 'where Mr. Elliott has been in hermitage; for his article involuntarily reminds us of the beginning of the old hymn,

"Hark! from the tombs a doleful sound."

Certainly, he has not kept his eyes open to what is going on in the real world, when he makes his strange statements; for never before in the world's history were there so many and so lucrative avenues of employment open to women as to-day, and that this is so is a legitimate result of the agitation of the woman's rights movement. The law, medicine, the pulpit, the platform, are all now open to woman. She can be post-mistress, government clerk, and is eligible to many minor town and municipal offices. She is found in every department of journalism from typesetter to publisher and editor. One of the largest publishing firms in America is that of Mrs. Frank Leslie, and that house does more business under her management than ever before. At the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Montreal, "among the most entertaining papers read," says the *Scientific American*, "were those presented by Miss Erminie Smyth and Miss Alice Fletcher"; and at the meeting of the Social Science Association at Saratoga, N.Y., a few days ago, a good share of the papers read and addresses made were by women. Mrs. Emily Talbot, of Boston, gave an address on "Charles Darwin"; Miss Alice Fletcher on "Indian Life and Customs"; and Miss Clara Barton, presumably, on sanitary matters. Lucy Larcom, the poetess, prepared a paper for the Association on "Factory Girls," which did not, however, arrive on time, but has been published since; but one was read on the same subject by Mrs. Harriet Robinson, which the Springfield *Republican* says was thought to have been "one of the most entertaining papers read before the Association." In many of our colleges are female professors, and college degrees are getting to be as common among women as among men.

A New York correspondent writes from that city as to the employment of women: "The number of women employed here in all sorts of capacities is steadily increasing, as any one must see who has any extended acquaintance with the city. Only a few years ago, comparatively few women were seen in dry goods shops, and in other departments of trade scarcely any women at all. Now, they abound everywhere. They are not only saleswomen: they are clerks, printers, accountants, solicitors, stenographers, type-writers, journalists, managers, and I know not what, not to speak of the vast number engaged in various handicrafts. As many as sixty-five thousand, it is estimated, earn at present their own living in New York, which necessarily includes the living of numerous others. They are not merely the young and unmarried, they are also elderly women, wives, and widows." Another writer says: "A noteworthy fact of the census statistics is the distribution of the sexes in city and country populations. In the aggregate of the nation, the males exceed the females by nearly a million; yet in the fifty largest cities there are several hundred thousand fewer males than females. . . . The larger cities attract women by the amount and variety of manufacturing work they furnish, and to this influence is added that of the roving dispositions of men, leading them to new places in search of the means of livelihood." While in the West many women are preempting land and carrying on farming business to a great extent; and one woman here East, Miss Middy Morgan, has won deserved reputation and still keeps her feminine manners, as a cattle reporter.

Even among the savage Indian tribes of America are shown strong traces of a desire for the advancement of their women. Miss Fletcher, in an interview with a leading Indian chief, was asked by him to do what she could for the Indian women in the way of educating and enlightening them. Sarah Winnemucca, a Piute princess, is a leader and a power in her tribe. "Bright Eyes," an Indian chief's daughter, has made her eloquent plea for her dusky sisters before many a cultured audience. The girls of Indian tribes are sent to Hampton College as freely as their boys, and the parents are apparently as proud of the intellectual progress of one as of the other. These facts are most decided indications of the wide scope the woman's movement has taken in this country. In England, one of the most civilized nations of the earth, if not the most civilized, the movement is even more decided in its manifestations and victories. The best English thinkers, such as John Bright, Herbert Spencer, Prof. Huxley, Frances Power Cobbe, among living men and women, and John Stuart Mill, Harriet Martineau, Canon Charles Kingsley, Mrs. Somerville, the astronomer, among the dead, have most strenuously upheld the movement. For thirteen years, English women have had municipal suffrage, and within the year the same privilege has been extended to Scotchwomen. In the Isle of Man, a dependency of England, women last year gained the privilege of voting for members of Parliament and all other public officers. At a recent election in Victoria, a British province in America, a number of women voted for mayor and councilmen. At the last session of the English Parliament, a law was passed, entitled "The Married Woman's Property Bill," which repeals the unjust usages and provisions of the common law, which made the husband the absolute owner of his wife's property and almost the absolute owner of her person, and authorizes her to hold and dispose of property and make contracts as if she were a single woman. The poorer women are especially benefited by this new law, as they can now control their own wages independent of their frequently improvident, brutal, and intemperate husbands. At Cambridge, England, there are two women's colleges, Girton and Newnham, South. A recent visitor at these colleges says, "The list of young ladies from each of these most interesting institutions who have honorably passed university examinations, even surpassing young men in some instances, though debarred from the same honors when earned, are exceedingly creditable to them." The Girton College for women is the one to which Mrs. Somerville bequeathed her scientific library, as an earnest of her interest in the higher education of her sex.

At the recent annual distribution of prizes to the students of the London School of Medicine for Women, Prof. Huxley presided, and made the presentation of the prizes. In his brief address, he said: 'It may be that we are to look to women hereafter as the intellectual and moral leaders of the universe. It may be, on the other hand, that men will retain the lead which the order of things has hitherto given them; but, should they do so, I cannot understand that it should make the slightest difference to the importance, the necessity, and the duty on the part of women that they should do all they can to render themselves useful members of the community.'" . . .

The English census of 1861 reports the number of English women over fifteen years of age as 6,727,697. Of these, 3,249,872 were working women. The census of 1871 shows a still greater proportion of working English women. In Irish affairs, women have recently taken a prominent part. The Ladies' Land League has been a most efficient aid to the Irish movement; and, whatever our sympathies may be in regard to Ireland, no one can fail to understand what an impulse must necessarily be given to woman's emancipation in Ireland by the part she has been encouraged to take in politics through patriotism, and this in the face of both law and gospel, since the women of the Land League have been obliged, from the highest motives, to defy both priest and police. A correspondent of the *Irish World*, speaking of woman's efforts in Irish affairs, says of the ladies of the Land League: "The Irish women of to-day are not yet called to defend Irish rights in the deadly breach; but yet their battle with the invader requires of them (and they prove that they have it) not the less moral courage than that which filled the souls and hearts and nerved the arms of those glorious women of Limerick that Parson Storey tells about, who whipped the swords from the clenched hands of their dead countrymen to continue the fight to the last." Much as Charles Stewart Parnell has done for Ireland, his sisters, Anna and Fanny, have been equally active and influential in arousing and keeping at white heat patriotic fervor, especially Fanny, that ardent young singer, who so recently passed away, and whose inspiring poetry fired the hearts of her countrymen and women, and won the respectful admiration of even those who radically dissented from her views.

Exactly the degree of political rights accorded to women in France I have not been able to ascertain. I understand, however, that recently a National Society for Woman's Suffrage has been established in Paris, independent of any political or religious party; and all questions not relating to obtaining the suffrage for women are rigorously excluded from the meetings. We may be sure that France will not be far behind in this reform, when England and America have led the way. In no country has greater freedom of expression and of action been granted to women than in France, and in consequence no country can show a greater number of illustrious names among women. The country which gave to the world a Joan of Arc, a Charlotte Corday, a Madame Roland, a Madame Sévigné, a Madame Necker and her daughter Madame de Staël, a Madame Récamier, a George Sand, a Rachel and a Bernhardt, and a Rosa Bonheur, is certainly not a country in which women are greatly restricted. The *Salons* of leading French women have ever been the meeting-places where the politics of the nation were determined, where wits were sharpened and wisdom evolved. These were the crucibles which resolved and shaped events. Mrs. Somerville, complaining of the slowness with which her own country adopted reforms in female education, says: "The French are more civilized in this respect; for they have taken the lead, and have given the first example in modern times of encouragement to the high intellectual culture of the sex. Madame Emma Chenier, who has received the degree of Master of Arts from the Academy of Sciences in Paris, has more recently received the diploma of Licentiate in Mathematics from the same illustrious society, after a successful examination in algebra, trigonometry, analytical geometry, the differential and integral calculi, and astronomy. A Russian lady has also taken a degree, and a lady of my acquaintance has received a gold medal from the same institution." The great French railway companies in many cases employ women as ticket and audit clerks; in several banks and public companies, they are largely employed in the clerical work; and the corporation of the city of Paris offer three hundred situations for women as clerks.

Germany is thoroughly conservative in its opinions; and the woman's movement is not so prominent there, although not long ago a Woman's Congress was held at Lübeck, in which most of the speeches were made by women. One who took part in it writes to Theodore Stanton, Mrs. Cady Stanton's son: "I am very much satisfied with our congress in some respects, less in others. I am satisfied because the meeting was much more progressive — radical, you Americans would say — than any previous one. I am also satisfied because the press has taken so much notice of it, even the Southern papers having been represented by correspondents at its sessions, — satisfied that from beginning to end there was a thronging public, so that hundreds were obliged to go away. But I am disappointed that for the first time in the history of our organization there was no positive outcome of the congress, no local association formed which might put our ideas into action." The Germans professedly prefer their women to be thorough housewives and keepers of home, yet much of the roughest of out-door work is done by them. Their men being needed for military service, the women are obliged to take their places, but with no compensating political privileges or rights of self-government. Still, Germany is a country where education is always on the increase; and, in time, it is sure to adopt better and juster laws for its women, who, as wives and mothers, are already greatly honored in a stolid sort of fashion.

In Austria, women are largely employed as railway officers, and at clerical work of many kinds. In Russia, although in many things behind other nations, yet the political disturbances and general oppression of the people by the autocratic government give to woman more importance than she would otherwise have. When all are oppressed and men are not allowed their rights, woman is more on an equality with man, and, it is found, can strike as vigorous blows for the freedom of all as man. Women have played a very conspicuous part in Russian Nihilism, and about as many women as men have been condemned to Siberian exile. Their heroism in their country's cause is well known. Yet "Vera Sassulitch, whose shot inaugurated terrorism, was the most modest of her sex. In the court-room, she blushed when she perceived any one staring at her. Lydy Figner, a charming lady and an accomplished singer, got her eight years in the Siberian mines by sitting in the parlor and playing the piano for weary hours, trying

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to drown the noise made by the secret printing-press in the next room. Anna Lebedeff, a priest's daughter, in the disguise of the wife of a switchman, lived in a watchbox on the railroad, and was found on a box filled with dynamite, chatting with the switchman. Sophy Perovskaya, the daughter of a general and senator, who declined the dignity of maid of honor to the empress, and entered the Nihilist fraternity, dug the Moscow mine, and directed the late Czar's assassination. Sophy Bardin, who was welcomed as a shining star in the literary horizon, wrote a few poems which, though gems of Russian literature, were treasonable; and the singing of them is a State crime." This sort of discipline is developing the women of Russia into a higher type of womanhood than under other circumstanecs would be possible; and already they are asserting their separate individuality and also making intellectual advance, as the following paragraph, clipped from a late paper, goes to show: "The *Friend of Women* is a monthly magazine recently started in Moscow, Russia. It is conducted exclusively by women, and no production of the sterner sex can find a place in its columns. The editors invite women to write for the magazine on the needs and wants of women. Side by side with sentimental love stories, the editors publish biographies of holy women of the early Christian centuries. The *Friend of Women* is abundantly supplied with contributions by women who are anxiou to get a start in literature; but those of the sex who have an established literary reputation, and who make a living by their pen, prefer to send their productions to magazines conducted by men."

Switzerland, although a republic, still lags in the rear in giving its women their rightful dues. In Sweden, until recently, women have been held to be under age until a late date, and therefore wards of their male relations or of the government, and so were not at liberty to dispose of their own property except by consent of their guardians. In 1864 or 1865, a law was passed,—which Frederika Bremer, who was a thorough woman's rights woman, thought to be a great step in advance,—that married women should attain their majority at the age of twenty-five. Very recently, a new law has been enacted, by which both men and women are considered of age at twenty-one.

Women under Mohammedan rule have always been a subject class; but, owing largely to the influx of English, French, and Americans as residents and visitors to their country, there is now an incipient revolt going on in Turkish harems, which will eventually lead to better things. Turkish women begin to refuse to be longer treated as only playthings, children, or slaves. With the partial adoption of European dress and manners comes also the desire for European education, independence, and self-reliance. Polygamy, which is always the curse of women, degrading and cheapening them, is slowly dying out. Many of the better class of Mohammedans, even when rich enough to afford the luxury of several wives, refuse to take more than the one. The present Khedive of Egypt is a notable example of this. His wife is a charming, educated, cultivated woman of fine character; and the Khedive is devoted to her and their children. The necessity for a higher education of their women is beginning to be understood by the Turkish nation, and already steps are being taken to that end.

From "India's coral strand" comes a still stronger cry for woman's advancement. Not only is the "morning light breaking" there, but, apparently, woman's day has fully dawned. In comparatively very few years, great changes have been brought about in the treatment of women. The burning of widows with the bodies of their husbands is forbidden by law; and very recently the first remarriage of a widow has taken place, although it is yet so great an innovation on their old-time faith and customs that it was frowned upon, and the couple were formally excommunicated from the religious body to which they belonged. This first remarriage resulted from the efforts of a body of reformers, young men who are nobly struggling to break through the powers of caste and custom, and to introduce the practice of remarrying widows, and to get some rays of Western light into regions dark as Erebus.

As to what is being done in various parts of India for female education (and education is always in the direction of freedom), I will read some extracts from the *Journal of the National Indian Association in Aid of Social Progress and Female Education in India*, of the date of June, 1882. I quote first from a speech delivered before the Association by Pundit Shivanath Shastri, of Bengal. "It is gratifying," he says, "to record that actual efforts are being made both by government and the enlightened public to promote education among our females; and, as the results of all these efforts, we find the level of public opinion on this subject is daily rising. The higher university examinations have been thrown open to the fair sex. Many of our girls have successfully passed some of these examinations. One of them is going to appear for the B.A., and numbers of others are appearing for the First Arts; while the education of girls in many a private home is silently progressing." The extremely early marriage of girls in India, many marrying at the age of nine or ten, after which the child-wives are no longer allowed to attend school or other public place, is a great hindrance to their education. In Bombay, some girls are allowed to attend school after marriage; and this custom, once introduced, is sure to make headway. In the last year's report of the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, he remarks that "female education is slowly but surely growing in public favor, and the early marriage difficulty is now practically the sole obstacle." Even this difficulty is being in a degree overcome by lady teachers, both European and native, who go out visiting native houses, giving instruction in reading, writing, and needlework. Shivanath Shastri, in the conclusion of his address, eloquently said, "Forget not, O my countrymen, that the cause of woman is also the cause of man. . . . A society that aspires to stand on the neck of degraded womanhood lays the foundation of its hopes on sand. . . . As a retribution of the manifold evils, the various forms of social and domestic tyranny that India has heaped on the head of her unfortunate and unoffending womanhood, see her now in the depths of social degradation." In Madras, India, two scholarships have been offered by the Madras Branch Committee in connection with seven girls' schools, with the object of inducing Hindu caste girls and Mohammedan girls to continue their studies at school. The condition attached to the scholarships is that the holder should appear for the next higher examination than that in which the scholarships are gained. Eight women recently passed successful examinations for admission to the Calcutta University, six of them natives of India. And all this is taking place, remember, in a country where a few years ago, when it was first proposed to open a school for girls, an old Mohammedan ruler exclaimed: "What! teach girls! The next thing will be to open a school for cows!" And he expressed the at that time general feeling in regard to the matter.

I have no information as to the status of women's rights in China. That is an atrophied nation where, until within the last quarter-century, all progress seemed at a stand-still. Mr. Elliott consolingly informs us, however, that, "in the Chinese civilization, woman is of so little value that often a wet rag is laid upon the mouth of the new-born female child, and there is one woman less in the world." We may be sure that the women who dare not protest against the cruel and useless compression of their feet, in order to gain men's admiration, cannot yet be awake to the sin of likewise compressing and belittling their brains, to the same end. Yet, even there, adult sons are in greater degree of subjection to their mothers as well as fathers than in this country, so that the motherhood of woman, at least, gains her some degree of respect. But China with Japan will soon, through contact with the aggressive civilization of to-day, catch the prevailing fever of progress, from which their women will not be exempt; and women will then be sure to claim and receive their rights. It is said that the best writers of the most learned age of Japan were women, and the most celebrated of the classical Japanese romances was the work of a court lady of great accomplishments. It was also a woman who originated the use of printing in Japan, the Empress Shiyantoku in the year 764.

In this necessarily partial survey of the increasing liberty claimed by and granted to women in all the civilized parts of our globe, there is, you perceive, much to cheer and encourage us in the efforts we are making here in Massachusetts. And, since "new occasions teach new duties," let us not forget to widen our area of thought proportionately with our wider area of experience, and to fit ourselves nobly for those new duties.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE RADICAL UNITARIANS AND THEIR CRITICS.—BOTH SIDES.

Editors of The Index:—

It would be perhaps presumption for me to suppose that there could anything more of importance be written upon this subject. I cannot refrain from adding a little, however, first to relieve my conscience, and, secondly, because one fact about the recently adopted amendment to the Constitution of the Unitarian Conference has not yet been noticed in *The Index*. I have more than once suffered in my conscience because of keeping silent when others had almost, but not quite, expressed my convictions. For example, when *The Index* wrote its criticisms upon the publishers of the Unitarian *Year Book* last winter, I felt as if I should express myself. I refrained simply because of a desire not to transgress the laws of good taste. My connection with Unitarianism had been so brief that it seemed like presumption for me to explain any action or opinion of my own. But I wish now to relieve my conscience. Having reached my rational conclusions largely by private study under the technical influence of the older churches, and coming directly from that old influence to take charge of an independent Congregational society (Unitarian in history), without the intervention or help of conferences or councils, I knew nothing of Unitarian red-tape. After a time, I received a letter from an official of the American Unitarian Association in substance that, as I was now a pastor of such a society, he supposed I wished to have my name published in the *Year Book*. I replied, in substance, that his organization could decide for itself as to whether my name should go into the *Year Book*, but that I certainly was the regular teacher of this society. I never once thought that, when my name appeared in that book, it implied that I believe in the Preamble and Article IX. of the Constitution, as I certainly do not so believe, and did not then. I supposed that the names in that book were merely there for convenience, and had no theological significance. Simply because of a desire not to appear too conspicuous in the matter, and hoping some Unitarians "to the manner born" would take the lead, I have, however, kept silent.

When the time for the election of delegates to the National Conference came this year, I had almost decided not to go. When it was suggested in our society meeting that I was a delegate *ex officio*, I protested, and said I was not, and that I had no technical right to go as a delegate. A unanimous and strong desire was manifested that I should represent the society as an elected delegate. I at last decided to go for the following reasons and with this determination: one of the oldest societies in the movement had a right to be represented, and to be represented by one whom they supported as their teacher. In other words, the rationalism in the body would have no fair representation if the rationalists remained at home. I went, too, with the determination never to go again, if some change were not made in the Constitution, although, on the side of my social nature, it would be a great denial.

It was my wish at the Conference that all the Christian dogmatism in the Constitution should be stricken out, and I so expressed myself privately to Mr. Savage and others. But, of course, it would have been useless, for reasons already suggested, for one of the younger men to have made such a proposition. All we could do was to work privately, support any vigorous leader, and then express our convictions. Mr. Savage did very faithful work in the matter of the amendment, although his proposition was not exactly what I desired. The paper which he offered to the Business Committee, and which was signed by forty or fifty others, including myself, was, however, to a large degree satisfactory. *It was not, however, the article which was adopted.* The proposed article, which was signed, was an article offered as a substitute for Article IX., and read as follows: "No part of this Constitution is to be so construed or interpreted as to turn the Unitarian body into a sect, or to exclude from its fellowship and co-operation any honest seeker after truth or earnest worker in the cause of human advancement and education." This article, however, was changed after it reached the committee; and the Article X. was *added*, as has been already noticed in *The Index*. If the proposed substitute had been adopted, although it would not have been per-

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fect, it would have thrown out that unfortunate "re-affirming" clause; and the Constitution would not have seemed so much like a piece of patchwork.

The criticisms of Mr. Potter are in general proper and just. Nearly all the members of the Free Religious organization are doing almost exactly the same work as that of radical Unitarians. They are not any more radical in their ideas, they are just as free from unscholarly iconoclasm. The only reason they are not enjoying whatever advantages there are in Unitarian fellowship is that they are true to the genius of Unitarianism itself, and will not be bound by a theological creed. From one view, too, there is just the same criticism to be made on this new amendment that we are continually making on Orthodoxy. The letter of an old dogma is preserved, and then is explained away. Even the old Unitarians were continually congratulating themselves in this Conference that here is one body on earth which has no theological tests; and, at the same time, this body has not the consistency to come out squarely and prove its professions by obliterating all dogmatism from the Constitution of its Conference. It is true that others beside Christians may now come in, if they will; but cannot Unitarians see that, in order to be consistent, they should invite in all of the same moral purpose and character? Can they afford to keep out those who are the most conscientious? In my humble judgment, it was a mistake to have no discussion on this question in the Conference. The comparative silence looked too much like an attempt to make things which differ seem alike. A speech from Mr. Savage, for instance, showing the principle for which he was contending, would have had far more moral value than the mere adoption of phrases that did not fully express the wishes of either side. One of the greatest dangers of the Conference is its drift toward sentimentalism. It would not be easy to find another such a gathering of men and women of character and culture and of such social accomplishments. There is a danger. It is not easy to stand squarely for exact ideas, for intellectual integrity among those whose social charm is so great that it almost seems wrong to differ. And yet, if Unitarianism is to guide the moral and intellectual life of the age, its teachers must venture to rise above mere self-glorification and compliments. It must not only stand for sentiment, and even character and service, but for *truth*. This much may at least be said, too, in criticism of even the radical Unitarians, that they did not put forth all the energy possible in any definite manner. Any one who watched the Conference closely must have concluded that there was a large progressive element. After hearing the applause for Learned's intensely radical utterances and John Page Hopps' statement that "there are *many* names by which we may be saved," the Constitution seemed more than ever like a huge joke.

But, admitting the justness of such criticisms, judged by an ideal standard, there is a word to be said for many of the present radical Unitarians. There is a slight difference between their position and that of those who struggled for liberty when the Constitution was first formed. The difference is not great perhaps, but nevertheless it exists. In 1865, a Constitution was formed, imposing a Christian dogmatism upon those who were in the body. It was their duty to protest; and at last they did manfully to form a Free Religious platform, because the Conference was taking away rights they inherited from Unitarianism itself. Moreover, they have done outside a good work indirectly for liberal Unitarianism, and, I believe, have largely been the cause of making it possible. They have furnished a platform and an organ, by the means of which scholarly radical Unitarianism has had a free chance to express itself, and have educated the Unitarian conscience in the direction of sincerity and tolerance. But those who have become radical Unitarians since 1870, at least, have had no new burdens laid upon them. Whatever individual intolerance there may have been, no denominational action has been taken against liberty and breadth. Some have grown into their liberalism gradually, some have come from the old churches without understanding the Unitarian controversy. There has not been, then, that pressure upon them for action that there was upon Mr. Abbot and his companions in the beginning.

If these men have not concealed the fact that they were rationalists, if they have always contended for liberty, and if they have continually heard that Unitarianism meant liberty among other things, it is not strange that many of them have taken no decided action. Moreover, the craving for fellowship is so strong that, where there is no conscious restraint, it is easy to overlook verbal inconsistencies in a constitution to which a man has not technically subscribed. Of course, truth is more valuable than sentiment; but the younger Unitarians may conscientiously reason that, as the new amendment is not a new burden, but, so far as it goes, is in the right direction, they may still be loyal to the truth by taking part, at least for a time, in the Conference. It is one of those cases of casuistry, where equally intelligent and conscientious and rational men may differ. It is the Unitarian body as a whole that is now in an inconsistent position, because of its peculiar Constitution, and not the radical Unitarians, who have expressed themselves and who are permitted to enter the Conference. Having already been told continually that Unitarianism is not a sect, and having had it now affirmed that those who are in are not excluded for their beliefs, it gives them a foothold to strive for something better in consistency with their conscience. The evil will come, if it does come, by being satisfied here. Can the body be liberalized, if those who are the most liberal forsake it? The work now to be done is, to use the language of Mr. Potter, to pass an "*amendment that shall strike the theology out of the Constitution altogether.*" However any one may differ from some of the opinions of Mr. Savage, he undoubtedly was working for what he thought, under the circumstances, was the best possible method of making a broad Unitarianism. Whatever error he made was from a conscientious desire to hurt as little as possible the feelings of those on the other side. But there will yet be a Unitarianism broad enough not only to allow such men as Abbot and Gannett and Spencer and Potter to enter, but practically to invite them, if Unitarianism is true to its genius. Conservatism cannot complain, for its right to have its opinions would not be touched. The trouble has been not alone, or chiefly, that liberal teachers have been excluded; but some of the most devoted societies which are historically connected with the body have been practically unrepresented; for there can be no fair representation, when the men who educate the society and express its living opinions are cut off because of their honesty. I do not profess to have any Unitarian right to express an opinion on this question, but have simply ventured to state the view of some who are not to the manner born, and who do think that Unitarianism may not necessarily be a "Boston notion." If Unitarianism means anything less broad than free religion and rationalism, if it means anything more than that moral and religious movement which preserves its historic continuity, and yet stands for reason and righteousness and individual liberty, it has for me no practical interest. But it nevertheless has sublime possibilities, because of its history and because of its professed method. There is a synthesis which includes both sides,—the criticisms of Mr. Potter and the position of present sincere radical Unitarians.

S. J. STEWART.

BANGOR, Oct. 6, 1882.

OUR RELATION TO THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Potter's reasons, as given in *The Index* of October 5, for still regarding himself debarred from the fellowship of the National Unitarian Conference, are very forcible, and doubtless conclusive to most readers of *The Index*; but, as they are not entirely convincing to the writer, he wishes to give his reasons therefor.

It will be remembered that, at the recent Unitarian Conference held at Saratoga, the following amendment was added to the Constitution:—

ART. X.—While we believe that the Preamble and Articles of our Constitution fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches, yet we wish distinctly to put on record our declaration that they are no authoritative test of Unitarianism, and are not intended to exclude from our fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims.

Why was this amendment adopted? I think for two reasons. First, because a large and increasing number of radical Unitarians in the body were beginning to realize clearly the inconsistency between their actual and their professed beliefs, as implied in the Preamble and the Ninth Article of the Constitution, both of which may be seen by reference to Mr. Potter's editorial of September 14. These men were troubled in conscience at their equivocal position, and were determined either to keep aloof hereafter from the Conference or to widen the doorway of its fellowship. It was to retain these men and save the body from a serious, if not a fatal, rupture that the conservative leaders acquiesced in the demand for an amendment to the Constitution. But it is, I think, due to the radicals to say that to preserve their own relations to the Conference was not their only motive for insisting on this amendment. Another and a far more generous motive was to make it possible for men who were then excluded, yet were in essential accord with them in "purpose and practical aims," to come in and join them. They protested, some of them indignantly, that such men as William J. Potter and William C. Gannett should be shut out from their communion by any theological or Christological barriers? I happen to know that this latter motive was no inconsiderable force in the movement which pushed the adoption of the Tenth Article; for I was present at the Convention, as a spectator, and had an opportunity of feeling the pulse of the young men on this question.

Did they succeed in opening this doorway? Mr. Potter thinks it is not yet wide enough for him to enter in. The denomination, he says, is still on a "Christian basis"; and, therefore, he, who like myself calls himself a non-Christian, cannot rest thereon. His reasons for so thinking are these:—

1. Messrs. Hale and Clarke, who alone spoke in favor of the amendment, expressed the opinion, in substance, that it did not change the basis of the Conference.

2. The *Christian Register* says, in an editorial reference to this action, "The Conference did not in the slightest abandon the Christian basis on which it was erected."

3. The full name of the Conference is still "The National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches."

"For these various reasons," says Mr. Potter, "the Conference seems to us to be distinctly and exclusively a 'Christian' organization. We can understand how an advanced radical, who in a general sense still calls himself a 'Christian,' may, under the new article, conscientiously become a member of the Conference; but we do not see that non-Christians are even invited into its membership."

In judging of this question, one's conclusion of the non-Christian's relation to the Conference, I suppose, will depend upon how far, in his opinion, the last amendment modifies the import of the name of the organization, and therefore the breadth of its call. Mr. Potter seems to think that the amendment may amend every part of the Constitution except the name of the body. But why make such an exception? The name is a part of the Constitution. If Article X. so far modifies the Preamble and limiting parts of the Constitution as to admit such rationalistic Christians as Mr. Savage, why may it not so far modify the same as to admit such non-Christians as Mr. Potter? Is he not as truly as Mr. Savage in "general sympathy with the purposes and practical aims" of the Unitarians? If so, is he not expressly invited? But it may be said that it was not the intention of the Conference to open the door of its fellowship to those who call themselves non-Christians. To that, I reply it matters not what the *intention* of the Conference was to do: the question is what it actually did do. It is true Drs. Clarke and Hale assured the delegates that the new Article would not change the "Christian basis" of the Conference; but that does not in the least blind us, if it did them, to the fact that it does enlarge the basis of the Conference. It is true, also, that the editor of the *Christian Register* says that the Conference did not in the slightest abandon its Christian basis; but this simply shows that he is as blind to the actual result of the vote as Drs. Clarke and Hale were to its prospective effect. If a man's door is opened wide enough to let me in, it lets me in, notwithstanding he may disclaim any such intention before or after the act. His intention does not move that door back one inch after his act has opened it. But it is not true to say that the Conference, by its vote, did not intend to admit such non-Christians as Mr. Potter. No doubt, a large number, perhaps a majority of that body, only intended to open the door wide enough to receive rationalistic Christians like Savage, Stewart, F. L. Hos-

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mer, Wendte, Jenk. Ll. Jones, etc.; but I believe there was a very large minority, if it was indeed a minority, of that body that did intend to open the door wide enough for Mr. Potter, Mr. Gannett, and all non-Christians in general sympathy with them. That this was their intention I am convinced not only from my conversation with several of them, but also from the language of the amendment itself. If they had intended simply to limit the lines of denominational fellowship to "Unitarian Christians," they simply needed to put on record their declaration that the Preamble and Articles of the Constitution were no authoritative test of Unitarianism. That would have secured their position within the denomination. The whole latter part of the amendment was superfluous, so far as their relations to the denomination were concerned. But they proceed to add the latter clause in this amendment, as though expressly to include such non-Christians as Mr. Potter. If they had meant to limit the invitation to "Christians," why did they not say so? If that is what they intended, how natural it would have been to have said, "Nothing in the Preamble and Constitution is intended to exclude from our fellowship any who, while differing from us as regards the nature and mission of Christ, are in general sympathy with our Christian faith and work"! That, in my opinion, is the way the amendment would have been worded, if they had intended to include only Christians within it scope. But no: they do not use the word "Christian" nor even the word "Unitarian" in this clause, but broaden out the language of invitation to everybody who is (not in *full*, but) in general sympathy with (not their ideas of God or Christ, but) their purposes and practical aims. If this is not an invitation to non-Christians like Mr. Potter, I do not know what language could make it so. It is not only so, but was intended to be so by at least a large number who voted for the amendment. But, I repeat, the *intention* of the body, whatever it might have been, does not change one iota the breadth of its invitation, as expressed in this Article X.

Shall we accept the invitation? On this point, Mr. Potter says: "For ourselves, even if we still retained general fellowship with the Unitarian denomination, we should feel impelled to stay out of the Conference, in order to protest against the keeping of the theological fence that necessitates opening the gateways." But why not, I ask, walk in at that open gateway, and, when once inside, join with others in repairing the old theological fence? Will not the "protest" inside be as effectual as outside? It could not fairly be charged upon one that he was entering that fold like a wolf in sheep's clothing. Not at all! He goes in not to destroy any sheep, but, like a good shepherd, to enlarge the fold to the growing needs of the flock; to adjust the gate to the gate-posts; and, above all, to unite with those of one spirit inside for a pull altogether for the uplifting of humanity. Whether it would be worth the while for one to give much time to the repair of that fence will of course depend upon his estimation of the vantage-ground that inside position will afford, and the relative moral value of the work it will be possible for him to do in such an organization.

My conclusion then is this: that the Article X. of the Constitution of the "National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches" so far amends the Constitution, the import of the name of the body included, as to embrace within the scope of its invitation to fellowship the non-Christian as well as the rational Christian. And my further conclusion is this: that should I be the resident speaker of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., at the next biennial Conference of that above-named Unitarian body, and should this society desire to send me as one of its delegates, I shall attend not as the representative of a Unitarian Christian Church or any other Christian Church, but as the representative of a society which we believe is in general sympathy with the purposes and practical aims of that Conference. If they do not wish us inside, they must shut the door against us. If they do not mean what they say, then they must say what they mean in their invitation to fellowship. W. H. SPENCER.

[We are more than glad to print the foregoing communications. Mr. Stewart has so recently come among the Unitarians, and has so little personal interest in the old debate concerning the Conference, that his statement has special value for its independence and impartiality. What he says at the close about the position of the young men in the denomination is quite true. We have heretofore referred to the same thing; and it is one of the reasons why we think that a new and earnest discussion of the real issues involved in the theological phrases of the Constitution of the Conference is much needed. Mr. Stewart also brings out one or two important facts, not before stated, concerning the action at Saratoga on the new amendment, especially the fact that the proposition which went to the Business Committee is not the one which came from them and was adopted. Mr. Spencer was present at the Conference as a visitor, and evidently an interested one. We have read his article with care, but we cannot at all reach the same conclusion. Is not his usually keen logical eye just a little blinded by his strong desire for the good fellowship? He thinks that what the Conference *intended* to do is of no account, even though most likely a majority may have meant only to invite in those who can in some sense call themselves Christians. The main question is, he says, what it did. But to us the *intention* seems all important, even though the Conference did leave the door open, as Mr. Spencer sees, but we do not. Mr. Spencer, being an honest man, does not go into a house because he finds the door open. He first wants to know if the occupants intended to leave it open for his entrance.—W. J. P.]

ORTHODOXY AS CONSOLATION.

Editors of The Index:—

*In the month of July last, a well known and respected citizen of Nevada, Cal., went out for an evening strol with his wife. Before leaving home, the lady put her little boys, aged respectively four and seven years of age, to bed in a room upstairs, and the nursegirl was left in the sitting-room below with the baby and in charge of the house. After a short time, she perceived a smel as of smoke, and on opening the door leading into the kitchen she discovered that the latter was on fire. Losing her presence of mind, and forgetful of the two children asleep upstairs, she rusht into the street, screaming, "Fire!" A cupl of boys herd her, and ran to giv the alarm at the engine-house. The fireman arived promptly, but not until the house was envelopt in flames. No entrance coud be made, and the house was entirely burnd down. Next day, the two little boys wer found among the ruins, small, undistinguishable masses of burnd flesh and bones. Before the terrible anguish of the hart-stricken parents, the most profound sympathy was dum for a time. But at length the Christian faith of a pitying frend offerd sum solace in the following lines, the parents themselves being devout Christians:

The Answered Prayer.

"Now I lay me down to sleep,"
Mother hear your dear ones praying.
"I pray the Lord my soul to take,"
Infant lips are sweetly saying.
Oh, how soon the prayer was answered!
One short hour in dreamland sweet,
Then, with saints and angels bowing,
Joyous, at the Saviour's feet.

"Kiss me just once more, dear mamma,"
Soft white arms are round her pressed,
"Now, good-bye until the morning."
Mamma's darlings sweetly rest,—
Rest in childhood's blissful slumber,
Never thought of dangers near,
Soon the cruel flames are raging
Round their precious forms so dear.

One short step from earth to heaven,
What a glorious thought is this,—
They were wakened "in the morning"
By an angel's loving kiss.
Darling, loving little brothers,
You have travelled hand in hand
From the peaceful dreams of childhood
To the blessed glory-land.

Can we murmur, though our hearts are
Crushed and bleeding, lone and sad,
When we know their ransomed spirits
Are so happy, free, and glad?
Father, we Thy sorrowing children,
Bow submissive to Thy will,
Knowing 'tis Thy hand that chastens:
"Though Thou slay, we trust Thee still."

Now, it is especially in cases such as this that our orthodox frends exclaim, "If you take away our faith in religion, what can you offer us in its place?" I wel know that a stern logic, based on the asumtion that a personal God is the imediate and activ cauze of every event, makes that God the prompter of a Giteau's murderous aim and the director of all the ignorance and carelessness which destroy life and property, be it defectiv flues, overturned lamps, or lighted pipes; and I know, too, that, carried to its legitimate rezult, this unquestioning trust would produce a condition of fatalistic apathy similar to that of the pious Turk, who, when told of danger impending, simply exclaims, "God is great,"—and, unmoved and unmoving, continues to smoke his hookah. And yet is there not a degree of sublimity in that perfect faith in God which says, "Tho He slay me, yet wil I trust in Him"?

E. B. B.

[There is indeed nothing more pathetic in all history than that confidence with which man, in the midst of all sorts of distresses, has clung to the belief that the supreme Power in the universe meant to be kind to him, that behind the blow that struck him down was a heart that meant to lift him up. It is a persistent confidence which goes far toward assuring the fact that the grand aim of ths universe is toward moral benefit. And, when man learns that the calamities come upon him by inevitable law and not by the fiat of a personal Deity, he will not lose this serene confidence, but will rather meet the distress with the sublime belief that it is better for him to bear it than that he should be individually excepted from a law which holds the good of all in its embrace.—ED.]

"NATURAL RELIGION."

Editors of The Index:—

A notice of the book *Natural Religion* has already appeared in your columns,* and it may be you will therefore deem these words superfluous. Happily, you have a waste-paper basket. But it has occurred to me that so exceptional a book well deserves a more emphatic recommendation. There is such a freshness about the book, such candor and boldness, that its influence cannot but be good in the encouragement it will give to many timid souls to utter their latest and brightest thought in the most precise language they can find, and there leave it. The author's bold attacks on conventional Christianity; his low estimate of a God who is a sort of "head of the clerical interest" or a philanthropist; his vigorous plea on behalf of real live virtues instead of timid proprieties; his scorn of much present-day piety as consisting in a silly, simpering sentimentalism, a love of God, as he says, that does not cast out fear, but is an effeminate presumptuous thing that never knew fear; in short, his plea for sterling religious principle, in place of the pale, bloodless religiosity he finds all about him,—all these are none the less striking and effective because they come in the shape of deferential suggestions.

Naturally, there are things in the book about which we shall not be all agreed. To elevate Science into a Religion may be just the way in which many of your readers would *not* propose to spread its teachings. To welcome men of science as the true successors of the Hebrew prophets may be more than most "liberal" clergymen are ready for. But that it is of infinitely more importance to be a genuine living man, with a worship and earnest convictions of one's own, than to profess adhesion to any special form of faith, is a principle we shall all agree to. And reading this book will help to give us a broader idea of how far such a principle extends; and, if one grain of irrational bigotry had yet possession of our minds, this brave and modest utterance may serve to exorcise it.

Yours truly, J. RUDDH.

HASTINGS, SUSSEX, ENG., Sept. 23, 1882.

W. MARNER writes from London: "H. N.'s 'Explanatory Note' in *The Index* of September 14 contains an unfortunate attempt to abuse me for repelling a slander cast at a people to whom (as H. N. wrongly assumes) I do not belong. Does H. N. think that a falsehood and a slander may not be protested against, because it happens to be expressed in what he calls a 'literary statement of fact or opinion'? He accuses me of speaking without evidence; while, after more than ample time for inquiry, the only evidence he adduces is that in some obscure country town he finds Sunday concerts advertised in the local newspaper. Surely, that hardly justifies the condemnation of secularists generally as giving Sunday concerts,

* Our correspondent uses the reformed spelling.

* *Index*, August 3.

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even if that were a fault! H. N.'s miserable effort to explain away his sneer at the cheap lectures of secularists shows that he is there touched with shame: reply on this point would therefore be ungenerous."

A. JUDSON RICH, Hyde Park, Mass., expresses himself as follows: "*The Index* is fair and square, earnest and able, broad and confident, scientific and religious, brave and reverent, with its face toward the future, its heart toward truth, and wholly absorbed in emancipating mind from superstition, faith from dogma, and character from the enfeebling effect of feat and love of popular favor."

LEWIS G. JANES, New York, writes: "A writer in this week's issue, Mr. Hodge, errs in stating that South Carolina chooses her electors by vote of the Legislature. It was so before the war; but, under the new *régime*, they are chosen by the people, as in the other States."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1880 is published. It is mainly composed of reports from the different States, and statistics in regard to education. These are of great value, as affording means of comparison in regard to school attendance, expenditures, and all other matters of educational interest. The Commissioner is not a mere reporter, however, but does not hesitate to throw the weight of his influence in favor of measures of public importance and benefit. In this report, he has a very strong article on "the sale of collegiate and professional degrees." This nefarious traffic has not only been the means of deceiving our own public by giving diplomas to ignorant and unprincipled pretenders, but has brought great discredit on our country abroad, as it has been very hard for foreigners to discriminate between these bogus diplomas and those of reputable colleges. A full account is given of the course of one John Buchanan, who pursued this course of imposition for some years, but has at last been arrested, and is likely to meet with due punishment. The education of the colored race is a topic of great interest, on which the report gives much information. According to a table of comparative statistics of education in the South, the percentage of the population enrolled in schools ranges among whites from twenty-nine in Arkansas to eighty-one in Texas, and, among the colored people, from twenty-six in Louisiana to seventy-seven in Texas, showing that the colored citizens are fast approaching the whites in respect to educational privileges. When we consider that it is but twenty years since they had no school rights at all, we cannot but feel that a single generation has accomplished a great work. South Carolina reports an increased enrolment for 1880, the proportion being three times as many colored as white. Georgia says, "Reports from the chief cities indicate that three times as many children are now taught in the public schools for a less sum of money than one-third of these formerly cost in the private schools." This is the true secret of public school education, by which all are benefited by combination, and a better education is secured for the many than could otherwise be gained by the few. We commend this report to the careful attention of all interested in education. The able and indefatigable Commissioner, General Eaton, should have their help and sympathy in carrying on his work.

THE need of a reform in education is shown in a remarkably interesting article in the *Revue de Belgique* for September, entitled the "School Excursion" (*L'Excursion Scolaire*). A boy who cannot be made to take the slightest interest in study, even by the offer of a pony from his uncle, is among the spectators, as a company of school boys from Brussels, aged from seven to thirteen, appear with their flag and their professor at the railroad station near his village. Scarcely have they fairly arrived, when maps and compasses are produced by the pupils, and the teacher asks them, "In what direction is the village?" "How far?" "Which of these roads leads to it?" They answer correctly: then, he bids them "March in the gymnasium step." And away they go, singing a song which they learned from some Zulu Kaffres, whose exhibition they have just attended. On the way they stop to pick flowers; and the village boy is astonished to hear them tell not only the names of the plants, but the character of the soil, and still more to find, as they halt before his uncle's brewery, that they can explain the process, of which he has never heard. Their principal object is to visit a paper mill, and there nothing is told them, except in answer to their questions; but they are made to search out and comprehend everything, being submitted to a constant examination by their teacher and encouraged to take constant notes. At their luncheon they tell what factories and exhibitions they have already visited in and around Brussels, and what they have learned. The boy who has shown no taste for study becomes eager to be sent to such a school. He has his wish, and returns two years later, loaded with prizes. His mother cries, "Now, you shall have your pony!" "The pony for me," he answers, "is to have an aquarium built at the bottom of the garden." Why can we not have such a school nearer than Brussels? Other articles speak of Marcus Aurelius and his relations to Christianity according to Renan, of Gasparin whose *Uprising of a Great Nation* did us such good service twenty years ago, of a visit to a harem at Constantinople, and of the career of the Princess des Ursins in politics early in the last century.

WE have received from the publishers, Burnz & Co., 21 Clinton Place, New York city, a pamphlet entitled "Urn Burial" (price ten cents), issued by the New York Cremation Society, and setting forth the aims and objects of the society, which are partially explained in its dedication, which reads as follows: "To all who like cleanliness, to all lovers of true sentiment, to all friends of economy, to all who venerate their dead, to all who are not afraid of reform, the following pages are inscribed." The society claims a thoughtful consideration of the movement in favor of cremation instead of burial, on the grounds of hygiene, economy, religion, and sentiment, each of these motives being considered under its proper heading in the pamphlet; and it is only fair to say that the society makes a very reasonable plea in each case. Illustrations are given of two artistic "Cinerary Urns" and a possible æsthetic crematory, with diagrams of plans for cremating, and statement of the inducements to join the society.

THE *Sidereal Messenger*, published at Northfield, Minn., and conducted by William W. Payne, Director of the Carleton College Observatory, is a monthly review of astronomy, and the publishers state "the only periodical in the United States devoted exclusively to popular astronomy." The October number contains "Small Planetary Nebulæ," by E. C. Pickering; "The August Meteors," by Daniel Kirkwood; "Transit of Venus" (abstract), by William Harkness; "The Evolution of the Earth" (abstract), by Samuel Houghton, D.D.; and other articles, with interesting notes by the editor. Price $2.00 per year.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak at Plainville, Mass., October 24 and 25; at East Dennis, Mass., November 19.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE will lecture in this city, in Parker Memorial Hall, Sunday evening, November 12, on "My Religious Days."

OLIVE LOGAN, who has lately seen Miss Braddon, the novelist, says she is in the prime of life, full of florid health, is wealthy and happy in the love of her Scotch husband, the publisher, Mr. Maxwell.

KING CETEWAYO wished to take presents back to his wives in Zululand, and the authorities in England made a grant for that purpose; but, when it was found that there were twenty-nine wives, the original sum was increased to £50.

THE respect in which Dr. Pusey was held, even by those who naturally differed from him in belief, was shown by the attendance at his funeral of men like Cardinal Newman, Mr. Gladstone, Dean Liddell, Canon Liddon, and the Bishop of Oxford.

THE Chicago *Evening Journal* refers to the fact that Rev. Brooke Herford, Rev. James K. Applebee, and Rev. M. J. Savage, formerly ministers of Unitarian churches in that city, are now preaching in Boston, and adds, "The Hubbites know where to come to get eloquent preachers."

THE *Religio-Philosophical Journal* states that "Mr. J. H. McVicker, the popular and widely known theatrical manager, has prepared a lecture entitled "The Press, the Pulpit, and the Stage." Mr. McVicker wields a trenchant pen, he is also a good speaker; and, on the subject he proposes to lecture upon, he will be able to entertain and instruct the public. We hope he will give the lecture in his own theatre in this city during the winter."

MR. CHARLES WATTS, of England, has arrived in America, and is going South for two months. He writes: "I shall be in New Orleans, November 6, 7, and 8; Dallas, Tex., November 20; St. Louis, November 27, 28, and 29; Cincinnati, December 12, 13, and 14. Shall be glad to hear from friends in these towns as to lectures on those dates. Communications, by your kind permission, to be sent to your office. I shall visit Boston early in the new year."

CAPT. MAYNE REID, the celebrated novelist, who now has his home in Frogmore, Eng., has had his claim for pension allowed; and the United States will hereafter pay to him $15 a month while he lives. He was second lieutenant in the first New York volunteers, and went through the stirring scenes of the Mexican war, getting bullets at Chapultepec and other impressions for future utilization in story books. His claim was filed about two years ago. He sets forth in his affidavit that he is quite poor, living on a small hired farm, and that the $15 a month will help out his meagre income and make him comfortable. He is sixty years old.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

WHISPERING PINES AT NIGHT.

O sweet susurral spray of words,
Æonian whispers faint and low!
Your countless aromatic tongues,
Your patient, lisping tongues, O pines,
I hearken, as here I walk the dusk.
Like slumbering gods ye stand around,
And mutter softly in your sleep,
While o'er your tall and lissom shapes
The clustered gold-sparks westward wheel,
Far-painted on the arch of night.
O calm, unconscious somnambules,
Majestic in your rugged strength,
Clothed with the dim and liquid night,
Breathe peace upon my troubled soul!
Whisper once more your nocturne old;
With senses strained, attent, I hear;
Your gentle speech I understand,
Your pensive minor strains,
Crescendo of sweet sibilants,
Soft as the fluttering night moth's flight,
And gentle as a mother's sigh.

Your voice, sweet Noumenon,
Through the Phainomenon
Thus subtly streams forth,
Full of immortal cheer,
Into our night.

W. S. KENNEDY.

For *The Index*.

COCKAIGNES.

Death, toil, and penury and pain
Make mortal life a serious thing,
Which else were frivolous and vain:
They are its salt, its seasoning.

The lands of ease, which poets feign,
Which ploughless yield the golden grain,
Are fictions of luxurious brain.
The soul their *idlesse* would disdain.
Not rest, but motion, is its mood,
Ascent to higher altitude.

B. W. BALL.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE F. R. A.

Amount heretofore reported	$1,008.85
S. E. Moffatt, California	5.00
S. Brewer, Ithaca, N.Y.	1.00
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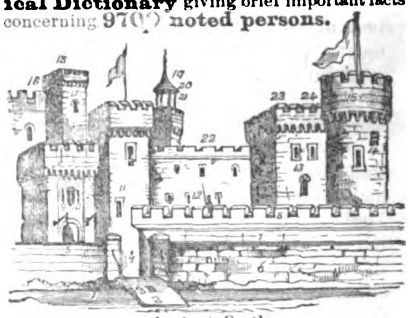

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 193

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Girard College Case Again, Wm. J. Potter, ... 194
The English Positivists, II., William Clark, ... 194
A Transcendentalist's Plea for Life, T. W. Higginson, . 195
Miss Hardaker's View of Herbert Spencer, Celia P. Woolley, ... 195
The Church and its Work, Robert C. Adams, ... 196

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 197

POETRY.
Aromas, B. W. B., ... 198
Where is God? A. O. C., ... 198

ESSAY.
Prof. Haeckel on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck, ... 199

CORRESPONDENCE.
The Unitarian Conference Once More, M. J. Savage, . 201
The Subjectivity of Consciousness, Franklin Smith, . 201
The Musician and the Naturalist, J. Ruddh, ... 202

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 202

BOOK NOTICES.
Atlantic Monthly, ... 202
Century Magazine, Popular Science Monthly, North American Review, Catholic World, ... 203

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 203

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Compulsory Education Act, which provides that every French boy and girl shall learn to read and write, has gone into effect. As the State schools are by the Act thoroughly secularized, they will receive nothing but opposition from the clergy, who will do all they can to keep Catholics away from them.

A CONVENTION of Baptist ministers and laymen recently held at Hamilton, Ont., after full consideration of the proposed introduction of the Bible as a text book in the public schools of the province, declined to take part in the deputation which was to wait upon Hon. Mr. Mewatt, the Premier, on the 24th inst., assigning as a reason, while approving of the use of the Bible in the public schools, unwillingness to take any action tending to infringe on the religious freedom of any class of citizens.

THE following paragraph is from the London *National Reformer*: "A Liverpool correspondent of the Boston *Index*, using the initials 'H. N.,' says that most secularist lectures are from necessity free, implying that otherwise there would be no audience. Surely 'H. N.' must be a very strange man, or must have a very limited knowledge of England. We, personally, have attended more than five thousand secularist lectures during the past thirty years, none of these have been free, and most of them have been attended by very large audiences."

FIFTY Mormon bishops have just been sent out from Salt Lake City to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, where they will labor to make proselytes to their faith and accessions to the church of the Latter Day Saints. They will no doubt find among the poor and ignorant people of Northern Europe, as they did once among the factories and collieries of England and Scotland, willing listeners and converts, many of whom will come to join their brethren beyond the Rocky Mountains. What Utah most needs to-day, evidently, is good public schools for the education of the rising generation. The apostles of Mormonism can make converts only where ignorance prevails; and its adherents are able to retard the inevitable decay of their system so far only as they can resist the rationalizing influences of modern thought, which increases with knowledge and enlightenment.

ONE Harvier, a worthless fellow, a hanger-on of the dramatic profession, in order to make a newspaper sensation, charged Miss Marie Prescott (Mrs. Perzel) in the boulevard sheet, *Nym Crinkle*, with some social immoralities, whereupon the aggrieved party sued the American News Company which circulated the periodical for damages, and the verdict gives her $12,000. The Springfield *Republican* which gives these facts justly remarks: "The fact is that there is a recklessness of defamation (not to speak of their seductive immorality) about a large class of irresponsible publications of that kind which contrasts singularly with the vigilance which a respectable journal with a property basis has to maintain. The news companies have heretofore shown small conscience or moral sense in the stuff they circulate; and, if this verdict tends to enforce a healthy sense of responsibility, it will have a good effect."

RELIGIOUS faith, even in this age of doubt and denial, still appears in many queer phases, of which we give two instances, chronicled within a few days by our exchanges. A man in Meriden, Conn., John Kankhak by name, because his wife wouldn't attend the church to which he belonged, whipped her so severely that she was obliged to have him arrested. And a pious real-estate agent in Springfield, Mass., has ordered for his family burial lot a monument combining religion with business in a decidedly original and unique manner. It is a solid block of marble about four feet square, wrought in the shape of a house,—a two-story house of modern design, with L part, tower in front, sloping roofs, and regular windows and doors. On the door is a door-plate with his name inscribed, and on one side a sign across the house refers to the house of many mansions above, and on another side are the family inscriptions, including that of the designer and owner, with the date of his birth.

SOME of the creditors of Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, have appealed to Pope Leo XIII. for relief. They declare that, "after three years of patient waiting, the creditors, many of whom have lost all the proceeds of labor accumulated in a lifetime of toil, are becoming desperate, and that many of the poorer creditors have died from want, while others committed suicide, and others still have become insane from despair." They say that Bishop Elder, the present diocesan, and a few priests who control him, are the cause of this delay, the object of which is to avoid payment through legal technicalities. They petition the Holy See for the sale of the property into which the people's money has been put, or to authorize some steps to be taken for the payment of the debt by a subscription. Action is urged, on the ground that "the faith of thousands who firmly believed in the honesty of the Church is being unhinged by the course adopted by the administrator, and many have crossed the boundaries of infidelity through the same cause."

JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P., recently addressed a large meeting of his constituents in the Market Square, Longford. He said: "We had to stand up against the strongest Government, backed by the strongest, the most docile, and the most unscrupulous majority that ever supported an English Government at any time. We fought against Mr. Forster with our small numbers and our diminished strength, and what was the result of the battle? Who put Mr. Forster out of office? We did. And never again, I venture to prophesy, will you see Mr. Forster a member of an English Government. That only shows you what may be done by perseverance, by loyalty, and by faithfulness to the pledges given by members to their constituents out of doors. Now, I say, without question of doubt, that such an Irish party, small though it may be, so independent, and so resolute, has been made, for the first time in Irish history, by my friend and leader, Mr. Parnell. We compelled the Government to introduce and to pass the Arrears' Bill. Now, whatever good is in that measure, I may fearlessly say, is our doing: whatever tends to spoil it is the doing of the tinkering hands of the English Government."

REFERRING to the resolution of the New York and Brooklyn Congregational Association, that Mr. Beecher's "full and proffered exposition of doctrinal views, which he has made at this meeting, indicates the propriety of his continued membership in this or any other Congregational Association," the New York *Times* says, "In other words, it is the judgment of one of the most important Congregational Associations in the country that a minister can deny the infallibility of the Scriptures, reject the orthodox doctrine of the fall and the atonement, and scoff at the doctrine of eternal punishment, and yet be entitled to membership in any Congregational Association." On this subject, the *Commonwealth* has a fitting remark. It says, "The fact that a great heretic like Mr. Beecher is implored not to sever his connection with the Church of his fathers, while ever and anon we hear of smaller men, guilty of a much smaller heresy, cast out of their pulpits and thrown ruthlessly upon the world, would seem to indicate that, in theology as in other matters, "that in the captain is but a choleric word which in the soldier is flat blasphemy." It is not surprising that the orthodox *Presbyterian* uses the following language: "We must, however, express our great surprise that the Association which Mr. Beecher left should respond by informing him that there was no need that he should depart, and that many of them were quite willing to follow him in his theological aberrations."

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THE GIRARD COLLEGE CASE AGAIN.

The affairs of Girard College never had such thorough ventilation as they are now getting. Both religious and secular journals continue to discuss the question of the meaning and character of Mr. Girard's will, and of the right of the trustees, under its terms, to allow the students to be indoctrinated in the Christian religion. That they are being thus indoctrinated is admitted. That Mr. Girard intended to exclude such indoctrination, so as to leave the pupils free to adopt, on entering active life, "such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer," is also very generally admitted. The defence of the trustees by those who defend them in thus violating the intent of the will is that the courts have decided that Christianity may be taught in the college, if only taught by laymen, the final decision to this effect having been made by the Supreme Court of the United States. The *Sunday School Times*, in returning to the subject in a long and elaborate article in its issue of October 14, makes this defence. Its summary of the legal history of the case seems accurate and fair, and gives much plausibility to its argument.

But, against this mode of defence, the point may be made that the case was never presented to the courts from Stephen Girard's point of view. His intention and opinions, beyond certain literal directions in the will, were not considered. Daniel Webster was the leading counsel of the Girard heirs in their attempt to break the will. The essence of his claim was that a school from which the knowledge of Christianity was to be excluded and in which morals were to be divorced from instruction in religion, and especially from the Christian religion, would be most pernicious in its influence, hostile to the common law of Christendom, and not a charity that could be sustained by jurisprudence. Horace Binney, the leading counsel of the city of Philadelphia in maintaining the will, agreed fully with Mr. Webster that instruction in morals could not be divorced from Christianity, and that, if the intent of the will was as Mr. Webster argued, it ought not to stand; but he claimed that, though the will excluded *professional* teachers of Christianity from the college, it did not necessarily exclude the teaching of Christianity. And he even went so far as to assert that, since the will directed that the pupils should be taught the "purest morality," Mr. Girard himself must have supposed that they would be instructed in "the great truths of Christianity in which all Christian denominations concur"; for only thus could they "obtain the purest system of morality"!

Now, the unanimity with which all ordinary readers of Mr. Girard's will, especially if they know anything of his religious views, at once decide that he had no such thought or supposition as is here imputed to him, shows that the case for the will was presented on a narrow legal quibble, and not on any common-sense interpretation of the meaning of the document. Yet the court, with the proverbial policy of courts not to go outside of the record of a case as presented to them, made its decision on this narrow, literal basis. Accepting the view which the eminent counsel on both sides had presented, that the teaching of morals could not be separated from the teaching of Christianity, it then affirmed the position of the defence that, by the strict letter of the will, the teaching of Christianity was not excluded from the college, if conducted by laymen in an unsectarian way. Now, the *Sunday School Times* candidly declares, as will most readers of the will, that by this decision the munificent bequest of Girard was wrested from the purpose for which he meant it, and put to uses which he meant expressly to proscribe; and it is over this transaction that the *Times* exults, and reaffirms its opinion that God exults. But with persons who thus see and acknowledge that the property has been diverted to objects which the donor fully meant to proscribe, we, for our part, are entirely unable to see how the morality of the action should be affected by any official declaration of the courts.

We should also like to ask the *Times* whether the "unsectarian" teaching of Christianity which Chief Justice Story had in view in rendering the decision of the court is the same as that which it has in view when it says that "the highest law of the land" gives to a Christian layman "the privilege of proclaiming Christ and his salvation in Girard College." There are other interesting points in the article of the *Times* to which we may recur hereafter.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE ENGLISH POSITIVISTS.

I.

The friends of liberal religious thought in the United States may be interested to learn something more about the English followers of Auguste Comte than can be gleaned from the various newspapers and reviews. Agnosticism, as it is called, is the prevailing current in English cultured society; but the positivists afford a striking exception to the general rule. As the ablest and best-known of English positivists said to me some time ago, he and his fellow-Comtists are, to a certain extent, with the agnostic, since they both alike seek to lead men to trouble their heads no longer with the questions of God and the universe, of theology and metaphysics, which they regard as insoluble problems, but to concentrate their attention on human life as they perceive it unfolded before them, and to live for their fellow-beings here and now. But to this the positivists add something more. They have a philosophy, a creed, and an object of worship, all of which are not accepted—in some cases they are derided—by the agnostic, pure and simple. The positivists, in fact, do really form a kind of religious body in England, exhibiting as they do the two chief characteristics of such a body; namely, common belief and joint action. And, consequently, although but small in numbers, the English positivists exercise a not inconsiderable influence on thought in England to-day. I shall not of course advert to the general principles of Auguste Comte's philosophy, either scientific, political, or religious. I shall assume that my readers are fairly well acquainted with those principles, and that they have in most cases formed for themselves some sort of estimate of their worth. The so-called "law of the three stages" of human development,—theological, metaphysical, and positive; the Comtist watchword,—"Love our principle, order our basis, progress our end,"—these are now pretty well known by those who are in any degree acquainted with modern thought. Nor is it my business to criticise the organization of society proposed by Comte and preached by his followers, except to say that, in my opinion, its one great error is its assumption of the permanence of the proletariat as a separate class, which seems to me to imply the permanence of poverty, misery, and social disorganization. I mention this one doctrine, partly because it explains the attitude taken by the positivists toward the great combinations of working-men, which constitute one of the most important features of English social life.

The positivists are a small body, and Mark Pattison's well-known *mot* about them was not undeserved. Having attended a Comtist meeting in London, the learned Oxford scholar was asked what he saw there. "Three persons and no God," he replied. Yet small as the body is, it has manifested the "dissidence of dissent" by splitting into two sections, who are to one another as Jews to Samaritans. It is not easy to discover the real causes of this division; but I believe that one section devoted too much attention to the social and political, to the neglect of the religious portion of Comte's gospel, to please the other. Anyhow, the separation has taken place; and positivism has now two "schools," two "local habitations," in the British capital. In a small street, not far from the noisy and unattractive thoroughfare of High Holborn, London, one may see a house, with the words inscribed close by the entrance, "Positivist School." The interior of this building contains a sort of lecture-room, fitted up with seats and a desk at the end, and containing maps and portraits, and twelve busts of the illustrious men after whom the months in the Comtist calendar are named, from Moses, the Jewish lawgiver, to Bichat, the great physiologist. Near the entrance is a large bookcase, containing the books recommended by Comte as forming a complete library for the use of his disciples.

It is here that Dr. Richard Congreve preaches and teaches, representing one of the sections of positivism. I cannot say whether this is the orthodox or the heretical section. Dr. Congreve would claim for it the former character, but others would dispute such a claim; and certain it is that M. Laffitte and the Paris Comtists would dispute it also. Be this as it may, it is certain that Dr. Congreve is the oldest disciple of Comte in England, and that it is largely through his instrumentality that others were brought into the fold. Dr. Congreve is sixty-four years of age, and is a man of striking appearance, with a finely formed head and a placid, benevolent countenance. He looks more like a prosperous merchant than a heretical thinker.

It very often happens that the pioneers in some unpopular movements are more or less fanatical, and this is true of the English pioneer of positivism. Dr. Congreve is undoubtedly a fanatic, as every one would discover after a short conversation with him, or after listening to one of his discourses. He believes firmly in Comte's as the final gospel, not questioning the decisions of his oracle, and feeling absolutely certain that society will one day come round to his position. He is utterly undaunted by opposition, even though it be the united opposition of the ablest thinkers of the age. I remember when, discussing some point with him, reminding him that the general consensus of European opinion was against him. "So much the worse for Europe," replied Dr. Congreve. Believing fully in Comte's scheme of religious organization, Dr. Congreve devotes much time to definite religious teaching, and regards himself as a priestly functionary. I use this word advisedly; for Dr. Congreve himself said to me, "As a priest, I never vote."

It is this sort of spirit which gave Prof. Huxley some justification for his description of positivism as "Catholicism *minus* Christianity." Dr. Congreve has for some time given special religious discourses in his "school" on Sunday mornings, his subject being the great religious writings, particularly the Epistles of St. Paul and the *De Imitatione*. These, indeed, are favorite works with all followers of Comte, St. Paul being, in their opinion, the founder of the Catholic Church, and the author of the *De Imitatione* being the greatest of religious writers since St. Paul.

Dr. Congreve reads portions from these and other writings, and expounds them as a Christian preacher would do. He also offers up a prayer,

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addressed to humanity, past, present, and to come, and especially to the great heroes and martyrs and prophets and poets of the human race, thanking them for their gifts to us of to-day, and then urges upon his hearers the duty of living for others and in accordance with discovered law. Dr. Congreve was in his day an Oxford tutor, holding a position at Wadham College in that famous university; and it was there that several of the other leading positivists, while still students, came under his influence. He has done some useful literary work, including the editing of Aristotle's *Politics;* and his is still *the* edition of that great work used in England. He has also published a series of essays on England's foreign policy. As might be expected from a Comtist point of view, he has not many good words to say for England; and, in this respect, many who are not Comtists are in substantial agreement with him, especially when he condemns England's policy of forcing opium on the Chinese for the sake of revenue, and when he advocates the surrender of Gibraltar to Spain on the grounds of international justice. Many persons, however, will be amused at one of Dr. Congreve's dicta. He asserts that the United States can never attain a foremost intellectual position in the world, on account of their obstinate adherence to Christianity.

For the Protestant evangelical type of Christianity, Dr. Congreve, like all positivists, has the greatest dislike, if not contempt. He is, however, quite willing to work with evangelicals for philanthropic objects; and I have seen him sitting side by side with good orthodox people in a deputation to the Foreign Secretary on the Chinese opium trade. Dr. Congreve was a stout champion of France during the Franco-German war. When the empire fell and the republic was proclaimed at Paris, he issued (in common with the other Comtists who were all united then) vigorous manifestoes to the working-men of England in behalf of their French brethren, and strongly urged intervention on the part of the English Government in favor of France. He apostrophized Paris as the "holy city," and asked if the psalm-singing hosts of the Prussian monarch should be allowed to pollute its classic republican streets.

Dr. Congreve was at one time a frequent contributor to the *Fortnightly Review*, when that famous organ of "advanced" thought was more distinctly positivist in its tone than it is now or than it has been for some time. However one may differ from Dr. Congreve in opinion, and however one may disapprove of his fanaticism and quasi-dogmatism, it cannot be denied that he is a single-minded, courageous, and honest man. He thinks he has a gospel, and he has preached that gospel with fervor and sincerity for many years; and he has performed the important function of fructifying other minds, which have perhaps rendered subsequently greater services to positivism than it was given him to do. His philanthropy and his championship of unpopular causes constitute a fair offset against his fanatical spirit and that assumption of the sacerdotal character which gives a reactionary coloring to his teachings. His former colleagues have all separated from him, so far as active propagandism is concerned, with the exception of Mr. Henry Crompton, a lawyer of some eminence, and a stalwart champion of the cause of labor as against capital. Let me now say a few words about those members of the other section, most of them men of great power and of much influence in England as writers and speakers, and with whose names the positivist movement in this country is generally associated by all who know anything about it, Dr. Congreve having, during the last two or three years, been far less conspicuous than formerly.

WILLIAM CLARK.

A TRANSCENDENTALIST'S PLEA FOR LIFE.

A rather pointed though not discourteous reference to myself in a paper by the junior editor of *The Index* (October 5) may call for some reply. As I am very busy and have little taste for personal controversy, the reply must be brief.

Mr. Underwood expresses himself unaware that I have ever given in my "adhesion to the doctrine of evolution in any form." That depends on how he defines the word. Some one has said that every general term is a box with a false bottom, so that you can put as much or as little into it as you please.

We radicals have always complained that "inspiration" was such a box among the Christian sects; and it seems to me a pity that we should make another box with a false bottom out of the word "evolution." Yet this is precisely, I should say, what Mr. Underwood does. If he puts into his box only the doctrines of Mr. Darwin and calls that "evolution," I can assure him that I swallowed the whole contents of that box with great satisfaction before *The Index* was born. But, if he shifts the false bottom and insists on putting into the box all the ethical, philosophical, and social opinions of Mr. Spencer, I must decline to accept them, even though he shows me the same label "evolution" on the cover. In other words, I am an evolutionist with Darwin, but not with Spencer. It may be a very unfortunate and inadequate position, but it is the one I happen to hold; and there never was any secret about it. This is all; and an apology is due to the readers of *The Index* for detaining them, even thus long, about the matter.

But the very title of Mr. Underwood's paper, "Transcendentalism at Bay," suggests something on a different point. There was a time when transcendentalism was emphatically "at bay" in the religious newspapers. That time has long passed. Is it to be similarly placed in *The Index?* If so, the Free Religious Association should certainly revise its list of vice-presidents. For one, I must still maintain that both transcendentalism and agnosticism are legitimate forms of Free Religion, and probably permanent forms, like the variety of temperaments to which they are suited. There is no "civil war" between them. Neither need stand "at bay." Transcendentalism may be true or false; but there is a class of minds, and especially of youthful minds, to which it is very attractive. It seems to me a great pity to drive our young people out of the Free Religious movement to the Concord School of Philosophy or to Phillips Brooks' church to find their demand for an ideal philosophy recognized. Yet this we do whenever we treat transcendentalism as an effete and worn-out thing, lingering only in a few old fossils who are ignorant of all that has been written for twenty-five years.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

MISS HARDAKER'S VIEW OF HERBERT SPENCER.

The Index of September 28 contains an article by Miss Hardaker on "The Spencerian Metaphysics," wherein Spencer's famous doctrine of the Unknowable is made the subject of much disparaging criticism both for fallacy of its premises and the unfortunate effect which Miss Hardaker conceives this doctrine to have had on the "popular consciousness" of the day, which we are told "has imbibed more of his [Spencer's] metaphysics than of his invaluable studies in biology, sociology, and ethics." This conclusion is one which the general observer and student of the times will find it difficult to subscribe to, inasmuch as nothing can be clearer than that the first and most direct result of the teachings of the new philosophy on the average thinking mind of the day is almost wholly materialistic in its nature, and not at all theological or metaphysical. It is the principle of evolution, with its concomitant truths of natural selection and the survival of the fittest, as applied to the physical side of life and the material concerns of men, that has most profoundly impressed present nineteenth century thought; while this same principle in its higher aspects, as it relates to the moral and religious progress of the race, has wrought but comparatively little effect, the great majority even among the professed students of modern philosophy being quite blind to all its noble uses and possibilities. In a word, the blatant agnosticism of the day, as voiced by certain popular iconoclasts, so far from being traceable to the metaphysical portion of Spencer's teachings, as Miss Hardaker declares, finds its direct source in that larger portion of his work where he deals wholly with matters of scientific knowledge, and where, through his wonderful powers of analysis and broad generalization, he seems at times to mislead his readers into the belief that the adequate cause of things is to be found in what are but mere methods of nature's law and making. The truth is that Part I. of the *Synthetic Philosophy* is known only to a comparative few of the followers of Herbert Spencer, and very rarely taken into account either by the critics or admirers of that great man. It is that part of his teachings which attempts to explain the phenomena of the universe in the light of the broadly generalized principles of evolution which has taken such powerful hold upon the popular imagination of the age, and led it all astray, either with affright or an equally unreasoning admiration, with regard to the full import of his writings.

Miss Hardaker defends her use of the objectionable term "metaphysics," as applied to the doctrine of the Unknowable, on the ground that all the reasoning contained therein is bent toward a "pure metaphysical entity." It is sufficient to say on this point that there is a large class of Spencerian students—who, for fearlessness of thought and clear understanding, are the worthy peers of Miss Hardaker herself—who have not so apprehended the teachings of their leader. The reproach of metaphysics in times past has been not with the high themes and undiscoverable nature of the objects of its investigation, but with the false and pernicious methods employed, its mode of reasoning being of the purely subjective and deductive order. It can therefore be no valid criticism of Mr. Spencer's theory of the Unknowable that it *tends toward* the establishment of a "metaphysical entity." The question of the truth of any system of philosophy rests only upon the correctness of the author's reasoning, and not at all upon the supposed outcome of his teachings, which is always differently understood according to the mental bias and disposition of the reader. Moreover, in accusing Mr. Spencer of reasoning "toward a pure metaphysical entity," Miss Hardaker, unwittingly perhaps, makes the grave charge of intellectual dishonesty against one who deserves it the least of all modern thinkers; for she implies that his theory is one in which facts are made to correspond with his preconceived assumptions. Yet nothing can be more dispassionate, more entirely free from any element of personal prejudice or pre-judgment, than the argument by which Mr. Spencer builds up his theory of the "Absolute" and the "Ultimate Reality." There is throughout his entire treatment of this subject an absence of imaginative warmth and glow, which shows clearly

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enough the purely intellectual processes by which he reaches his conclusions. He confines himself to the barest, driest statement of his case, and then leaves it, concerning himself not at all with the various corollaries of religious faith and experience to which his principal theorem is related, which he apparently regards with very indifferent attention.

Proceeding with her criticism, Miss Hardaker attempts to point out the "faulty bases of the Spencerian metaphysics," but shifts her argument, and calls attention only to certain conditions of the time which have promoted the popular acceptance of modern agnostic philosophy. We are told that this popular acceptance is due to "inherited intellectual tendencies," and that Mr. Spencer is "the heir of ages of unscientific thinking," both of which statements contain a considerable degree of truth without doubt, but neither of which, with all due respect to Miss Hardaker, is exactly to the point. It is the manifest duty of Mr. Spencer's critics to prove the unsoundness of his position by the clear refutation of his arguments. This, Miss Hardaker signally fails to do. Where is the weak spot in the reasoning of the five chapters which enclose the statement of the doctrine of the Unknowable, where the single flaw in the logic which destroys the value of all the rest? Is it in the assumption of the existence of the "Absolute"? But Mr. Spencer makes no such assumption. The "Absolute" serves neither as first nor second premise in the syllogism which proves its existence, but is the final conclusion of the proposition. His argument is easily summarized, and simply this: After showing that the only just way of estimating the value of different religious faiths is by the methods of comparison and elimination,—where unlike elements are stricken out, instead of the like, as in an algebraic equation,—he points out that the same method must be employed in ascertaining the respective merits of science and religion. The point of likeness discoverable here lies in the fact that the ultimate ideas of both—of fact, space, time, motion on the one hand, and that of a self-existent or self-created God on the other—are equally unthinkable. Here, both the scientist and religionist are compelled to admit the existence of some fact or force behind phenomena, which, though it can never be understood, must forever be taken into account, and each is constrained to utter the words "The Unknowable." Spencer then reviews his argument from the *a priori* standpoint, where the theory of the relativity of knowledge is established on a basis of rational deduction. He quotes from Hamilton and Mansel in support of his theory; but, where they make belief in the "Absolute" dependent on an act of faith, Spencer conceives it as the result of the natural workings of the human mind, "necessitated by the laws of our understanding." Belief in the "Absolute" becomes a "necessary datum of consciousness," without which man cannot proceed a step in the rational investigation of the universe. Those who see in this closely reasoned, well-knit argument only the basis of a new scheme of metaphysics, should not be content with the office of mere denial, but proceed to show what other substratum of knowledge or experience man requires in his philosophical researches, or whether, indeed, he requires any substratum whatever. I should be sorry to do a writer of Miss Hardaker's eminent ability injustice; but her position, so far as I am able to determine it in the article mentioned, seems a combination of pure fatalism and dogmatic materialism, equally irreconcilable to the understanding and the heart. Miss Hardaker deprecates the use of the word "phenomenon," because of its implied relation to "noumenon," which cannot be "found in experience" nor "inferred by right reasoning." She declares that "the prop which upholds all these fallacies is the widely accepted doctrine of the relativity of knowledge," which she regards as "destined to fall with increasing knowledge." But here, again, Miss Hardaker contents herself with a simple denial; and the reader is conscious of a sense of disappointment at not being informed what the exact nature of knowledge is, if not relative. In the mean time, while we may share Miss Hardaker's admiration for the achievements of science, her statement that "it is continually advancing in the direction of making life or mind an intelligible thing" can be assented to only upon conditions; for, as there is one spirit of science abroad in our times, which, recognizing its limitations, concerns itself only with the outward experiences and more tangible necessities of mankind, leaving other and more complex needs to find such satisfaction as is possible in the teachings of philosophy and religion, so there is another spirit of science, so called, abroad,—harsh, dogmatic, self-assertive,—which, claiming to be the end-all and be-all of existence, not only fails to make life more intelligible at each of its attempted explanations of things, but renders it even more weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable than any obsolete system of theology ever had the power to do.

CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

THE CHURCH AND ITS WORK.

We find a world-wide institution, known among Christians as the Church, which may be defined as the association of people for the exercise of religious emotions. It has its church buildings, temples, mosques, and schools, ministers, priests, and teachers. Some rationalists attack this institution, charge it with every crime against humanity and obstruction of its advancement, and demand its overthrow and destruction. The evolutionist must see that such a course is highly irrational; for so universal an organization must have been founded upon the necessities of man's nature, and has doubtless contributed to its development. Its vast system, if the analogy of nature's workings is to be followed, will not be destroyed, but will become the promoter of better things. The change is perceptibly going on, and is loudly lamented by many adherents. Church attendance is falling off, ministers say, "because men are growing worldly and wicked"; others say, "because people are becoming too intelligent to be interested in ministers' preaching." Ministers are being expelled from the churches for "heresy," and others are preaching "qualified views," as far as they dare. The number of ministers is proportionably lessening, because the education of the times prevents young men from putting upon their intellects the yoke of bondage prescribed by the old creeds of the Churches, and it is foreseen that the only prospect which a thinking man has before him in the ministry is quarreling and separation. If he preaches the old theology, unless he is a genius or a mountebank, he will be considered dull, and the church will dismiss him for not filling the pews and making the church pay; and if he preaches on the topics of the times and shows advancing ideas about Moses and Joshua, although he draws a full house, some conscientious hearers will stir up disaffection, which will make him glad to accept "a providential call to a wider sphere of usefulness."

Attendants upon churches wonder why it is they are so listless and sleepy, more interested in bonnets than in the sermon; why the children cry because they have to go "to that horrid church"; why they can listen with breathless interest on a week-day evening for two whole hours to their bright minister's lecture about his "Trip to California," and on Sunday his "gifted" long prayer of fifteen minutes excites only a responsive snore, and his forty-five minutes' exposition of Jacob "watering stock," as Ingersoll expresses it, or Simon Peter catching fish, produces yawns. Why is it, men ask, that the press and the platform are so popular, while the pulpit is losing power? This is the true answer: the first treat of live facts, the last deals with dead and dying fiction. Only what is real can long enchain men's attention in this age. Many come out of church feeling, and perhaps saying, "There is something wrong about this: it does not satisfy one's cravings, it is not in the line of nature, something must be done to make preaching interesting." The change to be made is to substitute the true for the false. Destroy the churches. No, let them be the grand lecture rooms, enforcing morality, humanity, and education by exposition of the glorious and fast revealing facts of nature, upon which alone they rest, and which supply the only lasting incentive to their culture. Let Sunday be the great day of mental instruction and elevating diversion to the toiling millions, in Sunday-schools, churches, libraries, art galleries, fields, and woods. We need preachers and teachers all the more, lest the newfound liberty degenerate into license, as it always does with some natures, who have known only the restraints of law. Let radicals not be too eager to overthrow existing institutions: let them rather work in nature's way of growth, till the shackles burst by the full development of what they confine. The "crimes of Christianity" are the expression of the ignorant passions of the dark ages; and, as J. W. Chadwick has remarked, if men had not persecuted through the power of the Church, the same forces would have produced something equally bad. Give the credit that is due to Christianity, and preserve all that is helpful to man in its creed and organization. All that is good and elevating in the life of Jesus is the heritage of man: let us profit still by its benign influence, and, while we "prove all things, hold fast that which is good."

The Church is changing in accord with the spirit of the age. As interest and belief in doctrines subside, the church organization becomes useful in social and benevolent schemes. Parties, literary and musical entertainments, picnics and fairs, cause churches to be valued by many as religious fun clubs, and a decreased interest in souls gives larger scope for action to increase the temporal welfare of men.

What would Jesus think of the Church, if he came to earth again as a man? and what would the churches think of him? Is there a pulpit in a fashionable church where he would be invited to preach? If he stood at the church door and said to the rich deacon, as he came toward the carriage, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and come follow me," would not the deacon call for a policeman?

Many intelligent and scholarly ministers, who are outgrowing belief in the Calvinistic creeds to which they are officially committed, realize that these dogmas are driving from the Church men whose practical sympathies and purposes are entirely in accord with their own. To save such persons to the Church, the invitation to the Lord's Supper is made so broad that few need to turn their backs on it. One is told that, if he only can profess "loyalty to Jesus," he may reserve all opinions about evangelical doctrines. An agnostic, who denies all that is supernatural in the records of the life of Jesus, is admitted to membership in a Congregational church; and one who in honest consistency feels obliged to renounce membership is told that he should have remained inside, and helped to bring the Church to the rational position toward which it is slowly moving. At present,

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men who feel obliged to antagonize erroneous creeds are placed in a false position, as apparently opposed to the practical morality of Christianity. When the churches disavow the false dogmas with which goodness has become encrusted, their practical aims and work will be assisted by many who now feel their only consistent standing-place is outside the Church.

The charity and missionary organizations of the Church must be preserved, and their working improved in method and enlarged in scope. Foreign missions are doing a great educational work, and are yearly tending toward a larger interest in the establishment of schools and colleges than in the propagation of theologies. A leader in foreign mission efforts told me, with an injunction of secrecy, that he was much less interested than formerly in the society of which he was a manager, because in their policy the salvation of souls was becoming more and more secondary to the education of the mind. We shall some day see these agencies devoted solely to spreading moral and physical knowledge among savages and ignorant nations, and then earnestly supported by rationalists. The wholesale denunciation of missionaries is unjust. I have visited numbers of mission stations, and never saw one where there was not an apparent influence for good nor where the workers were not faithful and earnest people. The religion they teach is certainly better than the one it displaces, and the dogmas of theology are not made as prominent as they are at home. When they are entirely dropped from the teaching and missionary societies become educational societies wholly, they will demand and receive the support of all intelligent men.

Those who still believe in the story of the Tower of Babel must be puzzled, as I used to be, to explain how God should have caused the existence of the greatest obstacle to the spread of knowledge,—the diversity of languages. Since learning that this story is the myth of an ignorant people, I am relieved from the necessity of believing that God, who "desires all men to repent and come to the knowledge of the truth," has been the greatest enemy of foreign missions.

Theological seminaries at present are mainly institutions where men are taught how to maintain preconceived theories formulated by their ancestors. The education thus given is one-sided, for fact is warped to conform to theory. The language of the Bible is made to conform to the desired notion by taking it literally, figuratively, or spiritually, as best suits the requirement. I am convinced that the peculiar difficulty attending the settlement of theological discussions is owing to the habit of mind which is formed by the custom of spiritualizing the meaning of Scripture words, when it helps an argument to do so. It creates an unconscious tendency to an unfair use of language in controversy. A Congregational minister tells me that his room-mate at Andover Seminary felt unable to assent to the creed. The professor said, "Oh, you can subscribe to it as we all do, in the sense which the words mean in your own mind." The necessity for such warping of mind and conscience must be injurious to intellect and heart.

But the theological seminary is not to be discarded. It may become the greatest help and the grandest power. Workers in every field of science are gathering facts, each in his own special department; and the need of a generalization of results is most apparent. The varied facts must be gathered, harmonized, and arranged in systems and philosophies, and the theological seminary is the place to do it. Instead of an exclusive study of Hebrew religion, upon the false assumption that this alone is revealed by God and all others are inventions of men, a studious comparison of all religions will be made, and the development of the religious idea in man will be traced and followed out scientifically, showing its past connections and suggesting its future resolution into one universal creed. Instead of dismissing diversity of language by a summary reference to Babel, a comparative study of ancient languages will throw light upon the growth of speech and give indications of the methods to secure a universal language. Instead of the vain effort to reconcile Genesis and science, the views of the Hebrews about nature will only have an antiquarian interest, and religion will cease to oppose all knowledge that conflicts with the theology of the Jews. Then, with unbiassed mind, the newly revealed facts of nature can be studied with reference to their relation to the infinite first cause. Political economy and many branches of social science could here find a proper nursery. In fact, there will be no end to the sphere of usefulness opened when the theological seminary shall be changed into the scientific theorizing seminary.

Christian institutions, therefore, are to be enlarged in scope, even though the names be not changed. We, who desire to be in active accord and harmony with all efforts for the welfare of man, call upon the many ministers who by the light of science have discovered the falsity of the creeds they are bound to, asking them boldly to instruct their people in the truths revealed by the evolution philosophy and modern Biblical criticism, that they may cease to shun and despise good and intelligent men who have learned that the Bible is a human compilation of scattered and fragmentary Hebrew literature, and that God has never acted save through natural laws. When these senseless prejudices, survivals of paganism and ignorance, are removed, all who love their fellow-men and whose religion is to do good can unite in the practical worship of the Church universal.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

"UNITARIAN PIONEERING," by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, which we are unable to give in this number, will appear next week.

WE reprint from *Nature* this week the former part of Prof. Haeckel's address, delivered September 18 at Eisenach, before the German Association, to an audience of one thousand persons. The remainder of the address will be given in our next number.

MR. F. M. HOLLAND'S Stories from Robert Browning's "Strafford," "Sordello," "Turia," "Adventures of Balaustion," "Blot in the 'Scutcheon," "Ring and Book," "Pippa Passes," "Return of the Druses," and "Colombe's Birthday," have just been published by George Bell & Sons, London.

"ZION'S HERALD" refers to Mr. Towne's recent essay in *The Index*, in reply to Matthew Arnold's criticism upon American culture, in complimentary terms; and, of Mr. Lowell's reported statement that his own nation was "the most common-schooled and the least cultivated people in the world," it says that it "is about the most snobbish thing that an intelligent American is recorded to have publicly uttered in Europe."

"IT appears from an exchange," says the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, "that there resides a religious somnambulist (a young man) in the vicinity of Wichita, Kansas. One night, his parents were aroused by singular noises on the roof; and, knowing their son's habit of cutting capers in his sleep, they ran out to the yard and looked up. There sat the young man upon the chimney-top, clad in that garment which immemorial usage has consecrated to the purposes of slumber. Presently, he arose to his feet, and, addressing an imaginary audience, gave out the hymn, 'All hail the power of Jesus' name,' which he forthwith proceeded to sing through from beginning to end to the sonorous tune of 'Coronation.' He then selected a text from I. John v., 25, preached a vigorous discourse fifteen minutes long, and slid down the lightning-rod into a tub of water which his father had hurriedly placed where it would do the most good. The shock aroused him, and he was escorted to his bed."

IN his article on "The Progress of Thought in the Church," in the *North American Review*, Henry Ward Beecher says: "To admit the truth of evolution is to yield up the reigning theology; it is to change the whole notion of man's origin, his nature, the problem of human life, the philosophy of morality, the theory of sin, the structure of moral government as taught in the dominant theologies of the Christian world, the fall of man in Adam, the doctrine of original sin, the nature of sin, and the method of atoning for it. The decrees of God, as set forth in the Confession of Faith and the machinery supposed to be set at work for man's redemption, the very nature and disposition of God—as taught in the falsely called Pauline, but really Augustinian theology, popularly known as Calvinistic—must give way. Even if the great truth of evolution led to unbelief, it could not be so bad as that impious and malignant representation of God and his government which underlies all mediæval and most of modern theology."

IT is a sign of the times that the once implacably hostile theological camps into which Christendom has for centuries been split up are exhibiting increasing intolerance and forbearance toward one another. This fact is due probably to the abatement of the *odium theologicum* and the salutary influence of a common peril. All the Christian sects and churches of whatever name or nature are, in this day of international intercourse and general intelligence, everywhere confronted with the great foe and exterminator of superstition; namely, knowledge. The amicable commercial and social intercourse constantly going on between people of all races and nationalities shows the pettiness of differences of theological belief, which differences in times of non-intercourse and ignorance made Christians of the chief ecclesiastical divisions regard one another as children of Satan. In the presence of constantly increasing knowledge of human nature and nature in general, articles of faith and theological dogmas become more and more grotesque and absurd as explanations of man and the world.

THE editor of the Indianapolis *Age*, who has shown somewhat atheistic tendencies in the past, seems suddenly to have awakened to the force of the "design argument," and expresses himself thus: "Everything in the elements was made to enrich and comfort man, and to remind him of the beneficence of his heavenly Father. The whale, the shark, the alligator in the water, the tuneful mosquito, the winged wasp and the hornet in the air, the serpent, the tarantula, the tiger in the forest, and the active little insect in the sock-foot, all illustrate the providence of God in providing for the comfort and happiness of his creature man. It is no argument against the wisdom and goodness of God that most of these creatures are of no account to man, so far as he can discover, because God knows best what is good for us, and because his ways of accomplishing good are not man's ways. The short-sighted fail utterly

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to discern the wisdom of God in his works; but the philosopher perceives design in the flea in the sock of the lazy man, and the wise adaptation of active means to inactive ends."

REFERRING to "the fact that Darwin was a subscriber to the Boston *Index*," the *Independent* last summer attempted to underrate its significance, and said, "We recall the statement by an ecclesiastical dignitary of the Church of England that nobody of any account had ever questioned the Christian faith of this 'holy man of God.'" This statement induced us to make the following inquiries: "Will our able contemporary frankly state whether it regards Charles Darwin as a Christian, and whether it indorses the statement 'that nobody of any account had ever questioned the Christian faith of this "holy man of God"'? Does the *Independent* believe that either of these statements can be made honestly by any person who is in possession of such information as may be obtained in regard to the views of Darwin?" To these inquiries, no reply was made. But, since the publication of Darwin's letter to a student in Germany, in which he says, "As far as I am concerned, I do not believe any revelation has been made," the *Independent* admits, what was quite as evident to every thinker before this letter was published, "that Mr. Darwin himself did not believe in revelation." This admission, however, is accompanied by statements designed to impair the force of the letter, and which seem to us sophistical if not disingenuous. Some of these statements we may notice next week.

THE same nice, critical discrimination which the *Churchman* shows in disposing of Col. Ingersoll it carries into its general discussions of weighty theological and historical questions. A writer in the number of September 16, vigorously assails the Low Churchmen for their prejudices against the "collects," which, he tells them, should not be disparaged, because, forsooth,—and it is made the head and front of his argument,—"one of the highest commendations given to Moses was that he was learned in all [not a part of *all*] the wisdom of the Egyptians; and a portion of this learning, according to Saint Augustine, was the introduction of collects into the services of religion." This is really delicious. The writer of the long article on this most important subject of the "collects" proceeds in the most naïve and robust unconsciousness of the fact that the "brethren in Egypt" of Saint Augustine's Letters have about the same relation to Pharaoh's Egyptians as have Arabi Pacha and the Khedive, or as the Convocation of Canterbury has to the Stonehenge Druids. We fear that Moses can't be made to serve on the "Enrichment Committee," Brother *Churchman*, but try again. By the by, we think we recognize the name of the writer of this article as that of the principal of one of the leading "church" schools. If the learned principal himself takes the classes in logic, there can be little doubt, we think, about the boys coming out genuine and reliable "Stalwarts."

SINCE Col. Cockerill, editor of the *Post-Despatch*, shot Col. Slayback, a lawyer, both of St. Louis, the bar of that city has held a meeting, and protested against "the spirit of ruffianism which is abroad, the wanton employment in speech or writing of intemperate, licentious, and defamatory language, and the resort on frivolous pretexts to deadly weapons." Commenting on this, the *Nation* observes: "'The spirit of ruffianism' is just as much abroad here as in St. Louis. Dozens of colonels in this city are constantly defaming other colonels in the most licentious manner; but the defamed colonels take no notice of it, and it soon becomes as harmless as the noise in the street. No colonel of high character and standing at our bar carries a revolver or thinks of going in quest of other armed colonels to demand retractions or apologies. The apology of a blackguard is of no use to any colonel in any part of the world. If peaceable and respectable colonels at the South would make up their minds to disregard the foul-mouthed and abusive colonels, we believe the homicidal record of that blood-stained region would rapidly improve. And, then, would it not be well to cut down the number of colonels? Would it not be well for hard-working lawyers—fathers of families—to go about as plain misters? Does not this military rank make them feel as if they had a store of military honor to look after? And can there be a more inconvenient thing for a peaceful citizen than a commodity of this kind?"

WE find in the London *Secular Review* the following statement of the principles and objects of the British Secular Union, of which the Marquis of Queensberry is President, Professor Pasteur and Ernest Renan are Vice-Presidents, and Victor Hugo is an honorary member:—

1. That the present life being the only one of which we have certain knowledge, its concerns claim our primary attention.
2. That the promotion of our individual and of the general well-being in this world is at once our highest wisdom and duty.
3. That the only means upon which we can rely for the accomplishment of this object is human effort, based upon knowledge and experience.
4. We judge conduct by its issues in this world only: what conduces to the general well-being is right; what has the opposite tendency is wrong.
5. On all questions outside these positive principles of Secularism, members are free to hold any opinions, and to promulgate such on their own responsibility.

OBJECTS.

1. The disseminating, promoting, and popularizing of the above principles by all legitimate means.
2. The increasing of Secular Halls and Institutes in the cities and towns of Great Britain.
3. The advocacy of secular principles by lecturers, and the establishment of secular lectureship in popular districts.
4. The dissemination of cheap literature expository or defensive of the Society's principles.
5. The removal of all civil disabilities grounded on belief, and the abolition of all public grants for sectarian purposes.
6. The promotion of a purely secular system of national education.
7. The promotion of political, social, or religious reform in any wise tending to increase the secular happiness of the people.

WE are pleased that a recent article in this journal has elicited from our valued contributor, Col. Higginson, the unequivocal statement that he accepted the doctrines of Darwin "with satisfaction" years ago. We assure him that we no longer doubt that he is an evolutionist in *the proper sense of the word*, although *we* have not been quite able to "swallow the whole contents of that box" which contains either *all* "the doctrines of Mr. Darwin" or "all the ethical, philosophical, and social opinions of Mr. Spencer." We regard them both as profound and original thinkers, but do not accept the entire teachings of either. We sincerely hope nothing advanced in *The Index* by any writer will "drive our young people out of the Free Religious movement," when its platform is broad enough for every class of thinkers to stand upon. Let Col. Higginson express his views regarding Spencer, even when he feels called upon to characterize him as "a writer somewhat dangerous to a large class of minds" (*Index*, Feb. 2, 1882), and let him refer to the agnostic as the "modern ascetic," whose courage and faith "are as admirable as those of the man who consistently flings himself before Juggernaut or of the fakir who spins on his iron." At the same time, let the editors of *The Index* express their views freely on these and other subjects, remembering, as Col. Higginson has said (*Index*, Feb. 2, 1882), that "the real safety is to be found in free discussion and in giving the advocates of each school their say." Meanwhile, we call attention to the standing notice in this journal: "No writers in *The Index*, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

AROMAS.

I.

The Torchbearers.

I see them stand anear, afar,
Lone-shining through the backward years.
Long interspace 'twixt star and star
Up wastes of vanished time appears.

For, e'en in history's blackest night,
Some martyr torch of reason bore;
And, ere he fell, its sacred light
To younger son of truth passed o'er.

II.

Virgin Soil.

Stateless and churchless your acreage lone
Ne'er was crimsoned with blood for a mitre or throne,
Nor are ruinous columns over you strown.
More fair for their absence, your verdurous waste
With prairie flowers sweet and long grass is graced
Where states of the future free, chainless, may rise,
O'erarched by the blue of fathomless skies.

III.

Sleep.

Sweet sleep is strenuous struggle's meed.
No downy plumage will it win
For Sybarite immersed in sin.
Such dainty lure 'twill never heed,
But quickly hies the boon to bless
The couch of honest weariness.

IV.

Life's Board.

The viands on life's table are
Not meant for a perpetual fare:
After a time they loss their zest,
The board belongs to later guest.

B. W. B.

For *The Index*.

WHERE IS GOD?

I cannot think upon the life hereafter,
And see the Father throned in majesty,
I cannot make the image of his presence,
Nor shape the thought of blessedness to be.

I cannot think of souls in sorrow lying
For error here, to suffer still for aye,
While brothers, kindred, friends, in spheres celestial,
As happy spirits rest beyond the sky.

Nor can I picture God! I cannot fathom
The mystery, the nature of his power,
Whose laws sublime, the universe controlling,
Rule suns and worlds and systems hour by hour.

But I can see his work in every flower,
In every daisy, every violet blue,
In every form of life, from clod upspringing
To laws divine, obedient, and true.

Still more in human hearts! We love the beauty
Our eyes drink in by mountain and by sea,
We feel his power in evening sunsets golden,
We love the flowers that bloom upon the lea.

But more, still more, in noble deeds and loving
Of human souls, whose virtues radiant shine,
We see the Power within, the Power mysterious,
The Power in all, through all, the Power Divine.

A. O. C.

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The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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Prof. Haeckel on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck.*

When five months ago the sad intelligence reached us by telegraph from England that on April 19 Charles Darwin had concluded his life of rich activity, there thrilled with rare unanimity through the whole scientific world the feeling of an irreparable loss. Not only did the innumerable adherents and scholars of the great naturalist lament the decease of the head-master who had guided them, but even the most esteemed of his opponents had to confess that one of the most significant and influential spirits of the century had departed. This universal sentiment found its most eloquent expression in the fact that, immediately after his death, the English newspapers of all parties, and pre-eminently his conservative opponents, demanded that the burial-place of the deceased should be in the Valhalla of Great Britain, the national temple of fame, Westminster Abbey, and that there in point of fact he found his last resting-place by the side of the kindred-minded Newton.

In no country of the world, however, England not excepted, has the reforming doctrine of Darwin met with so much living interest or evoked such a storm of writings, for and against, as in Germany. It is therefore only a debt of honor we pay if, at this year's assembly of German Naturalists and Physicians, we gratefully call to remembrance the mighty genius who has departed, and bring home to our minds the loftiness of the theory of nature to which he has elevated us. And what place in the world could be more appropriate for rendering this service of thanks than Eisenach, with its Wartburg, this stronghold of free inquiry and free opinion! As in this sacred spot, three hundred and sixty years ago, Martin Luther, by his reform of the Church in its head and members, introduced a new era in the history of civilization, so in our days has Charles Darwin, by his reform of the doctrine of development, constrained the whole perception, thought, and volition of mankind into new and higher courses. It is true that personally, both in his character and influence, Darwin has more affinity to the meek and mild Melanchthon than to the powerful and inspired Luther. In the scope and importance, however, of their great work of reformation, the two cases were entirely parallel, and in both the success marks a new epoch in the development of the human mind.

Consider, first, the irrefragable fact of the unexampled success which Darwin's reform of science has achieved in the short space of twenty-three years. For never before since the beginning of human science has any new theory penetrated so deeply to the foundation of the whole domain of knowledge or so deeply affected the most cherished personal convictions of individual students; never before has a new theory called forth such vehement opposition and so completely overcome it in such short time. The depicture of the astounding revolution which Darwin has accomplished in the minds of men in their entire view of nature and conception of the world will form an interesting chapter in the future history of the doctrine of development.

In 1863, four years after the publication of Darwin's great work, opening up a new path for the human mind, when, at the meeting of naturalists at Stettin, I for the first time openly drew attention to the work, the great majority were of opinion that "nature-philosophical fantasies" of this sort were no proper subject for earnest discussion. An esteemed zoölogist pooh-poohed the whole theory as the "harmless dream of a man napping," while another compared it with table-turning and "odic force." A celebrated botanist maintained that there was not one single fact to support this "untenable hypothesis," but that, on the contrary, it contradicted all experience; and a noted geologist believed that the passing vertigo would soon inevitably sink into dull sobriety. A well-known physiologist later on spoke of the whole history of filiation as a romance, and an anatomist prophesied that in a few years there would be no more talk of it. In thick-tomed works and in numberless treatises, it was demonstrated that Darwin's theory was false from beginning to end, unproved by facts, delusive in its conclusions, ruinous in its consequences. Nay, no further back than five years ago, when in the meeting of naturalists at Munich (1877) I expounded "the current doctrine of development in relation to the whole body of science," I encountered the most unqualified antagonism in one of our most celebrated naturalists, who even went the length of demanding the exclusion from education of Darwinism as an "unproved hypothesis." I was compelled, in my paper on "Free Science and Free Teaching," to take the right of the latter emphatically under my protection.

And, of all these damnatory judgments on the part of our numerous opponents, how much remains current at the present day? Nothing. The very number and bulk of their many-sided attacks have only redounded to the completion of our triumph. For the more the immovable citadel of the new theory of nature was attacked from all sides and assailed by weapons of the most varied kind, the more did its undaunted defenders feel called upon to fill the gaps which here and there disclosed themselves in their enclosing wall of defence. Every charge on the part of the superannuated dogmas went to pieces against the iron panoply of the united experimental sciences. The gifted commander who had discovered the long-sought bond of union for the sciences, and had led the defence under the conception of oneness or monism, was able three years ago, on the celebration of his seventieth birthday, to look with entire satisfaction on the complete victory won by his troops, and with Goethe might say:—

> "Es wird die Spur von meinen Erdentagen
> Nicht in Æonen untergehn." *

That such is really the case, and that in the evening of his life Darwin was enabled to rejoice in the complete triumph of his good cause is a fact indisputably testified by the present state of the natural sciences. We have only to cast a glance into the numerous periodicals and the most important works in those departments which are more immediately and more integrally affected by Darwin's teaching,—zoölogy and botany, morphology and physiology, ontogeny and palæontology. In these subjects, scarcely any work of superior merit now appears which is not penetrated by the idea of natural development. With vanishingly few and unimportant exceptions, almost all investigations start with the assumption of Darwin's fundamental conception, that the form-relationship between different species of animals and plants is rooted in their essential blood-relationship, and that the complicate relations of the organic world are to be explained by the two factors of common origin and gradual transformation.

Darwinism, too, in its more specific sense, the theory of selection, has maintained its ground in the face of all attacks; for this it is which first discovers to us the physiological causes through which the struggle for existence mechanically produces transformation. And, if natural selection is by no means the only agent in transformation, it at all events still remains its most important instrument. Darwin, by his discovery of it under the light of artificial selection, solved one of the greatest biological riddles. For the doctrine of "natural selection through the struggle for existence" is nothing less than the final solution of the great problem: "How can forms of organisms constituted for a particular purpose come into being without the aid of a cause acting with a particular purpose? How can an edifice replete with design build itself up without design and without architect?" A question which our greatest critical philosopher, Kant, a hundred years ago, declared to be insoluble.

But in no province of natural science do Darwin's grand achievements appear so conspicuous as the one in which our own investigations revolve,—in the wide province of morphology, comparative anatomy, and the history of development. For in morphology, which was also Goethe's special favorite, *all* knowledge that is not merely superficial depends directly on the recognition of the doctrine of filiation; and here it is, particularly, that by its help the most brilliant results have been attained in the shortest time. The genealogical trees of particular groups of forms, which at the beginning hardly dared venture into the light of day as new-fangled (*heuristische*) hypotheses, are now, in the case of many organic groups, completely established facts. To cite but a few examples, no competent zoölogist any longer calls in question the descent of horses from tapir-like palæotheria, of ruminant animals from swine-like anoplotheria, of birds from lizard-like reptiles. Nor does any one any longer doubt that all higher air-breathing vertebrates have their origin in lower gill-breathing fishes. The most important and most disputed, however, of all hypotheses of descent—that, namely, which derives man from ape-like animals—has of late years, in consequence of more matured knowledge, gained for itself such general recognition at the hands of competent experts that the great majority of them now deem it just as well grounded as any of the foregoing phylogenetic hypotheses.

In the face of such encouraging unanimity, we can afford quietly to ignore the opposition which is still raised here and there by some single opponents of transformation. There is one capital fact in our favor: the whole of the younger generation is working for Darwin's spirit; and, far beyond the limits of professional circles, his doctrine is operating as a ferment, stimulating to nearer solution the greatest problems of human knowledge.

Celebrating here to-day the complete victory of Darwin's doctrine of development, as we are, accordingly, entitled to do, it is also implied that the end has come to the dreary period of violent literary warfare; and we may give all the more emphatic expression to our jubilant feeling of triumph in this respect, that we have ourselves been largely involved in those hard battles. Seeing, however, that, according to Heraclitus, struggle is the father of all things, it was not possible that the struggle for existence should spare the theory which itself laid down this principle, and raised it to be the most valuable instrument in its store-house of arguments. With all the greater welcome, we now greet the new period of peace following on that victory, and of quiet progress in which we look forward to the fairest fruits in the new courses of inquiry. It well becomes the Association of German Naturalists and Physicians who have repeatedly been witnesses of the loud tumult of those battles, now when they are happily concluded, to sanction the treaty of peace, and to solemnly recognize the doctrine of development as the sure foundation-stone of scientific inquiry.

If we now look for the causes of the extraordinary effect produced in such a short time by the Darwinian doctrines, in the teeth of the most violent opposition, we shall find them by no means exclusively in the convincing force of their inherent truth, but also in the peculiarly favorable outward circumstances in which they entered the scientific world. Not the least of these favorable conditions lies in the rare characteristic qualities of the man on whom devolved the solution of such a gigantic task. Charles Darwin united in himself a wealth of diverse intellectual gifts, which generally are to be found only apart. His fund of knowledge and his acumen as a naturalist were just as great as his far-sightedness and comprehensiveness as philosopher. To what degree he harmoniously

* Lecture given at the Eisenach meeting of the German Naturalists and Physicians.

* The influence of my earthly days
Will last through eons.

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combined these two sides of intellectual activity, often in conflict with each other, may be inferred from the fact that many short-sighted experimentalists see in him only the conscientious observer and ingenious experimentalist, regretting that his theory should be but speculative aberration; while, on the other hand, many high aspiring thinkers look down with great depreciation on his experimental achievements, but admire the acuteness of his judgment and the lucidity of his logical train of thought. In this respect, he reminds us of our two greatest German naturalists, Johanne Müller and Carl Ernst Baer. If the latter in his title-page described his classical "History of the Development of Animals" as "Observation and Reflection," Darwin might say the same of all his works. With these rare powers of observation and judgment were associated other noble qualities of character, greatly enhancing their value and profit,—indefatigable perseverance in the pursuit of his aims, scrupulous conscientiousness in grouping the assured results, purest aspiration after natural truth, and open simplicity in communicating his conclusions. No less praiseworthy was the extraordinary modesty with which he set forth his views, and the mild meekness with which, while answering all the sharp objections of his opponents, so far as they were to the purpose, he simply ignored personal aspersions.

Truly admirable are the patience and forethought with which Darwin took in hand and carried out the weightiest task of his life,—the explanation of the origin of animal and vegetable species through natural selection. The first basis to this work was laid in his twenty-third year, when in 1832, in South America, he drew up geographical and palæontological observations on the animal species of this continent. The rich observations he accumulated in that voyage round the world, a voyage lasting five years, and of such consequence to him, did not, however, come to their full utilization till long afterward. The injury to his health wrought by the severe hardships to which that voyage subjected him forced him to withdraw completely from the restless turmoil of London, and to reduce his circle of personal friends to the narrowest compass. In 1842, in the thirty-third year of his age, he betook himself to his quiet, idyllic country seat of Down, lying gracefully between the green meadows and the wooded hills of the sweet county of Kent.

In the harmonious solitude of this verdant seat of the Muses, Darwin lived full forty years, devoting himself singly and exclusively to the continuous study of Nature and to the solution of the great problem she had revealed to him. Practising himself for many years the active work of gardener and cattle-rearer, he could see under his own eyes the transformation of the corporeal forms of plants and animals. Examining into the physiological causes of these transformations,—the laws, namely, of inheritance and adaptation,—he clearly perceived that in the domain of uncultivated as well as of cultivated nature the same mechanical laws condition change of species. He became convinced that artificial and natural rearing rested essentially on the same processes of selection. What in the one case is produced in a short time by the purposively active will of man for his own advantage is in the other produced in a much longer time by the purposelessly active "struggle for existence," to the advantage of the transformed organisms.

But although Darwin had early conceived this fundamental thought of his "theory of selection," and throughout many years had collected the richest material of observations in its evidence, he could not for a long time resolve on the publication of his theory. It would ever appear to him too full of gaps, the mass of facts required for its support too defective, the chain of inferences too incomplete. He was ever wanting to accumulate fresh evidence, to bring ever more light from all sides on the questions in hand, and, as far as possible, to anticipate and refute objections to his conclusions. Perhaps, in the end, he would never have come to communicate the treasures of his knowledge to the world, had it not been for an outward impulse which constrained him to this step. At length, then, in 1859, after the author had completed his fiftieth year, appeared his era-inaugurating chief work on the *Origin of Species*, a work to which all the rest of his writings are but deductions and commentaries. This event happened just a full century after Caspar Friedrich Wolff in Germany had discovered the true development of the animal germ, and just half a century after Lamarck in France had prophetically propounded the principles established by Darwin.

The extraordinary modesty and unassumingness which Darwin showed to such a degree on the subject of the publication of the most important of his writings displayed itself also on all hands in his extensive correspondence, and not less in his personal intercourse. Every one who had the happiness of making his personal acquaintance could not part from him without a feeling of the sincerest reverence and highest appreciation. Were it here allowed me to intercalate a few words on my personal meeting with Darwin, I would give expression especially to the high admiration of Darwin as an ideal man with which my three visits to him in Down inspired me. The first time was in October, 1866, on the occasion of a voyage I was undertaking to the Canary Islands. I had just completed the *General Morphology*, a work in which I had ventured on the experiment of mechanically establishing the science of organic forms on the basis of the theory of filiation as reformed by Darwin. By means of the proof-sheets I had sent him, Darwin was acquainted with my essay, and took all the more interest in it because these morphologic investigations lay rather remote from his own studies, which were principally experimental. It was, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I responded to an invitation to come to Down, which he had sent me during my short stay in London.

In Darwin's own carriage, which he had thoughtfully sent for my convenience to the railway station, I drove, one sunny morning in October, through the graceful hilly landscape of Kent, that—with the checkered foliage of its woods, with its stretches of purple heath, yellow broom, and evergreen oaks—was arrayed in the fairest autumnal dress. As the carriage drew up in front of Darwin's pleasant country house clad in a vesture of ivy, and embowered in elms, there stepped out to meet me, from the shady porch overgrown with creeping plants, the great naturalist himself,—a tall and venerable figure, with the broad shoulders of an Atlas supporting a world of thoughts; his Jupiter-like forehead highly and broadly arched, as in the case of Goethe, and deeply furrowed by the plough of mental labor; his kindly mild eyes looking forth under the shadow of prominent brows; his amiable mouth surrounded by a copious, silver-white beard. The cordial, prepossessing expression of the whole face, the gentle, mild voice, the slow, deliberate utterance, the natural and *naïve* train of ideas which marked his conversation, captivated my whole heart in the first hour of our meeting, just as his great work had formerly, on my first reading it, taken my whole understanding by storm. I fancied a lofty world-sage out of Hellenic antiquity, a Socrates or Aristotle, stood alive before me.

Our conversation, of course, turned principally on the subject which lay nearest the hearts of us both,—on the progress and prospects of the history of development. Those prospects at that time (sixteen years ago) were bad enough, for the highest authorities had for the most part set themselves against the new doctrines. With touching modesty, Darwin said that his whole work was but a weak attempt to explain in a natural way the origin of animal and vegetable species, and that he should not live to see any noteworthy success following the experiment, the mountain of opposing prejudice being so high. He thought I had greatly overestimated his small merit, and that the high praise I had bestowed on it in my *General Morphology* was far too exaggerated. We next came to speak of the numerous and violent attacks on his work, which were then in the ascendant. In the case of many of those pitiful botches, one was in fact quite at a loss whether more to lament the want of understanding and judgment they showed or to give the greater vent to the indignation one could not but feel at the arrogance and presumption of those miserable scribblers who pooh-poohed Darwin's ideas and bespattered his character. I had then, as on later occasions, repeatedly, expressed my just scorn of the contemptible clan. Darwin smiled at this, and endeavored to calm me with the words, "My dear young friend, believe me, one must have compassion and forbearance with such poor creatures: the stream of truth they can only hold back for a passing instant, but never permanently stem."

In my later visits to Down, in 1876 and 1879, I had the pleasure of being able to relate to Darwin the mighty progress which in the past intervals his doctrines had made in Germany. Their decisive outburst happened more rapidly and more completely here with us than in England, for the reason chiefly that the power of social and religious prejudice is not nearly so strong here as among our cousins across the Channel, who are better placed than ourselves. Darwin was perfectly well aware of all this; though his knowledge of our language and literature was defective, as he often complained, yet he had the highest appreciation of our intellectual treasures.

Darwin having in his great work of 1859, planting the basis of his doctrine, said nothing regarding its anthropological consequences, and having with wise reserve maintained silence on this subject down to the year 1871, it was for me of the highest interest, even as early as my first visit to him in 1866, to converse with him at large on that topic. As was to be expected, the great thinker felt not the slightest misgiving in recognizing the necessary extension to man of the application of his doctrine of filiation. I had, therefore, the highest satisfaction in being able to set forth to him the first genealogical tables which I had then designed, and in all essential points to receive his approval. Though the special study of comparative anatomy and ontogeny, on which I based my phylogenetic plans, lay out of Darwin's province, he yet completely perceived their importance. In his celebrated work, in two volumes, on the *Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), he has therefore declared himself to be in all principal points in harmony with me, and has expressly emphasized the importance, in relation to the history of filiation, of the numerous animal hereditary relics we possess in our human vertebrate organism.

If now we survey the huge mass of facts which in this and other works Darwin has gathered together, with just as much forethought as boldness, to serve as a support for his ideas; if we regard the innumerable observations and experiments he has himself instituted to establish their accuracy,—we cannot but wonder at the strength of the giant mind which has amassed such an abundance of knowledge and power, of experimental knowledge and philosophical science, in the narrow compass of a single human life. Involuntarily, we exclaim, What a rare constellation of happy circumstances there must have been to render possible such extraordinary performance, conjoined with commensurate success!

We must then, undoubtedly, admit that, in the case of Darwin, merit and fortune went hand in hand, and that rare favor on the part of fate made it possible for him to execute completely his great life-task. Free from all the cares and worries of a week-day existence, enjoying in security a comfortable home and a happy family life, undisturbed by professional business and official duties, he was able to devote himself throughout half a century exclusively to his favorite studies. While the solitude of his tranquil country seat saved him from the turbulent traffic in knowledge, which in large cities consumes the best powers of a man, it also supplied him with those conditions which were most favorable to the composure and harmony of his rich world of thoughts. In our opinion, nothing is more prejudicial to scientific work of a deep and earnest character than the pedantic wrangling of our great universities and the partisanship of scientific colleges. From this, as from all posts of honor and other such disturbing influences of the outside world, Darwin, his whole life long, kept himself remote; and he acted wisely in so doing.

While, therefore, the great naturalist owed his unexampled success in the first place to himself and his noble endowment, some share in the credit must also be allowed to the favorable scientific situation of the time, which was furthersome in a high degree. Ever since the failure of the older nature-philosophy in the beginning of our century, since Goethe and Kant in Germany, Lamarck and Geoffroy in France, failed in their attempts to direct the minds of men to the natural development of the organic world, a strictly experimental method became the universal practice in the domain of biology. The task thus set before scientific laborers was that of the most exact investigation into all the particular forms and phenomena of animal and vegetable life; the monistic explanation of the whole, and, in particular, the solution of the problem of creation being abandoned. The foundation of embryonic history by Baer, of comparative anatomy and palæontology by Cuvier, the reform of physiology by Johannes Müller, the propounding of the theory of cells and of the doctrine of tissues by Schleiden and

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Schwann, had opened up new and grand provinces to natural experiment, whence was drawn by numerous laborers inquisitive for knowledge an astounding abundance of facts. In the short space of half a century there arose quite a series of new sciences.

The more, however, that from year to year the number of new discoveries accumulated, the higher that the flood of literature swelled, the more confused became the chaos of the general theory of nature, and the greater was the necessity felt by thoughtful inquirers for an elevation above the stifling mass of detached observations to universal monistic points of view and to the knowledge of real causes. This requirement was now most happily met by the new doctrine of development. It is true that, as early as 1809, in the year of Darwin's birth, Lamarck had clearly demonstrated that the similarity of organic forms was to be explained by their common derivation and their diversity by their adaptation to the conditions of existence. He had, however, failed to attain a knowledge of the active causes which Darwin fifty years later disclosed in his theory of selection.

It is therefore in complete contradiction with the historical facts and a proof of utter ignorance of the history of biology, when even at the present day a few individual opponents of Darwinism declare the theory to be a vague hypothesis, in support of which evidence has yet to be adduced. In reality, the very opposite is the case. The actual evidence for the common descent of the manifold forms of life had already long been adduced before it was formulated by Darwin into a clear scientific theory. Numerous physiological experiments even had long before been carried out in support of it. For the total results of our horticulture and animal rearing, and the mass of new forms of life which civilized man has artificially produced to his own profit and advantage, are just so many experimental proofs of the theory of selection. And, as concerns the "struggle for existence," the essential element in Darwinism, no particular arguments in truth are needed; for the whole history of mankind is nothing else!

Our whole science of living nature, which in one word we designate biology, was, accordingly, perfectly prepared for the reception of the fertilizing ideas of Darwin; and hence in large measure we explain their extraordinary success, in contrast with the pre-maturity and inefficacy of the similar theories of his predecessors. The high merits of these predecessors Darwin, with his noble sense of justice, has on all occasions recognized. It is, therefore, far from the spirit of the great master when in our day some overzealous disciples of his (particularly in England) are intent on celebrating him as the sole founder of the new doctrine of development, as though it had all at once sprung ready-made from the head of the thinker, like Minerva armed from the forehead of Jupiter. On the contrary, we believe that we are acting perfectly in the spirit of our deceased master and friend, if we here call to honorable remembrance his great predecessors. The splendor of his name can only be enhanced by showing that, in the most important principles of his theory of nature, he was in unison with a select number of the greatest minds the history of human civilization can boast of.

[*Concluded next week.*]

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE UNITARIAN CONFERENCE ONCE MORE.

Editors of The Index:—

A discussion on the basis of mistakes is apt to be somewhat misleading and unprofitable. I write, therefore, for the simple purpose of testifying as to a matter of fact that your senior editor calls in question, in your issue of the 19th inst., and also to correct an important error into which Mr. Stewart has fallen in his communication.

Take these two points in their order.

I. Mr. Potter raises the question as to the *intention* of those who left the door of the Conference open. He is not inclined to go in, unless he is quite sure that the out-hanging latch-string *means* a welcome. On this point, I agree with him. I should take the same position. I have heard of the young gentleman who said he was "not going to get mad and stay at home from a party *just because he was not invited.*" Under similar circumstances, I might not get "mad," but I should certainly "stay at home."

But what are the facts in the present case? I can testify so far as this: The men who gave me their names as ready to support the proposed change were *representative men.* So far as their private opinions were concerned, they represented *both extremes.* They were nearly fifty in number; and they were no more—as I have a right to believe—for the simple reason that I did not have time to ask any more. Only three declined to sign. Two of these were men who are generally classed as *radicals;* and their reasons for not signing have no bearing on this question. The third one—a conservative—would not join in this particular move, but said distinctly that he *would* join a movement whose object should be to *abolish the doctrinal basis altogether.* He thought the Conference should be on a "purely business basis." The men who did sign were such as Drs. Clarke and Hale, Messrs. Collyer, Shippen, and Reynolds, Profs. F. P. Peabody, C. C. Everett, and J. H. Allen. And—this is the important point—I told these men that if such men as Gannett, Hosmer, Spencer, and Potter had no right in the Conference *then I had none.* I said that, while I wanted to stay, I must be able to stay conscientiously or not at all. And *it was in answer to such appeals that they gave me their names.*

I think I am fully justified in saying that Mr. Spencer's interpretation of the action of the Conference is the true one. The force of this Article Ten is like the latest piece of any legislation. So long as it stands, *it modifies and interprets all preceding legislation,* including not only the First and Ninth Articles, but even *the name itself.* And, as an evolutionist, Mr. Potter certainly ought not to be surprised that the Unitarian organism—as is the case with almost all organized forms on the globe—should carry about in itself, for a time, *certain rudimentary organs* as embodied records of its past history. If *to-day* Unitarianism stands *facing the future,* and with arms of welcome for all "who, while differing in belief, are in general sympathy with" its "purposes and practical aims," is not this all one can *expect,* or even has a *right to ask,* of a body that *grows,* and by the law of growth maintains its *personal identity along the lines of its advance?*

II. Now for the error of Mr. Stewart. And it is important that I go into this matter fully, as otherwise it may be the cause of a good deal of misunderstanding.

The first draft of my proposed new article—as Mr. Stewart rightly quotes it—was as follows: "No part of this Constitution is to be so construed or interpreted as to turn the Unitarian body into a sect, or to exclude from its fellowship or co-operation any honest seeker after truth or earnest worker in the cause of human advancement and elevation." By a slight verbal error, the last word is "education" in Mr. Stewart's version. Mr. Stewart speaks of this as "the paper which he—myself—offered to the Business Committee," etc. And, a little later, he says, "This article, however, was changed after it reached the Committee." And Mr. Potter naturally fixes his keen eye on this as an "important fact," saying, "The proposition which went to the Business Committee is not the one which came from them and was adopted." He rightly infers from his belief in such action that the Business Committee *narrowed the original proposition.*

This *would be* an "important fact," *only it doesn't happen to be a fact at all.* My friend Stewart obtained his information from me; and possibly I may be responsible for his error, without being conscious of it.

The legitimate inference from the changed form of the article is of the strongest possible kind; and it is in favor of *breadth, not narrowness,* on the part of the Conference. Notice the facts, and see.

1. *If* the article, as first drawn, be the broader one, *it was just this broader one* which all these representative men referred to *had signed.* And these signers included all the members of the Business Committee who were present when I met them.

2. The article was not changed *by* the Business Committee, nor *after* it reached their hands. Even to its punctuation points, it went through just as I wrote it. The Committee did not even suggest a change. Not only that, but all of those whom I met would be in favor of abolishing the slightest trace of dogma in the entire basis as it now stands.

3. Who made the change then? "I did it with my little hatchet." Why? *Not* under *conservative* influence, but under *radical.* A radical member, already referred to, said he not only could not sign the article as first drawn, but that *he should oppose it.* Opposition from such a quarter would have defeated it. His objection was that it did not bind the Conference to "a definite *religious* purpose." He did not want it narrowed, but he did want it religious.

4. There was talk also—as Mr. Stewart says—of making what became Article X a substitute for Article IX. But here, again, I found that I should meet with opposition. This, however, was merely a difference as to what was the practical best. And the opposition came from a prominent man who—as I happen to know—would gladly welcome Mr. Potter to membership in the Conference.

From first to last then, I did *not* meet *any* opposition that *looked like narrowness. All* the opposition was as to *details;* and, *in every instance,* it came from men who were in sympathy with the movement to break down the sectarian wall.

The plain fact then, in conclusion, is this: The Conference, *as a Conference,* has opened the door to all "in general sympathy with" its "purposes and practical aims." In accordance with the usage of all organized bodies, and according to all logical and rational inference, *all previous declarations must be interpreted in the light of this.* This is the *invitation of the Conference.* If particular members would not like to see Mr. Gannett or Mr. Potter there, I fail to see how this touches *the general invitation of the Conference,* which, in its official capacity, is the *owner of the house and the host.* Would Mr. Potter, as a delegate to Congress, decline to enter because members of the opposite party would rather he stayed at home? The Conference is a corporate body; and individual opinions in it are *only* individual opinions. And, however illogical its present basis, the *fact remains* that it *has* declared that it does *not* intend to exclude "*any* who, while differing in belief, are in general sympathy with its purposes and practical aims." It is quite possible that some members of the Conference would like to have me stay at home. But until such person or persons make it clear to me that he or they *are the National Conference,* my right to wish they would stay at home is as valid as theirs concerning me.

The Conference has taken a grand forward step. If it has not done everything that could be desired, who has? It is the *fact* of movement, and of movement *in the right direction,*—not the precise distance gone over,—that should be taken as a hopeful and cheering sign by all true friends of growth.

Oct. 20, 1882. M. J. SAVAGE.

[The *intention* of the Conference, as it seems to us, cannot be ascertained by consulting individual members as to the meaning of their votes, but must be determined by the record; and it is just what is meant by the record, or by the Constitution as it now stands, which puzzles us. However, if the Conference meant to invite non-Christians to its membership, this intention will be made plain by the Council sending the usual form of invitation to attend the next meeting to such societies as that of Mr. Spencer at Florence, the Free Religious Society at Providence, and the Society for Ethical Culture at New York. We shall wait with interest to see if it will do so. As to the misunderstanding of the facts as reported by Mr. Stewart, we are glad to have an accurate version from one in a position to know; but we do not see that the main question is much affected.—W. J. P.]

THE SUBJECTIVITY OF CONSCIOUSNESS.

Editors of The Index:—

In a brief criticism of Bowne's metaphysics, by Mr. Abbot, which appeared in *The Index* of July 20, it seems to the writer that he has struck upon the one great fallacy that vitiates all modern philosophic thought. You can hardly take up an essay on philosophic subjects, but what all its reasonings and conclusions are based upon the premise "that *the individual mind knows only its own states of consciousness.*" And this has been notably apparent in the essays that have appeared in *The Index* during the past year.

According to this dogma in philosophy, the mind is shut up to a knowledge of its own states alone, and the whole universe outside the individual mind is a vast sea of speculation and conjecture, about which nothing can ever be positively known; for, as Mr. Abbot truly says, "Once grant that an external world cannot be known, but only inferred, as the hypothetical cause of the individual's states of consciousness, and Occam's impregnable maxim (which Sir William Hamilton reaffirms in his 'Law of Parsimony') forbids the inference."

In view of these facts, it becomes a momentous

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question for us to consider whether this great modern philosophic doctrine of the mind, knowing only its own conscious states, is justified by an analysis of the nature of consciousness, as far as lies in our power.

All investigators into the phenomena of consciousness have ever struck upon one vital, final, and bottom fact, beyond which no mental power could penetrate: namely, that *all* consciousness involved two opposite powers as an absolutely necessary condition,—a *me* and a *not me*, a subjective and objective; and that all conscious realization was, in some way, the result of the reciprocal interaction of these opposite powers. This same truth constitutes the idea of the "Relativity of all Knowledge." And what is the only logical conclusion to be drawn from this primordial fact? Is it not that all consciousness, being the result of two opposite factors, both of which are realized in every act of consciousness, is really no more one of these factors than the other,—in other words, is as much *objective* as *subjective*?

Where is there any proof that the subjective factor in consciousness is recognized any more directly than the objective? If we are conscious of the subjective only by means of and through the objective, then the latter is given as directly as the former.

All cognition is relative, and involves two terms, whose reciprocal action and reaction upon each other constitute the relation; and it would be an irrational inference to suppose that our consciousness, which is the result of the relation or co-equal action and efficiency of both these generic terms, should be shut up to one of them alone,—more especially when it also contradicts all our conscious experience.

The purely subjective character of consciousness is supposed to receive additional strength, if not positive confirmation, from the discoveries of modern science. It is argued by scientists that the external cause of our sensations of sound, light, and color, are merely motions in the air and ether, and that these motions have no identity with our impressions of sound and color. But neither can they any more identify our sensations of these qualities with any motions *in* our nerves or brain; and, if they do not know what constitutes sound and color inside of us, how can they determine what they are outside of us? To our consciousness, certainly, these conditions have an external existence; and no scientific knowledge yet attained furnishes the first iota of positive proof that they do not so exist.

But the reasoning by which the attempt is made to prove that all our consciousness is subjective is completely refuted by the very premise from which they reason; for, if all our consciousness of everything external is our own subjective states, then we do not even know that motion and form are external things, and we have no more logical right to infer the existence of motions in the air and ether than we have to infer the external existence of sound, light, and color.

This doctrine, in modern philosophy, of the subjectivity of all knowledge, is directly antagonistic to the very foundation principle upon which all science is based, and makes a perfect muddle of the world's philosophic thought.

It would be an anomalous state of things, if the principle through which alone the universe can be at all realized should possess the capacity to realize only what is contained within the narrow shell of our physical organisms, and all the universe outside be relegated to the realm of the unknown and uncognizable. It contradicts our whole nature and experience and all philosophic thought, by shutting up the mind from the direct cognition of principles having a universal and objective application, which can alone constitute philosophy, and by opening the door for admission into it of any creedal dogmas and superstitions with which theological inventors may desire to limit and fetter human thought; for, if they can once impress upon the mind that all outside itself never can be truly known, but must ever rest upon conjecture, then to that extent they render the universe superhuman and supernatural, and destroy any certain criterion by which the mind can determine what is true.

FRANKLIN SMITH.

DEDHAM, MASS.

THE MUSICIAN AND THE NATURALIST.

Editors of The Index :—

Did you ever hear the following story of the musician, Dr. S. Wesley? A former pupil of his sent him a letter, asking questions about the use of the so-called Gregorian Chants. Dr. Wesley replied: "Your questions about Gregorian Chants have surprised and pained me. I thought I had taught you better. You may believe me, I am a Protestant and a musician, and yours truly, S. Wesley." Now, I cannot help thinking what a great satisfaction that letter must be to all believers in the orthodox chant. You see how much it leaves them *free to believe*. It does not deny the canonicity of the chant; it does not deny that the chant comes originally from the Hebrews: for anything Dr. Wesley has said, it may be quite true that Gregorian Tone No. 1 is the identical chant to which the Hebrew girls shouted, "Saul has laid his thousands low, and David his ten thousands." Moreover, we are free to believe that St. Gregory himself was the man who obtained these wonderful chants from the Hebrews, and gave them newly revised and improved to the Christian Church.

But, in his career as a Protestant and a musician, Dr. Wesley knew nothing of them. They were outside his circle.

Dr. Darwin's letter recently printed in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and which you will be sure to transcribe into *The Index*, much reminds me of this of Wesley. It seems to say: "Christ, Revelation, Immortal Soul? I am surprised and pained. Believe me, I am a student and a naturalist, and yours truly." Now, it is certainly possible—for the *Spectator* is doing it—to wrest comfort from the fact that Dr. Darwin does not *deny* this and that. "Evolution does not deny God as a possibility, nor can it deny revelation." Very true. But these ideas had as little to do with Darwin's life as Gregorian Chants had with Dr. Wesley's. He knew nothing about them. A great and good man lived and did his duty in this world without ever troubling himself about the suppositions of theology, without even attempting to prove that these things are *not* so. The things dear to us as Christians and parsons (for I humbly claim to be both) he simply ignored. He got on well without them. I glory in the fact. I believe that thousands of my practical-minded countrymen resemble Darwin in this. They do not know Jesus, and they do not feel their want of him; but they will not be damned, notwithstanding. There are more methods than one of living nobly; and while I endeavor to do so by Christ's aid, if not for his sake, I rejoice that others have lived and are living a nobler life than mine in the spirit of Charles Darwin, attending to what seems to be their proper mission and leaving the future world and the Eternal Being to reveal themselves.

Yours truly, J. RUDDH.

HASTINGS, Oct. 4, 1882.

MISCELLANEOUS.

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, is getting to be ill-natured. In an editorial on our address before the Evangelical Ministers' Association, it refers to us as "this well-known infidel and reviler of Christianity." But the portion of the *Review's* article which we think of most interest to our readers is the following: "Perhaps these excellent ministers of the gospel wanted to show their liberality. Why, then, did they not invite him to their pulpits? They might about as well have done so. In fact, they have probably been the occasion of giving quite as wide, if not a wider, circulation to the anti-Christian diatribe with which they were regaled, as if he had pronounced it from one of their pulpits. This doctrine of liberality may be all very well for those who don't know exactly where they stand; who have no positive, settled, well-defined, and fixed principles on the subject of Christianity; who are groping for truth, like men who are conscious that the foundations on which they have been accustomed to rest are giving way: but to Catholics, who know what they believe and the infallible ground on which their faith rests, such liberality seems not only spurious, but perfectly absurd, ridiculous, and suicidal. After all, is it not the 'fellow feeling that makes us wondrous kind' that lies at the bottom of this external show of liberality? Does it not indicate a secret prophetic consciousness that they are inevitably tending in the same direction of free thought; and that, as it is impossible to determine accurately the line of Orthodoxy, so it is really not much matter where the line is drawn between Christianity and free thought, or whether any line at all be drawn?"

IT is no discredit to this country that the works of Mark Twain, our great humorist, are widely read; but, to show the justness of Mr. Towne's reply to Matthew Arnold on American Culture, which we printed recently, we submit the following facts: When Chicago was burned down, there had stood side by side, and there fell together into smoking ruin, three of the largest bookstores in the world,—double stores of great depth, five stories high, with basement for receiving and packing and for storage. The middle one of the three was an old and solid concern, with an immense trade, built up and managed by Mr. S. C. Griggs, one of the pioneers and marked men of Chicago enterprise. At the time of the great destruction by fire, younger men had come in and had become a large part of the prosperity of the house; and, to these, Mr. Griggs gave up the bookselling business under the new name of Jansen, McClurg & Co., while he established a purely publishing interest under the old name of S. C. Griggs & Co. The development of this interest is a striking feature in the progress of that vast North-west to which Chicago is a metropolitan mart. There are twenty-one important items in the list of school and college text-books of this Chicago publishing house, such as the sixteenth edition of Boise's *First Lessons in Greek*, adapted to Goodwin's and Hadley's Grammars (the highest standards of Greek study); the fourteenth edition of Boise's first six books of Homer's *Iliad*; the fifth edition of the same author's *Exercises in Greek Syntax*, and selections from various Greek authors; the nineteenth edition of Jones's *Exercises in Greek Prose Composition*; the fourth edition of Stevens' *Select Orations of Lysias*; the third edition of D'Ooge's *Demosthenes on the Crown*; the fourth edition of Bacon's *Manual of Gesture*; the third edition of Raymond's *The Orator's Manual*; and other like first-class books for Greek, Latin, German, Norse, mathematical, etc., study. In popular reading there is the fiftieth thousand of Dr. Matthew's *Getting on in the World*; the seventeenth thousand of his *Words, their Use and Abuse*; the eleventh edition of his *The Great Conversers, and Other Essays*; the tenth thousand of his *Hours with Men and Books*; the eighth thousand of his *Oratory and Orators*; the fourth edition of his translation of some of the essays of Sainte-Beuve; and his *Literary Style, and Other Essays*. To the same popular class of books belong B. F. Taylor's *The World on Wheels, and Other Sketches*, sixteenth edition; his *Between the Gates*, ninth edition; his *Old Time Pictures and Sheaves of Rhyme*, his *Songs of Yesterday*, and his *Summer Savory*. In another line may be mentioned Foster's *Prehistoric Races of the United States*, fifth edition; Anderson's four works, *America not Discovered by Columbus*, a new edition; *Norse Mythology*, third edition; *Viking Tales of the North* and *The Younger Edda*; Winchell's two volumes, *Pre-Adamites* and *Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer*; Morris' *British Thought and Thinkers*; and Welsh's *The Development of English Literature and Language*. The latest item in this Western publishing list is a series of "German Philosophical Classics for English Readers and Students," in which the following ten volumes are already arranged for: Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*; his *Ethics* and his *Critique of Judgment*; Leibnitz's *New Essays concerning Human Understanding*; Fichte's *Science of Knowledge*; Schelling's *Transcendental Idealism*; Hegel's *Logic*, his *Philosophy of Religion*, his *Æsthetics*, and his *Philosophy of History and of the State*.

BOOK NOTICES.

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for November, George S. Wilson offers his solution of the problem, "How shall the American Savage be civilized?" giving the plan of "a civilization community and school of industry," by which this result, he fancies, may be reached. Charles Dudley Warner describes "A Ride in Spain"; and Eunice W. Felton, "Domestic Country Life in Greece," as it exists to-day. "Under the Sky," by Edith M. Thomas, is a bright and pleasing essay. Maria Ellery McKaye gives an interesting sketch of the dramatic author, Beaumarchais, of whom she states that "the opportune, sorely-needed succor sent by Beaumarchais from France for our brave men at Valley Forge cheered the sinking heart of the great general [Washington] in that darkest hour before dawn." The serial stories progress rapidly toward completion. The short story, "Rube Jones," is by P. Deming. The books reviewed at some length in this number are Howells' *A Modern Instance*, Boissier's *Cicero and his Friends*, Trollope's *Life of Cicero*, and Froude's *Cæsar*, the last-mentioned three under

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the title "Recent Memoirs of Cicero," and Thomas Hughe's *Memoir of Daniel Macmillan*, the publisher. The poems are by Charles L. Hildreth and William Young. The *Atlantic* for 1883 promises to be unusually attractive, inasmuch as very frequent contributions are promised from Dr. Holmes; a dramatic poem, entitled "Michel Angelo," which was left completed by Mr. Longfellow, will be given in three numbers; Henry James' "Daisy Miller," rewritten in dramatic form, will be a notable attraction; and essays are promised from Mr. Howells and Mr. Warner, in addition to the other good things which the magazine is sure to have.

EACH number of the *Century Magazine* seems to strive to outdo the preceding one in brilliancy and interest, and the November number is an especially brilliant one. Among the contributors are Henry James, Jr., W. D. Howells, Col. Higginson, "H. H.," Alphonse Daudet, Charles Dudley Warner, Richard Watson Gilder, Albert Stickney, Mrs. Frances H. Burnett, Mary Hallock Foote, Washington Gladden, Edward Eggleston, John T. Stoddard, with several others. Surely, a nearly unparalleled array of acknowledged talent to be presented in one number of a magazine. The illustrations, always in the highest style of the art, are many and charming. Two fine full-page portraits are given, one of Florence Nightingale, the other of Henry James, Jr., of whose literary work Howells gives a careful criticism. Alphonse Daudet's article on Victor Hugo will be found specially interesting; and James' article on "Venice," with its profuse accompanying descriptive illustrations, drawn by the best artists, is delightful reading. "Bric-à-Brac" contains two notable features, a couple of original poems, copied in *fac-simile* handwriting, contributed to a young lady's album by Robert Browning and Longfellow, and a poem entitled "Narcissus in Camden," a clever take-off of the styles of Oscar Wilde and Walt Whitman and apparently descriptive of their recent meeting, by Helen Gray Cone.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for November treats of the following list of subjects: "Sewer Gas," a subject in which all city people are concerned, by Dr. Frank H. Hamilton; "The Science of the Present Period" is vindicated in a masterly manner by Emil du Bois-Reymond; an account of "Some Curious Vegetable Growths," with illustrations, is given by W. H. Larrabee; Dr. Nathan Allen writes of "The Law of Human Increase"; "Science in Relation to the Arts," by C. W. Siemens, treats especially of electric and gas illumination; "The British Lion," about which Prof. W. B. Dawkins writes, is a prehistoric animal; "Scientific Farming at Rothamsted," by Dr. Manly Miles, is an account of the systematic agricultural experiments made by Messrs. Lawes and Gilbert; Dr. Felix Oswald, in his second paper on "Physiognomic Curiosities," is bright, crisp, witty, and instructive; Prof. Grant Allen asks and partially answers the question, "Who was Primitive Man?" There is a sketch, with portrait, of Charles Adolphe Wurtz, President of the French Academy of Science; and an interesting account of life among the "Battas of Sumatra," by Dr. Schreiber. Prof. Youmans, in the "Editor's Table," deals summarily with the pretensions of Mallock as a scientist.

THE *North American Review* for November ably discusses various live issues of the day. John Welsh opens the ball by attacking "English Views of Free Trade"; Judge Joseph Neilson treats of "Disorder in Court-Rooms"; Dr. William Hammond, still bearing in mind apparently the case of Guiteau, discusses some phases of semi-insanity, and calls such cases "Problem for Sociologists"; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, in an article entitled "The Industrial Value of Woman," answers in a calm, dignified, and logical manner what there was coherent enough to answer in a recent article in the same magazine on "Woman's Work and Woman's Wages," by Charles W. Elliott; Judge Dwight Foster speaks of the "Advantages of the Jury System"; Steele Mackaye gives some good and pertinent advice as to the best means of securing "Safety in Theatres"; "The Suppression of Vice" is the subject of a sort of symposium discussion, in which Anthony Comstock, O. B. Frothingham, and Rev. J. M. Buckley participate.

THE *Catholic World* for November, under the title "God or Nothing!" takes to task the Rev. Henry Leach for his article on "The Educational Question in Belgium" in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August. Alfred M. Williams finds the original of Thackeray's Barry Lyndon in a daring young Irishman of good birth named William, alias "Tiger, Roche," whom Mr. Williams thinks "A Real Barry Lyndon"; Arthur F. Marshall, in an article on "Oxford and Cambridge," treats of the relations of these two seats of learning to Catholicism; W. J. Tenny writes of "Mr. Bancroft's New Volumes"; John MacCarthy treats of "The Catholic Element in English Life and Letters," Henry Bellingham describes some of the antics of "The 'Salvation Army' in Great Britain"; M. P. Thompson writes of "Puy-en-Velay"; and Mary Alice Seymour of "The Festival of All-Saints in Vienna." There are several other articles, stories, and a poem.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

THE date of Mr. Holyoake's lecture at the Parker Memorial has been changed to Sunday evening, November 5.

IT is stated that Stanley, the African explorer, has so won the confidence of the natives that the white men at the posts established by him are no longer under the necessity of carrying weapons.

FRANCOIS LENORMANT has gone to Southern Italy, on a mission from the French Ministry of Public instruction, to complete his researches into the archæology of Apulia and the western coast from Reggio to Pæstum.

MRS. MYRA CLARK GAINES, having fought at law for her personal "rights" through a long life, has come to the conclusion in her old age that she is as competent to vote as a man, and has joined the Woman Suffrage movement.

THERE is still some gratitude left among men. Miss Anthony has won the promise of the votes (when she runs for office) of a couple of railroad officials, because of her conscientious consideration for baggage-men in buying and using only small-sized trunks in travelling in place of the generally preferred "Saratogas."

MISS ELEANOR ORMEROD, who was lately made consulting entomologist to the Royal Agricultural Society of Great Britain, has just been appointed special lecturer on economic entomology to the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. Her class will consist of young men who are training as practical agriculturists.

MIDDY MORGAN, the woman stock reporter of the New York *Times*, taught an insolent policeman a valuable lesson the other day. "This fellow mistook her for a wanderer from the backwoods as she was walking on a wharf near the Battery recently, and loudly advised her to 'walk overboard.' She quietly took his number, reported him at his station, identified him when he appeared at the end of his watch, and had him suspended for two weeks without pay. The astounded rough tried to beg off, and his fellow-officer shut him up with the remark, 'Served ye right.'"

DR. MCCOSH announces the programme of a philosophic series. "For the last thirty years," he says, "I have been taking my part in the philosophic discussions of the age. I have a few things yet to say before I willingly leave the arena." These will be said in five volumes, to be issued quarterly in pamphlet form. The first number will be published about the last of this month, and will be devoted to "The Criteria of Diverse Kinds of Truth as opposed to Agnosticism, being a Treatise of Applied Logic." The last one is "A Criticism of Herbert Spencer's Philosophy as culminated in his Ethics."

PROF. SOPHOCLES, one of the oldest members of the Harvard faculty, bears the truly classical name of Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles, and is now seventy-five years of age, having been connected with the university since 1845, when he was first appointed Greek tutor. His Greek dictionary and his text-books of ancient and modern Greek have made his name well known in the New World and the Old, and have been of great service to scholars in every country as well as to those at Cambridge. He is, like many great men, absolutely simple in his tastes, and has for some time lived a retired life, out of reach of society, devoted to his pets, of which he has many. He has a number of hens and chickens, of which he is extremely fond, and which he names after his friends as a means of keeping them constantly in his thoughts.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	205
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
The Pound of Flesh, but Nothing Else, Wm. J. Potter,	206
A Diurnal Circle, Moncure D Conway,	206
English Positivism, William Clarke,	207
That Hollow Ghost,—Idealism, Wm. I. Gill,	208
Herbert Spencer's "Absolute," M. A. Hardaker,	209
EDITORIAL NOTES,	209
POETRY.	
An Ancient Text, H. T. C.,	210
ESSAYS.	
Unitarian Pioneering, Edwin D. Mead,	210
Prof. Haeckel on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck,	213
MISCELLANEOUS,	214
BOOK NOTICES.	
Wide Awake, St. Nicholas, The Herald of Health, Our Little Ones,	215
Pilgrim's Progress, by J. C. Beckel,	215
Freidenker-Almanach,	215
Lessons in Ethics, by Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells,	215
PERSONAL ITEMS,	215

CURRENT TOPICS.

TO PREVENT a second repetition by the same person of "marrying in haste to repent at leisure," the Vermont Legislature is considering a bill which prohibits a divorced person from marrying within a year, and a person from whom a divorce is obtained from marrying within five years, or ever, if the ground of complaint is a crime, in which case criminal prosecution must follow the divorce proceedings.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Investigator* writes from Osceola, Iowa: "A common school pupil was recently expelled, because he refused to read the Bible. The school directors, on being appealed to, ruled that Bible-reading and prayer could not be enforced during school hours. The teacher, therefore, calls school a quarter of an hour before the time, and the Bible class reads therefrom while the ungodly are at play, or some of them loitering on the way to school."

THE bills presented by President Garfield's physicians for the eighty days of his illness average, on the part of Drs. Bliss and Hamilton, a little over three hundred dollars per day; Mrs. Edson claims over one hundred and forty dollars per day for her services; while Dr. Boynton more modestly demands only fifty-six dollars per day: these, with other medical attendance, foot up a total of ninety thousand dollars to come out of the people's assumed-to-be capacious pocket.

EVEN in this sceptical age, "godliness," as of old, is sometimes the accompaniment of "great gain," as in the case of the Baron Wilhelm Rothschild of Frankfort, Germany, who, despite his money-getting proclivities, is so strict a Jew that, during his recent tour through Switzerland, he was accompanied not only by his ritual cook and butcher, but also by ten devout persons of his own religion, who went solely for the purpose of praying with him, as, according to Mosaic law, a congregation must consist of at least ten worshippers.

ONE of the features of the Munich Electrical Exhibition is a telephone which transmits thither pieces of music performed at Oberammergau, sixty-three miles distant. Another telephone transmits concert pieces performed in the English Café so as to be audible to the entire audience in a large hall in the palace. The transmission of power by a single wire from the coal mines of Miesbach, about thirty-seven miles distant, suggests the possibility of utilizing the heat of coal at a distance, and thus saving the labor and expense of transporting the coal.

THE widow of John Brown received two receptions in Boston last week, at which many of the old anti-slavery people were present. Her New England friends are raising a fund to give her an income for life; and any contributions to this fund will be received by William Endicott, Jr., 3 Summer Street, Boston. This week, she sets out on her return to California, where she has lived since 1864, where she has four children and seventeen grandchildren living. Her only surviving son, Salmon, who was with his father in Kansas, is a sheep farmer in Humboldt County, Cal. She buried her son Watson in the Adirondacks, October 12, before coming to New England.

AT the unveiling last Friday, on the embankment at Chelsea, of Boehm's statue of Carlyle, Prof. Tyndall delivered an impressive address, concluding with these words: "Might I append to these brief remarks a wish that a companion memorial could be raised on this Thames embankment to a man who loved our heir and was by him beloved to the end? I refer to the loftiest, purest, and most penetrating spirit that ever shone in American literature,—to Ralph Waldo Emerson, the life-long friend of Thomas Carlyle." The despatch which conveys this intelligence says that the suggestion of a companion memorial to Emerson was cordially received by the audience, which was a very brilliant one.

A COMMUNITY of peril makes the hitherto hostile hierarchies now wondrous kind to each other, so that they are even contemplating an alliance offensive and defensive, but chiefly defensive. There is in England what is called the Order of Corporate Reunion, which has for its aim the rejunction of the English with the Papal Church. In general, it is an association for the promotion of Christian unity. Hitherto, the various divisions or clans and septs of Christianity have furnished to unregenerate mankind outside of the fold of salvation a most unedifying example of mutual hate and persecution, that used to proceed to the length of fire and sword. Now, under the genial influence of free thought and scientific truth, the various Christian clans are at last exhibiting the outward appearance at least of inter-brotherly affection.

IN a London journal, Alfred R. Wallace, the naturalist, who, as is well known, is a Spiritualist, writes thus in regard to "materializations": "It is my deliberate conviction—accepting the reality of these phenomena as witnessed personally and as narrated by a crowd of competent observers, and deducing from them the obvious and close material and spiritual connection of the form and medium—that the fact of a person seizing the form and finding the medium is not and cannot be a proof of fraud, but is, in all probability, the natural and inevitable effect of trying to keep apart two beings who are really one, and who cannot be rudely interfered with without danger to the human body, whose abnormal organization supplies the material for the temporary materialization of these marvellous existences." If this be true, how properly to test a "materialized form" is not clear to one who is disposed to subject the claims of Spiritualism to scientific verification.

E. H. HEYWOOD, of Princeton, Mass., was arrested last week on the charge of depositing in the United States mail obscene literature and a notice giving information where, how, and of whom indecent articles could be obtained. The charge in the complaint in regard to obscene literature was, it is stated, based on extracts taken from Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. We have no sympathy whatever with that pruriency that would suppress a work like Whitman's, simply because it contains passages that are coarse and offensive. The authorities might as well suppress the Bible for the same reason. On the other hand, a man who culls from the *Leaves of Grass*, the Bible, Shakspere, or any other standard work or work of genius, all the passages that are vulgar or lascivious and prints them in a paper or pamphlet apart from their connections, is in contemptible business, —a business more contemptible even than the pruriency that is offended and shocked by allusion to certain great facts pertaining to manhood and womanhood, in the masterpieces of literature.

JOSEPH COOK, in reply to challenges from anti-christians to debate the claims of Christianity-has published a letter in Melbourne concerning "spiritualists, infidels, and representatives of free-thought," which indicates that there has been no improvement in him since he left Boston, either as to manners or regard for truth. All these three classes, he says, "are notoriously connected with schemes for the propagation of immorality. Several of the prominent agitators in support of infidelity and freethought have been sent to jail for distributing infamous publications through the mails. No decent man can consent to appear on the same platform with the representatives of enterprises that have a debasing effect on the public mind." "A mere worldling," remarks the Springfield *Republican*, commenting on this letter, "must pronounce it discreditable in this age of the world to spell 'free thought' in one word, and to convey by implication the slander that all his antagonists must be guilty of infamous practices. But, further, he is 'not open to challenges of which the evident object is to advertise infidelity.' This definitely shuts off every challenge, on the well-known Cookian principle that to disagree with Cook is to be an infidel. But the richest item in this proclamation is that, 'when infidels of any kind issue a book that goes through ten editions in ten years at a dollar a copy,' he will reply to it. He adds, to prove his magnanimity, that 'several volumes of the Boston Monday Lectures have gone through ten editions in five years. This is Joseph Cook all over: he would measure heads with an archangel."

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THE POUND OF FLESH, BUT NOTHING ELSE.

The *Sunday School Times* is probably right in its assumption that the legal decision under which Stephen Girard's will was declared to be valid and Girard College was established, is not likely to be changed. At least, no immediate change could be expected, even if any way could be devised for bringing the case again before the courts. The decision was rendered by the Supreme Court of the country; and, though no one of the judges who then composed the court is now a member of it, courts are naturally reluctant to overturn their own decisions, and especially when, as in this case, they were unanimous.

But there is one legal point that might be raised, and it were well if it could be put at once into the form of a legal inquiry before the courts; and that is, whether the management of the college, in respect to religious teaching, is in accordance with the terms of the Supreme Court's decision. It will be remembered, as we said last week, that the court took the ground that the teaching of Christianity in the college was not prohibited by the terms of the will, if the teaching should be conducted by laymen and in an unsectarian way. The basis on which it made this decision was that the will required the inculcation of the "purest morality"; and the purest morality, in the view of the court, as of the counsel on both sides, could not be inculcated apart from Christianity. It is evident that what the court had in mind was the moral side of Christianity, and not its dogmatic. The teaching was to be "non-sectarian." The Bible might be read, and "especially the New Testament," and read even as a divine revelation, but "without note or comment." The whole tenor of the decision was in keeping with the claim of Mr. Binney, the counsel for maintaining the will, that the will, while it expressly proscribes sectarian and doctrinal teaching, "supposes that the great truths of Christianity, *in which all Christian denominations concur*, will be taught in the college." But are there any "truths of Christianity in which all Christian denominations concur" except its moral truths?

Now, we have a strong suspicion (though we are not here prepared to give any reason for it, except the ardent zeal with which conservative evangelical journals are defending the management of the college as doing a most satisfactory "Christian work") that the teaching of Christianity in the college is not confined to these non-sectarian limits; that the lay teachers there are not content to read the Bible "without note or comment," nor to restrict their instructions to those truths in which "all Christian denominations concur." This is not usually the kind of religious teaching that satisfies persons of evangelical persuasion. We remember once talking with an influential orthodox doctor of divinity on the question of Bible-reading in the public schools. He had been a member of the school committee in a Massachusetts town, and he said he had always argued in favor of removing the Bible from the public schools because the requirement, by Massachusetts law, that it be read without note or comment, naturally leads teachers to read only those parts that are plain without note or comment,—that is, the moral and spiritual parts,—*and this habit favors Unitarianism.* Hence, he preferred, on denominational grounds, no reading of the Bible in the schools to the reading of it under the restrictions now imposed by law. We believe that among the stricter sort of evangelical people there exists a like dissatisfaction with the "no-comment" practice of teaching the "great truths of Christianity." "Christ and his salvation," as the *Sunday School Times* expresses it, is not generally taught by orthodox sects in that way. We think, therefore, that the inquiry would be a timely one as to just the *way* in which Christianity is being taught in Girard College. Are the managers keeping within the strict intent and terms of the *Supreme Court's decision* (to say nothing now of the intent of the Girard will), and allowing there only that Christian teaching which is non-sectarian?

Moreover, since the decision of the court was professedly based on the interpretation of the will according to its exact letter and not according to the most rational view of Mr. Girard's wishes, it is but just that the management of the college should be required to conform to the exact letter of the court's decision. The trustees should be enjoined to exhibit the scheme of Christian teaching separated from the sectarian dogmas of Christianity, which the court declared that laymen might give in the college. They should be required to produce in black and white those general unsectarian principles of Christianity which the court affirmed would satisfy, and alone satisfy, the terms of the will. They should be legally forbidden to permit any Christian teaching in the college until they can formulate, satisfactorily to all sects, those "great truths of Christianity in which all Christian denominations concur." Since it has been decided that the college may have a certain amount and kind of Christian instruction, the college authorities should be held rigidly to the exact terms of the bond: they should be told to take their pound of flesh, but *nothing* more nor less; that, if they swerve one hair's breadth, either way, from a line on which all Christian sects from largest to smallest can agree, or if they draw one drop of any doctrine of any Christian sect which any other Christian sect, however small, disputes, then must they forfeit their trust.

Liberalism might temporarily be quite content if there were any way thus to bring a legal injunction upon the trustees to permit no teaching of Christianity in the college except in strict conformity to the letter of the Supreme Court's decision; that is, no teaching but that on which all Christian sects unite. But, in the course of time,—say in a hundred years, or even less,—a better result than this will doubtless come. Trustees and courts alike will then see that Girard, in his description of the morality to be taught in his college, had really seized on the best things in all religions; that Christianity itself, in all its doctrinal and special claims, is only one sect of the world's faith; and that the claim that morals, even the purest, cannot be taught apart from Christianity is only a form of provincial ignorance and arrogance. We do not believe that even now the United States Supreme Court would declare that a Jewish college, though its founder might expressly proscribe Christian teaching therein, would thereby forfeit its right to a legal existence because an institution contrary to public morality. And, before the year 1982, civilized mankind will have learned that morality does not depend upon any system of theology nor upon the continuance of any of the special religions of the world. WM. J. POTTER.

A DIURNAL CIRCLE.

"Luria goes not poorly forth!
If we could only wait! The only fault's with time:
All men become good creatures—but so slow!"

Poor Luria's triumphs and vindications come surely, but too slowly: the poison has done its work, and Luria lies dead. Robert Browning's poetic tragedy is a type of many that are sadly real. But possibly the poet is to-day telling how swiftly certain satanic men become good creatures; and he might illustrate it with the story of his friend Benjamin Jowett, this week taking his seat as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Is this the same man, you ask, who, only a score of years ago, was reviled as a reverend Nihilist? Is it the writer in *Essays and Reviews* who was threatened with a prosecution for heresy, excluded from the University pulpit, and forced to resubscribe the Thirty-nine Articles? After careful inquiry, I am in a position to state that the new head of Oxford University is that same *bête noir* of conservatism. He has been appointed by the leader of the Conservative party, Lord Salisbury, to the educational Primacy of England, in harmony with the unhesitating suffrage of the nation also, whose unanimity no voice ventured to break. At the commemoration of 1863, in Oxford, I had the honor of being a guest of Dr. Jowett. He was then the Regius Professor of Greek in Balliol, and distinguished as the ablest and most hard-working teacher of that language in the country. He was retained in the professorship, which he had received through the influence of Lord Palmerston seven years before, simply because there was no statutory power that could remove him. But there was a power by which his salary could be kept down to the statutory minimum, forty pounds; and on this Prof. Jowett had to maintain his position as the most eminent scholar in Oxford. Never was a man more serene about it all,—not even his intimate friend, Socrates. I thought, in that day, there seemed written upon his great brow, pure and placid as an infant's, the calm words of his anathematized essay: "That work can hardly expect to win much popular favor, so far as it runs counter to the feelings of religious parties; but he who bears a part in it may feel a confidence, which no popular caresses or religious sympathy could inspire, that he has, by a divine help, been able to plant his foot somewhere beyond the waves of time." Again I visited Dr. Jowett, and "the waves of time" were following him like a solar tide. A few years more, and they had floated him into the Mastership of Balliol; for he never receded from his position. With perfect frankness of speech and act, and calmness of conviction, he has continued his course. The visitor to Balliol passed through a hall illumined with the faces of Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, of many another beloved heretic, to the study of the master who felt himself no heretic, but would suffer no sacerdotal influence or traditions to separate him from his fellow-pilgrims, Faithful and Greatheart, because they did not wear the Christian garb or name.

The career of Dr. Jowett is of a significance that cannot be concealed. This diurnal circle of that celestial body, if the University from which English theology has so long emanated may be so called, corresponds with a motion of the earth not otherwise to be so well measured. Our dear old Archbishop of Canterbury, with charming *naïveté*, has just come out with the truth of it. He says the old Tractarians of Oxford are "responsible for that wave of secularism which for the last few years has raged so violently within the University." These, then, are those "waves of time" which have caught up with Dr. Jowett, and carried him to his supremacy. It is amusing to witness the perturbation caused by this confession by the Primate. His article, in the current number of *Macmillan*, elicited by Mozley's *Reminiscences* was the last thing written by him before his illness. He has been at the point of death, is not yet in safety, and consequently the papers most jealous of the Establishment are not quite free in their criticisms. But the fact is unquestionably as Dr. Tait states. The old Oxonian Church is extinct beyond revival, and is hardly a "survival." Dr. Pusey passed from his religious isolation to his grave as from one

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tomb to another. The Church has brought a more complete development of its resources than he had demanded to subserve an aim directly counter to his,—a secular aim. The ideal saint upheld before the Church by its most spiritual minds is a man serviceable to men, concentrated on human work directed to actual benefit. If any one in a company of clergymen shall question the advantages of the national Church, he will be sure to find its claims based on the practical, philanthropic, educational, or other work it is doing: it would be rare to hear any champion suggesting that its continuance might be pleasing to God.

And this reminds me that it is not the first time our excellent Archbishop of Canterbury has been the *enfant terrible* of the Church. At a conference of clergymen and ministers, at which Dr. James Martineau was present, the advantages of a national establishment were discussed, and the Archbishop said that, if it were not for the Established Church, the English people would pretty certainly go off, like the Americans, into Unitarianism and similar heresies. If Dr. Martineau had said that it required a large bribe to keep people orthodox, the assembly would have shuddered, and resented his remark. The Archbishop really said about the same thing, with the air of an old Quaker delivering his burden without understanding it; and an uneasy suspicion that the testimony was ambiguous first arose among the clergy present, when Martineau arose and said that, "notwithstanding the temptation offered him by His Grace," he was not sure immediate disestablishment is advisable.

On the whole, when I consider that Charles Darwin, who supported no church but your Free Religious Association, a Prophet of that Earth which Christianity held accursed, is buried in Westminster Abbey, and that the man most like him in the Church is Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, I feel disposed to award England a good degree of the credit claimed for her by a brilliant American thinker. "For five hundred years," wrote Chauncey Wright, in a letter to my friend Mrs. Lesley, "from the time when old William Occam asserted common sense and experience against the devoted and enthusiastic subtilties of Continental and Celtic Schoolmen, England has taken the lead in every great revolution in thought and practice, even down to Darwinism." He added that the English "have kept old forms and names, but changed the things"; and he might have added that these old forms and names, requiring every year a more costly and laborious support to maintain them, for the very reason that their subsistence in reality is gone, defraud the people of their birthright: the fruits of their "revelations," diurnal or other, bring harvest homes to every land sooner than their own.

Let me hasten, however, to qualify this general statement by saying that there are some signs of a revolution in this also. The secular spirit in the Church has so increased the velocity of religious movement that one cannot say how soon the old names and forms may be transmuted into new. One of the good facts is that this latest revolution shows no sign of going backward. When Dean Stanley died, liberal people quaked. Gladstone, the hardest theologic traditionalist in England, had to appoint the new Dean of Westminster; and every one was looking to see one of his Hard-Church friends harnessed for the work of dragging the broadest pulpit in the land back to its old formation. But Dean Bradley has proved to be as sincerely catholic as his predecessor. Without a particle of Jesuitism, a sincere Christian, he is yet a brave and frank liberal. Without being eloquent, he is an impressive preacher, a clear-minded thinker, and exact scholar; and he has a childlike simplicity of manner, a kindly plainness of speech, which are very attractive. Westminster Abbey is the most real temple of the nation. By history as well as development, it belongs to the greatness of England. Dead creeds are no more genuinely in it than the living creeds written on tablets that enshrine the dust of Lyell, Darwin, and many another great heart and brain. It will erelong contain a memorial of Longfellow also. Already there are written on its walls Emerson's stately lines on the Abbeys of England. It is for these and much stronger reasons a matter in which liberal Americans may find cause for satisfaction that, under its new administration, Westminster Abbey is not likely to lose any lustre that it has gained as representative of the real development of English genius and character.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

ENGLISH POSITIVISM.

The other and more important branch of the "Church of Humanity" is located in a hall in Fetter Lane, off Fleet Street. This hall was formerly the old chapel of the Scottish Corporation; but, before becoming the property of that body, it was used during the last century as the meeting-place of no less famous a body than the Royal Society, it being built on ground purchased by Sir Isaac Newton, then president. This hall was formally opened on the 1st of May, 1881, by M. Laffitte, the director of Positivism in Paris. This distinguished head of the new church also gave in the hall some discourses on Positivism, and two lectures on the Rise of Sociology in the Eighteenth Century. I had the pleasure of hearing the first of these very able and interesting lectures, which attracted a large and highly intellectual audience. In this hall (which, by the way, is appropriately named Newton Hall), lectures and addresses on Positivism in its various aspects are constantly given. The most important of these have hitherto been the very eloquent lectures delivered by Mr. Frederic Harrison during the months of February and March, 1882. In these lectures, Mr. Harrison dealt first with the various objections to Positivism, and next with the direct teaching of Positivism in relation to home life, social life, the state, spiritual life, and social duty. The objectors to Positivism criticised by him were, first, the orthodox, both Catholic and Protestant; second, the deists (as the Positivists persist in calling those who speak of themselves as theists), among whom were Martineau, Jowett, F. W. Newman, and Edward Caird; third, the philosophers and men of letters, including Mill, Matthew Arnold, and Mark Pattison; and, fourth, the men of science, these being represented by Spencer and Huxley. Mr. Harrison was happiest in dealing with the first, third, and fourth of these classes, his criticism of Spencer and Huxley, with their worship of the unknown and unknowable, being especially admirable. During July last, Prof. Beesley lectured in this hall on the Positivist view of the Egyptian question, vigorously denouncing the action of the British government. The Positivists are also engaged in the really admirable task of giving in this hall free popular instruction in the elements of scientific knowledge, in accordance with the scheme of scientific education laid down by Comte. Classes in geometry, physics, and chemistry, have been formed; and others in sociology and biology will be added. This is analogous to the kind of work M. Laffitte has been carrying on in Paris, where he has a public lecture hall assigned to him by the French government. The English Positivists have not yet attained to this latter dignity; but, in France, many of the prominent public men, including Gambetta, are in sympathy with Comtist principles.

The group of Positivists who direct this movement at Newton Hall comprise some very able and remarkable men. The president is Dr. J. H. Bridges, a physician and a government inspector of factories,—a man characterized by the most unselfish and humanitarian aims. Few men are more intimately acquainted with the condition of the working classes and of the poor, and perhaps it may be added that few men have done more to alleviate their wants and to raise their condition. Dr. Bridges is essentially a man of a religious nature,—so much so that, heretic as he is, pious Catholics and evangelicals would be quite one with him in feeling and emotion.

In a lecture on "Religion and Progress," Dr. Bridges has indicated his feeling about the old religion: "The beauty of life, the calm and trustful temper, the pious hopes, the self-denying zeal that cluster round Christian churches of every kind, are facts which every one must see who does not blind his own eyes,—facts which I hope every one here would willingly recognize." These are the words of a man who is far removed from the anti-religious bigotry of many modern thinkers,—a bigotry quite as offensive as that of the orthodox and far less justifiable. Dr. Bridges was, I believe, brought up under evangelical auspices; and, while getting rid of the superstition, he has retained the good qualities engendered by that system of belief. Dr. Bridges has not written much, except occasional articles in the *Fortnightly Review;* but he has assisted in the translation of Comte's works, and has given addresses in Paris as well as in London. I have mentioned Dr. Bridges first, because he is president of the English society; but unquestionably the ablest and most influential English Positivist is Frederic Harrison. As a writer, Mr. Harrison is, in my opinion, one of the most brilliant England possesses at the present time. As a thinker, he is clear, bold, and sincere. While as a public man and exponent of sociology and politics, every one, however widely differing from him, acknowledges his power and his perfect integrity. Although Mr. Harrison has been before the public for many years, he is still in the very prime of life, and has apparently a long future before him, in the course of which he will doubtless accomplish many things. His own special studies have been in the direction of jurisprudence; and his essays on the study of that great subject in the *Fortnightly Review* have been singularly able productions, possessing the merit of being intelligible to the non-legal mind. He has served for several years as examiner in the school of jurisprudence at Oxford, and as lecturer on jurisprudence in Lincoln's Inn to London law students. Mr. Harrison's writings are probably as well known in the United States as in England, since his contributions to the *Contemporary* and *Fortnightly Reviews* and to the *Nineteenth Century* have been exceedingly voluminous; and, if I mistake not, he has written once or twice for the *North American Review.* Some of these essays, on political and economical subjects, were collected some few years ago into a volume entitled *Order and Progress.* There is no regular sequence in these essays; but they may be said in a general way to give the positivist view of politics, the reconciliation of the aspirations of the people with an energetic government,—a problem difficult enough, and which I can scarcely think Mr. Harrison has solved. The eloquent essays on "The Soul and a Future Life" which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* will be fresh in the recollection of all readers who admire fervid rhetoric combined with cultured expression and the deep sense of the necessity of spiritual things to man's nature.

No one but a thorough-going Positivist can, I

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think, accept these eloquent utterances as a satisfactory solution of the problem of immortality. Mr. Harrison seems to think that the longing for individual conscious existence beyond death is a sign of unhealthy egoism, which must be purged before one can rise to the most exalted spiritual life. Surely, this was not the view of Saint Paul or Saint Augustine or Dante, or any of those other great teachers to whom the Positivists look up. There need be nothing in the least degree selfish in the longing for immortality, as may be discerned in those lines of Tennyson:—

"The wages of sin is death: if the wages of Virtue be dust,
Would she have heart to endure for the life of the worm and the fly?
She desires no isles of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,
To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a summer sky:
Give her the wages of going on, and not to die."

It is questionable whether a philosophy or religion, as Positivism claims to be, which does not give these wages of going on, which ignores the finest and strongest aspiration of the finest and strongest minds, can make much progress. Mr. Harrison gives us as a substitute "subjective immortality,"—*i.e.*, the individual living, through his actions and thoughts, in the subsequent life of the race. But, surely, science has demonstrated that, if the race of mankind be immortal, it must find a home in some other planet than ours, which is destined to irrevocable destruction. Nor is it any sufficient impulse to me in my work of to-day to know that a thousand years hence a noble and perfect civilization will exist here, compared with which our society of the present is a rude, clumsy, hideous barbarism. Rather must one say, with Emerson: "Will you, with vast cost and pains, educate your children to be adepts in their several arts, and, as soon as they are ready to produce a masterpiece, call out a file of soldiers to shoot them down?" If this fearful havoc of human affections, hopes, and longings, be really involved in the order of things, we cannot feel for that order the reverence and trust which Mr. Harrison enjoins. But I am criticising at too great a length, and must resume my account of English Positivists. Mr. Harrison has devoted himself with great energy to the maintenance of the rights of labor and to the movement for disestablishing the State Church. The leading Trades Unionists of England regard him as one of their stanchest friends, since he has always fought their battles with tongue and pen. Mr. Harrison's dislike of State Churches is vehement in its intensity. Speaking once to a group of us who were discussing the proposed law against the religious orders in France, Mr. Harrison said he disliked the proposition so much that he was almost prepared to sacrifice political liberty itself rather than to tolerate such interference (as he judged it) with religion on the part of the State. He has always spoken out nobly on behalf of those peoples whom the English governing classes have persecuted and oppressed. I may allude especially to his championship of the negroes of Jamaica against Governor Eyre, to his denunciation of General Roberts for his wholesale executions at Cabul, and to his severe and eloquent condemnation of Mr. Gladstone's Irish and Egyptian policy. I would also call attention to his apology for the Commune, which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* soon after the tragic events of 1871. This should be read by all those who wish to understand both sides of a vexed question. Like all Positivists, Mr. Harrison is very friendly to France and very intimately acquainted with that country and its affairs. He and Dr. Bridges generally attend the annual commemoration of the death of Comte in the house where he died, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris. Mr. Harrison also knows several of the leading French statesmen, including Gambetta, whom he at one time regarded (and perhaps does still) as the sheet-anchor of the French Republic. Next to Mr. Harrison, the best-known Positivist in England is Prof. Beesley, who occupies the position of Principal of University Hall, a place where students of the University College, London, live under academical discipline. Mr. Beesley is also Professor of History in the college. His views are almost identical with those of Mr. Harrison; and the only specialty about him is that he takes up the practical, social, and political sides of Comte's teaching more than do the others. He is the son of an evangelical clergyman, and, like Dr. Bridges, retains much genuine and devout religious feeling. Prof. Beesley has written much on later Roman history, attempting to prove, *à la* Comte, that the Roman emperors were, for the most part, angels in disguise, filled with the most genuine humanitarian feelings. We may be glad to hear praise of a Marcus Aurelius; but, when Prof. Beesley tells us that Tiberius was a noble and upright man, I, for one, cannot help feeling somewhat incredulous. The truth which underlies this teaching, and on which the Positivists dwell with peculiar emphasis, is that the empire laid the foundations for the law and order, the policy and jurisprudence, on which the European fabric reposed. It is this which leads Comte to include Julius Cæsar among the twelve great men from whom the months are named in his calendar. But Prof. Beesley's out-and-out defence of Cæsarism (which was strongly rebuked by Mr. Freeman) seems to many a distorted and exaggerated statement of this truth. Prof. Beesley, like Mr. Harrison, is a prominent friend of the workingmen, and a vigorous defender of their trade combinations. He will fill a place in history, perhaps, by having been the president of the meeting held in London, September, 1864, when the celebrated International Society of Workingmen was formed; but, of course, he must not be accounted responsible for all the subsequent doings of that famous body, when it fell into the hands of Bakounine and the party of anarchy.

A less known but very able member of the positivist society is James Cotter Morison, who is, like Dr. Congreve, Mr. Harrison, and Prof. Beesley, an Oxford man. Though the general public knows little of Mr. Morison, some readers are grateful to him for the admirable work he has done. His most important book is the Life of Saint Bernard. He has also written the volume on Gibbon in the "English Men of Letters" series, and is engaged on another volume for that series,—on Macaulay. He has also written a good deal in the *Fortnightly Review* and in other periodicals, and he occasionally lectures for the Positivists in Newton Hall. Any person who listened to him would be much impressed by his wide knowledge and clear insight.

These are the leading Positivists of England. There are others less known, but who do much work for the cause, and who interest themselves in the culture and progress of the people in various ways. And one has only to mention George Henry Lewes, George Eliot, and John Morley, all deeply affected by Comte's teachings, to understand what a very considerable power Positivism has been in England. Mr. Morley's article on Comte, in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, is, by the way, the best summary of this system of philosophy. Nor must we forget that both John Stuart Mill and Harriet Martineau were influenced by Comte's works. I can scarcely say that Comtism is spreading in England, although several able young men gather round the leaders in London, and a few others are to be found in the universities who own allegiance to the French thinker. The ablest Comtist outside London is Mr. J. K. Ingram, Professor of Political Economy in Dublin University, and a man of vigorous mental power. Comtism has some good, positive teaching, and at the same time, as I think, some striking defects which incapacitate it for attracting those who want to be saved from aimless life or gloomy doubts. But this, at any rate, is certain: that its influence, so far as it goes, is healthy and good. It binds men together in a common belief, and urges them to noble endeavor and to unselfish striving for humanity. And, in those public questions which agitate the national life of England, its influence is wholly good; for its apostles are also the apostles of justice, freedom, and brotherhood.

WILLIAM CLARKE.

THAT HOLLOW GHOST,—IDEALISM.

Dualism is dead. None now so poor as to do it reverence. But from its grave stalks forth a gaunt and hollow spectre, misnamed Idealism, which much disturbs the nerves of monists of the materialistic type; and, in their trepidation, they make blind assaults on the objects of their own imagination. In plainer phrase, through superficial analysis and incomprehension of the significance of their own frequent admissions, material monists or objective evolutionists often turn upon idealism with a lofty air (simulacrum of courage), and charge it with the utterance of empty words,—with unconsciously shooting blank cartridge for solid shot. Thus, a really able writer, Lewis G. Janes, in *The Index* of August 31, in expounding the "synthetic philosophy," discourses as follows: "The counter-assertion of the idealist, that light, sound, etc., are purely subjective sensations, that the eye produces light and not the contrary, is evidently a mere truism. The æther vibrations, which are the objective facts recognized in the phenomenon of light, existed before any eye existed, and by their interaction with the organism developed the organ of vision. All that the idealist really asserts is that the objective fact would not appear in consciousness unless there existed a conscious being with faculties capable of perceiving it, which is the merest truism."

If Mr. Janes had stopped to ask himself as a psychologist what he must mean, when he means anything, by the "æther vibrations which existed before any eye existed," and what he should mean by the organism and its environment and their interaction, he would have spared himself the labor of that paragraph. How does the author know that there were æther vibrations before there were eyes? And what is the nature, quality, and form of previsional vibrations of æther? They could not be seen of course, could not be of the nature of light. Neither could they be of the nature of odor or taste or sound or touch before there was a sensible organism with corresponding senses. Thus, as we go through all known or conceivable sensible forms, we find that whatever the name we give them, whether vibrations or corpuscular emanations, they could have no possible existence before there was an organism and a set of senses; and to assert the existence of any preorganic or presensible or previsual vibrations is to assert we know not what,—a mental vacuity, because a sensible blank, which is something worse than the utterance of a truism. All "objective facts recognized in the phenomenon of light" are visual facts and objects, or at least sensible, else they are not objective or known as facts.

On the other hand, there can be no sensible organism—that is, no organism at all—till there are sensible objects. This may surprise some readers, because, after making the existence of sensible phenomena conditioned on the existence of an organism, I now make the existence of the organism conditioned on the existence of sensible phe-

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nomena. The surprise will melt away as soon as they reflect that the organism is itself a sensible phenomenon and object, and as such only is it known. It is, therefore, a contradiction in terms to speak of a presensible or nonsensible organism. Most organisms are visible; and the visible organism is nothing but a visual sensation, or sensation called sight or vision. All organisms, I believe, are tangible; and the tangible organism is simply a sensation of touch. Hence, it is equally impossible for sensible objects or sensations to precede the organism or the organism to precede them, because they are the organism: so that, so far considered, they can only originate together.

But this leaves out of consideration, or only partially considered, all extraorganic phenomena. My own organism is only an infinitesimal fraction of the sensible phenomena of which I am the subject. There is an almost infinite number of known and knowable objects beyond my organism. All these are really and strictly extraorganic. They are not a part or mode or product or effect or cause of my organism. They are not even sensible objects of my organism or organic precepts. My organism perceives nothing. I perceive it, and so it is a mode of me. Likewise, all extraorganic phenomena are modes of me, but not of the organism. They transcend the organism, but not the *ego*, which is therefore always one with and commensurate with all the known universe.

Hence, nothing of all the universe could exist before the *ego;* for that were to make the *ego* exist before itself. On the other hand, it is logically possible for the *ego* to have existed before the evolution of some or any of its sensible modes constituting the material universe; and to this, as the fact, all experience informed by modern science, physical and psychical, is clearly pointing. Thus, we have a new aspect given to the synthetic philosophy. All evolution, as all phenomena, is subjective, an unfolding of the force or powers of the individual *ego*. How we are further to explain this and get out of the *ego* presents another subject. But our monistic friend on the other or objective side of the house will not charge us with uttering in this paper "mere truisms."

WM. I. GILL.

HERBERT SPENCER'S "ABSOLUTE."

Mrs. Celia P. Woolley has taken the pains to give a somewhat extended review of my objection to the Spencerian theory of the Absolute. Her paper, however, shows a far better comprehension of Spencer's view of the matter than of my own. I am not fond of newspaper controversy, and think it generally unfruitful; but my belief that a vital, philosophical point may be established by dwelling more thoroughly on this question leads me to restate and to try to make more distinct the illegitimacy of Mr. Spencer's induction. Mrs. Woolley objects to "mere denial." I certainly meant in my brief space to outline a more rational conception of things than that proposed by Mr. Spencer; but, if so intelligent a critic has failed to recognize the substitution, I must think that I failed to make it plain. Is it true that all thinkers "are compelled to admit the existence of some force or fact behind phenomena"? If all human knowledge be derived from experience, as the scientific philosopher holds, then the reasoning by which an Absolute is arrived at must be a process resting upon experience. But experience gives absolutely *no datum* out of which to create an Absolute. All that human sensation yields is an experience of the matter of the universe in vibration, the human being becoming aware of the various motions only as fast as his nervous system takes them up. He is indeed but a link in the great cosmic chain of correlated motions. It seems to me that, if my critic had read and thought upon the last paragraph of my former article, she would have caught the theory of knowledge implied in it.

Science has thus far demonstrated only man's physiological and material correlation with the world in which he moves. His nervous structure takes up motion from impinging matter just as one billiard ball takes up motion from another. The relativity of knowledge stated under purely experiential limitations can be nothing more than the statement of this fact of nervous impressibility. If we try to make out anything more occult than this in the connection of human beings with the universe, we at once overleap experience. This view may be the dreariest materialism or the most disheartening fatalism, but it is the simple, vigorous, and undeniable truth. Out of personal experience, however, I can testify that it is not depressing, but stimulating, to find one's self in possession of the largest induction which scientific data can yield. I would beg my critic and all lovers of consistent thinking steadily to inquire whether experience furnishes the smallest gossamer thread on which to hang the doctrine of a mysterious Absolute behind realities. Whether there is anything behind matter, anything behind the nervous thrill of our own brains and bodies, we have not found out; and since "knowing" itself, so far as ascertainable, is identical with this same nervous thrill, there seems the highest improbability, amounting almost to absurdity, that we shall ever be able to derive an Absolute from any experiential reasoning. The truth is that very careful people have mistaken the scientific data of the indestructibility of matter and of the persistence of motion for the evidence of an underlying something called an Absolute, or a noumenon.

Force itself, so much talked of as ultimate and changeless in amount, is in exact experience nothing but motion. To put *force* behind matter and motion, which Mr. Spencer has done, is as unjustifiable, as utterly unauthorized by experience and reason, as to put an Absolute there. I can find nothing disheartening in the admission of a larger truth than one previously held; and I believe that universal experience would confirm my statement, that only in transitional conditions can there be anything painful in intellectual advance.

M. A. HARDAKER.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

VOLTAIRE figures in a story call "Frau von Soldan," now appearing in the Milwaukee *Freidenker*.

"EVOLUTION: A Letter to Mr. Underwood," by Mr. D. A. Wasson, will appear in *The Index* next week.

SUPERSTITIOUS fears of vampires have recently led to disgusting outrages of the dead in Hungary, as well as in the Grecian island of Andros.

THE Free Congregation, or Freie Gemeinde of Sauk City, Wis., which has long been flourishing under the direction of that brave and earnest speaker, Edward Schroeter, is about to hold a fair to help build a new hall.

FRIENDS of *The Index* can assist us in increasing its circulation by sending to this office the names of all persons they think would like to see sample copies of the paper.

A HYMN-BOOK has recently been published in Hanover, which contains, as we learn from the *Freidenker*, such choice lines as:—

"Man is godless and accursed."
"Jesus is the Devil's poison
And the pestilence of Hell!"

WE shall print in our next number a letter received too late for this week's issue, from Mr. S. J. Stewart, in which he maintains the essential correctness of his recent statements in *The Index* regarding the Saratoga Conference.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Commonwealth* mentions that Herbert Spencer has been a guest of Mr. Childs, of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, in which conservative journal he is pronounced the most "comprehensive" of all living writers on "religio-scientific subjects," and thinks these facts are among the indications of progress, and show "how imperceptibly powerful advances of thought creep into the lives of those who wish to, and think they do, guard most closely against them."

HENRY WARD BEECHER, in response to an invitation to use the columns of the Boston *Traveller* for any rejoinder he desired to make to a series of interviews with representative Boston ministers in regard to his recent theological departure, wrote: "I have read the somewhat large expressions of those many and excellent men in regard to my orthodoxy, consistency, influence, and general merit, without wishing for a moment to reply, as you kindly request me. When a dead man is lying on the dissecting table, under the hands of experts, it would be unbecoming in him to rise up suddenly and discuss with his surgeons the propriety of their methods and the truth of results."

THE *Presbyterian* quotes from the address of Rev. John Page Hopps at the Saratoga Conference, "There *are* other names under heaven besides the name of Jesus whereby men may be saved," and the words of the *Christian Register* that this "is the affirmation of a great truth," and then discriminatingly remarks, "This is well, if the *Register* so believes; but why be so direct, positive, and point-blank in contradiction of the Scriptures, and then be astonished when men refuse to give the name of Christian to the utterers of such bold denials?" We are not authorized to reply for the *Register;* but we presume our neighbor does not hold that it is necessary to accept either the Bible or Jesus Christ as an authority, in order to be a Christian.

MR. HOLYOAKE'S friends in New York, we are pleased to learn, will, before he leaves for England, give him a reception at the rooms of the Co-operative Dress Association, Nos. 32 and 33 West 23d Street, "to express personally their appreciation of his services as a public benefactor." Miss Kate Field, Mrs. J. C. Croly, Felix Adler, Robert Collyer, R. Heber Newton, Mrs. C. S. Lozier, M.D., Edmund C. Stedman, F. D. Grosvenor, and George S. McWalters are among those on the Committee of Arrangements. Mr. Holyoake's friends in Boston, we are sure, will avail themselves of his presence in this city to show their grateful appreciation of his exalted character and practical philanthropy. The public will have an opportunity to hear this distinguished gentleman next Sunday evening at Parker Memorial, where he will speak on "My Early Religious Days."

A PARIS correspondent of the London *Standard* gives interesting facts in regard to the extraction of a spoon from the stomach of a young man, a waiter at a café, who had accidentally swallowed it in an attempt to imitate the feats of "a famous sword-swallower." By a tube introduced through the mouth, the stomach was first cleansed, to prevent peritonitis. Then, an incision was made in the epigastric region. In order to render the coat of the stomach easily accessible, to the end projecting from the mouth was fitted a spherical vessel containing ether, which was heated by submersion in water of sixty degrees temperature. The ether vapor rushing through the tube filled the stomach, which, becoming distended, was brought forward to the wound made by the operator's knife; and

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hus the spoon, which was nine inches long, was readily found and extracted. The young man has quite recovered from the effects of the operation, but the probability is that he will be less ambitious in future to emulate "the famous sword-swallower."

THE Boston *Sunday Herald* pertinently observes: "The ablest ancient writers whose works survive to us, whenever they have occasion to speak of natural phenomena, do it in such absurd terms as to make the modern school-boy laugh. Here in this free country, which ought not to be found in the ruts of a dreary old educational routine, it is a singular fact that the colleges are as wedded to such a routine, and to what may be termed an erudite conservatism, as are the old mediæval universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England. In all our thousand and one young seats of learning, the past, and the ideas, speculations, theories and beliefs of the past, are made to outweigh the present, with its vast fund of demonstrated truths, in regard both to the subjective and objective world. In none of them, save in a few exceptional technological institutes, is science in the foreground." But it is gratifying to know that the science and thought of the age are asserting their influence in all our institutions of learning, which are constantly becoming more modernized in their methods and teachings.

MR. W. F. JAMIESON, who a few years ago was lecturing and writing in defence of Spiritualism, confident, zealous, and combative, in a recent number of his paper, the Lake Pepin (Wis.) *Gazette*, makes the following announcement: "By science and logic, we propose to explode Spiritualism. At the end of twelve months, the doors will swing wide open for correspondents from all quarters to make their comments. Those who wish to overthrow our positions will then know just what they are. Ours will be the only distinctively anti-spiritualistic paper published. If we can induce people to save their time and money, instead of throwing them away upon a stupendous cheat, our labor will not be in vain. We had a quarter of a century's investigation of the subject, and will bring to light the inner mysteries of spiritual circleism.' It will be seen that Mr. Jamieson's views have undergone some change; but his zeal has suffered no abatement, and he is now as zealous and aggressive in opposing Spiritualism as he was during a quarter of a century in defending it. He says that Spiritualistic papers refuse him a hearing, and we therefore copy the above announcement, the style and spirit of which, however, are likely to offend and repel the class with whom he was formerly identified, and whose belief he helped, honestly no doubt, to strengthen and diffuse.

IN his late address at Chicago, Prof. Felix Adler said, as reported in one of the city papers: "The idea that this life is preparatory to another we are not prepared to deny or affirm. As regards the belief in immortality, we profess entire ignorance. But the corollaries that are drawn from it to the effect that this merely mundane life is despicable, that the higher is only bought at the expense of the lower life, we deny. If the kingdom of God is to come, it will come through these earthly channels. We have new ideas which must find forms adequate to expression A disbelief in special providence and a disbelief in the old theory of the universe are two great changes. Consider the rise of democracy and the period of industrialism, and you will perceive the factors in those changes. There is no doubt as to the reality of the change. The number of churches is no index to the power they hold. But some wonder why, if the Liberals are so numerous, they do not form organizations throughout the land. They fear to organize. Having rid themselves of the old shackles, they fear new ones. Self-interest binds many to the churches, after their hearts have turned away forever from Christianity and Judaism. In New York, out of a population of one million three hundred thousand, there are only ninety thousand persons belonging to the Protestant churches. The churches of the poorest class and the churches of the richest have crowded out the churches of the middle class. To show the need of a new religion, we have only to point to our vast silent constituency."

ELECTRICITY AND LIFE will be the general subject of five lectures by Rev. Edward C. Towne, to be delivered in Mr. Savage's Church (West Newton Street) on Sunday evenings, November 12, 19, and 26, and December 10 and 17. The special topics as given us by Mr. Towne are as follows: I. November 12, Oxygen and Electricity: in the making of the globe; the production of light; the force and work of our fires; and the animation of living things, both animal and plant. The cosmic hand of God. II. November 19, The Electrical Breath of Life: animals and plants alive electrically; the known electrical animals; protoplasm not the "physical basis of life"; universal creative inbreathing of life. III. November 26, The Making of the Creature: functions electrically established; all processes in animal and plant electrically carried on; structure electrically produced; all development electrically conditioned; the perpetual miracle of creative action. IV. December 10, The Ascent of the Creation: electrical separation the origin of sex; reproductive germs electrically conditioned; creative parentage; the true origin of species by natural creation, not natural selection; evolution established, but minor Darwinian theories disproved. V. December 17, The Origin of Man: creative motherhood; human origins; law of human ascent; origin of genius; conditions of physical and mental perfection of mankind; medical science on a new basis; the birth of character; creative regeneration of the degraded classes; redemption of man by natural truth; the Infinite Father the last word of science.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

AN ANCIENT TEXT.

Not when thou stand'st on summits high
To see the morning splendor burst,
Where draughts divine of earth and sky
Assuage thy beauty-craving thirst,—
Not there thou find'st the Holy Grail:
Who seeks it thus must ever fail.

Not when thou steep'st thy being's sense
In tides of heavenly harmonies,
Nor when the artist's dream intense
Reveals itself to raptured eyes,—
Not there,—not then the treasure glows,
Nor yet for thee its fulness flows.

Go! reap the harvest's golden ears
To bind thy toil-worn neighbor's sheaf.
Thy quest forgetting, dry the tears
Of some lone weeper spent with grief.
A jewelled rim those tears shall shine!
The treasure glimmers, almost thine.

'Neath lowly roofs, by beds of pain,
Spend one brief hour in helpful heed;
Lift from a brother's anguished brain
The burning band of torturing need.
The cup thou hold'st to lips so pale
Transmuted gleams a Holy Grail!

H. T. C.

FLORENCE, MASS.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOV. 2, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

UNITARIAN PIONEERING.

BY EDWIN D. MEAD.

The *Independent* is disposed to be satirical and merry over the felicitations of the Unitarians at Saratoga, and in particular over Mr. Collyer's rather airy remarks about the Conference and the Unitarian greatness. The Unitarians, said Mr. Collyer, have been the pioneers of religious thought in America, and the leaven of the religious lump. To them the rest of American Christendom owes its better doctrines, its truer brotherly spirit, its growing tolerance, and the manifold good things which distinguish the churches of to-day from the churches of fifty years ago. The Unitarian Church does not have to measure its accomplishments, like the other churches, by its mere denominational or institutional growth, but by its success in teaching and leavening the rest; and if, as a Church, it does not grow so fast as they or so fast as it once did itself, it is because it has brought them nearer to its own gospel, and to a preaching of what is not so repellent or intolerable to rational men. It is Unitarianism which has been lifting the whole American Church forward, and to have done that is a very great thing.

To all of which the graceless and irreverent *Independent* says, "Hoity-toity!" talks about the *Zeitgeist*, and the "Nineteenth Century" as having had something to do with the "leavening," discourteously refuses to admit that the greater tolerance and fraternity among the two hundred and fifty New York churches, for instance, are chiefly the fruits of the labors of Dr. Bellows' and Mr. Collyer's societies, guarantees that it can produce thoroughly reformed people who never saw a Unitarian and don't know how one looks, and tells a wicked story which Theodore Parker used to tell when he heard about Unitarian "pioneering" in his day. It was about a wooden Chinaman, which he saw grinding a coffee-mill in a grocery window. He watched the proceeding from over the street with a good deal of interest; but he took a nearer view, and found that, instead of the Chinaman grinding the mill, it was the mill which was grinding the Chinaman.

Now, we are of those who have a vastly higher opinion of Unitarianism and of its services than the *Independent* has; but we confess to being just unregenerate enough to rather enjoy this banter, and count it just and timely. The services of the Unitarian Church, in behalf both of charity and of rationalism, have certainly been very great. No careful student of our religious history, it seems to us, can help seeing that. But it also seems to us, as it seems to most who look at the situation from a position outside the Unitarian Church, that the Church itself vastly exagger-

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ates its offices as a pioneering, leavening, original force in American religious thought and life, and takes credit to itself for broad and complex results which are due only in very slight degree to its energies or insights, but are the common results in itself and the other churches, in varying degrees, of the operations and pervasive influences of the *Zeitgeist*. We believe, too, that, if the Church could be made to take this view of it at this time, and take such criticisms as this of the *Independent*, not in any sort of dudgeon, but in all seriousness and good humor, it would be much the better for it.

As to the tolerance and charity part of it, we shall say very little; for tolerance and charity are very dangerous things to make statistics about. The *Independent* is certainly intemperate, on its part, when it declares the Unitarian Church precisely the most intolerant and uncharitable of all the churches. We believe that the broad and tolerant spirit does, in some rough fashion, develop alongside of and by virtue of more rational doctrine. Yet we frankly confess to finding the connection of liberalism and liberality much less close than we used to imagine it must be, and to finding very much indeed to excuse, if not to warrant, an assertion like this of the *Independent*. A certain intolerance of the new faith and its disciples, on the part of orthodox men, is more rational and virtuous, at any rate less culpable, than the reciprocal intolerance, because the orthodox man views the new faith as a dangerous thing, while the liberal man views Orthodoxy as, at worst, only a lower grade of religious culture and a hindrance to the highest life. But in the intercourse of "liberal" and "orthodox" men and women with each other, which our own experience has shown us, we have not found that the balance of respect for opposed views and for the integrity of others, the general spirit of forbearance, courtesy, and delicate consideration, of deference and docility, has been largely upon the liberal side; while we have found the assumption that "We are the people" and "Ye are Samaritans," alike in private and in public, equally common there, and this not in that sense in which the possessor of assumed higher truth has a right to exult, but in that offensive sense with which alone the question of tolerance and charity has to do. We have not found that the mutual love and helpfulness of the Unitarian brethren, in their own churches, is greater than that of, say, the good Methodist brethren, nor have we found that they had a warmer hand for the poor Gentiles without the gate. This, we say, is the result of our own fairly varied experience and somewhat careful study; and we have been sorry for it. We hope that the studies of many others have led to conclusions emphatically contrary; and, at any rate, we are quite confident that the positive assertion of the *Independent* is unjust and cavalier.

Be the spirit of tolerance and charity greater or not in the liberal than in the orthodox Churches, however, we believe that the greater fraternity, helpfulness and *humanism* in all the churches, as compared with fifty years ago, is due to the Unitarian "leaven" in no greater degree than are the superior rationality of their current theology and the better character of their common preaching; and that, as we have said, we do not hold to be nearly so great a degree as some imagine.

Orthodoxy and Unitarianism alike, it should be well remembered, are fluctuating things, and not fixed quantities. The one has changed as much as the other in fifty years, and both have precisely the same right to change. No American church that we know of ever set up a creed as final; and the Congregational churches of the country, for instance, in discarding old creeds and writing new ones, as a good many of them are doing just now, simply do what the Unitarian churches do in leaving Andrews Norton and preaching Theodore Parker. There is nothing illegitimate or out of the way, unless the new creed is preached when the old one is not discarded, but still subscribed to. It is the commonest thing in the world to hear the Unitarian taunt the "orthodox" man for occupying positions—upon the Bible, retribution, or what not—which have been the distinct property of Unitarian theology and which Orthodoxy has distinctly opposed. Half the time, indeed, the taunt—if we may call it so—is just and proper; for the position is occupied in infidelity to some subscription. But half the time it has no relevancy whatever; and the proper retort would be: Quite right, good soul, I have come in sight of the trees which you saw yesterday. We are floating on the same river, and you have the good luck to be a day ahead. The only fault I find with you is for talking as though you were yourself the river.

We know what Orthodoxy and Unitarianism were fifty years ago, and we know very well what the new Orthodoxy and the new Unitarianism are; and Dr. Smyth is certainly not more different from Lyman Beecher than Mr. Collyer from either the senior or the junior Ware or—if we please to cross the ocean—than the Martineau of to-day from the Martineau of fifty years ago. Wherein has theology changed in this time, in the Unitarian and orthodox churches alike? It has changed at almost every point; and it would be easy to show, by an examination of almost any equally, that the influences which have effected the advance have not come primarily or largely from within the Unitarian Church.

Let us consider four or five important and typical changes of opinion, which have deeply affected and altered religious conceptions in fifty years: 1. The new cosmology and biology; 2. The results of the new Biblical criticism; 3. The decay of the belief in miracles; 4. The changed doctrine of the person of Christ. Fifty years ago, what toleration would Darwinism and our evolution theories have received in Unitarian circles,—what hospitality, indeed, did they meet with there, when they were first propounded? Fifty years ago, Unitarianism, though denying that Trinitarianism was in the Bible, admitted the Bible to be the court of final appeal. Henry Ware told the young men at Harvard that, if there appeared to them any contradiction between the reason of man and the letter of the Bible, they "must follow the written word." Jonah's great fish was then a most serious and formidable creature; while the suggestion that Elijah's fiery chariot was mythical, or, much more, that Jesus did not rise from the dead, would have shocked all pious Unitarian souls; and, as to the nature of Christ, there prevailed everywhere a high and dry Arianism, far less attractive and less true than Athanasianism itself, which did at least see the divine genuinely in one man.

This Arianism has given place in all vital Unitarian quarters to a pure humanitarianism. The process of the humanization of Christ, or perhaps we ought to say (to guard against any possible inference that the process has been one of the lowering of Christ, and not of the enlargement of the definition of humanity) of the Christianization of the idea of man, has been constant and is now well-nigh complete. So of the rest. Miracle is an intruder, and it is seen and felt that law is not the negation of freedom, but that perfect freedom works by perfect law. All books take their places for simply what they are worth in themselves, and it is seen that the Bible of the race cannot be closed until the last great soul has spoken.

What part did the Unitarian Church take in the revolution? Which idea did it originate, or to which did it hasten to give welcome? It has assimilated all sooner than the other Churches and, as yet, with greater completeness, because, as we have said, it was forward on the stream, and encountered them first; but, like them, it has dreaded them all, sharply polemicized against them one by one, yielded to them slowly and, for the most part, reluctantly. What quick or hearty service did it render, to take another instance, for the great doctrine of Hosea Ballou,—the doctrine which just now happens to be making most particular havoc in the orthodox churches?

An admirable digester Unitarianism has certainly been, but not, as it seems to us, a great producer or energy, not a "pioneer." It has been singularly barren, it seems to us, of original, virile powers; and, when fresh and vital forces have indeed sprung up within it, true prophets and pioneers,—as once, in the case of Emerson and Parker, there did,—it has hastened to disown them, to thwart and to suppress them. We do not think that we risk much in saying that these two disowned children alone—Emerson and Parker—have done more genuine "pioneering" and "leavening" work for American religious thought than the whole Unitarian Church in all its life. They have done and are still doing their revolutionizing work for Unitarianism and Orthodoxy alike, for Orthodoxy not through and by Unitarianism, but directly and at first hand.

Directly and at first hand, too, have the orthodox churches chiefly received those influences which, in these fifty years, have transformed both Orthodoxy and Unitarianism from what they were to what they are. These cardinal influences have been the achieved positions of recent science, and notably Darwinism and the law of evolution, the German criticism, and the new spirit of our poetry and general literature. Carlyle and Tennyson, Matthew Arnold and George Eliot, Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier, all full of the spirit of the new time and the new faith, have gone where the Unitarian bell was never heard, and have taught men that the highest poetry cannot any longer live and breathe in the atmosphere of the old theology; and men everywhere instinctively divine that that with which the highest poetry does not spontaneously ally itself is no longer the highest faith. Darwin's *Origin of Species* and the *Mécanique Céleste* are what made the new heaven and the new earth,—and the same mails brought the news to Cambridge and to Andover. Leipzig and Halle and Berlin have for thirty years been full of American theological students, who now preach in orthodox pulpits and teach in orthodox schools; and, whether they have come home with any love for Kant and Lessing and Hegel and Schleiermacher and the Tübingen men or not, they have certainly brought home knowledge of them, and have not failed to feel their influence. They nave not failed, either, to bring home the German method. Its impress is as evident upon the pages of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* as upon those of the *Christian Examiner*, and these immediate influences have been far more potent upon our orthodox thought than any mediate ones. The writings of the English Broad Churchmen, again, have been, we believe, almost as influential upon American ortho dox thought as the Unitarian movement; and we believe that a large majority of the young clerical adherents of the new Orthodoxy would unhesitatingly declare that the sermons of Robertson of Brighton alone have had more to do in shaping their changed doctrines of the Bible, the atonement, the Sabbath, and the future, than all the Unitarian sermons they ever read. Arnold and Maurice and Stanley and Stopford Brooke were certainly little influenced by Unitarianism in reaching the positions which they have successively stood for. One and the self-same *Zeitgeist* brought Unitarianism and the Broad Churchmen to their places independently of each other. And it brought the Churchmen there with good grace often, while many Unitarians still strained and struggled. Witness Prof. Bowen's greeting of *Essays and Reviews*, in the *North American Review*, so laughably archaic now, when resurrected for his *Gleanings* after its sleep of twenty years.

Essays and Reviews is a good instance of the large number of special individual books which, powerful by reason either of their explicit positions or their clear implications, have appeared at intervals in these fifty years, and, by their own wide circulation and the controversies and discussions they have everywhere occasioned, have held the thought and close attention of the whole religious world, made themselves landmarks in the course of theological progress, and effected more than almost anything besides in the work of *Aufklärung* and "leavening." Strauss' *Life of Jesus* was such a book; Colenso on *The Pentateuch*, *Ecce Homo*, *Supernatural Religion*, *Literature and Dogma*, *Scotch Sermons*, Caird's *Philosophy of Religion*, Farrar's *Eternal Hope*, and various books of Kuenen, Ewald, and Renan,—books sometimes resting upon a profound philosophy, sometimes upon a shallower one, but uniformly marked by a great earnestness, remarkable critical acumen, and a deep divination of the trend of things. But none of these powerful and, in some cases, almost epoch-making books has been born of our Unitarianism. We think it is not too much to say that the *Origin of Species* and Strauss' *Life of Jesus* alone have done more "leavening" work in the various churches than the whole Unitarian literature.

We have thus indicated, in a very cursory way to be sure, what some of the genuinely original and efficient forces are which, in these fifty years, have leavened the religious lump and pioneered the better things which we now see and hear in all the churches; and we have said nothing of such fundamental forces as the Kantian and Hegelian philosophies, which, studied as carefully in orthodox quarters as in any others, could not fail in due time to produce their fruits and usher in the larger view. And the point which we are trying to make "sun-clear," as Fichte would say, in all, is that these great forces, the real "leaveners" and "pioneers" of religious thought in

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these fifty years, have been operating equally upon Orthodoxy and Unitarianism,—not upon Orthodoxy mediately through Unitarianism, but immediately and at first hand. The Unitarian Church has, in each instance, assimilated them soonest and most completely, and has then given more or less help in their propagation; but, when the truth has come to Orthodoxy at Unitarian hands, it has been, in each case, as an old acquaintance, while its continued pressure from the original fountain-head has remained almost infinitely greater than its pressure through the Unitarian medium. In one word, the true "leaveners" and "pioneers" of religious thought in our day have not been the Unitarian Church or any Church at all, but the new philosophy, the new science, the new literature,—the *Zeitgeist*.

But, in considering such a question as this of the claim of a Church to the position of pioneer and leavener of the religious thought and life of the country, there is another point quite as important as that of the distinctive features of its creed and their relation to the science of the time; and that is the point of spirit and method. What constitutes the pioneer? Not, certainly, geographical position, the accident of place. Beacon Street is not nearer pioneering than Piccadilly, because it happens to be nearer Idaho. Few Americans deserve credit for being republicans; and we may not, for all our native republicanism, be doing half so much as Englishmen and Germans toward helping on to the truly democratic society and the Divine Commonwealth of good men's ideals. Whether the ship at Malta, or that at Malaga, be nearer the Holy Land, is a question more of wind and timber than of the chart. It is not anything attained that defines or qualifies the pioneer, but attitude, direction, and employment. It is the progressive and aggressive spirit, it is the way of looking at things rough-hewn and in great masses, it is the temper that is impatient of fine distinctions, of dainties, and of many questions, the mind that knows assuredly what the main chance is, presses toward it with all its might, and bothers itself very little about how this other man is working for it, so long as he be working for it.

Now, how has the Unitarian Church in America fulfilled this definition and demand in its history, in these fifty years? Comparing it with other Churches, does it show greater actual progress and a greater spirit of progress, and does it show to-day better timber and more momentum? Has it proved its greater breadth and directer, healthier devotion to the main chance by a stronger tendency to "rough it" among the doctrines, a larger patience with eccentricity and departure from standard sentiment, long rope for the adventurous, and a gentle hand for heretics?

But it may be said that there can be no Unitarian heresy, as there is no Unitarian Orthodoxy, no Unitarian creed. This indeed is sometimes said by silly people, and much reminds us of the notion that there is no such thing as a British Constitution. We remember that when, more youthful yet than now, we found ourself comfortably fixed in the British Museum, for a year on British institutions, we resolved very commendably to begin at the beginning, and frankly asked at the desk for a copy of the British Constitution; and, during that next hour after we learned that there was *no such thing in print*, our chagrin itself did not equal our dismay,—for it seemed as though the very bottom were knocked out of politics. Yet, though the Ministry itself, the very governmental centre, is all unknown to law, nobody surely doubts that there is a British Constitution, or that a Constitution can shape itself by a process of "slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent," which shall be firmer far than any which can possibly be penned by a convention.

So, when it is said that there can be no heresy if there be no creed, the simple answer is, of course, that neither can there be any Church. To be without a creed is certainly no virtue; and, of all states of mind, the weakest and most pitiable is surely that of the mind which does not know what it believes, and is proud of its powerlessness to tell. The creed may not be engrossed on parchment. Whether so or not is an entirely insignificant thing. The creed of Unitarianism has been in the books of its doctors; and we think no plain man has needed, at any time in these fifty years, to be in much more doubt as to the Unitarian Orthodoxy than, say, the Congregational Orthodoxy. And, as we review the controversies and the various agitations, we do not think that there has been a much greater distance between the front and rear lines of the one Orthodoxy than between the lines of the other,—which is not, of course, to imply coterminousness. We do not think, either, that there has been much greater patience with the heretics; for, whether there be a Unitarian Orthodoxy or not, there have certainly been Unitarian heresies in each decade, and the powers that be, as well as the rank and file, have found little trouble in determining the degree of variation from the standard doctrine and in occasioning some corresponding penalty. The well-informed will scarcely deny, we think, that men like Beecher and Bushnell have been treated by the Churches in communion with their own with a tolerance and consideration equal, at least, to that shown by the orthodox Unitarians toward men of their Church equally divergent from the standard sentiment. A docket of cases would be as odious as we hope it is unnecessary; but we may say at least, in mildness, that such hearty and wholesome *God-speeds* as that given by Dr. Bellows to Mr. Savage have not always been so common in the Church that this had no significance and that we may not remember it with pleasure. Yet, surely, a Church that could find time to dwell long on such doctrinal differences as any between Dr. Bellows and Mr. Savage could not graciously lay claim to the "pioneering" nature, or must have abdicated for the time the "pioneering" office.

But why touch upon these things at all? May not friends in council be permitted much enthusiastic magnifying, in the warm inspiration of good cause and mutual provocation? Certainly. We blame the *Independent* for forgetting that Mr. Collyer—of whose remarks we ourself are thinking very little here—was just home from Saratoga, and from seeing so many good people that his warm heart was satisfied that Nicea, Trent and Augsburg put together were nothing to it. In what hostility, then? Surely, in none at all, but simply because convinced, and most of all by this convention which has occasioned the *Independent's* merriment and satire, that American Unitarianism never had so good an opportunity as now, and that its tone and temper were never so good, never so practical and stalwart and so genuinely "pioneering." Dr. Peabody has recently written of the growing affinity on the part of the Unitarian "right wing" to the more liberal of the Trinitarian Congregationalists, "in the tendency to regard Christ's humanity as divine in a sense supreme and sole." We think that no reader of the proceedings of this last National Convention or of any recent representative gathering of the Church can find evidence that this "right wing" is large or vigorous,—vigorous enough to flutter. The man who believes that the fundamental positions of modern philosophy and science are reliable and true may well rejoice to see a Church whose congregations furnish, after all, the most *hopeful* nuclei for organized religious activity in the next future, looking stoutly forward and not backward, and, not forgetting the sharp lesson of forty years ago, honestly reaching the right hand of fellowship, with few superfluous nice questions, to whosoever seems to have the eye on the main chance. That such a Church has a great opportunity, in this breaking up, when the thing next behind it in the field is the emasculated and verbose New Orthodoxy, with its two bites at a cherry, which the merry *Independent* itself is just now advertising, who can help perceiving? How is it to make the most of the opportunity? One of the Western men told it at Saratoga, with that jaunty bravado which is rather refreshing in the Western men, "By joining the Western Conference"; and perhaps the gist of the matter was really there,—for the characteristics of the Western Conference are indeed the characteristics of the genuine pioneer. The representative Western Unitarian does seem to have a brain well aired and fairly muscular, and does seem to believe that he has a gospel that is worth having, and that it is worth other people's while to have, while his buoyant zeal in rich possession is seldom marred by the complaisant air of "having attained" or of suspecting no unconquered ground beyond. This deadly feeling of "having attained" was what sent so much of our New England Unitarianism to sleep, almost to seed, forty years ago, petrifying almost a generation into material not only most impervious to new religious thought, but, what in this matter is equally important and indicative, most provincial, Philistinish, and "essentially small" in its apprehensions of the scope of half a dozen recent intellectual movements, and stolid even to the calls of inevitable and urgent social reforms. It will not be a pleasant thing for Unitarian Harvard to remember, by and by, that, when the grand-daughter of Channing came to its door to ask for the tongue of Paul and Apollos, she was referred to the Methodist college over the river, and there got freely what she wanted, as she also did in the lecture-rooms of the University of Leipzig,—"ultra orthodox Leipzig," as Mr. Cook is fond of calling it. It is not creditable that the removal of so profound and significant a thinker as Dr. Harris from St. Louis to Concord should have been noticed no more heartily by the Unitarians of Boston than it was by the Episcopalians, and that the young men of Cambridge should not have filled his lecture-room. They seemed to count it more important to settle whether Davies' or Jowett's version of the *Republic* be the better to quote. Back Bay and Beacon Hill could easily have learned by cabling Mr. Martineau, if lacking knowledge or insight of their own, that here at the door was the ablest living expounder of a philosophy which, in its logical extension, ploughs beneath the very roots of the old orthodox system, and beside which all controversies with Moses Stewart, on the basis of old manuscripts, about the Personality of the Holy Ghost, or with Joseph Cook about "fixity of character," are mere surface scratchings.

Much more such like might, of course, be said; but we forbear. Only, in general, we count it well that, at a time when a new and hopeful era, an era of real "pioneering," seems possible to Unitarianism, it should enter upon it with very slight vain-glory, and with a very great sprinkling of dust and ashes, in consideration of the exceeding greatness of its opportunity and its most inadequate improvement. For this reason simply, we have thought it not useless to indicate what seem to us some of the prime agencies, the really great "pioneers" and "leaveners" in this current revolution, and to say why the work of Unitarianism does not seem to us to hold a place of any transcendent pre-eminence among them. If the view is true, it will not be useless, because, if true, it points out shallows that can be shunned; and, if it should appear meddlesome and unseemly in one who stands outside the Church to play the lecturer of the Church on church affairs, we are sure the offence will be condoned without a struggle by that sweet charity which we are assured so authoritatively is the "greatest on earth," for the sake of an interest which is most positive and sincere, even if accompanied by an obtuseness which may be melancholy and appalling.

We think, therefore, that all good Unitarians should thank the *Independent* for its pert and pertinent reminder of the *Zeitgeist*. But whether they do this or not, they will all alike repudiate the allegation that their leading men are busy now in repudiating Channing. It might be alleged as well that Samuel Adams and Charles Sumner were repudiators of the Plymouth Puritans. It is not what men are *in esse*, but what they are *in posse*, that counts; and we think that the invocation of the great name of Channing to sanctify provincialism, or the attempt to make him serve as the Melchisedec of the dispensation of the petrifaction, never seemed so sorry as now,—because never before have men been able to view his life and genius in their true proportions and tendencies, as they now do. After the strong words of the Newport oration of Dr. Bellows, certainly the most representative of Unitarians, it is no longer necessary to take up the cudge for Dr. Channing. It is quite sure that he was never venerated more, by the whole Unitarian Church, than he is to-day; and the *Independent* can easily satisfy itself that it is not among the men of the "left wing" that he is venerated least. However the disciples of Emerson and Parker may disagree with some of his explicit opinions, we are quite sure that none of them would hail anything more gladly, as promotive of the things most dear to themselves, than the establishment everywhere, within the Unitarian Church or without it, of Channing societies. To ourself, Channing seems to have combined in the noblest harmony the two great elements which must, we think, go to the making of every really great religious teacher and every really powerful religious organization. He believed with all his soul in a living God,—a thing which we still count virtuous in the religious teacher, and "necessary for these times"; and he believed that the Church has no place in the world at all, if its work is not that of making a better society. In one word, he had a theology, and he was possessed through and through by great social ideals; and, if American Unitarianism has these and knows how to combine them well, it surely has a future.

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PROF. HAECKEL ON DARWIN, GOETHE, AND LAMARCK.*

We have to go back no less than twenty-five centuries, into the gray foretime of classic antiquity, to come upon the first germs of a philosophy of nature, pursuing Darwin's goal with distinct consciousness; the demonstration, namely, of natural causes for the phenomena of nature, and thereby the eviction of faith in supernatural causality, of faith in miracles. The founders of the Greek philosophy of nature in the seventh and sixth century before Christ were the first who laid down this true foundation-stone of knowledge, and endeavored to discover a natural, common, original basis of all things. This conscious aspiration after absolute causality, after the unifying knowledge of a common cosmic cause, appears all the more admirable that proper experimental investigation of nature was at that time quite out of the question.

Perhaps the most important among these Ionian natural philosophers was Anaximander. He assumes that out of infinity of matter, through eternal revolution, numerous world-bodies came into being as condensations of the air, and that the earth, too, as one of these world-bodies, issued out of a state originally fluid and afterward aëriform. He consequently anticipated the fundamental conception, valid at this day, of the natural development of the world, which twenty-four hundred years subsequently (in 1755) our greatest German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, in his *Universal History of Nature and Theory of the Heavens*, universally established. As here in the cosmological kingdom, Anaximander appears as forerunner of Kant and Laplace, so also at the same time in the biological kingdom he prophetically prefigures Lamarck and Darwin. For, according to him, the earliest living creatures on this globe originated in water through the operation of the sun. From these creatures, later on, were developed the land-inhabiting plants and animals, which left the water and adapted themselves to life on dry land. Man, likewise, has gradually worked himself up from animal organisms, and, in reality, from fish-like aquatic animals.

If here to our surprise we find clearly enunciated some of the most important fundamental conceptions of our current theory of development, we recognize it still more distinctly in its integrity one hundred years later in Heraclitus of Ephesus. He it was who first propounded the principle that a great, uninterrupted process of development pervades the whole universal world, that all forms are involved in an everlasting current, and that struggle is "the father of all things." Seeing that nowhere in the world exists absolute rest, and that all standing still is but apparent, we are compelled everywhere to assume a perpetual change of matter, a constant variation of form. That is only possible, however, through the fact that one form thrusts out the other, and that the new violently usurps the place of the old; or, in other words, through the universal "struggle for existence."

This principle of nature set forth by Heraclitus—that everlasting movement, or the struggle among all things, is the fundamental agent of the world—received a much deeper interpretation a little later in Empedocles of Agrigent in Sicily. He, too, assumes an uninterrupted change of phenomena, but finds the universal fundamental cause of the everlasting universal struggle in the two counteracting principles of hate and love, or, as our modern physics expresses it, of the attraction and repulsion of parts. As the mixture of bodies is effected by love, so is their separation by hate. If in the present day we regard the attraction and repulsion of atoms as the ultimate ground of all phenomena, we find, then, this fundamental proposition of our modern doctrine of atoms already anticipated in Empedocles. It is, however, still more remarkable that Empedocles makes the purposive forms of organisms come into existence through the accidental conjunction of counteracting forces. Out of this great struggle, the living forms now existing have issued victoriously, because they were best prepared for the battle, and therefore most capable of life. Here, we have not only the fundamental conception of Darwin's theory of selection forestalled, but also the solution of the great riddle indicated, "How can organic forms, constituted for a particular purpose, come into existence in a purely mechanical way without the co-operation of a final cause acting with a particular purpose?"—the same riddle the solution of which we account to be Darwin's highest philosophical merit.

Among all the great philosophers of classical antiquity, the three we have already named, Anaximander, Heraclitus, and Empedocles, are undoubtedly those who have most clearly enunciated the most important elements of the monistic theory of nature now prevalent. But, besides these, we find other contemporaries of theirs who held similar conceptions of development, such as Thales, Anaximenes, Democritus, Aristotle, Lucretius, etc. Yet were these various attempts at a genetic theory of nature soon thrust into the background by an opposing scheme of the world; that, namely, of the "philosophy of ideas," which was propounded by the sophists, and had its centre in Plato.

If these fresh-minded experimentalists of Ionian philosophy sought to explain the totality of the world by natural causes through mechanical processes, the Platonic school set up, in opposition to this view, supernatural causes, in the form of teleological ideas. There thus arose a mode of thought and inquiry which, withdrawing the mind from the objective knowledge of nature, placed the subjective being of man in the forefront of our contemplations,—a mode which throughout a space of more than two thousand years exercised its baleful influence in ever-increasing measure. In complete contradistinction to the "unity of Nature," everywhere demonstrated by the causality of her phenomena, there developed mightily the dualism invented by Plato, a harsh antithesis between God and the world, between idea and matter, between force and stuff, between soul and body. The numerous forms of organic nature which we distinguish as animal and vegetable species no longer appear as different stages in the development of common original forms, but as embodiments of so many innate, eternal, and unchangeable "ideas," as "constant species," or, as Agassiz—Darwin's greatest opponent—expressed it, "embodied creative thoughts of God."

This Platonism found its strongest support in the dogmas of Christianity which, preaching retirement from nature, came into friendly agreement with the "philosophy of ideas." The accelerating decline, again, of the sciences, which followed the tragic destruction of noble Hellenism, operated in favor of both Platonism and Christianity. Throughout the whole long spiritual night of the Christian Middle Ages there was no inward impulse to a monistic theory of nature on the ground of experimental investigation. In truth, however, there were not wanting attempts in this direction on the ground of pure speculation. In particular, the pantheistic systems of Giordano Bruno and of Benedict Spinoza in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are admirable essays toward a monistic and natural comprehension of nature. These pantheistic cosmologies, however, which in all material things assume an impelling world-soul in inseparable unity, were yet especially directed on the province of ethics or practical philosophy, and lacked—alas too desperately—all experimental foundation through immediate observation of nature, for in truth there was then no such thing. The whole sense and tendency of most thinkers of that time were turned away from nature and bent exclusively on man, who was considered to hold a position beyond and above nature. Even those monistic systems, therefore, of Bruno and Spinoza, had no power to establish themselves in the face of the all-mighty dualism which, through Platonism and Christianity, attained to universal supremacy.

Not till a long period afterward, not till the middle of the last century, did the natural reaction against that dualistic scheme of the world finally assert itself. Then at length did man begin to turn to the true source of all knowledge, to Nature herself. Especially in regard to the knowledge of animate bodies in nature, knowledge which had hitherto for two thousand years been drawn almost exclusively from the well of Aristotle, a new era of independent observation sprang up. The outward form and inward structure of plants and animals, their vital phenomena and their development, were now for the first time the subject of zealous and extensive investigation on the part of numerous naturalists. The plenitude of interesting facts which this source of natural revelation supplied could not, however, but again excite inquiry after the efficient causes, and soon the idea of natural development as an answer to the question forced its way out again.

The so-called school of the "older philosophy of nature," toward the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, first appears, simultaneously in Germany and France, as the new banner-bearer of this idea. But, independently of this school, we see a number of the greatest thinkers and poets of our classical literary period moved by the same idea,—above all, Goethe, Lessing, Herder, Kant; later, Schelling, Oken, and Treviranus. In France, again, we notice Lamarck, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, and Blainville; in England, Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of our reformer, who, in accordance with the laws of latent heredity, transmitted a whole series of characteristic intellectual qualities to his grandson. Time does not allow us to-day to follow with a view toward comparison of the different expressions of the conception of development in these eminent thinkers; and, besides, much in this respect is already universally known. We will on this occasion confine our attention to two of the most eminent minds, to Goethe and Lamarck,—as, in our opinion, of all Darwin's predecessors they are the most important.

The significance of Goethe as naturalist has in our time been so often and so searchingly treated by several of our most esteemed biologists that we may assume the most of it also to be common property. We will therefore on this occasion expound only that point which for us-to-day is of quite peculiar interest, and has at the same time been very variously conceived; the question, namely, how far the general theory of nature held by our greatest poet agrees with Darwin's. In 1866, in my *General Morphology* I placed Goethe and Lamarck side by side with Darwin as the most important of the founders of the theory of filiation, and in the way of evidence had compiled from their writings a great number of specially remarkable passages. Their number has lately been increased by others. In the case, however, of a universal genius like Goethe, the question depends far less on the number and form of particular passages in which he communicates his view of the "formation and transformation of organic natures" as on the whole spirit of his grand and thoroughly monistic theory of nature; and, on this subject, those who have a general knowledge and comprehension of Goethe cannot now entertain any doubt. In that valuable legacy entitled "God and the World," he has left us in superabundance a collection of confessions as perfectly beautiful in their form as they are significant in their substance.

The preface to these confessions, the Proem, at once expresses the fundamental monistic thought of Goethe's general view of nature, the inseparable unity of nature and God, in a manner which leaves us in no doubt:—

> "Was wär' ein Gott, der nur von aussen stiesse,
> Im Kreis das All am Finger laufen liesse!
> Ihm ziemt's die Welt im Innern zu bewegen,
> Natur in Sich, Sich in Natur zu hegen,
> So dass was in Ihm lebt und webt und ist,
> Nie Seine Kraft, nie Seinen Geist vermisst!" *

Consider, in addition, the following wonderful poems,—"The World-soul," "One and All," "Legacy," "Parabase," "Epirrhema," etc.; consider, moreover, his pronounced confession to Spinoza's doctrine,—and we cannot really find any essential divergence from our current monistic comprehension of the world as newly established by Darwin. And what a high value Goethe himself attaches to it is seen in his question:—

> "Was kann der Mensch in Leben mehr gewinnen
> Als dass sich Gott-Natur ihm offenbare,
> Wie sie das Feste lässt zu Geist verrinnen,
> Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre?" †

That, accordingly, our great Prince of Poets considered the world only as a monistic process of development in the sense of the Hellenic philosophy of nature, is further demonstrated, among other passages, by the dialogue between Thales and Anaxagoras in the Classical Walpurgis-Night. We would also point out the emphasis with which in geology he held fast to the theory of a gradual and uninterrupted development of our planet and its mountains. From the very beginning, he was the most decided opponent of the fallacy of repeated violent revolutions in our

* Lecture given at the Eisenach meeting of the German Naturalists and Physicians.

* What kind of God were He who impelled things only from outside, and let the universe twirl round His finger! It seems proper to Him to move the world inwardly, to cherish nature in Himself, Himself in nature, so that whatever lives and works and exists in Him never misses His power nor His spirit!

† What greater gain in life can man achieve than the revelation of God-Nature to him, the evolution of spirit from substance and the substantiation of spirit?

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globe,—a fallacy which developed itself in the beginning of our century, and through Cuvier, in particular, came to be generally accepted. "The violence and leaps in this doctrine," he said, "I cannot away with, for they are not in accordance with nature. Be the matter as it will, it must stand written that I curse this confounded hurly-burly apparatus of the new creation of the world. And, assuredly, a talented young man will yet arise with the courage to oppose this universal craze!" Only a few years passed till this expectation was fulfilled. For in 1830 appeared Darwin's like-minded countryman, the great geologist, Charles Lyell, and delivered his continuity theory, the doctrine which is now universally received, of the gradual and uninterrupted development of the earth from natural causes, a mechanical geological theory which, perfectly in Goethe's sense, excluded all violent revolutions of the earth from supernatural causes.

If here, in the province of geology, Goethe shows himself as a most decided adherent to a monistic theory of development, we find him much more so in the province of biology. For the knowledge of the living substance, this "precious, glorious thing," was truly his peculiar pet study. Here, especially in morphology, his "Doctrine of Forms," he has cast glances into the inner origin and birth of organic forms,—glances deep and clear such as were possible only to a genius who was simultaneously thinker and artist, naturalist and philosopher.

Among the many interesting contributions Goethe has made to morphology, the most valuable and most elaborate is the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, which appeared in 1790. In this mature product of his botanical studies, which lasted throughout many years, and which most seriously engaged him during his travels in Italy, he deduces, as is well known, the whole endless wealth of forms in the vegetable world from one single protoplant, and makes all its different organs come into being through manifold transformation and process of development on the part of one single fundamental organ, the leaf. With this work occurred, in point of fact, the first attempt to refer the endless multiplicity of individual vegetable forms to one common original type.

"Alle Gestalten sind ähnlich, doch keine gleichet der andern;
Und so deutet das Chor auf ein geheimes Gesetz." *

This "secret law," this "sacred riddle," is the common descent of all plants from that protoplant, conjoined with the fact that the special differences are effected by the different circumstances and conditions of their existence.

As in the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, so also in the *Metamorphosis of Animals*, Goethe seeks, likewise, after the common prototype out of which all the allied forms have been produced through diverging development.

"Alle Glieder bilden sich aus nach ew'gen Gesetzen,
Und die seltenste Form bewahrt im Geheimen das Urbild.
Also bestimmt die Gestalt die Lebensweise des Thieres,
Und die Weise zu leben, sie wirkt auf alle Gestalten
Mächtig zurück. So zeiget sich fest die geordnete Bildung
Welche zum Wechsel sich neigt durch äusserlich wirkende Wesen." †

As is clearly seen in numerous other passages of his morphological studies on *Formation and Transformation of Organic Natures* that "primal form" or "type" was the inward, original community which lies at the basis of all organic forms and the original formation tendency which is transmitted by inheritance. On the other hand, the "unrestrainable progressive transformation which arises from the necessary conditions and relations of the external world" is nothing else than *adaptation* to outward conditions of existence. This latter is the centrifugal formative energy of "metamorphosis"; the former, again, is the centripetal formative energy of "specification." The clear knowledge of these two formative energies, counteracting and balancing each other, was so highly prized by the poet that he enthusiastically extols it as the "highest thought to which creative nature soared."

The province in animal morphology to which Goethe applied himself with peculiar predilection was comparative osteology, the skeleton theory of vertebrates. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that nowhere, perhaps, to such a degree as here does the operation of that highest nature conception of manifold development out of one single typical fundamental form meet us with such all-convincing force. Down to the present day, consequently, the comparative skeleton doctrine has remained the special favorite of morphologists. While in this province Goethe demonstrated the unity of the vertebral formation in the different divisions of vertebrates, and while in his celebrated skull theory he further showed that the skull was composed of a series of transformed vertebræ, he arrived, in 1796, at the following remarkable utterance: "So much, then, have we attained as to be able to assert, without any misgiving, that all the more perfect organic natures—under which we imply fishes, amphibious animals, birds, and *mammals, with man at their head*—have all been formed after one original image, which, in its highly persistent parts, only deviates more or less here and there, and yet daily, by propagation, transforms and perfects itself."

Some of our opponents have raised the objection that these and similar passages of Goethe are no "scientific truths," but only poetical or rhetorical flourishes and images: the type he meant was only an "ideal pro-type," no real genealogical form. It appears to us this objection betrays little understanding of the greatest German genius. He who is acquainted with Goethe's thoroughly objective mode of thought, who appreciates his thoroughly living and realistic view of nature, will, with us, entertain no doubt that under that "type" was intended a perfectly real descent of kindred organisms from common genealogical form. That the great understander of man did not thereby exclude man from the development series of the other vertebrates is indicated with special clearness in his comparison of the human skull with that of lower mammals. He here expressly points out several places in the human skull as remains of the animal skull "which are found in stronger proportions in such a low organization, but have not quite disappeared in man, in spite of his elevation."

No less does his celebrated discovery of the intramaxillary bone testify to the same conviction. Man, like the other mammals, having cutting teeth must also, Goethe concluded, possess the intra-maxillary bone which showed itself in the other mammals; and, in point of fact, after the most careful anatomical investigations, he established his point, although it had been disputed by the highest anatomical authorities.

Highly remarkable, moreover, in this respect, is the agreement Goethe expresses with the kindred view of Kant in his *Critique of the Faculty of Judgment*, a work the "great main thoughts of which were entirely analogous with his own work, action, and thought hitherto." The great Königsberg philosopher had enunciated the descent of all organic beings from a common original mother (from man down to polyp) as an hypothesis which "alone was in harmony with the principle of the *mechanism of nature, without which a science of nature was altogether impossible.*" This theory of descent, however, he had at the same time called "a daring adventure of reason." In reference to this passage, Goethe remarks: "Had I first unconsciously, and in obedience to inward impulse, restlessly pressed forward in the direction of that Original Form, that Type, had I even succeeded in building up a scheme conformable with nature, now at length could nothing hinder me from *boldly maintaining* the *adventure of reason*, as the sire of Königsberg calls it."

Finally, nothing can more strongly show the extraordinary interest with which Goethe followed this transformation theory, down to the end of his life, than the well-known attention he gave to the dispute between Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and Cuvier. "This event is for me of altogether incredible importance," exclaims the gray-haired old man of eighty-one years, with youthful fire; "and I have a right to jubilate over the universal victory, at last witnessed, of a cause *to which I have devoted my whole life*, and which, too, is mine in a quite especial manner." The vivid representations of this most significant dispute, completed by Goethe in March, 1832, just a few days before his death, is the last literary legacy the greatest poet and thinker of the German nation has left behind him; and to this great intellectual contention also his last word applies,—"More light."

[*Concluded next week.*]

* All forms are similar, yet no one exactly the same as the other; and so the chorus points to a secret law.

† All members work themselves up according to everlasting laws, and the rarest form preserves in secret the primitive type. The form, therefore, determines the animal's mode of life, while, reciprocally, the mode of life reacts powerfully on all form. Thus, the regulated structure firmly maintains to itself while yielding to change through the action of outward substances.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BRONSON MURRAY, of New York, writes: "In *The Index* of October 12 is a proposal from Joseph Templeton, I. L. Lewis, and other Canadians, to send a committee to a convenient point in the United States to test Mr. Henry Slade's powers as a sensitive, or medium. This proposal, had it been addressed to Mr. Slade, were proper and reasonable. It is one that, in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of September 2,—the leading Spiritualistic newspaper of the United States,—I insisted long ago Mr. Slade should himself demand. There is no propriety in the Canadian gentlemen addressing their appeal, as they do, to the Spiritualists of America. The Spiritualists have no interest in convincing these Canadians that any of the phenomena of nature are facts, whether those demonstrated by Spiritualism or any other. Neither is it our part to substantiate the integrity of Mr. Slade. It is his duty to do that; and I presume all fair men, Spiritualists or otherwise, will regard it as Mr. Slade's duty to meet these gentlemen as they propose he should. Indeed, I insisted in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, and its editor agreed with me, that it was his duty to do that immediately when the charge of deception and of his flight from Canada was made against him. I do not mean that he is bound to put up money to cover their expenses, but I do mean he should, at an early day, visit one of those cities named by these gentlemen as acceptable to them, and from there invite them to visit and test him. Failing to do this, Dr. Slade and his friends, of whom I am one, must admit the charges as substantiated by his default."

IT is peculiarly unfortunate that every good cause, in its infancy, is troubled, like ancient Egypt, with a plague of vermin. Men whose lives differ so radically from the ordinary concepts of morality that the doors of every well-organized system are forever closed against them manage to slip edgewise into the ranks of nearly every movement which is passing through its initial stages. Here, they hope to find some excuse for their own irregularities, and to shelter their individual enormities beneath the cloak of a new religion or a new philosophy. Then again there are the men who are constantly in quest of opportunities to display their marvellous wisdom; men who have stores of speeches ever ready to be made; women who have lost the art of bread-making in learning to mouth vapid nonsense about this or that supposed evil; folks who aspire to leadership, and cannot gain it in any regular way: all such flock to every new standard as the discontented men of Israel ran to the rebellious Absalom. And the outcome, whatever its effect upon them, is simply death to Absalom. They get their reward easily. They make their speeches,—"heaven save the mark!"—they offer their resolutions, they figure on committees, and shine in a temporary blaze of calcium glory; but they leave the cause they advocate poorer than they found it, if they do not forever ruin it in the public estimation. And yet, as we have already said in substance, a certain proportion of crankism is inseparable from the incipient stages of all new movements. Christianity was so cursed, the abolition cause was so retarded, and to-day the cause of temperance is hindered more than it is helped by the foolish ranting of extremists. That the Liberals of the country should be so limited in the noble task of freeing the human mind from its servitude to superstition is not strange. Such a cause offers a snug corner for many an effete crank, and affords splendid opportunity for the ill-tempered ranting of malcontents of every stripe. It is not therefore surprising that many semi-lunatics have taken up its battle-cry and clustered beneath its standards. That so good a cause should be judged by the utterance of its weakest rather than by that of its strongest advocates is evidence of the unfairness of many within the boundaries of old and established systems. That any one should hold a school of thought responsible for the folly of its ardent but irrational adherents is unfair in the highest degree. The true and fair method of opposition is that pursued by those who seek out the strongest and not the weakest points in inimical systems. Meantime, let the true philosopher remember that his life will ever be more eloquent than his word, and that, although men may gainsay and jeer at his argumentation, none will dare to scoff at his virtue nor to presume upon his dignity.—*The Alliance.*

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BOOK NOTICES.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. A cantata in three parts. By J. C. Beckel. Philadelphia: Lee & Walker.

This graphic allegory of Bunyan's is here put into the form of simple drama, with musical setting adapted to children's voices and a lively instrumental accompaniment. The melodies are kept within safe and comfortable range for young singers, and are by their simple structure easy for them to acquire.

"WIDE-AWAKE" sustains its established reputation as a first-class magazine for young people by its array of good things in the November number, just come to hand. That breezy, wide-awake, excellently told story, "The Trojan War," said to be written by "a boy," is finished in this number, much to the regret, we dare say, of all the *Wide-Awake* subscribers. "A Suit of Homespun" is continued, and accompanied by fourteen fine illustrations. This, and the quaint yet naturally told story of "Peggy's Mistake," give the children of this generation some idea of the doings and thoughts of a past generation. Among the poems, "Mistress Mary," by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, and "The Little Queen," by Susan Coolidge, rank highest. There is a short and interesting biography of Mary Russell Mitford, the story-writer, by Amanda B. Harris. Felix Oswald's "Runaway Pets" are always pleasing and instructive reading. These are a few of the many good things to be found in this number.

"ST. NICHOLAS" for November, beautifully illustrated as usual, has come to hand. "Indian Summer" is a lovely frontispiece in colors which recall this loveliest of seasons. "Torpedoes! Don't Anchor!" by Charles Barnard, with illustrations by J. B. Woodward, very clearly explains this part of the enginery of war. J. T. Trowbridge, the popular writer, begins what promises to be a very interesting story of "The Tinkham Brothers' Tide-mill." "A Boy in the White House" is the story of Thomas, better known as "Tad," Lincoln, the youngest son and pet of the martyred President, told by Noah Brooks. We mention these as a sample of the good things this number contains.

THE *Herald of Health* for October comes a little late. Some of the subjects discussed therein are "Malaria and Malarial Disease," "Tape-Worms," "Diet in Cancer," "Food of the Japanese," "Wall-paper and Ventilation," "How Singers should Live," "and Rosa Bonheur's Health Habits."

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for November vies with the larger juvenile monthlies in the beauty of its illustrations and the interest of its contributions. The lovely frontispiece, "In the Swing," ought to delight the heart of every child fortunate enough to see this number. There are twenty-six other illustrations, all good, and many of them very fine, accompanying eleven prose stories and seven poems. Russell Publishing House, Boston.

THE Doerflinger Book and Publishing Company of Milwaukee have just issued their *Freidenker-Almanach* for 1883, containing an unusual amount of astronomical and chronological information. The exact length of time since the death of Socrates, the discovery of America, the publication of Darwin's theory, and twenty-five other great events is clearly exhibited. Our own calendar is carefully compared with that of the Jews and Moslems, though, strange to say, not with that of the Positivists; and the record telling who were born and died and what happened on each successive day of the year is extremely full and very well selected. A large part of the one hundred and seventeen closely printed pages is given to spirited poems—one of which prophesies the fall of the Romanoffs—and bright, thoughtful essays. The longest of these latter is called "Two Heroes of Our Century," and tells about Darwin and Garibaldi. An especially valuable article, in view of the constant misrepresentations made by clergymen and college professors, is that on the "Stand-point of the Agnostics." This is shown to be as much opposed to atheism as to theism, and equally far from pantheism: "The Agnostic is that sensible and honorable man who has the courage to declare clearly his conviction that all arguments about the being of a God lead to nothing. He does not deny that there is such a being, but neither does he find cause to maintain that he possesses any proof of its existence.... All our knowledge is relative, since only phenomena can be known by us.... The Agnostic does not let any mist of theology or metaphysics blind his eyes, but looks boldly at naked, prosaic facts without falling into sentimental disturbance.... His motto is 'Evolution,' not 'Revolution.' A reasonable and natural system of ethics is gradually taking the place of the artificial code taught by Christianity. Pioneers like Herbert Spencer, Edward Hartmann, and Felix Adler, justify the fairest hopes ... To the Agnostic belongs the future.... For him, death has lost its sting, as we see from the account of the last moments of prominent Agnostics, like Feuerbach, Strauss, George Eliot, Lewes, Comte, Clifford, and Darwin.... Prove all things, and hold fast what is good; namely, your clear reason, mother wit, and mental independence."

We have quoted thus freely in hope of aiding the circulation of this German Almanac, which may be obtained at 470 East Water Street, Milwaukee, or at this office, for 25 cts.

PART I. of the *Lessons in Ethics*, entitled *Rights and Duties*, written by Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, and issued by the Unitarian Sunday School Society, of 7 Tremont Place, Boston, has come to hand, and can be cordially recommended as an excellent beginning of liberal teaching in Sunday-schools or elsewhere. It is clear, simple, strong, and yet broad in its teaching of ethics, admirably suited to the comprehension of the yet unformed minds of children. Four other "Parts" are to follow, by different writers, on "Virtues and Vices," "The Conscience," "Social and Public Duties," and "The Will and the Emotions."

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD is preparing a work on Emerson.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE writes us he will arrive in Boston next Friday.

THE Pope is protesting against the recent honors to the great Italian patriot, Arnold of Brescia.

MAX MUELLER has been invited to give a course of lectures on the Science of Language at the Lowell Institute next season.

LOUIS KOSSUTH recently celebrated his eighty-first birthday, and the thirty-first anniversary of his condemnation to death as a traitor.

M. CHEVREUL, the French scientist, is now in his ninety-sixth year, and yet spends eight hours daily in his laboratory, besides doing much literary work.

THE *Freidenker* for October 29 contains Mrs. Clara Neymann's cheerful letter from Nebraska, and an editorial about Herbert Spencer's views of America.

THE Attleboro *Chronicle* makes favorable mention and gives fair reports of lectures delivered last week at Plainville, Mass., by the junior editor of *The Index*.

MRS. LANGTRY, the celebrated "professional beauty" and actress, arrived in New York on Monday. She will make a six months' theatrical tour of the United States.

MR. IRA STEWARD, the well-known labor reformer and eight-hour advocate, is dangerously ill at the Massachusetts Homœopathic Hospital, of consumption of the blood.

THE venerable A. Bronson Alcott had a shock of paralysis one day last week; and, although at first fears were entertained that it would prove fatal, there is now hope of his recovery.

OLD Chief Pocotello at the Fort Hall Agency, in answer to questions as to the character of a former Indian agent, described him by the following terse expression: "Ugh! too much God, and no flour."

THE wife of the notorious Tichborne claimant and two children are inmates of a workhouse at Southampton, England. She still persists in calling herself "Lady Tichborne," and her name stands as such on the workhouse register.

NEW ORLEANS is to have the honor of being the first city in the Union to erect a monument to a woman. The person to be thus honored is Margaret Houghery, the recently deceased benefactress of the orphan asylum of that city.

THE late Prof. F. M. Balfour left to his friend Dr. Michael Foster of Trinity College, Cambridge, a legacy of $5,000 to be used for the promotion of science. Dr. Foster will found with it either an annual prize or a recurrent scholarship.

THE grave of Emerson is kept constantly covered with flowers by the young girls of Concord. Hawthorne's, with a stone at head and foot bearing simply his name, is thickly overgrown with glossy myrtle. Thoreau's is unadorned, save with a thick sod of green grass.

SAYS the Boston Saturday *Gazette:* "Rev. Dr. Edwards A. Park was in town last week, looking as cheerful as if his recent utterances on future damnation were only meant to be interpreted in a Pickwickian sense. He was to have preached in town to-day, but has been forbidden the exertion by his physicians on account of his health."

DR. WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, the distinguished English physiologist, gave two of his promised course of twelve lectures at the Lowell Institute in this city last week. The first six are to treat of marine geography, the last six of psychology. Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells gave a reception to Prof. Carpenter and wife one evening last week, which was a very enjoyable affair.

THEODORE PARKER, in his *Historic Americans*, gives this anecdote: "Once, John Adams went with others to see the picture of Washington in Faneuil Hall. Some one remarked on the firm mouth, and said, 'It looks as if he could keep it shut.' 'So he did,' said Adams; but, tapping with his cane his own bust, which the town of Boston had also placed in Faneuil Hall, he added, 'That d—d fool never could.'"

MR. GEORGE C. MILN recently made his first appearance as an actor in Chicago. Opinions as to his success vary, but generally agree as to his elocution. Some of his Chicago critics are severe and, we are inclined to think, ungenerous in their comments on his acting; but others, while admitting defects that can be overcome only by careful training, give him credit for considerable ability as an actor, and speak encouragingly of his future in his new profession.

PRINCE BISMARCK has hit upon a most effectual plan for keeping inquisitive intruders away from Varzin. He has issued a peremptory mandate, forbidding all the inhabitants of the village and neighboring country to entertain any strangers whatever. So strictly enforced is this order that a newspaper correspondent recently was compelled to tramp to a town several miles away at midnight for the shelter that was refused him by the chancellor's tenantry at Varzin.

EMERSON remarked of Thoreau: "He was frequently at our door for pails and spades and axes; and, if nobody was about, he would borrow them just the same. A strange creature, more like an Indian than a white man. If he awoke in the morning with an idea that the White Mountains had a claim upon him, he would simply close his door and walk to them. He was to a great extent the creature of his impulses. Though happy in congenial company, he was as well content to be alone."

HERBERT SPENCER has at length been interviewed, and has given utterance to some thoughtful and important criticisms of the people of the United States, their customs and institutions. The opinions of the great man, though in the main very flattering to us, deal unsparingly with what he regards as some of the defects and abuses of our Constitution and administration, and mark out in the clearest manner the possibilities and dangers of the Republic's future. He thinks that America has not yet evolved its ultimate form, and that the future development will certainly be in the direction of improvement.

DANIEL MACMILLAN, in a graphic sketch of Carlyle as a lecturer in London, said: "He lectures without notes of any kind, having thrown aside even the piece of paper, like a visiting card, which he used to bring with him. He is very far from being a fluent speaker. Sometimes, he rises into eloquence and gets applauded; sometimes, he comes to a dead stand for want of a word, quietly looking in the face of his audience till he finds the word; sometimes, he leaves his sentences in a quite unfinished state, and passes on to something else. He rarely moves his hands from the sides of his desk: when he does, it is to rub his two forefingers along his forehead, just above his eyebrows. This seems to be of great use, enabling him to get on much better,—at least, I suppose so, because he always said his best things after one or two of these rubs. His whole appearance and manner are exceedingly simple. I never saw any one so completely free from anything like pretension. His accent and pronunciation are very broad Scotch, much more so, I think, than Dr. Chalmers'. His dress is plain and simple enough, but no way remarkable."

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	217
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Evolution: A Letter to Mr. Underwood, D. A. Wasson,	218
On Some Defe ts of the Daily Pr ss, W. S. Kennedy,	219
"The Conquest of this Planet," B. W. Ball,	220
A Few More Words on the National Unitarian Conference, Wm. J. Potter,	220
Conventions, F. A. Hinckley,	221
EDITORIAL NOTES,	221
POETRY.	
The Cathedral Universal, Lita Barney Sayles,	222
From my Study, Horace L. Traubel,	222
ESSAYS.	
Some Logical Absurdities of Idealism, Lewis G. Janes,	222
Prof. Haeckel on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck,	224
Reflections by the Way, Mont E. Collins,	225
CORRESPONDENCE.	
The Unitarian Conference Once Again, Chas. D. B. Mills,	226
Mormonism and the Press, T. W. Curtis,	226
The Blessedness of the Saints is Insecure, Wm. H. Spiller,	226
Curiosities of Orthodoxy, C. K. W.,	226
MISCELLANEOUS.	
Darwin and Haeckel,	227
BOOK NOTICES.	
Agamemnon, La Saisiaz, and Dramatic Idyls, by Robert Browning,	227
The Rhymester, by Arthur Penn,	227
Zoölogical Sketches, by Felix L. Oswald,	227
Mind, Revue de Belgique,	227
PERSONAL ITEMS,	227

CURRENT TOPICS.

A MONUMENT to Arnold of Brescia, the first martyr in the struggle against the temporal power of the pope, was erected by the people of that city on August 14.

SAYS the Springfield *Republican:* "The first trial of a Mormon polygamist under the Edmunds law has just been held in Salt Lake City, and it ended in smoke. A man named Hintze had two wives, sought to take a third, and was hauled up. There was no sort of doubt about the fact, but in court the second marriage could not be proved. The second wife would not admit that she was married, nor that she now cohabited with Hintze, although she had a child called by his name; and the case was dismissed."

LAST week, a case was decided in Providence, R.I., affecting the interpretation of the Sunday law. The plaintiff had been injured and crippled for life by an accident due to lack of proper precaution and care on the part of the Union Horse Railroad Company. The corporation raised the point that, since the accident occurred on Sunday, the contract to carry was null and void except in cases of necessity or charity, and that therefore the tort was without foundation. This mean subterfuge did not serve the purpose of the corporation, and a verdict of $6,925 was rendered in favor of the plaintiff.

CEYLON must be a good place to live in for one who likes snakes. Prof. Haeckel writes: "The great black scorpion (nearly a foot long) is so common in Ceylon that I once collected half a dozen in the course of an hour. Snakes exist also in great numbers. Slender green tree snakes hang from almost every bough, and at night the great rat snake (*Coryphodon blumenbachii*) hunts rats and mice over the roofs of the huts. Although they are harmless and their bite not poisonous, it is by no means a pleasant surprise when one of these rat snakes, five feet long, suddenly drops through a hole in the roof into one's room, occasionally alighting on the bed."

THE percentage of church-goers in New York is not large, according to the *Baptist Weekly*, which says: "The population of New York has largely increased; but will any one tell us of any Baptist congregations which compare in size with those which could be found thirty years ago in Broome Street, Mulberry Street, Oliver Street, Norfolk Street, Cannon Street, Macdougal Street, and Downing Street, then the seats of large assemblies and great influence? Some of these places are occupied still; but they are sparsely attended, spite of the most earnest and able presentation of the gospel. And prosperous suburban churches, when the population is considered, afford little cause for gratulation. This state of things is not peculiar to Baptists. Perhaps half a dozen Presbyterian churches in New York have large congregations, but several others show a very scanty exhibit of worshippers. The Methodist Church has not gained of late years. The Episcopal churches have increased in numbers; but were it not for the large revenues of Trinity, which help many of their churches, they would not be able to keep their doors open, and not a few of them show a very meagre attendance."

THE Boston *Transcript*, in an editorial article on the ethical teachings of Herbert Spencer, observes: "To his view, the conception of right has been slowly built up of a selection of motives and courses having reference to painful or pleasurable results. The supernatural ethics connected with theology has located these pains and pleasures in a distant future. The new scientific ethics finds them in the immediate or eventual consequences of terrestrial life. The point at issue between Mr. Spencer and Mr. Mallock is the sufficiency or insufficiency of these temporal motives. Mr. Spencer's view is certainly nobler and more honorable to human nature than that set forth in such books as the *Romance of the Nineteenth Century*. If it be really true that great numbers of human beings are too weak to stand alone on the removal of the old restraints, it must certainly be for the general weal that such take themselves out of the way as soon as possible. But let us at any rate attach no responsibility for their weakness to a man who has given his best strength to the formulation of a system forced upon the world by new and larger truth. Mr. Spencer has done what must be done in the present state of things,—shown us a way out of our moral perplexities, and done his part to prevent a moral interregnum."

IN an address to Congregational ministers in this city last week, Prof. Park, of Andover, said that there are three doctrines which should be insisted upon as essential to ordination: "These are, first, that the Bible is trustworthy as a religious guide in all its religious teaching,—not that the Bible is correct in all its astronomical and geological statements, but that in its spiritual sense and teachings it is not to be doubted. Next, that the doctrine of the atonement is a sacrificial act, as consisting in the sufferings and death of the God-man, which sufferings and death are representative of the eternal punishment of sinners; that those sufferings and that death were designed to, and in fact do, honor God's justice and love and holiness as much as the law and the holiness and justice of God would be honored by the eternal perdition of sinners. Third, that this world is the only world of probation; that the future world is the world of punishment if a man dies impenitent, and that such a man will suffer the punishment of the law, which is eternal. These doctrines must be insisted upon, and the present state of the churches demands that they be peculiarly insisted upon. Ordinarily, it is not more essential to insist upon them than upon the doctrines of regeneration, of total depravity, of the Trinity; but now it is more essential. We must insist upon these doctrines, chiefly because they are true, but because our ecclesiastical fathers have done more labor and suffered more obloquy for them than for any others."

MR. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, who arrived in this city last Saturday, accompanied by his daughter and by Mrs. Leach (who is here to examine our public-school system), has been the recipient of many attentions and courtesies from his Boston friends. Last Sunday evening, he gave a lecture in the Parker Memorial on "My Early Religious Days," in which he related in a pleasant and impressive manner the experience of a courageous and conscientious mind in its transition from the condition imposed by inherited and traditional superstition and an environment in which poverty and the crudest and narrowest theology were the most conspicuous features, to a secular view of life and duty. The story was told with that felicity of language and kindliness of spirit and enlivened by that genial humor which give a peculiar charm to all that Mr. Holyoake says or writes. In the afternoon, he attended the Parker Memorial Science Class, where the *Psychology* of Herbert Spencer was the subject of discussion. At the close of an address by the junior editor of *The Index*, Mr. Holyoake made a speech, replete with good sense, in which he paid a high compliment to Herbert Spencer, with whom he has been personally acquainted many years. On Tuesday evening, he was given a reception at the parlors of the Parker Memorial, where he received many expressions of appreciation of his services as a public benefactor. Next Sunday, November 12, Mr. Holyoake will lecture for Mr. Hinckley's society at Providence in the afternoon, and in the evening will meet members of the congregation at Mr. Hinckley's house. The subject of the afternoon lecture will be "Religious Scenes and Associations of my Early Days, and Characteristics of Congregational and Unitarian Churches." On Monday and Tuesday evenings, November 13 and 14, Mr. Holyoake will lecture in New Bedford. On Monday evening, Mr. Wm. J. Potter will preside. Mr. Holyoake's first subject in New Bedford will be "Features of Parliamentary Orators," including those of Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and others. The second subject will be "Co-operation considered as a New Force in Morality and Industry." On Sunday, November 19, he will deliver his last address in America in Cosmian Hall, Florence, Mass.

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EVOLUTION:

A Letter to Mr. Underwood.

My dear Sir,—You say with good warrant that I am an evolutionist. I had said as much to you, and should have said it in *The Index*, in order to correct some misapprehensions, had I found occasion to do so without coming forward for that express purpose. You have now spoken for me, and I am glad of it. But so much being said, I am under obligation to say more. For I believe in evolution without accepting as sufficient any philosophical explanation of the fact hitherto offered,—an evolutionist holding out for more adequate explanations; and I shrewdly suspect that the case is not much otherwise with Col. Higginson, little as he may be satisfied with the system and methods of Herbert Spencer. But to some of your readers, with whom the fact of evolution and Mr. Spencer's explanation of it are one and the same, and no more to be separated than the fact of gravitation and the law of gravitation as discovered by Newton, such a declaration of position will not be intelligible. I must therefore try to render it intelligible, and beg leave to do so in the form of a letter to yourself, as if in continuance of a conversation which passed between us one evening, and of which I retain a pleasant recollection.

Evolution means continuity in the process of nature, or of the known universe. The contrary notion is that of a natural process interrupted at times by obtrusions or injections of power from without; which power may thereafter either run in the channels of nature to give them a new content, or run side by side with them as a distinct supernatural current, or it may but briefly suspend the effect of natural law, and then be withdrawn, leaving all to go on as before. Now, the former conception was that of the new school of thought in New England, commonly known as the transcendental school, before Herbert Spencer was heard of. Emerson had announced it as indubitable truth in *Nature*, his earliest work. Parker had applied it to one great province or principle of human history in his *Discourse of Religion*. Higginson and Johnson, the two adherents of the school whom I first encountered upon coming to Massachusetts in 1851, were younger men, and not in the same way before the public, nor do I recall any express private declaration from either of them upon the point; but they were certainly on the same line of thought. So extended indeed was this manner of thinking, that it had reached me in eastern Maine, and in a general way determined finally my point of view, while I was yet a student there in an orthodox theological seminary, therefore between the years 1848 and 1851. "Development" was the word then, and quite as good a word as evolution, save that the latter is in some respects more convenient. This term came into vogue, displacing the older one, along with a particular explanation of the world-process, as being but the blind movement of forces purely physical or physico-chemical; and now it is the persuasion of many that the idea of continuous universal development was born into the world from the womb of this particular theory; and that one can be an evolutionist in no other form. But the idea has been abroad for a century or more. During no less a period it has been generating theories and hypotheses designed to cover some part of the great world-process, if not the whole. And familiar to American transcendentalism, though in a sense not very precisely defined, it was taken up by Hegel and worked out methodically with a thoroughness and in a way that excited the vast admiration of one age, and now excites the half-contemptuous astonishment of another.

Hegel was an evolutionist of the strictest sort. I hazard nothing in saying this, though far from being an Hegelian scholar, for a slight acquaintance with his manner of thinking makes the fact obvious. Take, for example, his *Philosophy of History*, his most exoteric work. He there represents history as a logically ordered succession of steps, whose result is a freedom self-contained and self-governed. The whole process is presumed in the first step, and in the last all the preceding ones are subsumed. But here we are to make a distinction of much importance; we are to distinguish between two very different conceptions of evolution. The first step in Hegel's historical evolution is represented by China, the second by India, another by Greece, and so on. Now, according to one style of thought the phenomenal fact, China, should have evolved itself to become India; the phenomenal fact, India, have evolved itself to become Greece; and so to the end. This would imply that what had actually come to the surface in China was sufficient to produce, and of necessity must produce, the whole course and result of history. It would imply, not simply that the actual morals, institutions, laws and manners of China sprang from productive principles in the human spirit which would elsewhere go farther and give themselves a higher manifestation, but that these morals, institutions, laws and manners would transform themselves into others of a more advanced type, and these again into others; thus that the first phenomenal result, considered as quite cut off from any unapparent resource, is in and of itself the source and principle of all subsequent evolution. Hegel thought quite differently. What he speaks of is the self-evolution of spirit, or of the human spirit. This, following an order inherent in itself, unfolds its content, and gives itself an outward representation in doing so; China representing the primary degree of this unfolding, India the next, and so on. Here the evolution and the continuity are spiritual, and spiritual only. In the outward representation we observe indeed an order of succession, but no outward line of production running from one degree to the next, say from China to India. The succession is like that of the steps in a stairway, where there is indeed a regular ascending order, but no production of one step by the next lower.

But it will now be prudent for me to get away from Hegel, and make a safe retreat. I really do not know how far the evolution of existence, as traced in his Logic should be understood as a movement taking place in time; I am only sure that the thought-process, which according to him is the veritable world-process, is evolutionary, and in the most vigorous sense. But what is here said of him is simply preparatory to a statement which might have been made without reference to him, though the preparation is not superfluous. The statement is that evolution may be, and has been, conceived of in two quite opposite ways. On the one hand, it is conceived of as proceeding from within outward, from unapparent reality to apparent form significant and representative of the reality; which representation is in and of itself, or apart from its producing principle, nothing. This, I suppose, was,—approximately at least,—the earlier thought of Emerson and of the American transcendentalists generally. Take for illustration some well-known lines from "The Problem."

> "These temples grew as grows the grass;
> Art might obey, but not surpass;
> The passive master lent his hand
> To the vast soul that o'er him planned."

The master is passive, and it is the vast soul which plans in the growth of grass and temples, dewdrops and worlds. Art is true art only when inspired and guided by conceiving Nature, the supreme and eternal artist. Spiritual Nature imagines, and the world-picture lies before us, we ourselves a part of it; she thinks, and her thoughts are the laws of structure and motion in the universe. She is not meanwhile apart from her manifestation, but ever present in it and one with it. Instinct with her life, the stone is "conscious"; instinct with her purpose, the worm is "striving to be man." Now, one may represent the fact to himself in this way, and yet be no evolutionist, even though he admit an ascending course of phenomenal manifestation. To illustrate, let us suppose that a Phidias or Michelangelo has come to the perfect maturity of his genius, and is fully qualified to plan a Parthenon or St. Peter's, but that he chooses, one cannot say why, to begin with a hut, then to build something a little finer, and so through a succession of approximations, to bring forth at last the glorious structure which was in his mind from the first. This were not evolution. On the other hand, suppose a great artistic genius in course of development; it is Turner, for example, that we are thinking of. In principle and promise the genius is fully there at the beginning of his career, but as realized and productive power it is daily arriving, and it goes on increasing during a period of some five and thirty years. Meantime it is of the nature of this genius to be productive, to give itself an outward and visible expression. Always it brings forth its best, but its best of to-day will be bettered another day, for its power grows. Reviewing Turner's works, we can trace the stages of his artistic growth; from point to point, we can see that his apprehension becomes more alive, his insight more delicate and penetrating, his imagination freer, larger and more subtile. Here is a real development, but, though represented outwardly, it takes place only in the genius of the artist. The productive principle is there, and there too is the principle of continuity. Between the picture of one year and that of another there is a connection, but they are connected only through the producing genius. Now, universal evolution has been conceived of in a manner somewhat similar, though not strictly the same. The productive power and the principle of continuity are in Nature with the capital initial, Nature as spiritual, self-active, formative, and not in the outward representation, though she is not apart from her product like the painter from the picture. This, I should say, was Emerson's way of thinking. He is indeed a hard man to corner, for he not only spoke but thought poetically, and can never be bound to a theory strictly defined. But I should say that his thought ran in the direction indicated.

Let us now turn to the opposite conception. Here physical force, as apparent in the forms and motions of material things, is the be-all and end-all. It is purely phenomenal in the sense of existing only relatively to us, as we only relatively to it. Behind it is a nondescript somewhat which exists absolutely, but of which nothing can be known, since it is in no mode of relation either with ourselves or with the world around us. Quite independently of this, in which there is no evolution, and out of which there is none, the phenomenal or physical evolves itself, passing ever from simpler to more complex forms. Its principle of continuity is the law, newly discovered, of the conservation of physical energy, or persistence of force. Its productive principle is perhaps gravitation, since this seems to be indicated as the one primordial mode of force, out of which all other modes may or must have come; though on this head a degree of reserve is maintained. The whole movement is from without inward. At the outset there is but a gas or nebulous matter, uniform in character, uni-

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formly diffused through the infinitude of space, and drawn equally in every direction. This matter is all and only surface; it has no *within*, but is extension without intension. But it concentrates itself in masses, rounds itself into globes, and now has an inner and an outer, though only in the spatial sense. But again it proceeds, and in the complexities of chemical differentiation and affinity acquires a positive interior content. Then it develops life, and in this arrives at a far intenser mode of relation; then through the ever-deepening subtleties and mysteries of vital being increases incessantly the proportion of content to surface. At length, though itself mindless, it evolves conscious mind or spirit, which has no surface, but is intension without extension. And while, according to the former conception, the physical world is in and of itself nothing, but might be called a function of spirit, so here we have the precise contrary; spirit is evolved, but it is only a function of matter, and has in itself no being.

Such are the opposed conceptions, as rapidly and roughly sketched. My own persuasion is that a true and entire theory of evolution, should it one day come, will comprise both and conform to neither. I believe that the real evolution is polaric, spiritual-physical; that on both sides there is a line of continuity, and productive power in their unity. An analogy will render it fairly clear what these words mean; but this letter is already too long, and I must crave leave to continue the subject and conclude the present statement in another.

Yours very truly,

D. A. WASSON.

ON SOME DEFECTS OF THE DAILY PRESS.

II.

My second article of indictment against the daily newspapers is that *they corrupt the language.* In order clearly and unmistakably to see what a deleterious influence newspaper style is having upon the writing and speaking of pure idiomatic English, it is only necessary to compare the abominable journalese diction of some of our great dailies with any English classic, such as Goldsmith or Milton or Emerson; or to compare the speech of any one of the semi-educated, newspaper-nourished crowd of middle-class Americans with the sweet, single-syllabled, nutty-flavored words of the unsophisticated laboring classes,—farmers, artisans, negroes, mountaineers, and other (oh, most enviable!) persons who live happily ignorant of that worse pest than the mosquito or the book-agent,—the intrusive, unescapable, unexorcisable, vulgar daily journal. The first fact to which an American wakes up when he sets about cultivating his style of writing or speaking is that he has first of all, with laborious effort, to rid himself of the journalese atmosphere in which, as a member of a newspaper-reading nation, he has all his life been unconsciously enveloped. By eschewing the daily press almost wholly, or only taking moderate doses of it, and by the assiduous reading of old English classics, and by pouncing eagerly upon the pure English words of the unbookish portion of the people, one may succeed at last in acquiring a readable and hearable style. But you must be prepared to have your new classicisms appreciated by only a small constituency. There are a few great daily newspapers, and a larger number of weekly ones, which demand and appreciate idiomatic English. You can write for these, and feel sure that in using a good old English word you will not have it remorselessly cut out by some hardened editorial devotee of pure and unmitigated journalese. But even the best journals have a horror of individuality. Your practical, self-made, office-educated editor will snake out of an article all the fresh and unconventional words as neatly and unerringly as a yellow-jacket will extract the sweets from a patch of buttercups. He will often go through your article and winnow out its individuality as deftly as a fan-mill will take the pure wheat out of a bushel of "cheat." It is true that in a daily paper it is almost impossible that much attention should be paid to *style*, owing to lack of time. In such a case, the evil of incoherent, indigested agglomerations of sentences is a cureless evil. But there is no excuse for editors preferring bookish and Latinized *words* to the pure Saxon words of good conversation. The style of the average local journal in America reminds you of the country school-girl airing her knowledge of books, or of the recent college graduate returning to the paternal farm in the West to spread dismay among his kinsmen and neighbors by his awful and unintelligible language.

De Quincey, in his essay on Style, has some good things on this subject. "Formerly," he says, "the natural impulse of every man was spontaneously to use the language of life; the language of books was a secondary attainment not made without effort. Now, on the contrary, the daily composers of newspapers have so long dealt in the professional idiom of books, as to have brought it home to every reader in the nation who does not violently resist it by some domestic advantages. Time was, within our own remembrance, that if you should have heard, in passing along the street, from any old apple-woman, such a phrase as 'I will *avail myself* of your kindness,' forthwith you would have shied like a skittish horse; you would have run away in as much terror as any old Roman upon those occasions when *Bos loquebatur* (the ox spoke). At present you swallow such marvels as matters of course. The whole artificial dialect of books has come into play as the dialect of ordinary life." De Quincey proceeds to give a whimsical account of an encounter of his with a London landlady who had the newspaper mania, the reading of the daily papers being the sole and exclusive business of her life. She told De Quincey she "would spontaneously adapt the several modes of domestication to the reciprocal interests," etc. "'What's that?' we demanded. Mark the answer: 'A shed; that's what it is; *videlict* a shed; and anteriorly to the existing shed there was.'—*What* there was, posterity must consent to have wrapped up in darkness, for without further struggle against our instincts, round we wheeled, rushed down forty-five stairs, and exploded from the house with a fury, causing us to impinge against an obese, or protuberant, gentleman, and calling for mutual explanations."

To what has been said about diction, we must add that one of the most common delusions of the great horde of pedantic critics is that a word not in Webster or Worcester is no word. As a matter of fact there are hundreds and hundreds of genuine, indispensable words not found in those dictionaries. From the literary money-bags of forgotten times, it is permissible and laudable to pluck out now and then a beautiful and neglected coin; and it is also permissible to fresh-mint others when necessary.

Third article of indictment: *they waste our time.* And this in two ways: first, by spreading ideas out so thin that you can see through their threadbare texture, and by lack of time for condensing such ideas even when they would like to do so; and, second, by enticing us to read a great deal more in each paper than we have any business to do. The first of these evils can hardly be cured so long as it is deemed more respectable to earn one's living by writing on paper with a pen than by writing on the earth with a plough, to gossip about other men's business than to attend to one's own. If Jack Horner must earn his living by his pen, he must "spread himself" over as great a superficies of paper as possible. But oh that it were not so! "Simply to retrench one word from each sentence," says De Quincey, "one superfluous epithet, for example, would probably increase the disposable time of the public by one twelfth part; in other words, would add another month to the year." As to the second point, one may most heartily agree that, if we read too much and waste our time, it is our fault, and not that of the newspaper. The amount of valuable reading matter in the better class of American newspapers is perfectly marvellous. Everybody is benefited by reading a good newspaper, provided only that one reads it not too much. The daily paper is a modern institution. People don't understand yet how to read it. There is such a thing as a mania for newspaper-reading. Everybody has some one in his or her acquaintance who is afflicted with this disease, or mania (call it journalomania). Its victims are never seen unaccompanied by the white instrument of their destruction,—namely, some newspaper, often as large as the main sail of a frigate, or the patch on an East River scow. The journalomanians always have a nervous and worried and haggard look, as if their long task of pouring facts through the sieve of their heads was wearing on their health. They are the persons (generally old ladies and old gentlemen) who always read with religious scrupulosity *everything* in their daily newspaper. Now, as a matter of fact, there is in each daily paper but *one* piece of news for any one man or woman. The paper is worth its price, and more than worth it, for that piece of news. The rest of the paper is for other people, and you or I have no more business to waste our time reading other people's news than we have to go gadding about the world, or our community, to inquire by word of mouth into the lives of Tom, Dick, or Harry. Buy your paper, read it five minutes, then throw it aside (throw it out of the car window, if your will is not strong), and take out of your pocket one of the vest-pocket classics or science-books, and read a sentence that will, it may be, change your whole life for the better.

Fourth article of indictment: *They embitter the lives of thousands by their slander and gossip.* This is a large topic that cannot be entered upon here. The writer of these lines was once in the office of a New York daily, when a lady victim of one of the infernal reporters who fatten upon broken hearts and ruined reputations came in to seek to get justice done to her family. The family had been grossly slandered,—dished up in one of those vile articles that make all noble souls ashamed of American journalism. No matter what the outcome might be; even if this lady did obtain a line or two of explanation or retraction, would *that* make amends for the irreparable injury that had been inflicted? If it were not for the fact that we are a migratory people, existence would hardly be supportable to many slandered families. But at present they can move into distant regions, and begin life anew, after a cruel slander has been published. Grant that in each case of exposure there is more or less wrong on the part of the exposed, is that any reason for the publication of it to the world? It is useless to argue a truth made self-evident by the ethics of the human heart. If the daily papers cannot understand that their noble function is to educate and defend the people, but not to prey upon them, to act the part of the wise judge in rightly drawing the line that severs the punishable from the remedial, the public criminal from the private unfortunate,—if they cannot, or will not, see this, then they must be made to see it by legal measures; and everybody should be interested in bringing to justice the proprietors or

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editors of those papers that unscrupulously prey upon the health and happiness of the community.

W. SLOANE KENNEDY.

"THE CONQUEST OF THIS PLANET."

Alexander the Great is said to have sighed for more worlds to conquer; but he did not conquer even this one, but only a patch of it in the Eastern hemisphere. In an article in a recent issue of *The Index*, "the conquest of the planet on which we dwell and its domestication" are spoken of as "an enterprise which is henceforth to be pursued with method as an avocation and art." The conquest here meant is of course no bloody, autocratic Alexandrian, Cæsarian, or Napoleonic conquest, but a reduction of the entire habitable or occupiable surface of our planet to the control and use and enjoyment, rational and æsthetic, of a humane, enlightened, scientific civilization,—not for the glorification of a single man or class of men, but for the behoof of the entire race. Already so easy and rapid and commodious is the transit from one country to another, from one hemisphere to the other, that it has become a means of Sybaritic enjoyment and luxury rather than a matter of peril and discomfort, so that the rich in this country and England are constantly on the wing, and leading the life of sojourners and commorants at large in the world rather than of stationary citizens in any particular country. And it is manifest that the time is rapidly approaching, when space or distance (outness) will be so cheaply and swiftly overpassed that all men will be able to dwell at large on the surface of our planet with a kinglike freedom of choice as to the locality, soil, climate, or physical environment which they will occupy. Of course, such a free and easy occupancy of the bosom of Mother Earth will do away with all localism, provincialism, and even nationalism. Literature, Goethe said long ago, had become cosmopolitan; and everything else human will soon follow suit, to the utter dismay and discomfiture of sectarians, exclusive churches, and other things of that sort. Mountains and seas interposed, in the famous phrase of Cowper, will no longer make enemies of nations; for the nations will sooner or later melt into and be swallowed up and lost in a liberal, enlightened, cosmical humanity. Genuine civilization has always meant an advance from a narrow Gentilism toward a comprehensive world-wideness. At length, the advance in that direction in the scientific era, in which we are now living, is constantly being accelerated. Time and space have hitherto been insuperable insulators of generations and communities. But we may be said, by means of a historic and philological clairvoyance, to have done away with the barrier of past time, and to have thoroughly appreciated and comprehended humanity at all the past stages of its historic development. Thus do we enjoy an unclouded, luminous retrospect or view of the past. We thus have ascertained the trend of civilization. We can now co-operate intelligently with the divinity that shapes our ends. Our thoughts and wishes are now literally *flashed* round the globe. Our bodies will soon follow with a swiftness of locomotion which is not yet dreamed of or taken into account as a possibility except by the few, who boldly speculate upon the magnificent realities of a not remote future. But, even now, one does not incur a suspicion, on the part of the most matter-of-fact and prosaic, of an extraordinary degree of visionariness, when he asserts that the air is to be the region of locomotion in the near future. Poets have always been credited with the possession of previsionary power, and the chief poet of the English-speaking world long ago saw a vision of the world of the future and all the wonders that shall be. Among these wonders, according to the illustrious British bard, were "the heavens filled with commerce, with argosies of magic sails." The imagination, as that divine faculty manifests itself in the greatest poets, is a Mænad with a blazing torch, illuminating far in advance the path of the sober scientific and inventive intellect.

The reason that savagery and desolation have reigned so long over such an immense extent of the surface of this little rotary province of the solar system has been the civilized man's inability to overcome space or distance with a celerity of movement that could rob it of its isolating power. But civilization, winged as it now is by science and invention, will erelong have taken possession of the entire earth, putting barbarism, desolation, and savagery of all sorts to utter rout. Then there will be land enough for all. Surplus populations can then literally take to flight and descend on remotest continent and island without regard to its distance, wherever there are an untilled soil and an alluring climate to furnish them with a desirable habitat for their Lares and Penates. What ravishing outlooks and downlooks will the aërial voyagers of the future enjoy! Then, the scenery of the entire globe, with its seas, deserts, and mountains, with all its zones and climates and their varying flora, and with its arctic and antarctic circles of desolation, will be subject to the rapid scrutiny and inspection of aëronautic tourists and excursionists in the course of a few brief days. It will be a short dash from the regions of the North Star to those of the Southern Cross, from the moist greenery of the meadows and fields of the temperate zone, with its coniferous forests, to the palms and richer vegetation of the tropics,

"Where the gold orange glows in the deep thicket's gloom."

Meantime, interplanetary space must remain forever untraversible except by the eye, sharpened by the telescopic lens. For seclusion and physical isolation are the lot and law of the worlds in cosmical space. But, at any rate, man, when at the height of his control of the forces of nature, will be able to expatiate at will on earth, sea, and air, so far as his own little planet is concerned. There will be

"No sequestered spot,
Lone mountain tarn, or isle forgot;
But voyagers, journeying in the sphere,
Will daily stoop to harbor there."

B. W. BALL.

A FEW MORE WORDS ON THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

We had not intended to say anything more, at least for some time to come, concerning the National Unitarian Conference and our own relation thereto. But we have reason to believe that the remarks we have appended to our several correspondents' communications in various recent issues of *The Index*, replying to points made by them, have tended in some quarters rather to draw attention away from what we regard as our main position in the case, and which we had previously stated in editorial articles of September 14 and October 5. We wish, therefore, to make a brief summary of our position; and then, in all probability, we can leave the subject, so far as we personally are concerned, for a considerable period, though our columns will still be open to contributors who have something of value to say upon it, and all the more open because the Unitarian journals seem disposed to follow the policy of the Saratoga meeting on the question, and keep the discussion behind the scenes.

First, then, all this debate as to the exact intention and effect of the new amendment to the Constitution of the Conference does not touch *our* position in the least. We regard all the points raised concerning the special action at Saratoga, whether as to its meaning or method, as of quite subordinate importance; and for this reason we have not thought it worth while to reply to every point made by our critics. The action has its interest and value as marking the spirit of the Conference, and we willingly admit that it places the Conference in a more liberal and generous attitude than it held before. But, even though the intent and effect of the new amendment be all that Messrs. Savage and Chadwick and Spencer claim for it, our own personal relation to the Conference would not be changed. As we have previously said, we cannot share their opinion. To our view, the Constitution as it now stands does not make it at all clear that non-Christians are actually invited to the membership of the Conference or that the Conference, as a whole, intended to invite them. Some further action, we think, will have to be taken on this point before the meaning is plain. But, supposing this action to be taken and that it be such as to put the most liberal interpretation on the Constitution and distinctly to say that non-Christians are welcomed as members, we should still, so far as the invitation concerned us, have to decline it and remain outside. We did not re-enter the Conference even after the original Ninth Article was adopted, though it clearly and sweepingly affirmed that "all declarations of this Conference, including the Preamble and Constitution, are expressions only of its majority, committing in no degree those who object to them," and though there was then no such article as the present *ninth*, with its reaffirmation of "allegiance to the Gospel of Jesus Christ" and its limited invitation to membership to those "who wish to be followers of Christ." We did not re-enter, because we considered the amendment only a compromise which was unjust to the convictions of both sides, and which, so far from hastening the decision of the main question, would tend rather to postpone that question and blind people's minds to the issues involved in it. With us, the main question has always concerned the retention of the theological phrases in the Preamble and Constitution of the Conference. And, whatever else may be added to or taken from the Constitution, we cannot become a member of the Conference so long as these creed-phrases, which affirm the special authority of Christianity, are retained.

This ground we take for the following reasons, which we simply state here without arguing them:

1. We regard the elimination of these creed-phrases from the Constitution of the Conference as the proper and legitimate result of the principles that have been the most vital elements of the Unitarian movement, and as demanded by those principles.

2. Mutual justice, fairness, and equality are necessary elements of true fellowship. The members of the Conference do not come together on the same terms, or with a mutual recognition of equal rights, so long as one portion of them, though a majority, have certain of their theological beliefs stated in the Constitution, and another portion, holding other beliefs, are denied that privilege. A proper regard for the individual self-respect of members would require that the constitutional conditions of membership, in respect to beliefs, should be perfectly equal.

3. These theological phrases either cover deep, earnest convictions or they do not. If they do cover such convictions,—convictions which those holding them believe to be vitally necessary to the existence and welfare of the Conference,—then their importance ought not to be compromised away by the declaration that it is of no consequence whether members of the Conference hold

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them or not. If they do not cover such convictions, but are only clung to as relics of a respectable traditional theology, then, for the sake of mental and moral sincerity, they should be dropped.

For these reasons, neither the constitutional amendment of the present year, nor that of 1868, restored our membership in the National Unitarian Conference. They were compromises to which, though we craved the fellowship, we could not consistently with our rational and conscientious judgment give countenance. In the art of practical politics, compromises may often be necessary. In religion, they are always dangerous. Religion is of little worth, if it be not the power of personal conviction and the very soul of sincerity.

Further, so long as these theological phrases in the Constitution are so tenaciously adhered to by the majority of the Conference (so tenaciously that Mr. Savage found that the present Ninth Article, introduced in 1870 by Mr. Hepworth, could not be rescinded at Saratoga as he had at first hoped), one who is outside of the Conference as a non-Christian, but who may not feel the force of these reasons which have decided our position, may yet be impelled to inquire whether the Conference can be a body with whose "purposes and practical aims" he is in such "general sympathy" as to meet even its amended test of fellowship. If those words mean all that they *ought* to mean, and what we believe they do mean to a large portion of the Conference, they will certainly shape the "practical aims" in some directions that cannot have his genuine sympathy. If, on the other hand, those words keep their place not by the force of conviction, but by the force of tradition, the question can but occur to him, whether he can give his sympathy to an organization whose basis is vitiated by such an insincerity.

WM. J. POTTER.

CONVENTIONS.

The Free Religious Association will hold a Convention in Syracuse, N.Y., beginning Monday evening, November 20, and continuing through Tuesday, the 21st. Speakers, Wm. J. Potter, Col. T. W. Higginson, Rev. M. J. Savage, Anna Garlin Spencer, Rev. N. M. Mann of Rochester, C. D. B. Mills, F. A. Hinckley, and others. The Association will also hold a Convention in Chicago, Ill., beginning Thursday evening, November 23d, and continuing through Friday, the 24th. Speakers, Wm. J. Potter, Rev. M. J. Savage, Anna Garlin Spencer, C. D. B. Mills, Rabbi E. G. Hirsch, Judge Booth, B. F. Underwood (probably), Rowland Connor, F. A. Hinckley, and others.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Secretary.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

SOME German clergymen are opposing the use of Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing in the public schools, from fear of rationalism.

THE junior editor of *The Index* will start West to meet engagements the latter part of this month. All applications to him for lectures should be addressed to this office.

"EVOLUTION: A Second Letter to Mr. Underwood," by Mr. Wasson, with articles by Mr. F. M. Holland, Mr. E. D. Mead, Mr. C. K. Whipple, Mr. W. I. Gill, and others, will appear in *The Index* next week.

MR. E. C. TOWNE'S first lecture on Electricity and Life will be given in Mr. M. J. Savage's church, West Newton Street, next Sunday evening, November 12, at 7.30. Special topics of this lecture: Oxygen and Electricity,—in the making of the globe; the production of all our common lights, and all our fires; and in the animation of living things, both animal and plant. Electricity the cosmic hand of God. The lectures are free.

WE find the following in our esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*: "Of all the devotions in use in the Church, the rosary or beads is, perhaps, the most salutary and indispensable. Let such of you then, my brethren, as have neglected it, make up for your neglect without delay. Do not make the foolish excuse that you can read. Our holy father, the Pope, can read; but he says his beads. So do your bishops and priests. Follow, then, their example. Get a set of beads at once for yourself, and have them blessed for yourself, so that you may receive the indulgences attached to them which you will not have by borrowing other peoples. Then say them every day, if you have time, or at least as often as you can. You can do nothing in the way of prayer more acceptable to God or more efficacious to obtain grace for yourself and others."

IT is an unwritten law, well understood in journalism, that no editor is under the slightest obligation to give a reason for his acceptance or non-acceptance of a manuscript. He is not called upon to write a private critique on the article to the author of it. His acceptance or rejection is an absolute and unquestionable fact. Among amateur writers, this does not appear to be understood. All sub-editors and reporters understand that it is an unjustifiable impertinence to ask the managing editor his reason for publishing or not publishing any matter submitted to his judgment. Outside writers and aspiring amateurs rarely seem to comprehend this truth, and their transgressions are largely from ignorance rather than intention. The nature of editorial work requires absolute power of decision, in order to preserve the unities of the journal the editor conducts.—*Boston Traveller.*

AT the recent convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association in Nebraska, a letter was read from Harriot Stanton, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, addressed "To the Voters of My Generation in Nebraska." The letter was dated Toulouse, France, where, since leaving Vassar, Miss Stanton has been pursuing her mathematical studies. After comparing the position of a woman who returns to her native land, America,—a land of political slavery to her,—with that of the German immigrant, who knows that he can be politically free as soon as he becomes a citizen, Miss Stanton closes with these eloquent words: "Young men of Nebraska, I ask you to free your minds from prejudice, to be just toward the demands of another human soul, to be frank, to be wholly truthful and answer my demand: Why should I not be a citizen of this Republic? In replying, bear in mind the words of Voltaire: 'Who would dare change a law that time has consecrated? Is there anything more respectable than an ancient abuse? Reason is more ancient.'"

A SALT LAKE correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* writes:—

Said one apostate Mormon lady: "The great bar to all progress in the conversion of the Mormons is the devout belief of the women in their faith. They have been taught from their cradles that their souls' salvation rests solely with their husbands; that he, in a manner, holds the keys of heaven and hell. They are as fixed in this belief as the heathen women of India in the worship of their idols." But, notwithstanding their devotion to their religion, the Mormon women accept the one repulsive feature of polygamy as a cross. Those with whom we talked frankly admitted that it is a burden most grievous to be borne; "but," they added,—and how small a nutshell contains the whole matter!—"the Church requires it!" A daughter of Brigham Young, a bride of four months, talked frankly with a lady of our party concerning this peculiar institution of their Church, and when asked, "How will you regard the taking of another wife by your husband, which according to your code is not only his right, but his duty, and which sooner or later you expect him to do?" replied, "Of course it is a painful thought, and I try to put it away from me until the time comes; but I shall accept it as a duty to my husband, and *because the Church requires it!*"

THE *Commonwealth*, commenting on the fact that many who now take to the lecturer's platform are persons who have nothing to say worth hearing, but have in some way become notorious, remarks: "If a Dr. Tanner succeeds in keeping the principle of life in his poor body for a certain number of weeks on a liberal diet of air and water; if an Oscar Wilde poses before the world in affected attitudes, wears his hair long, and dons knee-breeches; if an excitable Mrs. Scoville goes off her balance in a frantic endeavor to save a brother from the hangman's noose; if a Captain Webb succeeds in eating, drinking, smoking, and sleeping, week in and week out, in a tank of water,—all these people, irrespective of whether they may have anything useful to say or are capable of saying it sensibly and well, must be urged to lecture! The practice has degraded the lecturer's platform, not, indeed, into a one-horse show, but into a one-ass show, which is something meaner and more despicable. In the lowest deep, a lower deep has been found. It is time we reformed it altogether. Artists should be valued and judged by the excellence of their art, and not because of some adventitious circumstance which has not of necessity anything to do with art at all."

IT may not be generally known that the "Associated Press" is composed of seven metropolitan dailies,—the *Herald, Times, Sun, World, Tribune, Mail and Express,* and *Journal of Commerce,*—which combine to procure telegraphic news at reduced rates. By this association, hundreds of out-of-town dailies are supplied, either wholly or in part. It is obvious that, since the Western Union telegraph company monopolizes the transportation of this telegraphic matter, the key to the situation is to be held by any speculator adroit and wealthy enough to procure a controlling interest in this company, and to suborn a majority of the papers represented in the association. This has been done by Mr. Jay Gould. As is indicated by the *Herald*, he holds a majority of the stock of the Western Union telegraph company. He for a long time has held a sufficient interest in the New York *Tribune, World,* and *Mail and Express* to make those papers utterly subservient to his will. And he has now, as we are informed by the *Herald*, brought the *Sun* to favor his aggrandizing plans. The rest is easily done. If the news system of the world is to be subject to the control of one man, an unscrupulous, conscienceless speculator, it is time to call a halt.—*Washington Post.*

"UNITY" asks: "Can a simpler or better statement of the aim of a Unitarian church be made than that which we have in the following newly revised covenant of Rev. T. R. Slicer's church in Providence, Rhode Island? 'In the love of truth and in the spirit of Jesus Christ, we join for the worship of God and the service of man.'" What is there in this "statement" to distinguish "the aim of the Unitarian Church" from that of the Baptist, Presbyterian, or even the Catholic Church? If the Unitarians really want the sympathy and support of honest and earnest men and women, *regardless of their speculative beliefs*, is it not about time that for the senseless phraseology of an outgrown creed, they substitute the language of common sense? If Unitarianism is so broad that all who are searching for truth and working for humanity, men like Spencer, Huxley, and Haeckel, Conway, Adler, and Holyoake, can stand upon its platform, why put into a statement of its "aim" a theologi-

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cal creed and requirement? There is a large and constantly increasing number of men and women engaged in "the service of man" who do not believe and will take no part in what is commonly called "the worship of God." Will our esteemed contemporary please define the attitude of Unitarianism toward this class?

MRS. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN, one of the ablest and most eloquent advocates Spiritualism has ever had, in reply to a circular asking "the advice of those who are well known as tried and experienced Spiritualists," writes: "I have deemed myself amply rewarded by witnessing its triumphant acceptance in many parts of the world by tens of thousands of capable thinkers. I now see this work—to me so holy and sacred—degraded by imposture and repudiated by the most respectable portion of the community, chiefly on account of the notorious frauds practised upon it in the name of mediumship. If I have of late forborne to take any public part in a movement justly and necessarily tabooed by the classes whose influence is most needed to sustain it, it is because I have felt that my single voice was insufficient to stem the tide of fanaticism and credulity which ever seemed ready to shield the impostor, but exercised no charity for the victims imposed upon; neither could I any longer, with respect to myself, subject my remonstrances to the virulent denunciations which are visited upon those who dare to ask for test conditions in the investigation of so unprecedented a subject as spirit communion. It is not that I fear these ever ready denouncers; but, like many others of my most esteemed associates, however willing I have been, and still am, to debate the proven facts of Spiritualism with the enemies of the cause, I shrink with aversion from contest with the foes of 'our own household,' especially those who descend to abuse instead of argument, and mistake vituperation for logic."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE CATHEDRAL UNIVERSAL

(The Valley of the Missisquoi).

'Tis Sabbath noon. No welcome bell,
To-day, upon the listening ear
Hath sent its mellow, echoing chime
To lure me as a worshipper
To house "by mortals built with hands,"
Where prayer and praise,—one day in seven,—
Arise upon the solemn air,
To pilot weary souls to heaven.

But I have found cathedral grand
Built by the Master-hand of all,
Upreared from everlasting days,
Enduring while all others fall!
No narrow dogma, sect, or creed,
Binds those who worship in this place;
No pomp nor pageantry hath need
To lead us to the Throne of Grace!

Cerulean skies are o'er my head;
A mossy rock my form receives;
Encircling, are vast ruins spread
Of countless upheaved centuries!
Around me gently sway the pines;
The poplar's quivering silver-leaf
Hangs tremulous in the balmy air
That fans with cooling, sweet relief.

I hear the cricket's homely chirp;
The lonely, dolorous whip-poor-will;
The robin warbles sweet his strains,
And bids my fretful soul *be still!*
Beyond, in noisy music, flows
Missisquoi to its chosen sea;
Behind, unto the forest's hush
Alluring whispers call to me.
Here have I stood at other times
Beside the Lord's day; and the praise
Of every living thing went up
As now, spontaneous in its lays!
Such ancient shrine may ne'er refuse
The true, the rev'rent worshipper,
But morning sun and evening moon
Invite each guest to linger there.

No need of priest, or house, or word,
To worship 'neath the heaven's blue dome:
All Nature's aspirations tend
To lift us toward a higher Home!
Missisquoi's murm'ring, rushing stream
Drowns out my murmurs in its praise,—
And banished by this peaceful scene
Are selfish cares of by-gone days!

The fern's sweet breath is on the breeze,
The wild-flower's perfume fills the air,
The firs' and hemlocks' drowsy hum
Is rising as if voiced with prayer!
A calm and holy quiet broods;
I list the growing of the vines;
I soft repose beneath the showers
Of needles dropping from the pines.

And so I leave the "builded house"
Which only offers weekly bread,—
And hie me unto Nature's church,
Whose sacrament is ever spread:
Where each may homage pay, at will,
To ideal highest of his soul,
And none "elected" are, but each
Is common heir unto the whole!

Through the green vistas of the trees
The sun is shining clear and bright,—
Reminding well, through all past days,
Of Love that ever lit my night.
And if, as now, beneath some shade,
Forlorn, I did not heed this care,
'Twas only that I turned away,
And would not know the sun was there!

Oh, sweetly might the Sabbath bell
Among these hills and valleys rise,
And with its music-tones of praise
Incline our souls toward the skies!
But far more musical thy flow,
Missisquoi,* to thine inland sea;
And more uplifting are thy songs,
O forest voices, unto me!

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

SHELDON SPRINGS, VT.

For *The Index*.

FROM MY STUDY.

The world hath not seemed less
To him in singleness
Lost to its strife and cries;
As I pass freely by,
And far, with distant eye,
The cleared fields broader lie
And hills do kiss the skies.

I am not false, when need
That baffles words doth lead
From thee, O Man, afar;
For I have never known
How hearts for ill atone,
Till I have judged—alone—
Less every passion's scar.

No sharp wound then can bribe
From juster hours the gibe
Of venom serpentine.
My love hath won its field!
Come, O dear hearts! I yield
Tribute to good revealed
From judgment-seat divine.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

*Pronounced Mis-sis ko,—Indian for "much game."

The Index.

BOSTON, NOV. 9, 1882.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

Some Logical Absurdities of Idealism.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

It is the favorite postulate of the Idealist that matter—the external universe—is an illusion, a subjective creation of the mind. It possesses no objective reality, and had no existence prior to the existence of mind. Strangely enough, the liberal Idealist does not perceive, or deliberately ignores, the fact that herein he is in close agreement with the orthodox theologian, whose lack of rationality and consistency he despises, and in irreconcilable hostility to the teachings of science. He claims the right to follow his own method to its logical conclusions, uninfluenced by comparison with any ulterior test; and, by a curious jugglery of intellectual inconsistency, at the same time appears to respect the teachings of science, which are radically out of harmony with his metaphysical dogmas. When accused of this inconsistency, he practically "confesses judgment" by asserting the supremacy of his own method, and denying the right of science to interfere and contradict its conclusions.

Science, however, acting strictly within its own legitimate province, declares that the physical universe existed ages upon ages—yes, from all past time—before man or any conscious, finite, subjective personality had being. This little globe of ours, but one among countless myriads of similar worlds, was millions of years in existence before its surface was prepared for the support of animal life. If this fact is not abundantly proven, then is no fact of science so demonstrated, then is science itself "a delusion and a snare."

"This table, this chair," says the Idealist, "exists only in your mind. This room has only an ideal, not a real existence. Depart from it, and it ceases to be." But the "common-sense" perception of the fact that the appearance is essentially identical to different individuals, the historical evidence of the world's endurance and substantial identity, though generation after generation of minds have entered and passed away, expose the sophistry of the assertion of the Idealist as it applies to individuals; and he hastens to declare that he does not mean that the world, the room, the table, or the chair is the subjective creation of any single mind, but of *all* minds,—of the mind of the race, or of all conscious beings. But this postulate also is contradicted by the plain facts of geology and the entire teaching of modern science, as every one knows.

Driven back another step, the Idealist takes refuge in the dogma of the existence of Universal Mind as a "thing in itself," and its assumed identity with the

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Absolute Substance, or Deity, and also with the individual *ego*; and affirms that, accepting the teachings of science respecting the existence of the world prior to the appearance of animal or human life, it is yet true that the universe has no true objective existence: it exists only as an idea in the mind or thought of God. It is a subjective creation of the Infinite Mind, reflected thence into finite minds. Sometimes, he varies this explanation by resorting to the still more fanciful, though, to him, strictly logical and necessary hypothesis of the pre-existence of human beings before birth. In the attempt, however, to conceive of the existence of conscious subjectivity, or mind, prior to the creation of the universe, the reason is at once opposed by a tissue of logical absurdities. A subject without an object necessitates the conception of a thinker without a thought; but mind without organism and without thought cannot be defined or distinguished from absolute nonentity. Having no extension,—for that is a property belonging exclusively to matter, to the external universe,—it exists *nowhere*. But that which exists nowhere evidently has no existence.

The conception of the creation of the universe "out of nothing," therefore, whether as substantial material or as idea, involves the conception of the self-creation of Deity. If Deity be thus self-created, if by thought he has brought forth both himself and the universe, why may he not, by ceasing to think, at once annihilate both it and himself? The self-creation of Deity involves the possibility of his suicide. Both these notions are manifestly logical absurdities, yet they are legitimate deductions from the metaphysical assumption of the Idealist.

The rational philosophy maintains, on the contrary, that both mind and matter are eternally existent, uncreatable and indestructible. They depend upon no external *will* for their being. In the language of Goethe, "Spirit and matter, soul and body, thought and extension, . . . were, are, and ever will be the necessary double ingredients of the universe, which demand for themselves equal rights, and therefore both together may be looked upon as representatives of God." They are not, however, two distinct and unrelated substances, "things in themselves," but necessarily and mutually related manifestations of a common Substance or Being. "The arguments for the two substances," says Bain, "have, we believe, now entirely lost their validity: they are no longer compatible with science and clear thinking. The one substance, *with two sets of properties*, two sides, the physical and mental,—a double-faced unity,—would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case."* The contempt and contumely so long bestowed upon matter and the human body are now regarded as the spurious teachings of an absurd metaphysic and an execrable theology. Man is taught, in the name of science and a true philosophy, to reverence his own body and the physical universe as of equal divinity with his mind; for both must be regarded as inseparable portions of the Infinite Life of the universe.

The rational philosophy is thus equally repugnant to the conclusions of materialism and idealism. Indeed, these systems are often far less divergent in their philosophical reasonings than their conclusions would appear to render probable. Philosophical materialism as well as idealism depends not unfrequently for its arguments upon the appeal to metaphysics; and it is not remarkable to find one often claimed as an apostle of scientific materialism, like the late Prof. Clifford, driven back upon metaphysical idealism as the final philosophical explanation of the universe. The rational philosophy, on the contrary, appeals not to metaphysics, but to the facts of experience; and, assuming no infallibility for its own conclusions, contents itself with presenting the rational grounds thereof in the nature of things, and exposing the logical inconsistencies inherent in the method and conclusions of metaphysics.

Pursuing the scientific method in its arguments and demonstrations, the rational philosophy does not claim to be a complete and dogmatic system of truth. It admits its present imperfections, which are such as pertain to all investigations wherein the truth is sought by the diligent and patient examination of phenomena, and search after facts, their causes and relations. It rests, however, in entire confidence in the trustworthiness of its method, and trusts to time and future patient labor to correct the crudities and imperfections of its present statements. Perceiving that all the useful knowledges have been acquired in the past by this careful searching of the facts of nature and of life, it recognizes in the very incompleteness of its present conquests the seal of correctness in its method and the sure promise of an infinite outlook for future progress.

Nor, in denying the validity of the conclusions of metaphysical idealism, does it in the least discredit the capacity of the human mind or the reliability of the rational faculty. It has no other reliance than human reason, deeming it a lever of unlimited power, provided it has its fulcrum resting on the solid ground of experience. It admits the formal logical completeness of the various psychological systems which have been built up upon the foundation of alleged "mental categories," "first truths," or "intuitional revelations." It, also, could create its own little ideal system, if it chose. It fails, however, to recognize the validity of their foundation, which admittedly permits of no inductive test or experiential proof by comparison with facts. It regards the investigation of the labor and conclusions of the metaphysician as an admirable mental exercise, and only objects to his claim that his results shall be received as demonstrated truths. In the assertion of the metaphysical Idealist that his dogmas are the valid conclusions of reason, it beholds merely an ultimate product of the myth-making tendency which belongs to the immature or dogmatic phase of mental activity,—to the primitive exercise of consciousness,—and for which the method of science is gradually substituted, as mankind advances in mental grasp and breadth of culture.*

Man has always been prone to *entify* or individualize the impressions made upon his consciousness, whether by the apprehension of the phenomena of external nature, or of the workings of his own mind. Thus, in the earlier stages of human development, he made his own gods, as now, in the ultimate phase of the entifying or myth-making faculty, he constructs his own ideal systems of the universe. The Idealist is entirely right in concluding that the systems so constructed exist only in the mind, have no objective reality. He is wrong only in assuming that therefore there *is* no objective reality, that the universal fact corresponds with his conception. In making this inference, he stands upon the plane of the idolater, who, having created his own Deity in imagination, conceives it as possessing objective validity, declares that there is no god but this product of the picture-making faculty of his own mind, and that he is its prophet. The Idealist makes an idol of his ideal.

The claim of ultimate validity and completeness for the products of the picture-making or entifying faculty of the finite human mind is, to the scientific observer, a most remarkable exhibition of intellectual conceit on the part of the metaphysician. As has been the result of the acceptance of the dogmatic systems of the past, it ossifies the intelligence, and renders it impossible for the true metaphysician to regard fairly any system or conclusion other than his own. It even leads him to affirm that "metaphysics" and "philosophy" are synonymous terms, as the dogmatic theologian affirms the identity of his special belief with religion; and to deny that any genuine philosophy can be based upon the method of science.

The Idealist, in endeavoring to escape from one dualistic system, runs into another. Logically denying that there is a *universe*, he insists on the absolute separation of philosophy and science. He fails to grasp the conception, which is becoming clear to all advanced scientific thinkers, that truth is a *unity*, and that there can be no real antagonism between the truths of science, philosophy, and religion. In the relative positions of the metaphysical Idealist and the scientific thinker, there is a curious reproduction of the antagonism of the ancient sophists and philosophers. The metaphysician, like the sophist of old, rejoices in the plenitude of his superior wisdom; while the follower of the scientific method, like the ancient philosopher, is content to be regarded as the humble seeker and lover of the truth. The term philosophy—"the love of wisdom"—is a most modest and appropriate one for the seeker after truth, and the attempt of the metaphysician to monopolize this term and to exclude men like Herbert Spencer from the company of philosophers must prove idle and vain.

The assumption of the Idealist, which identifies the individual *ego* with Universal, Self-existent Mind, is connected with the allied assumption of the entire subjectivity of consciousness; but the rational philosophy deems every act of consciousness to be objective as well as subjective. To be conscious, the mind must be conscious of *something*; and the *object* of consciousness—the somewhat without the mind—is as essential to the act of consciousness as the mind itself. *Self-consciousness*, even, is a meaningless term, save as it represents the act of differentiating self from not-self, the *ego* from the *non-ego*; and hence even this supreme refuge of the Idealist is seen to have its objective no less than its subjective side.

In the interest of clearness of thought, it is certainly desirable to discriminate between metaphysics and the method of science; but let us also recognize and correct the confusion of thought which comes from the tacit acceptance by metaphysicians of the results of science which are in absolute logical conflict with metaphysical doctrines. Let the advocates on either side be self-consistent, and also just to their opponents. In so far as the metaphysician is actuated by a sincere desire to attain truth, the advocate of the scientific method has no desire to deny to him the right to be called a philosopher, though deeming his method faulty and his conclusions erroneous. But let equal justice be done on both sides.

The superior rationality of the new philosophy, based upon the scientific method, could hardly find more apt illustration than in two recent and able articles in *The Index*, the one written from the stand point of the metaphysician, and the other from that of the scientific materialist; the first writer asserting in one breath that there is no absolute substance apart from quality, and in another the apparently incongruous postulates of metaphysics; while the second writer claims that "no 'noumenon' (or Absolute) can be found in experience, neither can any be inferred by right reasoning," and believes that, "as knowledge advances, the 'Absolute' must fade away out of mind and out of matter, like all its metaphysical kith and kin that have gone before." The one asserts that there is no philosophy but metaphysics; the other, in effect, that there is none but that of scientific materialism; while both agree, apparently, in denying that there is any substance underlying quality, either as represented physically through the senses or ideally to the mind. Surely, the rational thinker will perceive that the truth includes and underlies both these extremes of thought. The mere statement of Mr. Spencer's position in the article of the scientific materialist would seem a sufficient argument for its superior rationality to both dogmatic metaphysics on the one hand, and dogmatic materialism on the other. The latter position, however, assumed by some who, without special scientific attainments themselves, delight to use the terminology and appropriate some of the conclusions of science to sustain their materialistic preconceptions, is not maintained by Tyndall, Huxley,* and the great apostles of science, who are generally agreed that "the passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable." The rational method, which is not nameless, as one writer has intimated, but upon which Mr. Spencer has bestowed the appropriate title of "The Synthetic Philosophy," unites the divided halves of thought which present distorted views of truth in the antagonistic systems of the idealist and the materialist, and presents the only rational and consistent, though still admittedly fragmentary and incomplete view of the universe. The very diversity of the metaphysical systems is sufficient evidence that none of them possesses the rational validity that is claimed for each.

"These little systems have their day,"

and will always retain a certain curious interest as theories of truth. As such, they may even be of service to the scientific observer. But the method of science, capable of infinite expansion, formulating no dogmas, claiming no infallibility for present conclusions, modest, reasonable, has been the foundation of all that is progressive and hopeful in our modern civilization, and, as applied to universal problems, is building up a rational philosophy of the human mind

* *Mind and Body*, by Alex. Bain, LL.D.

* See *Myth and Science*, by Tito Vignoli, "International Scientific Series," xi., D. Appleton & Co.

* Perhaps an exception should be made in the case of Haeckel, Büchner, and certain German scientific investigators, who, by a natural revulsion from the sophistical subtleties of German metaphysics, have generally accepted the materialistic philosophy. But this natural outcome of the local intellectual environment alike emphasizes the truth of evolution and the general rule above declared.

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and its relations to the universe, of man and his relations to his fellow-man,—a rational psychology and system of ethics, which will preserve to humanity all of truth that has been gained through the past centuries of thought and evolutionary travail. It will endure as the noblest outcome of the free exercise of the human reason, when the misty speculations of the idealist and the metaphysician, in congenial company with the decayed idolatries and mythologies of the past, are relegated to their place among the musty tomes of the library. There they will be sought chiefly by the curious scientific investigator of survivals of modes of thought which had their origin in the infancy of the race, and which have long ceased to possess any vital interest or influence upon the living and helpful activities of the time.

PROF. HAECKEL ON DARWIN, GOETHE, AND LAMARCK.*

[*Concluded from last week*]

It is deeply to be regretted that the *Philosophie Zoölogique*, by Lamarck,—a work of the highest moment which appeared in 1809,—was wholly unknown to Goethe. For just in the development theory of this work, which is quite differently arranged and strictly systematically composed, he would have found much that was wanting to himself, much that would have yielded him the most complete supplement for his own incomplete studies. In reference as much to the monistic and complete elaboration of the development theory as to the many-sided experimental establishment of it on fact, the great work of Jean Lamarck is much more important than the similar essays of all his contemporaries, more particularly of the like-named work of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. When one considers with what extraordinary interest Goethe took up the latter work, it may be concluded that he would have given a much warmer reception still to the rich-thoughted work of Lamarck.

We cannot but regard it as a truly tragic fact that the *Philosophie Zoölogique*, by Lamarck, one of the greatest productions of the great literary period in the beginning of our century, met, from its outset, with but extremely little attention, and in the course of a few years was utterly forgotten. Not till Darwin, fifty years later on, breathed new life into the transformation theory therein established, was the buried treasure again brought into the light of day; and we cannot now but describe it as the completest representation of the theory of development prior to the time of Darwin. Nay, it seems to us the necessary atonement of a great historical injustice, if again to-day (as was done sixteen years ago in the *General Morphology*) we place the great Frenchman side by side with the greater Briton and the greatest German. Each of the three great middle European nations of culture has in the course of a century presented mankind with an intellectual giant of the first rank, who grasped in its entire significance the fundamental conception of the monistic development of the world from natural causes.

It would carry us much too far, were we here to attempt setting forth an abstract of Lamarck's work and comparing it with Darwin's. It will suffice to cite some of the weightiest fundamental conceptions which characterize his theory of nature, and indicate how far he was in advance of his time. For many decades, the great French biologist had occupied himself very searchingly with systematic botany and zoölogy. Testimony of this we have in his two celebrated and much used special works, the *Flore Française* and the *Histoire Naturelle des Animaux sans Vertèbres*. While he was engaged in substantially classifying and describing not merely the forms already in existence, but also their extinct ancestors which he incorporated into his system, there was disclosed to him the inner morphologic connection between the former and the latter; and from this disclosure he inferred their common descent. All animal and vegetable forms, which we distinguish as species, possess, accordingly, but a relative temporary persistence; and the varieties are the beginnings of species. The form group of the species is, therefore, just as artificial a product of our analytic understanding as are the genus, the order, the class, and every other category of the system. The change in the conditions of life, on one hand, the employment or non-employment of the organs, on the other, exercise a constantly transforming influence on the organisms: they effect, by means of adaptation, a gradual transformation of forms, the fundamental lineaments of which are through inheritance transmitted from generation to generation. The whole system of animals and plants is in reality, therefore, their genealogical tree, and portrays to us the relations of their blood-kindredship. The course of development of life on our globe was, accordingly, continuous and uninterrupted, just as was the course of development of the earth itself.

While Lamarck thus clearly enunciates all the essential fundamental conceptions of our current doctrine of filiation, and by the depth of his morphological knowledge excites our admiration, the clear advanced outlooks he takes in his conceptions of physiology are no less surprising. While in his time the fallacy of a supernatural vital force was yet universally prevalent, Lamarck rejected that idea, and maintained that life was only a very complicated physical phenomenon. For all vital phenomena are based on mechanical processes, which are themselves conditioned by the constitution of organic matter. The phenomena of soul-life (*Seelenlebens*) are also, in this respect, not different from other vital phenomena. For the ideas and activities of the understanding are based on motional processes in the central nerve-system: the will in truth is never free, and reason is only a higher degree of development and combination of the elements.

In these and other propositions, Lamarck raises himself far above the general theory of nature held by most of his contemporaries, and sketches a programme of future biology which only in our days has come to be carried out. In view of the great clearness and consistency of his system, it is only a matter of course that he should assign to man his natural place at the head of the vertebrates, and explain the causes of his transformation out of ape-like mammals. With equal acumen, however, he handles one of the darkest and most difficult questions of the whole theory of development,—the question regarding the origin of the first living beings on our globe. For the answering of this question, he assumes that the common earliest genealogical forms of all organisms were absolutely simple beings, and that they came into existence immediately out of inorganic matter in water by *spontaneous generation*, through the combined effect of different physical causes. Such simplest organisms, however, were at that time not yet at all discovered: not till half a century afterward were they actually come upon in the Monera.

Lamarck reached the great age of eighty-five years: consequently, he lived two years longer than Goethe, and twelve years longer than Darwin. But, while the two latter enjoyed the happiness of beholding the long beautiful evening of their life glorified by a sun-like splendor of success and worldly fame, poor Lamarck closed his long and laborious life misunderstood, solitary, and needy. Ten years before his death, he suffered the misfortune of blindness, and could only from memory dictate the last part of his great natural history of invertebrate animals to his two daughters, who tenderly nursed him, and whom he left behind him without any means of support. Let us hope that the bitterness of his hard fate was qualified by the consciousness of his having cast the deepest glances into the mysteries of creative nature, and that the clear intellectual eye of the blind prophet often descried the laurel garland which thankful posterity would one day lay on his lonely grave.

Unquestionably, the greatest defect in Lamarck's work was the insufficiency of the stock of observations and experiments he brought forward in proof of his far-reaching principles. For then, as now, the great majority of naturalists want, above everything, to have palpable facts in the hand. Then, as now, we find the paradoxical phenomenon, that the great majority of people accept without any misgiving and trample under foot the most absurd hypotheses and dogmas, while on the other hand they encounter well-founded scientific theories with the more suspicion and opposition the more they approach the truth. Among the experimental proofs of theories, moreover, to most people those are not the most welcome which are furnished by a continuous series of phenomena and a whole large class of facts. What they most desire is the particular observation, the single experiment. A large part of Darwin's immense success is due to the fact that he brought into the field, to a truly overwhelming amount, exactly such particular pertinent observations and experiments. Poor Lamarck on the contrary, trusting to the logical conclusion-drawing faculty of naturalists, for the most part neglected the business of palpable particulars.

The comparison of these three great natural philosophers, in whom the foundation-laying development theory of our current natural science was most powerfully and comprehensively revealed, is of high interest; for all three are very different among themselves, both in respect of their general genius and the fortunes of their life outwardly and inwardly, as also, very especially, in respect of their courses of study and the ways by which they pursued their high aims. Lamarck starts from the most careful special studies of individual animal and vegetable forms, and by his many years' systematic examination and comparison of them is brought to the conviction that all living and fossil species have developed themselves out of a few simple common genealogical forms. Goethe arrives at the same conclusion on the ground of his general studies in comparative morphology, directed by the conviction that the unity of the common type or the hereditary protoform can be traced out everywhere in all the different organic forms, however manifoldly they may be transformed in individuals through adaptation to outward circumstances. Darwin, finally, first answers to his own satisfaction the question by what causes the new culture-forms of animals and plants reared by men come into being, and then demonstrates that the struggle for existence is the same cause which in like manner, by the interaction of adaptation and inheritance, constantly produces new organic species in the free state of nature.

In these wholly different ways and by application of wholly different methods of investigation, all these three naturalists arrive ultimately at the same conclusion; to the acceptance, namely, of a monistic and continuous development of the whole of organic nature, through the operation alone of natural causes, to the exclusion of all supernatural creative miracles. All three, however, being at the same time deep-thinking philosophers and keeping constantly in their eye the unity of the whole world of phenomena, their idea of development expands to a grand pantheistic conception of the world, to that doctrine of oneness which forms the essence of our current monistic theory of nature.

The immeasurable effect which the decided triumph of this monistic view of nature already in this day exercises on all provinces of human knowledge, an effect increasing in geometrical progression from year to year, opens to us the happiest prospect regarding the further intellectual and moral development of mankind. I repeat here my firm personal conviction that in future this progress of scientific knowledge will be esteemed the greatest turning-point in the intellectual history of man.

We would in a quite especial manner emphasize this reconciling and compensating influence of our genetic theory of nature, all the more that our opponents are constantly endeavoring to obtrude disruptive and decomposing tendencies on it. These destructive tendencies are said to be directed not merely against science, but against religion, and so against the most important foundations, in general, of our civilized life. Such grievous charges, so far as they really rest on conviction and not merely on sophistic fallacies, can be explained only by the fact of a mischievous misunderstanding of what forms the genuine kernel of true religion. This kernel does not consist in the special form of one's confession of faith, but rather in the critical conviction of an unknowable, common, ultimate ground of all things, and in practical ethics springing immediately from the purified theory of nature.

In this confession, that with the present organization of our brain the last ultimate ground of all phenomena is unknowable, the critical philosophy of nature comes athwart dogmatic religion. This faith in God, however, of course assumes endlessly different forms of confession, according to the endlessly different degrees of the knowledge of nature. The further advances we make in the latter, the more we approach that unattainable ultimate ground, the purer will be our idea of God.

The purified knowledge of the world in the present day knows that natural revelation alone, which in the book of nature lies open to every one, and which every unprejudiced man with sound senses and sound reason can learn out of it. From this is derived that purest monistic form of faith which attains its climax

* Lecture given at the Eisenach meeting of the German Naturalists and Physicians. Reprinted from *Nature*.

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in the conviction of the *unity of God and nature*, and which has long ago found its most complete expression in the confessions of our greatest poets and thinkers, Goethe and Lessing at their head. That Charles Darwin, too, was penetrated by this religion of nature, and did not acknowledge a particular church confession, is patent to every man who knows his works. But since some of his compatriots have asserted the contrary since his death, and since some bigoted priests have glorified Darwin as an orthodox believer in a specific creed of the English Church, it is fitting that this falsehood should be confuted by an indubitable proof. I am happy to be able to communicate to you an invaluable and hitherto unpublished document, which leaves no doubt upon this head.

[Prof. Haeckel here states the facts as to a student writing to Mr. Darwin, and gives the letter in reply, which was omitted, for some reason, in *Nature*, but which we replace.]

Letter from Mr. Darwin to a Young Student at Jena.

Sir,—I am very busy, and am an old man in delicate health, and have not time to answer your questions fully, even assuming that they are capable of being answered at all. Science and Christ have nothing to do with each other, except in as far as the habit of scientific investigation makes a man cautious about accepting any proofs. As far as I am concerned, I do not believe that any revelation has ever been made. With regard to a future life, every one must draw his own conclusions from vague and contradictory probabilities. Wishing you well, I remain your obedient servant, CHARLES DARWIN.

DOWN, June 5, 1879.

After this open confession, no one can doubt any more that the religion of Charles Darwin was none other than that of Goethe and Lessing, of Lamarck and Spinoza. This monistic religion of humanity is in no way contradictory of that fundamental doctrine of Christianity on which is founded its real value; for universal love of mankind is recognized by the former, as by the latter, as the fundamental principle of morality. The origin of this, as Darwin has shown, is to be sought for in the social instincts of the higher animals, in those psychical functions which the latter have acquired by adaptation to social life, and have bequeathed by inheritance to men.

Only in law-regulated society can man acquire the true and full culture of the higher human life. That, however, is only possible when the natural instinct of self-preservation, egoism, is restricted and corrected by consideration for society by altruism. The higher man raises himself on the ladder of culture, the greater are the sacrifices which he must make to society; for the interests of the latter shape themselves evermore to the advantage of the individual at the same time, just as, reversely, the regulated community thrives the better the more the wants of its members are satisfied. It is, therefore, quite a simple necessity which elevates a sound equilibrium between egoism and altruism into the first requirement of natural ethics.

The greatest enemies of mankind have ever been, down to the present day, ignorance and superstition; their greatest benefactors, on the other hand, the lofty intellectual heroes who, with the sword of their free spirit, have valiantly contended with those enemies. Among these venerable intellectual warriors stand at the head Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck, in a line with Newton, Kepler, and Copernicus. These great thinkers of nature, by devoting their rich intellectual gifts, in the teeth of all opposition, to the discovery of the most sublime natural truths, have become true saviors of needy mankind, and possess a far higher degree of Christian love than the scribes and Pharisees, who are always bearing this phrase in their mouth and the opposite in their heart.

How little, on the other hand, blind belief in miracles and the domination of Orthodoxy is in a position to manifest true philanthropy is sufficiently testified not only by the whole history of the Middle Ages, but also by the intolerant and fanatic procedure of the militant Church in our days. Or must we not look with deep shame on those orthodox Christians who, in our day, again express their Christian love by the persecution of those of other faith, and by blind hatred of race? And here in Eisenach, the sacred place where Martin Luther delivered us from the gloomy ban of adherence to the letter, did not a troop of so-called Lutherans venture, some years ago, to try anew to bend science under that yoke?

Against this presumption on the part of a tyrannical and selfish priesthood, it will to-day be permitted us to protest on the same spot where, three hundred and sixty years ago, the great reformer of the Church kindled the light of free inquiry. As true *Protestants*, we shall rise up against every attempt to force independent reason again under the yoke of superstition, no matter whether the attempt be made by a church sect or a pathologic spiritism.

Happily, we are entitled to regard these mediæval relapses as but transitory aberrations which will have no abiding effect. The immeasurable practical importance of the natural sciences for our modern culture life is now so generally recognized that no section of it can any longer dispense with it. No power in the world is able again to roll backward the immense progress to which we owe our railways and steamers, telegraphy and photography, and the thousand indispensable discoveries of physics and chemistry.

Just as little, too, will any power in the world succeed in destroying the theoretic achievements which are inseparably bound up with those practical successes of modern science. Among those theories, we must assign the first place to the development doctrine of Lamarck, Goethe, and Darwin. For by it alone are we authorized firmly to establish that comprehensive *oneness of our theory of nature*, in which every phenomenon appears as but efflux of one and the same all-comprehensive law of nature. The great law of the conservation of force thereby finds its universal application, embracing also those biological provinces which hitherto appeared closed to it.

In face of the surprising velocity with which in these last years the development theory has paved an entrance into the most diverse departments of inquiry, we may here express the hope that its high pedagogic value also will be even more recognized, and that it will quite perfect the education of the coming generations. When, five years ago, at the fiftieth meeting of naturalists in Munich, I laid stress on the high significance of the development theory in relation to education, my remarks were so misunderstood that a few words of explanation may here be allowed me. It stands to reason that, with these words, I could not mean to claim that Darwinism should be taught in elementary schools. That is simply impossible. For, just like the higher mathematics and physics, or the history of philosophy, Darwinism demands a mass of previous knowledge, which can be acquired only in the higher stages of learning. Assuredly, however, we may demand that all subjects of education be treated according to the *genetic method*, and that the fundamental idea of the development theory, the *causality of phenomena*, find everywhere its acknowledgment. We are firmly persuaded that by this means thinking and judging conformably with nature will be promoted in far greater measure than by any other method.

At the same time, through this extended application of the development doctrine, one of the greatest evils of our day in the culture of youth will be removed,—the cramming of the memory, we mean, with dead lumber, which smothers the best powers, and prevents both soul and body from coming to a normal development. This excessive cramming is based on the old fundamental ineradicable error that the *quantity* of *factual knowledge* is the best measure of culture; while, in truth, culture depends on the *quality* of causative *science*. We would therefore deem it especially useful that the selection of the material of instruction be much more carefully made, and that, in making the selection, those departments which cram the memory with masses of dead facts do not receive the preference, but those which cultivate the judgment through the living stream of the development idea. Let our worried school youth only learn half as much, but let them understand this half more thoroughly, and the next generation will in soul and body be doubly as sound as the present.

In the most gladdening manner, these requirements are being met by the reforms which are simultaneously in process of accomplishment in the most diverse provinces of science. Everywhere is stirring and moving fresh young life, stimulated by the idea of natural development,—in the comparative study of languages and in the history of culture, as also in psychology and philosophy, in ethnography and anthropology no less than in botany and zoölogy. Everywhere, the most joyful blossoms are bursting forth from the most varied branches of science, and its fruits will concurrently testify that they all spring from one single tree of knowledge, and draw their nourishment from one single root. Thanks and honor, however, to the great masters who, by their genetic and monistic theory of nature, have led us to this clear height of knowledge, from which, with Goethe, we may say:—

"Dieser schöne Begriff von Macht und Schranken, von Willkür
Und Gesetz, von Freiheit und Mass, von beweglicher Ordnung
Vorzug und Mangel, erfreue dich hoch; die heilige Muse
Bringt harmonisch ihn dir, mit sanftem Zwange belehrend.
Keinen höhern Begriff erringt der sittliche Denker,
Keinen der thätige Mann, der dichtende Künstler; der Herrscher,
Der verdient es zu sein, erfreut nur durch ihn sich der Krone.
Freue dich höchstes Geschöpf der Natur, du fühlest dich fähig,
Ihr den höchsten Gedanken, zu dem sie schaffend sich aufschwang
Nachzudenken. Hier stehe nun still und wende die Blicke
Rückwärts, prüfe, vergleiche und nimm vom Munde der Muse,
Dass du schauest, nicht schwärmst, die liebliche volle Gewissheit."*

For *The Index*.

REFLECTIONS BY THE WAY.

BY MONT E. COLLINS.

Poetry is the fragrance of the soul.

To talk of others' bondage is not all there is of freedom.

Human slavery, like all other illegitimate children, is born of a pitiable mother and a boasting father; mental weakness being the one, and physical strength the other.

He who sees nothing in his fellow-man worth loving has nothing in himself which his fellow-man should love.

As long as there is ignorance in the world, there will be sin and misery: it is useless to attempt to rid the world of crime and suffering, while their parents, ignorance and idleness, are suffered to dwell together.

Great minds are divided into two classes only,—those who give birth to great thoughts, and those who, though unable to give them birth, yet appreciate their beauty and worth.

"Practice is better than precept." Of infinitely more importance is one noble and generous deed than any amount of heartless and empty discussion about virtue and right doing.

Genius is that faculty of the soul that deals in its own goods; education is that culture of the intellect that enables us to deal in the goods of others: the former is the originality that we all admire, the latter the plagiarism that we all excuse.

There are no atheists: all men have faith in God, but all men have not faith in others' conceptions of God. Each soul, in its own uncreated light, has its inexpressible visions of that all-embracing reality that man, in his attempts to realize the infinite, formulates into the image of a personal God.

Though, along the road over which all have travelled, many are the marks of humiliating failures and squandered moments, still within the reach of every soul, scattered along life's winding pathway, are the opportunities for redeeming the time and making for itself a future full of light and joy.

MONONA, IOWA, September, 1882.

"LIARS," says the old proverb, "should have long memories." Liars should also have wide knowledge. If you are telling the truth, you need only know the thing you are telling, for it *is*. It has its niche in the wide universe, and all the fitness of things will take up the parable and complete the story for you. As somebody has said, the more you shake the truth, the more you shake it into place. But, if you shake a falsehood, it all shakes to pieces.—*Gail Hamilton*.

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*This fair idea of might and limit, of will and law, of freedom and measure, of order in movement, of excellence and defect, gladden thee deeply; the holy Muse brings it harmoniously to thee, instructing thee with generous constraint. No higher idea achieves the moral thinker, no higher the active man, the creative artist. The regent worthy to rule finds happiness in his crown through this idea alone. Rejoice, O highest creature of nature, that thou feelest thyself able to think after nature the highest thought to which she creatively soared! Here now stand still and turn thy looks backward, examine, compare, and hear the words of the Muse, that, without illusion, thou mayest contemplate the full, lovely truth.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE UNITARIAN CONFERENCE ONCE AGAIN.

Editors of The Index:—

I have been an interested reader of all that has been said in *The Index* touching the recent action at Saratoga. It is not to be doubted for a moment that Mr. Savage and those who are essentially at one with him in views, intended to open wide the door to fellowship in the Conference, so as to include or admit all earnest workers for and lovers of man, or certainly all *religious* persons of this kind; and it is natural that they should congratulate themselves and expect some congratulation from those who stand on the basis of free and universal religion. The article adopted is the expression of such an intention on their part, and perhaps it is on the part of many others who voted in its favor.

But there appears also good ground for those who hold, as the *Christian Register* does and as Drs. Clarke and Hale seem to, that the action in no degree changes the doctrinal basis of the Conference, or, as the *Register* puts it, "the Conference did not in the slightest abandon the Christian basis on which it was erected." So also evidently thought those who since have assured the senior editor of *The Index* in conversation that "it did not seem to *mean much of anything*." For Article X. says "that they [the Preamble and Articles of the Constitution] are not intended to exclude any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with *our purposes and practical aims.*"

Now, these "purposes and aims,"—where shall one go to find them? Where but to the record itself, the Constitution of the body, in which they are expressly and authoritatively declared. The Preamble affirms the obligations of "all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith . . . by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the *building up of the kingdom of his Son.*" And Article I. declares the formation of the National Conference "to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination to the largest exertions in the cause of *Christian faith* and work." (The italics are ours.) Further, Article IX. is still more explicit on the matter of fellowship. It says, "We invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ."

What would any stranger, an intelligent, careful mind, coming freshly to this whole matter, conclude to be the purport of Article X.? I see not how he could come to any other view than that any who, however they may differ in some points from the body in their belief, are essentially at one with them, or, as the article says, "in general sympathy" with the purposes and practical aims,—which are defined above,—are invited, at least are not excluded from fellowship. And so he could fully subscribe to the declaration of the *Christian Register*, that the doctrinal or *Christian* basis of the Conference "was not in the slightest abandoned"; for it would seem obviously, undeniably true.

Either this, or the Preamble and portions of Article I. and of Article IX. have no business in their place, put the Conference in a false position, and should be swiftly expunged from its Constitution. And, if this, one would very naturally inquire why Article X. is there at all, what occasion for it, what new ground does it cover? The amendment apparently may mean much or essentially nothing, according to the mental attitude or theological views of the persons considering it. Whether that is worthy of a grave and earnest religious body, the world will judge. It might possibly be tolerated, or at least witnessed without utter surprise in a political convention: what place may it have in the deliberations and decisions of a cultured and powerful religious body, which should, by the first and distinctive principle of its being, stand ever for the most advanced thought and the highest manhood in devotion to truth?

Whether, notwithstanding these ambiguities and incongruities, this "patchwork," as it is well called,—the playing fast and loose with ideas which, whatever view may be held of them, are of vital significance, of an import too sacred for any trifling,—the Unitarian body *means* broadest fellowship, true welcome for all earnest lovers of man and doers for the race, whether of Christian or non-Christian name, is a question that will be practically tested within the next two years. It will still appear, as I believe, that the Conference holds itself as a distinctively *Christian* body, and that one of its purposes, if not rather the great and all-dominant purpose, will be to maintain and extend Christianity, to build up the kingdom of God's Son, and that the terms of fellowship, however qualified or amended, will be at bottom defined on that basis. We shall see. CHAS. D. B. MILLS.

SYRACUSE, N.Y., Oct. 30, 1882.

[The point made by Mr. Mills as to what are the "purposes and practical" aims of the Conference is important. We had not seen his article when we wrote the editorial in this issue, wherein we make the same points.—W. J. P.]

MORMONISM AND THE PRESS.

Editors of The Index:—

The practice of the press is to suppress what is favorable or emphasize what is adverse to the Mormons, and oftentimes to wrest from plain-speaking facts meaning that does not belong to them. Is this the way to disabuse the Mormon mind of religious error?

The following paragraph copied from the Springfield *Republican* in *The Index* is worthy of notice:—

> The Supreme Court of Utah has affirmed the validity of the Woman Suffrage Act of that Territory. . . . There is naturally considerable disappointment among the Gentiles over the decision, coupled with disparaging criticism of the logic by which it was reached; for, without the incubus of woman's suffrage, the liberals feel that, with the new system of registration, they could readily attain political ascendency. . . . It is estimated that thirty thousand Mormons have been disfranchised. . . . It shows that the number of plural marriages has been greatly underestimated. There are twenty-five thousand voters, fifteen to eighteen thousand being Mormon; and four out of five, women.

Instead of thirty thousand there were but ten thousand of both sexes disfranchised. In my article on Mormonism in *The Index*, which was written before the Commission had begun work, I stated that the number of polygamists in the Territory was probably about one in fourteen of the males; and this it appears has proven correct.

The number of voters is about thirty-two thousand instead of twenty-five thousand, and probably twenty-four thousand are Mormons.

Instead of four out of five being women, the female vote is about two-fifths of the whole: 56 per cent. male, 43 per cent. female. And how could it be otherwise, when the male population of the Territory is in excess of the female? The showing of these facts is of course the very opposite of what the world imagines. Figures must be wrong, because no good can come out of Nazareth. Every Mormon town is supposed to be a cluster of harems, where "the houses," to use the unimpeachable and dignified language of a leading cyclopædia, "are made of sun-dried brick, and low, with several entrances for the convenience of the wives of the owner."

That the Gentiles "felt disappointed" at the women being allowed to vote, I do not care to dispute. Not only life, but politics, is full of disappointments. But it surprises me that the vote of the women of Utah rests like an "incubus" on the work of the "liberals" there. At one time, the cry was, The women of Utah are oppressed; and now it is that the men are oppressed by the women of Utah, and the "liberals" are striving to deprive women of the ballot! And why? Because women with the ballot in their hands are saying to the world, "We are not oppressed," and are showing a determination to fight for their altars and their firesides.

It is the "political ascendency" of the haters of Mormonism, no doubt, that is so much desired. It is not the punishment of polygamists that is sought, but the placing in the hands of a minority all political power. The "liberals" would indeed be a most "disappointed" set, if a revelation were given to cease or suspend the practice of polygamy. The end justifies the means. Let conscience and the Constitution stand aside. Expediency is the watchword of to-day. Brigham Young, Jr., complains, in this October Conference, that the anti-polygamy bill is so construed as to exclude polygamists from the registration list, and admit the notoriously lewd and profligate. All are united in this holiest of crusades. A lady, on return to the East from a visit to Utah, speaks of that "unity of purpose" among the churches there as being "quite beautiful in contrast with the wrangling that sometimes overtakes a community like our own." What a hopeful sign it is! Mormonism, then, has not existed in vain.

The Mormons will elect their delegates to Congress, as usual, and have the same control in their Legislature. What next,—an advance or a retreat? In my humble opinion, every step taken in this same direction will bring only defeat. We must go deeper. The conflict is between Tradition and Reason. The questions of Church and State and of marriage have to be settled in a rational manner, which will call for courage as well as insight, before Utah can be brought to terms, or dealt with in an at all honorable manner.

T. W. CURTIS.

THE BLESSEDNESS OF THE SAINTS IS INSECURE.

Editors of The Index:—

The blessedness of the saints is insecure. Prof. E. A. Park, D.D., in an installation sermon preached October 11 at Andover, gave, among others, the following reasons why orthodox Christians fear probation after death: "When men have 'died in their sins,' are they to enjoy a future probation in which they will so revolutionize their character as to obtain forgiveness for their bad life? Then, the parallelism teaches that men who 'died in the faith' are to have a future probation in which they may transform their character and deny the Lord who bought them. Thus, the blessedness of the saints is insecure. . . . Was there to be after death a probation in which men who had died unrenewed would renounce their life-long selfishness and rise from remorse to peace of conscience? Then there was to be a probation in which men who had cherished benevolence on earth would perhaps fall from their virtue and sink from peace to remorse. Thus, again, the blessedness of the saints is insecure." The absurdity of the idea! That a saint who had "died in the faith," who had believed in the inspiration of the Scriptures and had followed its teachings all through this life, in fact had kicked against the pricks always, and had passed through the portals of death and had arrived safe in the "spirit land" where he would be sure that his course through life had been right, should (provided there was a probationary ground between the "gates of death" and the "gates of heaven" where those who had by the light of their reason believed wrongly here on earth should have a chance to change their belief and fit themselves for heaven) "fall from his virtue and sink from peace to remorse, and deny the Lord who had bought him"! Then, again, the utter selfishness of the idea that, for fear a few of the saints should fall from grace during that period of probation, they would consign the balance of humanity to the "endless torments of hell"!

Could a meaner, more selfish, more contemptible reason be invented? WM. H. SPILLER.

WEST SOMERVILLE, MASS., NOV. 3, 1882.

CURIOSITIES OF ORTHODOXY.

Editors of The Index:—

Considering what it was that Rev. Prof. Park said to his brother ministers in Park Street Church the other day (as reported in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*), we cannot wonder at his vehement prefatory request that it might *not* be reported. It would seem really quite desirable, for the credit of the orthodox ministry that such assumptions and such counsels should be kept shady. But, since they did get published, it may be well to glance at them. I will speak now of one only.

In the First Epistle of Peter, it is assumed that Christ went and preached to those "spirits in prison" which had been disobedient in the days of Noah. This of course must be believed, being declared by a verse of the infallible New Testament; but since it must also be believed, on the authority of the infallible orthodox creed, that none of those imprisoned spirits got out in consequence of that preaching, and since the plain meaning of the passage in question favors the pernicious heresy taught or implied by Rev. Newman Smyth, Prof. Park suggests to his ministerial brethren a way of evading the difficulty. He says, "The logic of this passage allows us to think that he [Christ] communed with those persons while they were in the body, through the person of Noah, who preached righteousness to them."

The orthodox creed assumes that Jesus of Nazareth was "the Christ" predicted by the Hebrew prophets. But Prof. Park seems to assume, first, that there was

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a Christ long before Jesus was born, and, next, that that Christ did at least one of the things which the infallible Bible declares Noah to have done.

Truly, between what the Bible seems to say and what a learned ministry interprets it to mean, there is sometimes such wide divergence that the wayfaring man must be puzzled which to choose, especially if he believes the saying that a man cannot serve two masters. Perhaps, after all, Rome is right in maintaining that an infallible Book needs an infallible expounder. C. K. W.

MR. W. E. COLEMAN writes: "Permit me to correct the following omission in my remarks on *The Gospel of Law* in *The Index* of October 12. As published in that paper, one of its sentences reads thus: 'Portions of the ground covered by this excellent work have been embraced in previous works, such as Mr. Chadwick's *Bible of To-Day*, and in a much larger degree in his book.' After the word 'book' should have been inserted the words '*The Faith of Reason*.' Being in some doubt as regards the exact title of this very excellent work of Mr. Chadwick, in preparing my manuscript I omitted its insertion till I could refer to the work itself, and thus be sure of the name. After thus referring, I inadvertently forwarded the MS. without filling the hiatus."

A FRIEND of *The Index* and a member of Mr. S. J. Stewart's society at Bangor, Me., writes: "Last Sunday morning, could you have looked in on our congregation, you would have witnessed a very cheerful company of Liberals, who really deserve this name; for, during the week, they had paid a church debt of $2,500, and both speaker and hearers enter with renewed spirit and interest the coming year. At the close of our morning exercises, we have a class in Herbert Spencer, using for text-book *First Principles of Sociology*. It numbers fifty ladies and gentlemen."

DARWIN AND HAECKEL.

In last week's issue of *Nature*, a translation appeared of a remarkable lecture delivered at Eisenach by Prof. Haeckel, on Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck. The translation from the German is practically a literal one, and it occupies fifteen columns of the English journal. This translation has, however, one great blot: the translator has deliberately omitted Mr. Darwin's letter on Christianity, and Prof. Haeckel's comment thereupon. It is not credible that a high-class scientific journal could stoop to pander in this fashion to the cant of its own time, so we can only suppose that the fault lies with the translator, who has maliciously omitted this important document, and has thus betrayed into a serious literary unfairness the paper on which he is employed. The full text of the passage runs as follows (*Nature* stops at the words "know his works"):—

That Charles Darwin, too, was penetrated by this religion of nature, and did not acknowledge any particular church creed, is patent to every one who knows his works. But since some of his compatriots have asserted the contrary since his death, and since some bigoted priests have glorified Darwin as an orthodox believer in a specific creed of the English Church, it is fitting that this falsehood should be confuted by an indubitable proof. I am happy to be able to communicate to you an invaluable and hitherto unpublished document, which leaves no doubt upon this head.

Prof. Haeckel then states the facts as to the student writing to Darwin, and gives the text of the now famous letter (see *National Reformer*, October 1), and then proceeds:—

After this open confession, no one can doubt any more that the religion of Charles Darwin was none other than that of Goethe and Lessing, of Lamarck and Spinoza. This monistic religion of humanity is in no way contradictory of that fundamental doctrine of Christianity on which is founded its real value; for universal love of mankind is recognized by the former, as by the latter, as the fundamental principle of morality. The origin of this, as Darwin has shown, is to be sought for in the social instincts of the higher animals, in those psychical functions which the latter have acquired by adaptation to social life, and have bequeathed by inheritance to men.

The whole of this is omitted in the report given by *Nature*.—*Annie Besant, in National Reformer.*

Do you know what heroism means? It means self-sacrifice. Always remember that. There is no man who entirely forgets self but is a hero.—*Christian Statesman.*

BOOK NOTICES.

AGAMEMNON, LA SAISIAZ, AND DRAMATIC IDYLS. By Robert Browning. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price $1.50.

These later poems of Browning give no evidence of any decay in the intellectual vigor of a writer who, more than any other living poet, has made for himself a place among the few whose names will be remembered and whose works will be read long after they themselves have passed away. In spite of the often apparently chaotic phraseology of his writings there is a rhythmic sweetness combined with rugged strength of thought and expression always to be found in even the most chaotic of them, which well repays the careful reader. Of nearly all his poems, it can be truly said, as Mrs. Browning wrote of his earlier "Pomegranates," that each, when

"Cut deep down the middle,
Shows a heart within blood-tinctured with a veined humanity."

The opening and longest poem of this volume—a translation of the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus—was undertaken, so Browning avers in the preface, at the earnest request of his "venerated friend, Thomas Carlyle." In addition to the lengthier poems, "La Saisiaz," "The Two Poets of Croisic," and "Pauline," the volume contains also a dozen shorter ones, called "Dramatic Idyls." With its clear type and neat binding, this book will make a welcome addition to the library of those who already possess his earlier works, and will be likely to win him new admirers among those who may have hitherto overlooked his merits.

THE RHYMESTER; OR, THE RULES OF RHYME. A Guide to English Versification. By the late Tom Hood. Edited, with additions, by Arthur Penn. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price $1.00.

At first sight, this handsome little volume, of which a "Dictionary of Rhymes" comprises nearly one-half the contents, awakens a sense of the ludicrous in those who believe that "poets are born, not made." But a more careful inspection reveals to us the need and usefulness of such a work. "The late Tom Hood" is *not* the renowned and talented author of the "Bridge of Sighs" and "Song of the Shirt," but his son and namesake, who, though following literature as his business all through life, failed to attain any of his father's fame as a writer. Mr. Penn, in giving us an American edition of this *Rhymester*, with emendations and additions of his own, has done good service to the cause of poetic expression in America; for even the most inspired of poets would be the better writer from a perusal of this work. What its aim and scope are may be inferred from the titles of its chapters, of which we quote a few: "Classic Versification," "Of Feet and Cæsura," "Metre and Rhythm," "Of the Sonnet," "Of the Rondeau and the Ballade." From these, it will be seen how wide the range and how instructive the treatment of the subject is from the author's stand-point.

ZOOLOGICAL SKETCHES: A Contribution to the Outdoor Study of Natural History. By Felix L. Oswald. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The title-page pretty fully explains this work, which is rather a series of orderly sketches of the habits of various species of wild animals than an attempt at the scientific study of zoölogy. "The plan of the present volume," says Mr. Oswald in his preface, "is modest enough: its theories are mere suggestions; its limits have often obliged me to reduce a chapter of zoölogical adventures to a page of zoölogical anecdotes." Nevertheless, he has given us a work which, in the new light cast on animal nature by the researches of Darwin and other evolutionists, is very interesting and suggestive, the more so that Mr. Oswald himself is a thorough believer in the development theory. The first chapter of the ten into which the work is divided treats of "Our Four-handed Relatives," and the last one of "Four-footed Prize-Fighters." The style is lively, clear, unstilted, and extremely readable. The author has travelled extensively, has been a close observer, and many of his descriptive instances of singular traits of animal life are the result of his own personal observation and experience. The book is handsomely bound, and has thirty-six fine illustrations by Hermann Faber.

"MIND" is a quarterly review of Psychology and Philosophy, published by Williams & Norgate, London and Edinburgh. The October number contains articles of great merit, commencing with "Scientific Philosophy: a Theory of Human Knowledge," by Francis E. Abbot. The other essays are "Perception," by Thomas Davidson; "Causation and its Organic Conditions (IV.)," by Edmund Montgomery; "Incoherence of Empirical Philosophy," by H. Sidgwick. "Notes and Discussions" and "Critical Notices," by different writers, add to the variety and value of the October number of this periodical, which, in its special field of thought, is without an equal.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for October opens with a description of the House of Commons. Then follow an account of a journey to the Tatra Mountains, among the highest of the Carpathians, an amusing story of the difficulties of a father trying to help his son to study an abstruse article on æsthetics, a literary chronicle, and a review by the gifted Count Goblet d'Alviella of Seeley's *Natural Religion*, a work whose predecessor, *Ecce Homo*, was denounced by Lord Shaftesbury as the most pernicious book ever vomited from the jaws of hell.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, mayor of Boston from Dec. 11, 1845, to Jan. 1, 1849, died at his residence at Wollaston, Thursday forenoon. He was born in Boston, Jan. 17, 1802; and his age accordingly was 80 years, 9 months, and 15 days. He was educated at Harvard College, and was graduated in 1821. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar; but his attention early became diverted to the field of municipal politics, in which his father, Josiah Quincy, Senior, had made so illustrious a record.

MR. CHARLES WATTS, of England, is travelling in the South,—whether on business or pleasure we are not advised,—and will be in the cities named below at the dates specified. He requests us to ask the friends of liberal thought in these cities to make arrangements for lectures by him. Care should be taken to write in time for letters to reach him at the dates mentioned. He will be at Galveston, Texas, November 13; Houston, Texas, 14; Brenham, Texas, 15; Austin, Texas, 16 and 17; Dallas, Texas, 19 and 20; St. Louis, Mo., 26 and the week following. He will be in Boston some time in January. Mr. Watts is well known in England as an able and eloquent lecturer in defence of Secularism, and we hope that liberal societies in this country will avail themselves of this opportunity to hear one who has done faithful and effective service for Liberalism in his native land.

THE unanimity with which the press of this country has referred in complimentary terms to our distinguished visitor, Mr. Holyoake, is very gratifying to those who know his noble qualities and are acquainted with the history of his useful life. Since his arrival in America, we have seen but one reference to him that was in an unkindly spirit. That was by a professed Liberal in this city, the lecturer at Paine Hall, and one of Mr. Holyoake's own countrymen. His conversion from theology is of recent date, and his crudeness of thought is to be expected; but the spitefulness and rancor with which he assails personally men who have passed beyond the rudimentary condition in which he remains, render it doubtful at least whether the sort of Liberalism he preaches has improved his own disposition. In the article alluded to, it is not only stated in substance that Mr. Holyoake does not understand Secularism, but intimated pretty directly that he is a temporizer and a hypocrite who will not find favor among the Liberals of this country. This insult to a man who has been loyal to his convictions through evil and through good report, and who has endured for principle everything but death, was copied into the London *Secular Review*. At this, we were greatly surprised; but we have since received from Mr. Charles Watts, who is now in this country, a letter which shows that the article was copied in his absence and without his knowledge. It is due to Mr. Watts that we print the following extract from his letter: "I was exceedingly sorry to find that the extract in reference to Mr. G. J. Holyoake appeared in the *Review*. It should not have been inserted, if I had been at home. Mr. Holyoake is a gentleman for whom I have long entertained the highest respect. He has devoted a long and honorable life to the cause of Secularism. His views upon secular principles are very much in harmony with my own. If you see him, remember me very kindly to him." We trust that this extract from Mr. Watts' letter will, in justice to Mr. Holyoake, be reproduced in the *Review*, as an offset to the insulting article which was recently copied into its columns.

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 229

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Elections, William J. Potter, ... 230
Evolution: A Second Letter to Mr. Underwood, D. A. Wasson, ... 230
The "Faith Cure" Once More, Edwin D. Mead, ... 231
Agnosticism: A Letter to the Rev. Dr. McCosh, Fred. May Holland, ... 233
Conventions, F. A. Hinckley, ... 233

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 234

POETRY.
Presentiment, Sara W. Smith, ... 234

ESSAY.
What is Christianity? C. K. Whipple, ... 235

Philosophy at Dinner: Addresses by Herbert Spencer, Hon. William M. Evarts, and Others, ... 236

CORRESPONDENCE.
That Correction, S. J. Stewart, ... 238

BOOK NOTICES.
Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, by Geo. S. Morris, Ph.D. 238
Ministers' Hand-book for Christenings, Weddings, and Funerals, compiled and arranged by M. J. Savage, . 239
Art Amateur, Wide Awake, Unitarian Review, Herald of Health, Sanitarian, Baby-Land, ... 239

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 239

CURRENT TOPICS.

ON the 5th of last August, a citizen of Bickern, near Gelsenkirchen, was heavily fined for refusing to make out a census paper except by quoting the prohibitions of such proceedings in the Old Testament.

THE Parliament of Norway recently passed a law, which the king has signed, giving women the privilege of attending the universities and applying for degrees in all the arts and sciences; but the right to hold office in the service of the State and of participating in the competitive examinations for such positions is not yet accorded to them.

THE Salvation Army in England, though supposed to perform merely military functions of a spiritual character, have been showing a disposition to use the weapons of the flesh. At one place, on a recent Sunday, Gen. Booth's troops fought the police, and succeeded in giving the guardians of the peace the worst of it. According to newspaper reports, one of the soldiers of the Lord "split open a youth's head."

THE *Nation*, in relating "with a moral" the story of a "neighborly murder" in Kentucky, says of the murderer that "he calmly harnessed his horses, took with him his beloved shot gun, which seems in some parts of the South to be taking the place of the family Bible as a consoler in times of affliction and perplexity, and drove off in search of" his victim "without either heat or passion," and, when he came in sight of him, shot him dead.

DR. HOWARD CROSBY, in a recent article, declares that reading Sunday newspapers is the first step toward "Sunday novel-reading, Sunday visiting, and Sunday amusements," all of which, in Dr. Crosby's estimation, is immoral and even criminal. The Springfield *Republican* professes to be unable to understand this "unco righteousness" on the part of the generally sensible Brother Crosby, while the regular religious weeklies publish such "a deal of worldly matter" in their columns, and the Monday paper has to be "made up" on Sunday.

IN the midst of so much that is hard and bitter and unforgiving in this world, it is very pleasant to learn that Mrs. Soteldo, the widow of the man who went to shoot a Washington newspaper man and was shot himself instead, begs Col. Corkhill, the government prosecuting officer for the District of Columbia, not to go further and prosecute Barton, the newspaper man, because her dead husband made it his dying wish that he should not be prosecuted, and she herself has not the heart "to bring upon his household any pain or anxiety," but her sincere prayer to heaven "is that his family may never feel for one moment that dreadful anguish that I must bear with me ever to the grave."

THE late election presents to the thoughtful observer many comical anomalies. For instance, our Governor-elect seems to be elated by success into considering himself "among the elect" in more senses than one, and, although one of the most "worldly" of men, breaks forth in one of his election-eve speeches in such pseudo-religious talk as the following: "Fellow-citizens,—Do you read the Scriptures? [Applause and a voice, 'Of course we do.'] Do you remember that in the Scriptures it says, 'The stone which the builders rejected, the same has become the head of the corner?' [Laughter and cheers.] With reverent submission, I bow in grateful thanks to the Almighty Father for his blessing in this victory and triumph of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. [Applause and cheers.]"

LAST Saturday, Prof. John Fiske gave a lecture in the Old South Church on "The Founders of New England," in which he said in substance, regarding the purpose of the men who left their home country to come to these shores, that the popular view—that the Puritans came to secure religious liberty—is incorrect; that the religious liberty of to-day is something they could not foresee, and did not desire; that, if they had foreseen it, they would probably never have come, or would never have remained here; that their aim was the construction of a theocracy, with the Scriptures as a guide and with citizenship co-extensive with church membership. Of the truth of Prof. Fiske's statements there never was any doubt in minds capable of forming a fair and impartial estimate of the character, motives, and purpose of the Puritans of New England; but the facts of history have been so distorted and the common sources of information so corrupted by theology, directly or indirectly, that it was impossible for one to speak the truth on this subject, until recently, without sacrificing his reputation. We have no sympathy either with those who, from aversion to their religion, disparage the Puritans or those who, to vindicate them, would poison the very fountains of popular knowledge.

SELDOM has Delmonico's banquet hall been filled with an assemblage of scholars and thinkers of distinction such as participated in a farewell complimentary dinner to Herbert Spencer last Thursday evening, before his departure for England. It was, says the correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, "a splendid tribute to the man and to the growth of the doctrine of evolution. It was a spontaneous demonstration, and might have been extended to any dimension; but, in order to come within the limits of a comfortable party, only about two hundred were invited." Hon. William M. Evarts presided at the dinner. On his right sat Herbert Spencer, Prof. W. G. Sumner, Prof. John Fiske, Gen. B. F. Bristow, Henry Ward Beecher, Prof. E. L. Youmans, and E. R. Leland. To his left were Carl Schurz, Prof. O. C. Marsh, Sir Richard Temple, and Mr. Edward Lot of England, and Hon. Abram S. Hewitt. A report of the speeches is commenced in *The Index* this week. The honors lavished upon Herbert Spencer, and the praise bestowed upon his labors to-day are in marked and gratifying contrast to the inappreciation and indifference, misrepresentation and abuse, with which he had to contend during a quarter of a century. The writer of this paragraph, when he recalls the sort of opposition he has encountered within the past dozen years in his efforts to present the claims and popularize the thought of Herbert Spencer, cannot but feel peculiar pride and pleasure in this latest demonstration in honor of the great English philosopher, and in recognition of his unsurpassed labors in the domain of scientific and philosophic thought.

THE Boston *Herald*, referring to a letter in the *Congregationalist* last week, in which the writer concludes that the Church is losing the thinking men of the age, that a large part of the intellectual men of New York stand outside of all churches, attempts to point out the cause and the remedy for this state of things as follows: "It may be that the laity are better able to judge on a point like this than the clergy. At all events, we will venture to suggest that the intellect and science of the age has outgrown the Church. The Church is getting left behind. We cannot see why we must believe that everything which can be known about religion is contained within the doctrines of the Church as it now is, any more than that nothing new can be learned about nature. We know that the orthodox church has outgrown some of the doctrines which it held a half-century ago, and that, if some of the sermons of that day were preached from Boston pulpits to-day, the audience would very likely disperse before the close of the discourse. Then, why shall we believe that the doctrines of to-day will not be erelong abandoned for higher ground? We do not intend to be understood as thinking that intellect has outgrown religion,—that would be impossible,—but that religion cannot be contained within the tenets of the Church. It is the attempt to do this which disgusts thinking men, and renders them indifferent to the Church. Revise your creeds, bring them up to the intelligent standard of the best thought of this generation, abandon dogmas which no longer have any life in them, and let your teachings be such that reasoning, thoughtful men can get spiritual food from them, and the Church will win back an element which it can ill afford to lose. Put new wine into new bottles, and they will both be preserved."

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THE ELECTIONS.

The Index is not a political paper. Yet its editors have their political opinions; and, when the questions of practical politics involve moral issues, they have no hesitation in expressing their opinions in this journal. *The Index* has always advocated civil service reform. The "spoils system," which the civil service reform aims to abolish, has been the central immorality corrupting our national politics since the slavery question was settled. We therefore rejoice — not with the partisans of the Democratic party, who are elated with a hope of soon having the administration of the government in their hands again, but with the sober men of all parties who desire an honest, just, economical, and efficient government more than a partisan one — at the very heavy blow which was given to the "spoils system" and to the "machine power" in politics in the State and Congressional elections held last week.

The only exception of importance we should care to make to this remark is the election of General Butler to the governorship of Massachusetts. And this is an exception of importance. Butler is so purely a demagogue, he is so utterly void of all political principles, and of all moral principles in political matters, and his political career with whatever party he has acted has been such a practical embodiment of the very evils in our politics which most need reform, that we can only regard his elevation to the Governor's chair with a feeling of humiliation and shame. The man who, in his ten minutes' speech in Faneuil Hall on the eve of his election, drew the heartiest approving laugh from the crowd before him by a pleasant joke on the drinking habits of Democratic voters, and by an indecent story which the reporters generally suppressed, is not the kind of man, certainly, in point of character, that Massachusetts has usually sought for Governor. That the persistent ambition of such a man to win this office has at last been crowned with success is an event not adapted to educate young men, who are just coming upon the stage of politics, in purer political ethics, or to cause any other improvement in political morals. He will be an obstacle to any genuine political reform. This, however, we apprehend, is about the sum of the mischief which his winning of the office will produce. And it must be remembered that he was largely helped to the winning, not by what he politically or personally represents, but by the general spirit of revolt that is abroad against the party in power.

And it is this general spirit of revolt against the party in power that we rejoice over,— not because it is the party in power, and most certainly not because of the great work of salvation which it has done for the country in the past, but because, of late, it has become identified in the public mind, and too justly, with corrupt leadership and corrupt practices. We especially rejoice that, in the great States of New York and Pennsylvania, "machine politics," engineered by "bosses" of the Republican party under the auspices of the national administration at Washington, have met with such a crushing defeat; and particularly that in the President's own State, where his Secretary of the Treasury was put forth as the administration candidate for governor, the defeat was more overwhelming than anywhere else,—Mr. Folger's candidacy being buried under an avalanche of a majority entirely unprecedented in the annals of State elections. This latter fact is specially gratifying, not only because it is never a part of the national administration's business to meddle in State elections, but because Mr. Folger's nomination was vitiated by a proved fraud. His acceptance of the nomination under the circumstances, evidently pressed by the administration to do so, was one of those blunders that are more unpardonable than crimes. It was an act which the people were in no mood to condone, however excellent Mr. Folger's previous record may have been. In the after-election light, how strange looks the strongest reason he gave for accepting the nomination notwithstanding the admitted fraud,— namely, that, if he did not, the Republican party would be left at a critical hour on the eve of a campaign without a leader, and would be put thereby in imminent danger of demoralization and defeat! The party has shown — at least, a numerous section of it has — that it preferred the leadership of the opposing candidate, honestly gained, to following its own political banner stained by fraud.

Of course, it is by no means certain that all who have helped toward this general overthrow of the administration party in the various States have had at heart the reform of the civil service or any other very definite purpose of political reform. On the contrary, it is quite certain that a majority of them are not thinking so much of these things as of getting into power again. But it is equally certain, on the other hand, that the victory would never have been won, except by the aid of those who do have the reform of the civil service and the breaking up of the machine power in politics more earnestly at heart than any other political aims at the present time. True, these reforms are not issues that at present divide political parties. Both of the great political parties, for instance, profess, in their platforms, to believe in civil service reform, and both have made vigorous use of this plank in the recent campaign. But neither of the parties, when in power, has manifested any vigor in putting the profession into practice. Since, however, the Republican party has held the national administration of the country for many years, and the present particular national administration is very particularly violating the civil service reform professions on which it was elected, the arguments for this reform are having more effect against the party in office than against the party out of office. Indeed, the attitude of the national administration on this question, the open scorn shown for civil service reform by some of its most prominent personal and official supporters, the action of the Hubbell Republican Congressional Committee in levying political assessments on office-holders, and the control of the House of Representatives in the last session of Congress chiefly by men possessed of this same political spirit, and having little appreciation of any of the political reforms demanded by the country,— these are the leading causes of the defeat of the Republican party last week.

A year ago, the people of this country were profoundly impressed by the fact that it was the "spoils system" that had taken the life of President Garfield. Some of the prominent politicians appear to have forgotten this fact, but the great body of the people have not forgotten it. And a large portion of them, moreover, have now become impressed with the fact, and are profoundly feeling the national humiliation of it,—that Guiteau's pistol has actually accomplished, in great measure, what he meant that it should accomplish; that, though it brought his own wretched life to the gallows, it put into power, as he boasted it would, the political faction, with its methods, measures, and arts, which he wished to elevate. The sober, thinking people of both parties, in the hour of the nation's grief, were ready to hope and to think the best things of President Arthur. They rallied round him with their sympathy, to uphold his hands in his difficult position. They gratefully welcomed and rejoiced in the wise and heartfelt words which evidently a sense of the solemn responsibility of the hour pressed from him, and in which he promised an unpartisan administration. But they are now obliged to confess their disappointment and mortification, as they see the President, whom they would have loved to support, using his office for factional ends and falling back into the vulgar ways of "machine politics," in which they knew he had been an adept, but which they tried to believe he had abandoned, when the awful national tragedy lifted him to his high office. And here is the reason for the general uprising of the people against the administration shown in the elections.

The uprising is the rebuke of the "machine power" and the "spoils system" in politics. Machine politics must have the offices to operate with or cease to exist. To reform the civil service and break up "machine" politics are essentially one and the same thing. The "spoils system" is the great moral offence in our politics at the present time. It is the festering centre of all corruptions. It has degraded the high offices both of legislation and administration to trivial and venal objects. It has postponed and wasted opportunities for statesmanship, in order to satisfy the preferred claims of party leaders and factions. It has turned the White House at Washington every four years and less into a scene of disgusting scramble and wrangle of office-seekers. It has made trading and bargaining in the public offices one of the political arts, whereby base demagogues get the means of lifting themselves into places of power at the expense of the public honor, and often at the severe expense of the public treasury. It has debauched the conscience of political leaders, and subjected thousands of people to the bitter necessity of choosing between their principles and their means of livelihood. It has even caused, by its traditional and imperial sway in party counsels, some of the wisest and best of our public men to stoop to ignoble deeds which they have themselves scathingly condemned as violations of public trust and detrimental to the public benefit. It has assassinated one President. It has harassed and driven another into an early grave. It has robbed all, from Jackson to Arthur, of time and talents and strength which they had sworn to give to their country. The political defeat which even looks toward rooting out such an evil is a victory for the nation's life.

WM. J. POTTER.

EVOLUTION:

A Second Letter to Mr. Underwood.

My dear Sir,—In my former letter it was said that evolution has been conceived of in two opposite ways, on the one hand, as purely spiritual in principle, and on the other as purely physical. According to the former conception, the production is from within outward; spirit brings forth, if not abstract matter, yet the forms and motions of material things, and the line of continuity is not in the outward representation, but in the conceiving and self-active genius of nature. According to the latter, the production is from without inward; matter brings forth spirit, not as a substantial entity, but as a functional effect merely; and the line of continuity lies in the law by virtue of which physical force is susceptible neither of creation nor destruction, neither of increase nor diminution. It was farther said that, by my persuasion, there is truth in both these conceptions, and the whole truth in neither; that each is false in so far as it is exclusive, and each true in so far as it affirms a particular order of continuity; and that the antithesis may be expected to disappear in a higher synthesis. And an analogy

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was promised, which should render this third conception intelligible, even though serving little, or not serving at all, to render it credible.

Take the case of language, its formation and growth. Here is a special evolution; it should therefore afford us a type of evolution in general. As special, it will indeed have its peculiarities, and we shall not expect to find the exact counterpart of all its several particulars in the world-process as entire; but in all evolution there should be unity of type, and therefore we may fairly expect to see the fundamental order of universal evolution reflected, or at least adumbrated, in that of language. Now, language has two sides, a bodily and a mental or spiritual. On the one side it is physical in origin, and consists in a body of sounds, which, as represented by written or printed characters, become visible; on the other, it is spiritual in origin, and consists in meanings apparent to no sense, but only signified to the mind. And now we come to the point, to which I would call your attention. Upon either of these two sides a line of evolution may be traced, while nevertheless the real evolution of language lies in neither exclusively, but in the natural unity of both. Now, the argument of the evolutionist who follows the clew of physical science is in effect this: he finds a line of physical connection at no point broken, therefore at no point admitting of supernatural intrusion; accordingly, his theory is complete. We may find the like in the case of language, yet a theory restricted to this line of derivation would be as much false as true.

Suppose some one to follow the evolution of language upon its outward side exclusively. He begins with the vocal organs as not peculiar to man, but only perfected in him. Having traced their growth in birds and beasts, he examines them as they appear in the human animal, and shows how they are fitted to form a vast number of sounds, varied with wonderful delicacy, yet so definitely as not to be mistaken when uttered in rapid succession. Thence he passes to their first product, root-words. This is perhaps a great leap. It may be that the formation of permanent verbal roots was preceded by a long period in which the half-human creature, beginning with notes and cries not more articulate, nor more the signs of thought, than those of some brute creatures now, gradually acquired the power of an articulation more definite, and so, as over the graves of perished sounds innumerable, arrived at those which should endure. Our investigator not only admits this as possible, but thinks it highly probable. Indulging, however in no conjectures, but holding fast to observed fact, he passes at once from the physical organs to their first remaining product,—*their* product beyond question. From this point onward the evolution becomes complex; it proceeds at once from the physical organs and from the sounds they have brought forth, significantly called "roots." From verbal roots the language grows; of words words are born; each new one is the sequent of a verbal antecedent, and may itself become the antecedent of another etymological sequent; while always the action of the physical organs is implied. Our investigator follows the evolution throughout, and finds no break. He sees not only co existences and sequences, but laws of co-existence and succession. He sees words that had denoted objects or actions transformed to serve as signs of relation. He sees an increasing specialization, accompanied by integrations, as in the formation of inflections and compound words, and in a higher sense in the formation of general or abstract terms. In short, by attending only to etymological and syntactical relation, and referring for original to the physical powers of speech,—by attending only to the outside of language, and regarding it as a body of words, born for the most part one from another, but all emanating from the vocal organs,—one may trace a complete line of evolution, and defy all the world to discover in it the slightest gap. It is a perfect agnostic evolution.

Nevertheless an essential fact has been overlooked,—a fact of which we are apprised by our intimate personal consciousness, and not by any one of the five senses. It is the conscious spirit of man which speaks; and without this, no part of the said evolution would have taken place. It utters no sound, but it is the real speaker; it breaks in at no point, but is present at every point. Now we may suppose a theory of linguistic evolution drawn from this side exclusively. The human spirit, the theorist will say, unfolds itself by a strictly logical process, that is, according to an order inherent in its nature as mind. In doing so, it creates for itself a body in words, and marks every advance in its own unfolding by a corresponding step in the development of language. It obeys a law, but is itself the law it obeys; it is not therefore externally constrained or conditioned, and its relation to language is that of a pure unconditioned creator. From this point of view much could be said that would be worthy of a great thinker. Undoubtedly there is an order in the development of the human spirit, and this order is reflected in language. Accordingly, a philosopher endowed with the intellectual subtilty and grasp of a Hegel might by following this clew bring forth a transcendental theory of evolution in language, which should be richly freighted with thought and truth, and be received with admiring relish by a generation with the requisite appetite. Yet, no such theory could have more than a very transient acceptance, if one may imagine it accepted at all. Such facts as that the mind depends for the power of speech upon bodily organs, and thus is materially conditioned at the outset; that there are many languages, instead of one, and not the same total import in all, nor the same sounds for approximately the same meanings; that much in every language must be referred to special climatic historical or social conditions, that not a little, as, for example, the disappearance of the article in Latin and the phonetic changes covered by Grimm's law, appears as simply fortuitous; that while language reflects a multitude of external conditions, it is certain that one can definitely think only that which the existing language enables him in some sort to express, and thus that language is ever more or less a check upon thought, a resisting and limiting power,—facts such as these, with many others, to the like effect, are glaringly incompatible with what I have called the transcendental theory of linguistic evolution. Yet there really is a line of evolution on this side also, no less than on the physical or outward side. The evolution of language as entire, or as it actually takes place, comprehends both, and is no duality, no split thread, nevertheless.

Have we not here a type of universal evolution? A literal correspondence there is not, of course; but to my mind the analogy is genuine. Universal evolution has its physical or external side, and has also, as I must think, its spiritual or inwardly productive side. The physical process is continuous, even though never to be perfectly traced, from first to last; and in consciousness, thought, will, moral and æsthetic sensibility, in our deepest, highest, most sacred experience, is still present, still engaged; but it draws upon a resource which, like the speaking spirit of man, is in itself unseen, appearing only in representative forms. And if it be asked what this resource is, the answer might be that it is Mr. Spencer's "Unknowable,"—rather unfathomable, I should say, than unknowable. Mr. Spencer gives this the name of power, but, very strangely, it seems to be a power without effect, a power that does nothing but hide itself. Truer, perhaps, to say, that it does nothing but publish itself; that it is Goethe's "open secret," everywhere signified, everywhere on the face of things, but a secret still, since the genius of Nature, though expressive, is unfathomable.

Here I must break off, having but touched the subject as with the fingers' ends. Enough, however, has been said to indicate the direction in which I look for a theory of evolution more adequate and entire. My creed in brief is this: Thought and Force are the antithetic terms whose synthesis and unity is nature or the natural universe; and productivity or evolution is the result of the synthesis. And if challenged to find the former of those terms in the natural world, I could perhaps do so without forgetting or disputing Darwin.

Yours very truly,

D. A. WASSON.

THE "FAITH CURE" ONCE MORE.

Mr. Hepworth, like everybody else, is discussing the "Faith Cure." He contributes an article upon the subject to the *Independent* of October 19. It is an exceedingly poor article; but the fact that it represents the opinion, as we believe, of a great many people, is our sufficient warrant for noticing it. It is the utterance of the preacher of a system which supports itself by the historical appeal to miracle, and yet doggedly refuses to accept any amount of historical evidence as accrediting a miracle to-day; and it does this last by virtue of an appeal to principles which a very small amount of wit should teach it may be extended, and logically must be extended, to its own case. No unprejudiced person in the world can deny for a moment that paralytics and disordered minds are cured, and that a hundred remarkable things are brought to pass every day, in our own midst, by means every whit as much entitled to be called miraculous as cures recorded as effected at the hands of Elisha, Jesus, Peter, or Paul; and yet the questioner of the Bible miracle is declared, by the adherents of the old system, the assailer of pure and undefiled religion; while the asserter of the modern miracle is informed, by the same stalwart people, that there is "order in the universe," "the reign of law," and that no amount of evidence is sufficient now to establish the fact of any new miracle. This is precisely the way in which the *Congregationalist* did formulate it, in its discussions of Dr. Cullis and the "Faith Cure." "Were a miracle to exist," it said, "it would be as impossible to establish the fact by reasonable evidence as it would now be for the United States to declare their independence of England, because one of the essential conditions has forever passed away. God has so endowed the human mind that it never could accept any logic of miracles which left out the one condition that men were in perilous danger of eternal loss without them; and that condition having ceased forever, and Christianity having become irrefutably established upon grounds which not only do not require, but do not admit, such argumentation, the possibility of their demonstration is at an end."

This is, of course, a flat abandonment of the ground upon which the main defence of the Church's assumptions has been conducted for the last hundred years, or since Paley's time. Paley's argument was that if twelve men would undergo every sort of suffering, martyrdom even, in attestation of miracles which they claimed to have witnessed, then the miracles must have been genuine;

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and, if the miracles were genuine, then the infallibility and divinity of the worker of them and of his doctrines were established. Unitarianism itself stood firmly here forty years ago. The very point defended by Mr. Norton, in his famous controversy with Ripley, was that "the miracles recorded in the New Testament are the only proof of the divine origin of Christianity." But our Orthodoxy now abandons both positions. Prof. Stearns, of the Bangor Theological School, who speaks fairly for the New Orthodoxy, expressly deprecates the committal of Christian doctrine to the test of miracle; and the *Congregationalist*, which we suppose fairly represents the stalwarts, now tells us that no amount of historical evidence is sufficient to establish the fact of miracle.

Of course, this last is true enough. Of course, we know very well that if a man should be put to death on Boston Common to-day, and twelve men or twelve hundred should vouch to seeing him alive to-morrow, we should simply go to work to find out where the mistake was. And yet the formulation of this general principle in this quarter is certainly remarkable. No amount of historical evidence is sufficient, but miracle is to be believed only in cases where we are convinced of its antecedent necessity. But what does this amount to? Simply to making us the judges as to the divine origin and nature of Christian teaching, entirely independent of the miracles alleged to have accompanied it. The alleged miracles are not to be believed, unless we are convinced independently that the gospel itself was of divine origin and nature, and absolutely necessary in the form in which it was given. But, if antecedently convinced of this, then of what use are the alleged accompanying miracles? Clearly, of none at all. Kant established this point perfectly, a hundred years ago. The assumption—we know that it is common enough—that miracles were necessary to attract and convince the Jews and Greeks, and so get an opening for the truth, but that they would not have attractive and convincing power for people nowadays, is of course a most weak and shallow begging of the whole question. No man of common sense believes for a moment—and the *Congregationalist* and all the orthodox, old and new, ought to know it—that Jerusalem and Athens were so far behind Leadville and Podunk that, if Christianity can be "irrefutably established" to the latter "upon grounds which not only do not require, but do not admit, the argument of miracle," it could have been so established to the former. No reason can be given why, if the performance of a miracle by Paul would help to get him a hearing and help the cause of Christ's gospel among the barbarians of Melita, the same thing would not similarly help the bearer of that gospel to the barbarians of the Fiji Islands; and no reason can be given why, if the miraculous cure of Peter's wife's mother served some great religious purpose, to say nothing of its "absolute necessity," the miraculous cure of John Smith of Old Orchard, Maine, may not serve some purpose too. This position the Roman Catholic Church has consistently and dignifiedly maintained, and it is still willing everywhere to stand the racket of investigation of its perennial miracles. This is the position, too, of Dr. Cullis and the "Faith Cure" men; and we say that it is a consistent and dignified position, whatever mistakes go with it. But the position of our ordinary Protestantism, the position of the *Congregationalist* and of Mr. Hepworth, who assume that no amount of historical evidence would now amount to anything toward establishing the fact of miracle, but dogmatically tell us that the alleged miracles of Christ's time and fifty years afterward—none later—are to be believed, because these, forsooth, were *a priori necessary*,—this position, we say, has neither consistency, dignity, nor reason of any sort for itself.

It was chiefly for the sake of these few general observations that we have made Mr. Hepworth's article an occasion of writing. But we wish to say a few particular words about the article. Not of such points as, for instance, its suggestion that Dr. Cullis should be "furnished with a lisp," to satisfy "the eternal fitness of things." These things belong to the mere amenities of religious journalism, and we are concerned only with the substance of Mr. Hepworth's argument. What is the substance of it? That the theory on which belief in the "Faith Cure" is based is "the result of bad logic or of a mild form of insanity," and cannot go along with any large knowledge of the methods of God's dealings with the human race. The theory is shocking, we are told, to "the thoughtful mind, which has observed that there is order in the universe, and that a man can best accomplish his purposes when he follows that order." The assertion that disease can be removed by "a certain kind of prayer in which a particular individual in the city of Boston is peculiarly gifted" is the "introduction of magic into religion"; and it is very questionable whether a theory which teaches a man that he can "make use of Deity" will bear the light of reason or produce good spiritual results. 'The object of the prayer of faith, according to, this delusion, is to persuade the Almighty to allow us to have our own way," and is "thoroughly selfish." Dr. Cullis "practically eliminates the phrase 'Thy will be done,'" "constitutes himself the judge, and dictates what must be done," demanding, "in the name of his larger faith, that the cure shall be effected, whether right or wrong." Mr. Hepworth believes that there are no well-attested proofs that cures have been effected, and finally tells his brethren that if any among them are sick and send for the minister rather than for the doctor, whom "the Lord has provided for just such an emergency," they are "without that ordinary common sense which the Lord expects them to use." "Prayer alone, without the employment of human agencies, is incredible fanaticism."

As to Dr. Cullis' "thorough selfishness" and demand that his prayer shall be granted, "whether right or wrong," the charges are quite too wide of the mark to require any refutation. Dr. Cullis, as all know who know anything at all about him, is a singularly unselfish, sincere, simple, reverent, and unassuming man; and, so far from claiming to be "peculiarly gifted" in "a certain kind of prayer," he simply does what he claims it is the right and duty of Mr. Hepworth and all Christians to do. And, for this, he has the clear warrant of the Scripture, which he faithfully believes. "Is any sick among you?" wrote St. James to the early congregations, "let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." Christ himself also, according to St. Mark, promised that the faithful believers in all the world, besides the power of casting out devils, speaking with new tongues, taking up serpents, and drinking any deadly thing without hurt, should have the power to lay hands on the sick and heal them. We believe ourself that this passage, ascribed to Christ, is *ex post facto*, and no utterance of his; but Mr. Hepworth probably does not believe it *ex post facto*, and, even if it be so, it has scarcely less significance in this discussion. But, without it, the apostolic precept and the early Christian usage are evident enough. Yet Mr. Hepworth absolutely ignores all this, and writes as if miracle had never been known to the Church's system. What does he allege against Dr. Cullis and the modern miracle that is not equally valid against the miracle of any time, or when and why would he say that what was sanctioned and commanded for the primitive Church began to be a "sickly sentimentalism," and mischievous "delusion," "thoroughly selfish," "shockingly irreverent," "illogical," and "insane"? There is no word that he writes which is not as applicable to the miracles of yesterday as to those of to day. That the problem has changed, in those terms of it which Mr. Hepworth and his brethren choose to discuss, cannot for a moment be urged. The doctor was quite as accessible as the minister in St. James' day, as well as in our own. The ground upon which the "Faith Cure" was urged then was its immediate witness to the power of God and its strengthening of the feeling of immediate dependence upon him, and that it would not mean the same to-day has never been demonstrated to us. This is the point which most simple people wish to hear discussed in this connection, for it would seem that a searching discussion of this point might establish a much more respectable general principle about miracles than the ordinary one. But this point such men as Mr. Hepworth and such newspapers as the *Congregationalist* seem scrupulously to avoid; and meantime, while most simple people have a genuine respect for the consistency of the Roman Catholic doctrine and Dr. Cullis', they have no respect at all for Mr. Hepworth and the *Congregationalist*, for the view which they defend.

Here we bethink us of an article upon the general subject of supernaturalism, which appeared in the next number of the *Independent*, we think, after that which contained Mr. Hepworth's paper. We read it with great pleasure and satisfaction, as a most serious, thoughtful, and considerable discussion, albeit containing some assumptions which we could not ourself allow. It was entirely free from the crass dogmatism which we are criticising,—a refreshing contrast to Mr. Hepworth and the *Congregationalist*,—and we were glad to see it in its place. We looked with interest for the writer's name, and found it to be Prof. Gould, of Newton,—the same, we suppose, who has just been put out of the synagogue *for heresy*.

We would ask, in closing, to touch upon a single point of fact in connection with Dr. Cullis and the Old Orchard cures. Among the cures reported this year was one of a woman who for twenty years had been compelled to use crutches for hip disease. She was said to have been completely healed, and to have walked away from the prayer-tent as well as ever; and her case was held up as the particular shining example of the power of the "Faith Cure." But one of the most eminent clergymen of Maine, who has been following up the Old Orchard cases and communicates his results to the *Independent*, has learned that the woman confessed, after the "cure," that she was suffering great pain in her hip, though she "fully believed she was healed." The person to whom the confession was made was satisfied that her suffering resulted from the disuse of her crutches, and that her mind was in an exalted mystical state, resulting from the process through which she was passing. "A few weeks ago," says the *Independent's* correspondent, "a brief paragraph in the papers confirmed his diagnosis of her case. It announced that the lady had just been removed to the Danvers Insane Asylum in a crazed condition. Of course, no further notice is taken of her case; but, surely, all the facts should be told. Nor is this a single case. I am persuaded that, if the numbers of those who lose their 'cure' were set over against the 'cured,' the one class would nearly balance the other. I write this advisedly, because I have now in mind six cases, all of whom have

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fallen back into their former diseased condition; and some of these are much worse than before their 'cure.'"

The truth of this we do not doubt, and it touches a most important element in these cases of miracles of healing. As men's views of "prophecy" are greatly changed when they come to count the misses as well as the hits, so are their views of miracles of healing modified when they set the backsliders over against those who "hold their cure." That the proportion of these backsliders was almost as great in old times as to-day we should doubtless be assured of, if the "special reporter" had been as ubiquitous and indefatigable then as now. That the subjects of Christ himself did not alway hold their cure, we know from the express information that from Mary Magdalene seven devils were cast out; and doubtless there were many such cases in Christ's time, as in the centuries afterward and to-day. Yet, when every discount has been made and the shrinkage is complete, no man who accepts the regular canons of evidence can deny that there have been in every age, and never more apparently than in our own, abundant cases of "Faith Cure," or "miracles of healing," genuine and thorough. No serious person will be satisfied with the simple cheap denials of the alleged current phenomena or any of the flippant and uncritical discussions with which the Protestant press has recently contented itself. No discussion is good for anything which is not based upon a careful investigation and frank acknowledgment of all the facts and accompanied by a willingness to follow the facts where they lead. Of course, when the principles we have here implied are freely conceded, the real ground, significance, and function of the belief in miracle still remain untouched; but, until these are conceded, no advance in scientific, serious, or profitable discussion is possible.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

AGNOSTICISM:

A Letter to the Rev. Dr. McCosh.

Dear Sir,—I have read with great interest your recent pamphlet on the "Criteria of Diverse Kinds of Truth as opposed to Agnosticism," and cordially admire not only your remarkable clearness and vigor of style, but your manifest sincerity of purpose. My trust in this last quality, or, in other words, in your desire to deal justly and generously with your opponents, leads me to beg you to notice some facts, which are not presented in order to excite personal controversy, but simply in the hope of serving the cause of truth. On the cover of this pamphlet, you speak of "the position of agnosticism, which holds that all truth is contradictory"; and, on one of the early pages, you object to agnostics as people who "affirm that we can know nothing." Such charges are frequently made in pulpits and other places where they cannot be easily answered; but, when I see them in print, I feel it my duty to disprove them, as I can do, with the aid of many witnesses. Thus, the Imperial Dictionary of the English Language, Vol. I., new edition, published in London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dublin, 1882, gives this definition: "*Agnostic*. One of a school of thinkers who disclaim any knowledge of God or of the origin of the universe. This school holds that the mind of man is limited to an *a posteriori* knowledge of phenomena and the relative, and that therefore the infinite, the absolute, and the unconditional are beyond all experience, and, consequently, beyond its range." Another new and standard work, the Encyclopedic Dictionary, Vol. I., Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London, Paris, and New York, 1879, says: "*Agnostic*. Professing not to know or have the means of knowing any principle connected with theology or metaphysics. . . . *Agnosticism*. A school of thought which believes that, beyond what man can know by his senses or feel by his higher affections, nothing can be known. Facts, or supposed facts, both of the lower and the higher life, are accepted; but all inferences deduced from these facts as to the existence of an unseen world, or of beings higher than man, are considered unsatisfactory and are ignored. Agnostics, positivists, and secularists have much in common; and many people exist to whom any one of the three names might be indifferently applied." To the same effect speaks the Rev. John Owen, in his *Evenings with the Sceptics*, 1881, Vol. II., p. 513: "You would have our modern scientists call themselves agnostics rather than positivists. But the distinction is merely verbal; for the agnostics confine their profession of ignorance to real or final causes, and the positivists limit their certainty to real or ascertained facts and processes, so that there is in reality a perfect agreement between them. Both claim knowledge where sensible phenomena and their manifest relations are concerned: both disclaim it when ulterior causes are in question." Turn to the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for April, 1881, and you will find the editor, Wm. T. Harris, in his "Thoughts on the Basis of Agnosticism," give, as the thesis of Kantian agnosticism, "We cannot know things-in-themselves," and say of the more recent physiological agnosticism, "It thinks that quantity and quality are interchangeable, that no ideas are universal and necessary," and "attempts to fix the limits of human cognition." None of these definitions are, I suppose, by agnostics; but they fully represent the position of the three authors best known by this title; namely, Herbert Spencer, Comte,—the founder of Positivism,—and Tyndall, who says in a famous lecture: "Men of science have but one desire,—to know the truth; they have but one fear,—to believe a lie; and, if they know the strength of science and rely on it with unswerving trust, they also know the limits beyond which science ceases to be strong. . . . They have as little fellowship with the atheist, who says there is no God, as with the theist, who knows the mind of God." How strongly Herbert Spencer has set forth not only the limits of knowledge, but its reliability within those limits, I need scarcely say. Of statements by authors who call themselves agnostics, there are very few within my reach. A little pamphlet just issued by the German Liberals in this country, the *Freidenker-Almanach* for 1883, Doerflinger, Milwaukee, contains an article by Hugo Andriessen, called "Der Standpunkt der Agnostiker," or "The Stand-point of the Agnostics." Let me translate a few sentences: "The agnostic is he who affirms that all arguments about the being of a God lead nowhere. . . . He is as much opposed to atheism as to theism. . . . All our knowledge is relative and only about phenomena. . . . The agnostic does not let any mist of theology or metaphysics blind his eyes, but looks calmly at the naked, prosaic facts." There is so little to quote from such authors that I venture to refer to my own lines, called "An Agnostic Requiem," and beginning:—

> "This life, when I have found enough to know,
> And love, and hope for," etc.

You will, I am sure, excuse my taking advantage of a publication sure to attract so much attention as the "Criteria," in order to make it generally understood that agnosticism holds, not that all truth, but only that all theology and metaphysics, is contradictory, and that agnostics merely affirm that they can know nothing beyond the range of the senses and of reasoning from this testimony. Agnosticism means knowledge of this life, but not of any future one; of this world, but not of anything beyond. It is not a state of general uncertainty, but simply one of inability to hold any of the current theories about the infinite. Let me add that there is at least some resemblance to agnosticism in the Bible teaching of the necessity of a special and supernatural revelation for full knowledge of God. Such a doctrine is taught in many passages; for instance, Matt. xi., 27: "No man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." John xvii., 25: "O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee; but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me." I. Cor. ii., 14: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Here, the natural inability of man to know God is not perhaps made to seem so complete as it is according to the agnostics; but these latter differ from the teachings of the Bible, and of Orthodoxy also, mainly in not admitting that any revelation has taken place. Thus, the chief peculiarity of agnosticism is theological. In practical matters there is no difference between the agnostic and his neighbors; nor is there any as regards the certainty of scientific truth. In one thing, my dear sir, I am sure you and I agree; that is, in our desire to have error corrected and knowledge spread abroad.

I am respectfully yours,

FRED. MAY HOLLAND.

CONCORD, MASS., Nov. 1, 1882.

CONVENTIONS.

The Free Religious Association will hold a Convention in Shakspere Hall, Syracuse, N.Y., beginning Monday evening, November 20, and continuing through Tuesday, November 21. The *Monday evening* session will be opened with an address of welcome by Charles D. B. Mills, of Syracuse; and an address by the President, William J. Potter, of New Bedford, Mass., on "The Principles and Aims of Free Religion."

Tuesday morning, Frederic A. Hinckley, of Rhode Island, will open the meeting with an address on "The Unwritten Creed of the Coming Religion"; and, *Tuesday afternoon*, the first address will be from Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, of Massachusetts, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Reforms and Charities." During these three sessions, addresses will also be made by Rev. S. R. Calthrop of Syracuse, William H. Spencer of Florence, Mass., Rev. N. M. Mann of Rochester, Rev. E. P. Powell of Utica, Rev. Richmond Fiske of Syracuse, and others. At the closing session, *Tuesday evening*, Col. T. W. Higginson will speak upon "Darwin and Emerson," and Rev. M. J. Savage of "The Change of Front of the Universe."

The Association will also hold a Convention in Hershey Music Hall, Chicago, Ill., beginning Thursday evening, November 23, and continuing through Friday, the 24th.

The *Thursday evening* session will open with an address of welcome from Judge Booth, of Chicago; and an address by the President, Wm. J. Potter, on the "Principles and Aims of Free Religion." The *morning session* of *Friday* will begin with an address by Frederic A. Hinckley on "The Unwritten Creed of the Coming Religion," *the afternoon session* with a paper from Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer on the "Relation of Free Religion to Reforms and Charities," and the *evening* session with the address of Rev. Minot J. Savage on "The Change of Front of the Universe."

In addition to the above, Rabbi E. G. Hirsch of Chicago, C. D. B. Mills of Syracuse, and Rowland Connor of Michigan have already accepted invita-

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tions to speak; and Rev. J. Ll. Jones of Chicago, Annie L. Diggs of Kansas, Wm. C. Gannett of St. Paul, J. C. Learned of St. Louis, Wm. M. Salter of Chicago, and others, have been invited to do so.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Secretary.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE *Freidenker* for November 12 contains a long article against Female Suffrage by Anna L. Weinhagen. The same number of this ably conducted organ of German Liberalism says that Mr. Miln's appearance in Milwaukee as Iago showed his capacity of attaining the highest rank in his profession, though his former one has left him with too much fondness for declamation.

GEN. SCHOFIELD, who is in command of the Department of the Pacific, received recently a delegation of the Piute Indians in San Francisco. The "braves" urged their claim to a continuance of the free passes over the Central Pacific Railroad. They said it was necessary for them occasionally to ride on the railroad, and that they were never in a condition to pay their fares. Their spokesman concluded, with great dignity, by asking the General for a quarter of a dollar with which to purchase food.

MISS KATE SANBORN'S *Round Table Series* of twenty-five literature lessons is just the thing for clubs organized for social study. Most of the modern authors of importance are brought before us in their literary as well as in their chronological relations; and the references to sources of information are extremely full, so much so indeed as to prove useful to any student. We regret that she has not given more attention to American literature, and hope she will do so in subsequent numbers, if only to do proper justice to Emerson, of whom we find scarcely any mention. Another omission we hope to see her rectify is that of men of science.

THE word *Reverend* ought never to be written before the name of any man living or dead, unless great and noble services justly entitle him to the gratitude and reverence of his fellow-men. Its general application as a title to all who choose to accept it has destroyed even the professional significance and value it once possessed. It is no indication of ability, attainments, character, or belief, and ought to be abandoned. Think of the absurdity of writing plain Charles Darwin, John Stuart Mill, or Peter Cooper, when we put Rev. as a prefix to the name of a young man just from a Divinity school, or a fellow who, too stupid to succeed at the shoemaker's trade, has abandoned it to "preach the gospel"!

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, says: "If straws show which way the wind blows, what are we to think of the conduct of the Association of Evangelical Ministers in Boston, inviting Mr. B. F. Underwood, a pronounced infidel, or free religionist, to address them, at a recent meeting, on the question whether the modern agnostic theory of development overthrows Christianity? What is the significance of it, anyway? . . . Had these enlightened evangelical ministers any good reason to believe that this well-known infidel and reviler of Christianity—there is no use trying to put too fine a point on it—could throw any new light on the important question under discussion?" Will our esteemed contemporary point out wherein we are a 'reviler of Christianity'?

THE Chicago *Times* tells the story of the failure of the branch house of A. T. Stewart & Co., in that city, in the following peculiarly Western fashion: "A few years ago, the corpse of a New York merchant came to Chicago to select a site for business. It was unwilling to pay the rentals ordinarily obtained here, and property owners in the vicinity of the desired location actually threw in $48,000 cash as a bonus. The salaries paid by the imported concern were the meanest known in Chicago since it stood on the borders of civilization, and the treatment received by Western patrons prevented any increase in its trade. All the valuable employés of the house skipped out a year ago, and the pennies have now been placed on the eyes of the defunct establishment by the only man remaining on its pay-roll."

THE following has been given to the public as a letter written by Charles Darwin, in 1873, to a Dutch gentleman, in reply to an inquiry as to his belief in regard to the existence of a God:—

It is impossible to answer your question briefly: I am not sure that I could do so, even if I wrote at some length. But I may say that the impossibility of conceiving that this grand and wondrous universe, with our conscious selves, arose through chance, seems to me our chief argument for the existence of God; but whether this is an argument of real value I have never been able to decide. I am aware that, if we admit a first cause, the mind still craves to know whence it came and how it arose. Nor can I overlook the difficulty from the immense amount of suffering through the world. I am also induced to defer, to a certain extent, to the judgment of the many able men who have fully believed in God; but here, again, I see how poor an argument this is. The safest conclusion seems to be that the whole subject is beyond the scope of man's intellect; but man can do his duty.

This letter, it is stated, first appeared in a Dutch free-thought journal. Its genuineness has not, to our knowledge, been called in question; and it is certainly in the style and spirit of the great naturalist, who was reserved and modest where many, who are intellectual pygmies compared with him, are assertive, dogmatic, and intolerant.

IN the Liverpool *Weekly Post*, we find a "Political Letter" to George Jacob Holyoake, in which he is addressed in the following pleasant manner: "When you stand in the lobby and look into the House of Commons, your eye glances along serried rows of members, Liberals as well as Tories, who, till they were fifty or fifty-five, and had made their fortunes or their commercial positions, never thought seriously about politics at all, much less informed and exercised their minds politically. But there they sit, while you look at them through the swing doors; and they will come out and say, 'Ah, Holyoake!' and probably proceed to suck your brains, if they have a speech to make or a letter from a constituent to answer. Often have I seen it done. Yet it is these men, and not our Holyoakes, that we practical English send to Parliament to transact our politics. . . . As I read your words or hear you speak them, I regret that you had not an opportunity of taking a part in high politics. You were always content with a very humble share in great movements. Mr. Cobden picked you out very accurately, when he said that you were the man to say the most unpleasant thing in the least unpleasant way. You were always ready to stand aside or go to the front, just as was thought best. This mood of ready self-effacement is owing partly to constitutional modesty, partly to that sense of 'proper humbleness' which in this country is seldom got over by those who are born poor, unless they are adventurers."

REV. DR. GEO. E. ELLIS, the distinguished Unitarian scholar and divine, in an exceedingly able address before the Unitarian Club in this city last week, to the surprise of many of his denominational brethren, said: "Fifty years of study, thought, and reading, given largely to the Bible and to the literature which peculiarly relates to it, have brought me to this conclusion: That the book — taken with the especial divine quality and character claimed for it and so extensively assigned to it as inspired and infallible, as a whole and in all its contents — is an orthodox book. It yields what is called the orthodox creed. The vast majority of its readers, following its letter, its obvious sense, its natural meaning, and yielding to the impression which some of its emphatic texts make upon them, find in it Orthodoxy. Only that kind of ingenious, special, discriminative, and — in candor, I must add — forced treatment which it receives from us liberals can make the book teach anything but Orthodoxy. The evangelical sects, so called, are clearly right in maintaining that their view of Scripture and of its doctrines draws a deep and wide division of creed between them and ourselves. In that earnest controversy by pamphlet warfare between Drs. Channing and Ware on the one side and Drs. Worcester and Woods and Prof. Stuart on the other,—a controversy which wrought up the people of our community sixty years ago more than did our recent political campaign,— I am fully convinced that the liberal contestants were worsted. Scripture exegesis, logic, and argument were clearly on the side of the orthodox contestants. And this was so mainly because the liberal party put itself upon the same plane with the orthodox in its way of regarding and dealing with Scripture texts in their bearing upon the controversy. Liberalism cannot vanquish Orthodoxy, if it yields to the latter its own way of regarding and treating the whole Bible."

POETRY.

For The Index.

PRESENTIMENT.

O Life! Thou strange, mysterious, unknown thing,
Imperfect, ever struggling toward the light!
From the dark chaos, from a fading night,
Borne helpless onward, unacknowledged king.

Earth in her bosom carries thee, until
The shadows that have held thee let thee go,
And, into the ethereal kingdom, grow
The things that were not into thought and will.

Slowly, the growth from germ to being springs;
Slowly, the plan of human life unrolls;
Slowly, more slowly, the life of human souls
Evolves from meaner into greater things.

O king of an unknown and hapless throng!
Ignorant of thy crown, unsought of fame,
Thrown upon the world without a place or name,
To pave the way for victory over wrong.

Without the struggle, whence the strength should come
To bear the nations through the darkened days?
Slowly matured, the growing purpose sways
Ever toward nobler words, seals lips of some.

At last, the tongue is loosened, and the voice
Of reason, as a prophecy, is born;
A world had waited with a hope forlorn,
And, shaken to its centre, dared rejoice.

"O song, that never rang the wide world through!
O day, that never dawned from deeper night!
O hope, thrown broadcast, like a beam of light
Irradiating everything anew!

"What some men were may not yet others be,
Greater and better as their times unfold?
The day is deeper, longer than of old,
The soul has glimpses of a wider sea.

"Welcome the dawn of a benigner day,
When man to man grows tolerant and kind;
The fruitful issue of a larger mind,
The growth of a diviner human way!"

SARA W. SMITH.

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The Index.

BOSTON, NOV. 16. 1882.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD. . . . . }

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For *The Index.*

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

BY C. K. WHIPPLE.

I suppose that religion, in the general sense, means the practical recognition of God; in other words, the persistent attempt to order one's life—one's thinking, feeling, speaking, and acting—in accordance with the idea of duty and responsibility to the Power above us. He who acts upon this principle is, to that extent, religious: he who disregards it fails to be religious.

To this general idea of religion, each of the existing special forms of faith adds some peculiar feature, in virtue of which it forms a sect and takes a descriptive appellation by which it is distinguished from other sects. Let us inquire what is this peculiar feature in some of the principal historical religions.

Mussulmans are those who recognize Mohammed as the chief authorized interpreter of the will of God, and therefore accept him as their rightful Lord and Master.

Jews are those who recognize Moses as the chief authorized interpreter of the will of God, and therefore accept him as their rightful ruler in religious matters.

Buddhists are those who recognize "the Buddha" as the chief authorized interpreter of the will of God, and, assuming Gotama to be the Buddha, therefore accept him as their rightful Lord and Master.

Christians are those who recognize "the Christ" as the chief authorized interpreter of the will of God, and, assuming Jesus of Nazareth to be the Christ, therefore accept him as their rightful Lord and Master.

When you know, in regard to an individual, that he makes systematic effort to order his life in accordance with what he understands to be God's will, you know that he is religious, but you do not in the least know to what sect or party in religion he belongs. He may be Jew or Christian, Mohammedan, Buddhist, Parsee, or Brahman. Before you can assign him to any particular class of religionists, you must learn what special doctrine he holds *in addition to* a life of conscientious endeavor, what peculiar tenet he assumes to be indispensable to acceptance with God *besides* the effort to live justly and righteously. No amount of proved justice and righteousness alone would procure him admission into either of the sects above named. To gain a place in Islam, he must acknowledge that God is one, and that Mohammed is his prophet. To be affiliated with the Buddhists, he must publicly avow that he "takes refuge with the Buddha." To join a Jewish synagogue, he must accept Moses as his lawgiver. To join a Christian church, he must profess faith in Jesus as "the Christ." Nay, more. Not only will manifest and undeniable good character fail, by itself, to procure him admission into any of these bodies, but compliance with the authorized peculiar formula will admit him into any of them with little or no inquiry in regard to good character. Men known to be mean and bad, unjust and unmerciful, have unquestioned good standing in the churches of Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans.

The opinion above stated, that recognition and acceptance of Jesus as "the Christ" are the prominent characteristic and chief essential feature of Christianity, is corroborated by the fact that all the principal churches claiming the Christian name declare that faith, and insist on its acknowledgment as an indispensable preliminary in the admission of new members. The Roman, the Greek, the Anglican, and all the other Trinitarian churches agree in holding and specially emphasizing this ground; and no person who openly disavowed it could possibly gain membership in either. It is reasonable to assume that the point which has been held of chief importance *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*, always, everywhere, and by all who call themselves Christian, should be considered the essence of Christianity.

This opinion receives further confirmation from the historical origin of the epithet "Christian," which we find in the Acts of the Apostles. That book tells us that "the disciples"—that is, those who accepted Jesus as the Christ—were called "Christians" first in Antioch. Paul, it is there stated, had been teaching in that city a whole year; and the constant repetition of his favorite phrase, "our Lord Jesus Christ," naturally led the residents there to describe his followers as "those Christ people," or, vituperatively, "those Christ fellows,"—just as we say "the Swedenborgians" or "the Millerites." The epithet "Christian" was plainly a descriptive one; and the continued use of Paul's formula, "our Lord Jesus Christ," which has held its place in all branches of the Christian Church from that day to the present, shows the acceptance of Jesus by them all, not only as "the Christ," but as the chief authorized interpreter of God's will, and the rightful ruler of all men in religion and morals. This declaration of faith appears in the creeds and hymns of all these Churches, and in the prayers and sermons of their clergy. But speculation and discussion on theological matters have spread of late beyond the pulpit and the religious press, and have appeared and been welcomed in the best organs of secular periodical literature; and the literature of the last thirty years, both secular and theological, has shown a large and increasing tendency to discriminate between Jesus and "the Christ," and to recognize the former as historical and the latter as legendary.

There seems an agreement well-nigh universal in the acceptance of Jesus of Nazareth as a historical character. The most trustworthy account of him is thought to be found in the first three books of the New Testament, and particularly in the Gospel ascribed to Matthew. In these, it appears that, though quite destitute of what is called learning, Jesus was eminent for wisdom in the spiritual sense, standing manifestly first among the great teachers of religion and morality in all ages. Born and educated a Jew, he easily freed himself from the limitations of the Hebrew faith; and the truths of absolute religion were expressed by him not only more distinctly than ever before, but with a clearness and thoroughness which seem incapable of improvement, and which leave them still the best and highest statements in ethics and religion.

The career of Jesus as a religious teacher, judging from a comparison of the three Gospels above mentioned, seems to have lasted not much longer than a year. Through the whole of this period, the chief obstacle in his way was the inability of his followers to understand his doctrine. As they were devout Jews, holding their Mosaic system to be divinely ordained, and their Hebrew scripture a perfect rule of life, they were unable to conceive of reform in religion, except as a fulfilment of that system, a purification of it from the erroneous notions and practices incorporated with it by priestly tradition. The disciples followed Jesus expressly because they hoped to find in him a reformer of Judaism. Even the apostles, the most intelligent of these followers, clung to the same idea, and did not escape from it until after the crucifixion of their Master. Not one of them could be made to understand that their cherished Mosaic system was to be left behind, transcended, thrown aside as a worn-out garment. Recognizing in Jesus a powerful preacher of that "righteousness" which their Hebrew prophets had enjoined, they could not help connecting him in idea with "the Messiah" announced by those same prophets. From first to last, they insisted on viewing him as "the Lord's Anointed," "the Son of David," "the King of Israel." They were disappointed and puzzled throughout the earlier part of the career of Jesus as a teacher by his reluctance to assume the title thus urged upon him, and through the whole of it by his avoidance of the attitude of king, deliverer, redeemer of Israel from oppression by the Gentiles, which they assumed to be the prominent function of the Messiah, because Isaiah and Jeremiah had expressly announced it as such. I repeat, the chief obstacle to the diffusion of the doctrine set forth by Jesus was the inability of his followers to understand that his aim, his work, his intended life, were utterly incompatible with the then current idea, as with the prophetic delineations, of Messiahship.

These things being so, it seems strange that the same gospel narratives which give us the information above stated represent also that, in some part of his year's preaching, Jesus did assume the title of Messiah or Christ. This brings us to consideration of the question how far the testimony of these documents is trustworthy, and what light is thrown upon this point by evidence or probability in regard to their date and authorship.

Whenever and by whomsoever the first three Gospels were written, the best and highest statements of religious truth ascribed in them to Jesus were undoubtedly uttered by him. No other person in that age and country was competent to originate those sayings; and they were of a sort to impress themselves strongly on the mind and memory of hearers, and thus had the best chance of being correctly repeated. But these same Gospels attribute other sayings to Jesus, less creditable to his intelligence and discernment. Some of them show a participation in Jewish superstitions current at that time,—for instance, assumption of the existence of Satan and of evil spirits subordinate to him, who could possess and torment human beings. Some of them represent Jesus as quoting from Hebrew Scripture matters which have no existence there,—such as predictions that he (Jesus) should rise from the dead on the third day, and that he (Jesus) was spoken of in the books of Moses, in the Psalms, and in the Prophets. Some of them give countenance to the existence of a hell, in which men are to be confined with devils, and permanently tormented in retribution for offences committed in this mortal life. And some of them predicted an event which never took place,—the coming of him (Jesus) a second time in the clouds of heaven, within the lifetime of those who then heard him, to execute a final judgment.

If the biographical sketches described in the New Testament as "according to" Matthew, Mark, and Luke were really written by those persons, and written at a time reasonably near the occurrence of the events recorded, we should be obliged to attribute the blunders above mentioned to Jesus. It seems strange, no doubt, that such errors should co-exist with such wisdom, though history abounds with similar examples of human infirmity; but there is good reason to suspect that the blunders in question may have had another origin,—namely, the penning of those narratives from traditional report, after the generation of the associates of Jesus had passed away, and when the lapse of half a century or more had given opportunity for modification and enlargement of current tradition. We know from the testimony of Paul that, not long after the death of Jesus, the disciples were already divided into schools, each holding the doctrine of some especially venerated leader. There seems much reason to suppose that our first three Gospels were written long after Paul's time,* by persons who undertook to describe "according to Matthew," "according to Mark," "according to Luke," what Jesus had said and done.

* It may be said, and very truly said, that the post-apostolic origin of our Gospels is not proved. On the other hand, the early dates of these books assumed by the old commentators, accepted by the orthodox clergy, and printed in many editions of the New Testament, have neither proof nor probability to rest on. The reasons for supposing a later authorship of Matthew, Mark, and Luke highly probable may be found in—

An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, by Rev. Samuel Davidson, D.D. London, 1868. Also in a later work, by an American author,—

History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred, by Charles B. Waite, A.M. Chicago, 1881.

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That records of these sayings and doings were not earlier made seems accounted for by the fact that a speedy destruction of the world was confidently expected by the apostles and their followers after the death of Jesus. Their work was understood to be to convince and convert as many as possible by the living voice before the trumpet should sound, summoning dead and living to the final judgment. It was mockers who first asked, "Where is the promise of his coming?" But, after half a century of nonfulfilment, even the disciples might well think it needful to record the items of current tradition, and thus secure them against further change.

The statements in the first three Gospels,—that Jesus was long and strongly solicited to assume the title and function of Messiah, both by disciples and casual hearers, before he consented to comply with the first part of that request, and that, when he did so far comply with it, he added the strange request that they should tell no man of it,—these things seem to show that Jesus had not originally intended to take such a position; and that, if he finally accepted the title of King (interpreting it to mean servant), it was only because in no other manner could his hearers be made to receive the really important new truths which he had to teach them. His reluctance at taking the title of Messiah is abundantly justified by the contrast between his whole life and character and the chief functions ascribed to Messiahship by Isaiah and Jeremiah, from whom the Jews took their idea of it. The Messiah of prophecy was to be a triumphant deliverer, accepted by his own nation, and the vanquisher of all opposing nations. Jesus was not then, and has never since, been accepted by the Jewish people; and he was conquered by the opponents of his own time instead of conquering them. If he did consent to assume a name so much in contrast with his real character, it was a blunder. Possibly, however, the ascription to him in the Gospels, both of this and the other blunders above mentioned, may have come from the delay of scores of years before record was made of the traditions concerning him. But the greatest and worst blunder was made by the Jews themselves, who did not see that the new religious truth which Jesus offered them was far better than any literal fulfilment of Messianic prophecy.

I have mentioned above the great religious associations which, assuming Jesus of Nazareth to be the Christ, therefore accept him as their rightful Lord and Master, and are thus entitled to the name "Christian"; namely, the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Churches, the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Orthodox Congregationalists. I now mention some of the small sects which, holding the same doctrine, are therefore entitled to the same appellation.

The Universalists hold this doctrine, since the salvation which they expect for all men is acknowledged to be due to an atoning sacrifice made for all by the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Mormons hold it, since that people expressly call themselves "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

The small sect of Friends, commonly called Quakers, are divided upon the point in question, the followers of Elias Hicks no longer accepting Jesus either as Christ or Lord.

The small sect of Unitarian Congregationalists shows a similar division of opinion; but the majority, holding to the acknowledgment of "the Lord Jesus Christ" in their worship, are clearly entitled to the name "Christian."

Is any other definition of the word "Christian" so largely inclusive, and at the same time so fairly inclusive, as this? Does anything rather than this constitute the essence, the chief distinguishing feature, of Christianity? Sectarians of every denomination would add something to the definition I have given, and add it for the purpose of excluding those who differ with them in opinion. I seek to know how many and who can be rightfully included under the Christian name.

THE truest friendship must have an upward look: the element of reverence must be in it, or it cannot have its full power. Others may not see the superiority which friendship recognizes; but friendship must see it. Jonathan may seem to others the prince of royal blood, while David seems only the shepherd lad; but Jonathan could never love David as his own soul, unless *he* saw the innate royalty of his friend. And the more one knows of a real friend, the more clearly the stamp of royalty is seen in the soul of that friend.—*Sunday-School Times.*

PHILOSOPHY AT DINNER.

Addresses delivered at a Banquet given to Herbert Spencer, in New York, Thursday Evening, Nov. 9, 1882, by Hon. William M. Evarts, Herbert Spencer, Prof. William G. Sumner, Prof. O. C. Marsh, Hon. Carl Schurz, Prof. John Fiske, and Henry Ward Beecher.

Introductory Speech by Hon. William A. Evarts.

We are here to-night, gentlemen, to show the feeling of Americans toward our distinguished guest. As no room and no city can hold all his friends and admirers, it was necessary that a company should be made up by some method out of the mass, and what so good a method as that of natural selection, and the inclusion within these walls of the ladies? It is a little hard upon the rational instincts and experience of man that we should take up the abstruse subjects of philosophy and of evolution, of all the great topics that make up Mr. Spencer's contribution to the learning and the wisdom of his time, at this end of the dinner. The most ancient nations, even in their primitive condition, saw the folly of this; and when one wished either to be inspired with the thoughts of others, or to be himself a diviner of the thoughts of others, fasting was necessary, and a people from whom I think a great many things might be learned for the good of the people of the present time have a maxim that will commend itself to your common sense. They say the continually stuffed body cannot see secret things. Now, from my personal knowledge of the men I see at these tables, they are owners of continually stuffed bodies. I have addressed them at public dinners, on all topics and for all purposes; and, whatever sympathy they may have shown with the divers occasions which brought them together, they come up to this notion of continually stuffed bodies. In primitive times, they had a custom which we only under the system of differentiation practise now at this dinner. When men wished to possess themselves of the learning, the wisdom, the philosophy, the courage, the great traits of any person, they immediately proceeded to eat him up as soon as he was dead, having only this diversity in that early time,—that he should be either roasted or boiled, according as he was fat or thin. Now, out of that narrow compass, see how by the process of differentiation and of multiplication of effects we have come to a dinner of a dozen courses and wines of as many varieties; and that simple process of appropriating the virtue and the wisdom of the great man that was brought before the feast is now diversified into an analysis of all the men here under the cunning management of many speakers. No doubt, preserving as we do the identity of all these institutions, it is often considered a great art, or at least a great delight, to roast our friends and put in hot water those against whom we have a grudge.

Now, Mr. Spencer, we are glad to meet you here. We are glad to see you, and we are glad to have you see us. We are glad to see you; for we recognize in the breadth of your knowledge such knowledge as is useful to your race, a greater comprehension than any living man has presented to our generation. We are glad to see you, because in our judgment you have brought to the analysis and distribution of this vast knowledge a more penetrating intelligence and a more thorough insight than any living man has brought even to the minor topics of his special knowledge. In theology, in psychology, in natural science, in the knowledge of individual man and his exposition, and in the knowledge of the world, in the proper sense of society which makes up the world, the world worth knowing, the world worth speaking of, the world worth planning for, the world worth working for, we acknowledge your labors as surpassing those of any of our kind. You seem to us to carry away and maintain in the future the same measure of fame among others that we are told was given in the Middle Ages to Albertus Magnus, the most learned man of those times, whose comprehension of theology, of psychology, of natural history, of politics, of history, and of learning, comprehended more than any man since the classic time certainly; and yet it was found of him that his knowledge was rather an accumulation, and that he had added no new processes and no new wealth to the learning which he had achieved.

Now, I have said that we are glad to have you see us. You have already treated us to a very unique piece of work in this reception; and we are expecting, perhaps, that the world may be instructed after you are safely on the other side of the Atlantic in a more intimate and thorough manner concerning our merits and our few faults.

This faculty of laying on a dissecting board an entire nation or an entire age, and finding out all the arteries and veins and pulsations of their life, is an extension beyond any that our own medical schools afford. You give us that knowledge of man which is practical and useful; and whatever the claims or the debates may be about your system or the system of those who agree with you, and however it may be compared with other competing systems that have preceded it, we must all agree that it is practical, that it is benevolent, that it is serious, and that it is reverent, that it aims at the highest results in virtue, that it treats evil not as eternal but as evanescent, and that it expects to arrive at what is sought through the aid of the millennium, that condition of affairs in which there is the highest morality and the greatest happiness. And, if we can come to that by these processes and these instructions, it matters little to the race whether it be called scientific morality and mathematical freedom, or by another less pretentious name. You will please fill your glasses, while I propose the health of our guest, Herbert Spencer.

Mr. Spencer's Reply.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Along with your kindness, there comes to me a great unkindness from fate; for now that, above all times in my life, I need full command of what powers of speech I possess, disturbed health so threatens to interfere with them that I fear I shall very inadequately express myself. Any failure in my response you must please ascribe, in part at least, to a greatly disordered nervous system. Regarding you as representing Americans at large, I feel that the occasion is one on which arrears of thanks are due. I ought to begin with the time, some two-and-twenty years ago, when my highly valued friend, Prof. Youmans, making efforts to diffuse my books here, interested on their behalf the Messrs. Appleton, who have ever treated me so honorably and so handsomely; and I ought to detail from that time onward the various marks and acts of sympathy by which I have been encouraged in a struggle which was for many years disheartening. But, intimating thus briefly my general indebtedness to my numerous friends—most of them unknown—on this side of the Atlantic, I must name more especially the many attentions and proffered hospitalities met with during my late tour, as well as, lastly and chiefly, this marked expression of the sympathies and good wishes which many of you have travelled so far to give, at great cost of that time which is so precious to the American. I believe I may truly say that the better health which you have so cordially wished me will be in a measure furthered by the wish, since all pleasurable emotion is conducive to health; and, as you will fully believe, the remembrance of this event will ever continue to be a source of pleasurable emotion, exceeded by few, if any, of my remembrances.

And now that I have thanked you, sincerely, though too briefly, I am going to find fault with you. Already, in some remarks drawn from me respecting American affairs and American character, I have passed criticisms which have been accepted far more good-naturedly than I could reasonably have expected; and it seems strange that I should now again propose to transgress. However, the fault I have to comment upon is one which most will scarcely regard as a fault. It seems to me that in one respect Americans have diverged too widely from savages. I do not mean to say that they are in general unduly civilized. Throughout large parts of the population, even in long-settled regions, there is no excess of those virtues needed for the maintenance of social harmony. Especially out in the West, men's dealings do not yet betray too much of the "sweetness and light" which, we are told, distinguish the cultured man from the barbarian. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which my assertion is true. You know that the primitive man lacks power of application. Spurred by hunger, by danger, by revenge, he can exert himself energetically for a time; but his energy is spasmodic. Monotonous daily toil is impossible to him. It is otherwise with the more developed man. The stern discipline of social life has gradually increased the aptitude for persistent industry; until among us, and still more among you, work has be-

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come with many a passion. This contrast of nature has another aspect. The savage thinks only of present satisfactions, and leaves future satisfactions uncared for. Contrariwise, the American, eagerly pursuing a future good, almost ignores what good the passing day offers him; and, when the future good is gained, he neglects that, while striving for some still remoter good.

IMMENSE INJURY FROM HIGH-PRESSURE LIFE.

What I have seen and heard during my stay among you has forced on me the belief that this slow change from habitual inertness to persistent activity has reached an extreme from which there must begin a counterchange, a reaction. Everywhere, I have been struck with the number of faces which told in strong lines of the burdens that had to be borne. I have been struck, too, with the large proportion of gray-haired men; and inquiries have brought out the fact that with you the hair commonly begins to turn some ten years earlier than with us. Moreover, in every circle I have met men who had themselves suffered from nervous collapse due to stress of business, or named friends who had either killed themselves by overwork, or had been permanently incapacitated, or had wasted long periods in endeavors to recover health. I do but echo the opinion of all the observant persons I have spoken to, that immense injury is being done by this high-pressure life,—the physique is being undermined. That subtle thinker and poet whom you have lately had to mourn, Emerson, says, in his essay on the gentleman, that the first requisite is that he shall be a good animal. The requisite is a general one: it extends to the man, to the father, to the citizen. We hear a great deal about "the vile body"; and many are encouraged by the phrase to transgress the laws of health. But nature quietly suppresses those who treat thus disrespectfully one of her highest products, and leaves the world to be peopled by the descendants of those who are not so foolish.

Beyond these immediate mischiefs there are remoter mischiefs. Exclusive devotion to work has the result that amusements cease to please; and, when relaxation becomes imperative, life becomes dreary from lack of its sole interest,—the interest in business. The remark current in England that, when the American travels, his aim is to do the greatest amount of sight-seeing in the shortest time, I find current here also: it is recognized that the satisfaction of getting on devours nearly all other satisfactions. When recently at Niagara, which gave us a whole week's pleasure, I learned from the landlord of the hotel that most Americans come one day and go away the next. Old Froissart, who said of the English of his day, that "they take their pleasures sadly, after their fashion," would doubtless, if he lived now, say of the Americans, that they take their pleasures hurriedly, after their fashion. In large measure with us, and still more with you, there is not that abandonment to the moment which is requisite for full enjoyment; and this abandonment is prevented by the ever-present sense of multitudinous responsibilities. So that, beyond the serious physical mischief caused by overwork, there is the further mischief that it destroys what value there would otherwise be in the leisure part of life.

MAKING LIFE HARDER FOR OTHERS.

Nor do the evils end here. There is the injury to posterity. Damaged constitutions reappear in children, and entail on them far more of ill than great fortunes yield them of good. When life has been duly rationalized by science, it will be seen that among a man's duties care of the body is imperative, not only out of regard for personal welfare, but also out of regard for descendants. His constitution will be considered as an entailed estate, which he ought to pass on uninjured, if not improved, to those who follow; and it will be held that millions bequeathed by him will not compensate for feeble health and decreased ability to enjoy life. Once more there is the injury to fellow-citizens, taking the shape of undue disregard of competitors. I hear that a great trader among you deliberately endeavored to crush out every one whose business competed with his own; and manifestly the man who, making himself a slave to accumulation, absorbs an inordinate share of the trade or profession he is engaged in, makes life harder for all others engaged in it, and excludes from it many who might otherwise gain competencies. Thus, besides the *egoistic* motive, there are two altruistic motives which should deter from this excess in work.

The truth is, there needs a revised ideal of life. Look back through the past, or look abroad through the present, and we find that the ideal of life is variable, and depends on social conditions. Every one knows that to be a successful warrior was the highest aim among all ancient peoples of note, as it is still among many barbarous peoples. When we remember that in the Norseman's heaven the time was to be passed in daily battles, with magical healing of wounds, we see how deeply rooted may become the conception that fighting is man's proper business, and that industry is fit only for slaves and people of low degree. That is to say, when the chronic struggles of races necessitate perpetual wars, there is evolved an ideal of life adapted to the requirements. We have changed all that in modern civilized societies, especially in England, and still more in America. With the decline of militant activity and the growth of industrial activity, the occupations once disgraceful have become honorable. The duty to work has taken the place of the duty to fight; and in the one case, as in the other, the ideal of life has become so well established that scarcely any dream of questioning it. Practically, business has been substituted for war as the purpose of existence.

THE DIFFERENT IDEAL OF THE FUTURE.

Is this modern ideal to survive throughout the future? I think not. While all other things undergo continuous change, it is impossible that ideals should remain fixed. The ancient ideal was appropriate to the ages of conquest by man over man, and spread of the strongest races. The modern ideal is appropriate to ages in which conquest of the earth and subjection of the powers of nature to human use is the predominant need. But hereafter, when both these ends have in the main been achieved, the ideal formed will probably differ considerably from the present one. May we not foresee the nature of the difference? I think we may. Some twenty years ago, a good friend of mine and a good friend of yours, too, though you never saw him, John Stuart Mill, delivered at St. Andrew's an inaugural address on the occasion of his appointment to the Lord Rectorship. It contained much to be admired, as did all he wrote. There ran through it, however, the tacit assumption that life is for learning and working. I felt at the time that I should have liked to take up the opposite thesis. I should have liked to contend that life is not for learning, nor is life for working, but learning and working are for life. The primary use of knowledge is for such guidance of conduct under all circumstances as shall make living complete. All other uses of knowledge are secondary. It scarcely needs saying that the primary use of work is that of supplying the materials and aids to living completely, and that any other uses of work are secondary. But, in men's conceptions, the secondary has in great measure usurped the place of the primary. The apostle of culture as it is commonly conceived, Mr. Matthew Arnold, makes little or no reference to the fact that the first use of knowledge is the right ordering of all actions; and Mr. Carlyle, who is a good exponent of current ideas about work, insists on its virtues for quite other reasons than that it achieves sustentation. We may trace everywhere in human affairs a tendency to transform the means into the end. All see that the miser does this when, making the accumulation of money his sole satisfaction, he forgets that money is of value only to purchase satisfactions. But it is less commonly seen that the like is true of the work by which the money is accumulated,—that industry, too, bodily or mental, is but a means, and that it is as irrational to pursue it to the exclusion of that complete living it subserves as it is for the miser to accumulate money and make no use of it. Hereafter, when this age of active material progress has yielded mankind its benefits, there will, I think, come a better adjustment of labor and enjoyment. Among reasons for thinking this, there is the reason that the process of evolution throughout the world at large brings an increasing surplus of energies that are not absorbed in fulfilling material needs, and points to a still larger surplus for humanity of the future. And there are other reasons, which I must pass over. In brief, I may say that we have had somewhat too much of "the gospel of work." It is time to preach the gospel of relaxation.

A WARNING FOR THE NATION.

This is a very unconventional after-dinner speech. Especially, it will be thought strange that, in returning thanks, I should deliver something very much like a homily. But I have thought I could not better convey my thanks than by the expression of a sympathy which issues in a fear. If, as I gather, this intemperance in work affects more especially the Anglo-American part of the population; if there results an undermining of the physique not only of adults, but also in the young, who, as I learn from your daily journals, are also being injured by overwork; if the ultimate consequence should be a dwindling away of those among you who are the inheritors of free institutions and best adapted to them,—then there will come a further difficulty in the working out of that great future which lies before the American nation. To my anxiety on this account, you must please ascribe the unusual character of my remarks.

And now I must bid you farewell. When I sail by the "Germanic" on Saturday, I shall bear with me pleasant remembrances of my intercourse with many Americans, joined with regrets that my state of health has prevented me from seeing a larger number.

Prof. Sumner's Remarks.

The Chairman next introduced Prof. W. G. Sumner, of Yale College, who responded to a toast in honor of "Sociology." He said:—

In the present state of the science of sociology, the man who has studied it at all is very sure to feel great self-distrust in trying to talk about it. The most that one of us can do at the present time is to appreciate the promise which the science offers to us, and to understand the lines of direction in which it seems about to open out. As for the philosophy of the subject, we still need the master to show us how to handle and apply its most fundamental doctrines. I have the feeling all the time in studying and teaching sociology that I have not mastered it yet in such a way as to be able to proceed in it with good confidence in my own steps. I have only got so far as to have an almost overpowering conviction of the necessity and value of the study of that science.

Mr. Spencer addressed himself at the outset of his literary career to topics of sociology. In the pursuit of those topics, he found himself forced (as I understand it) to seek constantly more fundamental and wider philosophical doctrines. He came at last to fundamental principles of the evolution philosophy. He then extended, tested, confirmed, and corrected these principles by inductions from other sciences, and so finally turned again to sociology, armed with the scientific method which he had acquired. To win a powerful and correct method is, as we all know, to win more than half the battle. When so much is secured, the question of making the discoveries, solving the problems, eliminating the errors, and testing the results, is only a question of time and of strength to collect and master the data.

We have now acquired the method of studying sociology scientifically so as to attain to assured results. We have acquired it none too soon. The need for a science of life in society is urgent, and it is increasing every year. It is a fact which is generally overlooked that the great advance in the sciences and the arts which has taken place during the last century is producing social consequences and giving rise to social problems. We are accustomed to dwell upon the discoveries of science and the development of the arts as simple incidents, complete in themselves, which offer only grounds for congratulation. But the steps which have been won are by no means simple events. Each one has consequences which reach beyond the domain of physical power into social and moral relations: these effects are multiplied and reproduced by combination with each other. The great discoveries and inventions redistribute population. They reconstruct industries, and force new organization of commerce and finance. They bring new employments into existence and render other employments obsolete, while they change the relative value of many others. They overthrow the old order of society, impoverishing some classes and enriching others. They render old political traditions grotesque and ridiculous, and make old maxims of statecraft null and empty. They give old vices of human nature a chance to parade in new masks, so that it demands new skill to detect the same old foes. They produce a kind of social chaos, in which contradictory social and economic phenomena appear side by side to bewilder and deceive the student who is not fully armed to deal with them. New interests are brought into existence, and new faiths, ideas, hopes, are engendered in the minds of men. Some of these are doubtless good and sound, others are delusive: in

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every case, a competent criticism is of the first necessity. In the upheaval of society which is going on, classes and groups are thrown against each other in such a way as to produce class hatreds and hostilities. As the old national jealousies, which used to be the lines on which war was waged, lose their distinctness, class jealousies threaten to take their place. Political and social events which occur on one side of the globe now affect the interests of population on the other side of the globe. Forces which come into action in one part of human society rest not until they have reached all human society. The brotherhood of man is coming to be a reality of such distinct and positive character that we find it a practical question of the greatest moment what kind of creatures some of these hitherto neglected brethren are. Secondary remoter effects of industrial changes, which were formerly dissipated and lost in the delay and friction of communication, are now, by our prompt and delicate mechanism of communication, caught up and transmitted through society.

It is plain that our social science is not on the level of the tasks which are thrown upon it by the vast and sudden changes in the whole mechanism by which man makes the resources of the globe available to satisfy his needs, and by the new ideas which are born of the new aspects which human life bears to our eyes in consequence of the development of science and the arts. Our traditions about the science and art of living are plainly inadequate. They break to pieces in our hands, when we try to apply them to the new cases. A man of good faith may come to the conviction sadly, but he must come to the conviction honestly, that the traditional doctrines and explanations of human life are worthless.

A progress which is not symmetrical is not true; that is to say, every branch of human interest must be developed proportionately to all the other branches, else the one which remains in arrears will measure the advance which may be won by the whole. If, then, we cannot produce a science of life in society which is broad enough to solve all the new social problems which are now forced upon us by the development of science and art, we shall find that the achievements of science and art will be overwhelmed by social reactions and convulsions.

We do not lack for attempts of one kind and another to satisfy the need which I have described. Our discussion is in excess of our deliberation, and our deliberation is in excess of our information. Our journals, platforms, pulpits, and parliaments are full of talking and writing about topics of sociology. The only result, however, of all this discussion is to show that there are half a dozen arbitrary codes of morals, a heterogeneous tangle of economic doctrines, a score of religious creeds and ecclesiastical traditions, and a confused jumble of humanitarian and sentimental notions which jostle each other in the brains of the men of this generation. It is astonishing to watch a discussion, and to see how a disputant, starting from a given point of view, will run along on one line of thought until he encounters some fragment of another code or doctrine, which he has derived from some other source of education, whereupon he turns at an angle, and goes on in a new course until he finds himself face to face with another of his old prepossessions. What we need is adequate criteria by which to test and classify and appropriate canons of procedure, or the adaptation of universal canons to the special tasks of sociology.

Unquestionably, it is to the great philosophy which has now been established by such ample induction in the experimental sciences, and which offers to man such new command of all the relations of life, that we must look for the establishment of the guiding lines in the study of sociology. I can see no boundaries to the scope of the philosophy of evolution. That philosophy is sure to embrace all the interests of man on this earth. It will be one of its crowning triumphs to bring light and order into the social problems which are of universal bearing on all mankind. Mr. Spencer is breaking the path for us into this domain. We stand eager to follow him into it, and we look upon his work on sociology as a grand step in the history of science. When, therefore, we express our earnest hope that Mr. Spencer may have health and strength to bring his work to a speedy conclusion, we not only express our personal respect and good will for himself, but also our sympathy with what, I doubt not, is the warmest wish of his own heart, and our appreciation of his great services to true science and to the welfare of mankind.

(Concluded next week.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THAT CORRECTION.

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of October 26 appears an article by Mr. Savage, a portion of which is devoted to a supposed mistake in my communication in *The Index* of October 19. The mistake, too, Mr. Savage suggests, is on a question of fact. Now, if I had made a mistake, there is no one from whom I would take correction with so good grace as from my friend Mr. Savage. But, after the most careful examination of his correction, I must assert that I fail to see where I made any error on any question of fact, even taking Mr. Savage himself as testimony. With a slight difference in the use and meaning of words there is little difference in statements of fact between Mr. Savage and myself.

The gist of the matter is here. I stated in substance what had not been noticed by any other writer in *The Index*, that Mr. Savage offered at first to the Conference a substitute for Article IX., signed by different persons. The proposed substitute Mr. Savage confesses I stated correctly, with the exception of one word. (Of course, I accept his correction of that word.) I copied the substitute from the original, after Mr. Savage had obtained leave of the Conference to present a paper. In order to save space, I will call that substitute which was not voted upon A, and the new Article X. B. I stated that A was the original paper which the most of us signed, and which was at first offered to the Conference.

At the first glance, it looks as if Mr. Savage were denying that statement; but really what he denies is that B "*narrowed the original proposition.*" In other words, his article is an attempt to show that Mr. Potter and myself are mistaken in our *opinions* about which proposition has the most breadth. But an opinion as to whether one proposition is broader than another is something which one man might decide as well as another after he has the facts. What I expected Mr. Savage to show was that he had some contradictory facts. What he really does try to show is that we are mistaken in our conclusions from the facts, because he really does not show any essential error on my part.

"The first draft of my proposed new article," he says, is "as Mr. Stewart rightly quotes it." Again, "if the article as first drawn be the broader one, *it was just this broader one* which all these representative men had signed." Mr. Savage previously shows us who some of these representative men are. So far, then, Mr. Savage simply proves that my statement was essentially correct,—that A was the original paper, and was the one signed by the most "representative men." But he seems to deny my statement that the proposition which went to the Business Committee is not the one which came from them and was adopted, although essentially he does not deny it. The whole question hangs on our interpretation of what we mean by the "*hands*" of a committee. Mr. Savage obtained leave at a certain moment to present a paper. That paper as a piece of stationery perhaps was not touched by the "*hands*" of Governor Long or the Business Committee. By a "legal fiction" (using the term in a perfectly good sense), no stationery really passed through anybody's hands, but by courtesy was permitted for the time to remain in the pocket of Mr. Savage. At that moment, however, the only legal proposition before the Committee on this subject was that of A, as no other paper on that subject was then in existence. The Business Committee had power, however, to report any action they saw proper. Very naturally, they permitted Mr. Savage to make any change he desired in the proposition before it was reported. It is of no manner of consequence, then, that Mr. Savage actually did the changing "with his little hatchet": the Committee was the responsible party for any change, and by their permission a change was made from A to B *after A was really the proposition before the Conference.* I hope no one will suppose that I consider there was necessarily anything wrong in the change by Mr. Savage. The only point I am insisting on is that, although Mr. Savage literally performed the labor of making the change before any paper was read to the Conference, yet as A was the paper in existence when he first obtained leave to present a paper, and would then have been read if delegates had called for it, I was essentially correct in stating that A went first to the Business Committee.

When I wrote my former article, I knew of course of these details which Mr. Savage mentions. I did not state them, because I did not think it was necessary to take up the space of *The Index* with non-essential points, and therefore confined myself to essential facts. Mr. Savage merely gives more information about the facts, but does not change them. A was signed by such men as Drs. Clarke and Hale, etc., he says; but, at last, he met "a radical member," who said he would oppose A. On Wednesday evening, Mr. Savage told me of this, and showed me a rough draft of another proposition, which was to be not a substitute for Article IX., but a new article. I said then that I did not like it. I do not mention this as if my opinion at that time was of any special consequence, but only to show facts. I did not know, however, that this new proposition was to take the place of A, but thought Mr. Savage would see that it was not possible to please everybody. On Thursday, when B was read by the Chairman of the Business Committee, I said to Mr. Savage at once that that was not what we signed. He said he knew it, and either then or afterwards explained that he had made the change himself. It did not please me; but, for reasons mentioned in my other article, it was better than nothing, and I voted for it.

I do not care to enter into controversy on the matter, but merely write to defend myself from the suggestion that I did not know what I was writing about in my previous communication. With the general opinions of Mr. Savage in his article I agree. I did and do doubt, however, the expediency and right of trying to get something which would meet with no opposition. We may have our own opinions, too, of that optimistic spirit which makes Mr. Savage try to prove that the most opposite facts all tend to show that everybody was anxious to get rid of dogmas. Some of his "radicals" could only be classed so under the definition that a "radical" is a "good fellow," a scholar and a gentleman. One of them did not want any change in the Constitution which would not bind the Conference to keep its membership among those who are at least of Christian heredity. I think, too, that if Mr. Chadwick, for instance, had explained his negative vote by a speech, showing that even the majority do not believe the preamble, it would have had a greater moral effect than a silent vote; and it might have shown, what was shown in the Maine Conference two years ago, that the majority do not want even Christian dogmas.

I hope no one will suppose this is a criticism of any action of Mr. Savage. I write merely to show the essential correctness of my former statements. The essence of those statements on this point is that I desired, first, that all dogmatism should be eliminated from the Constitution of the Unitarian Conference; but that, as that could not be obtained, the proposition A was "to a large degree satisfactory," but that A was changed, after it went really to the Business Committee, into B, which is valuable as a stepping-stone to something better.

S. J. STEWART.

BANGOR, Oct. 28, 1882.

[The above communication was, with Mr. Stewart's knowledge, read by Mr. Savage in the proof; and he thinks that, as the discussion has reduced itself to a contradiction concerning a matter of fact, its continuance cannot conduce to either "sweetness" or "light," and informs us that he is willing to let it end with Mr. Stewart's statement.—ED.]

BOOK NOTICES.

KANT'S CRITIQUE OF PURE REASON. A Critical Exposition. By George S. Morris, Ph.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

This volume, the first of a series of German Philosophical Classics for English Readers and Students, which Prof. Morris is to edit, and S. C. Griggs & Co., of Chicago, are to publish, is just what was wanted to start our students of science and philosophy upon a course of faithful investigation. It begins at the modern beginning of a great study, that of how to make knowledge not merely nominal, but real; and it will be followed by a sufficient number of other volumes to take the reader and student across the whole field of philosophical study. Prof. Morris truly says: "The steps which Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel took, mark a progress. Kant took the first step away from, or in advance of, the sensational theory of knowledge, but only the first. Fichte took another, and Schelling still another, the final one be-

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ing accomplished by Hegel. The last step reached a goal to which the first one logically pointed." The volume before us makes a thorough beginning of the study of Kant; and two other volumes will come later, also devoted to Kant,—one by President Porter on the *Ethics of Kant*, and one by an able English writer, Prof. Adamson of Owen's College, Manchester, now the Victoria University, on Kant's *Critique of Judgment*. The work which is the great gate to the modern development of philosophy is the *Critique of Pure Reason*, of which Prof. Morris gives what he properly calls "A Critical Exposition." It is a criticism and an exposition calculated to interest and to instruct both those who share and those who oppose Prof. Morris' conception of the true path in philosophy. It is to him a well-considered and well-reasoned conclusion that experience is spiritual as well as sensible, and that the sensational philosophy so much in vogue since Bacon's time, and the Spencerian agnosticism now so widely accepted, should not for a moment content us. He states the case clearly and strongly, as against materialism and agnosticism, and shows exactly what ground was taken by Kant, how far he went toward making experience a means of spiritual knowledge as well as sensible, and how far he fell short and was inconsistent with himself. The exposition of Prof. Morris is clear and readable; his criticism is acute and interesting; and few studious readers, of whatever school of opinion, will regret having such a guide to such a study. At least, this volume of the admirable series which Chicago enterprise has projected ought to be taken in hand by a good many of our readers; and to all students we heartily commend it.

MINISTERS' HAND-BOOK FOR CHRISTENINGS, WEDDINGS, AND FUNERALS. Compiled and arranged by M. J. Savage. Revised and enlarged. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1882.

That a second edition of this little book has been called for is evidence of its value. If judged by any ideal standard of such a manual, defects might be found in it; but, as necessity knows no law, so hundreds of ministers, in the professional exigencies to which they are often put, will heartily thank Mr. Savage for having this book printed, and will be quick to secure a copy, without stopping to ask whether or not it is the best possible book that might be made for the purpose.

The christening and marriage services make, naturally, but a small part of the book; and most ministers who perform such services, unless they are bound to the traditional liturgies, will prefer, we imagine, to make their own. There are three forms of marriage service given: the Episcopal, "with slight changes"; a modernized and liberal form, though equally solemn, which probably Mr. Savage himself uses; and a third form, brief enough to meet the wishes of those bridal couples who want to be through the ordeal as soon as possible. A singular omission, doubtless accidental, occurs in the Episcopal form. The sentence announcing the pair to be husband and wife is not given; so that if one should literally follow this service, which is printed as if complete, the marriage probably would lack, according to Massachusetts law, the one thing needed to make it legal.

But by far the largest part of the book is made up of selections for funeral services, and it is here that its special usefulness will be found. There are funerals in which no help of any book will be needed, but the occasion itself will suggest what needs to be said. But there are others, and these perhaps more frequently occur, when ministers are in the habit of reading selections as at least a part of the service; and they do not always have conveniently at hand what they would prefer to read. Mr. Savage's manual gives a wide range of choice, both in prose and verse, and from extra-Christian as well as Christian sources. Its breadth of liberality is indicated by the fact that side by side with the Scriptural passages that are brought into the Burial Service of the Episcopal Church stands the fine address made a year or two ago by Col. Ingersoll, at the grave of his friend's child in Washington. And not least among the merits of the little book is that it can readily be carried in the pocket, and that it has blank leaves on which other selections may be written.

THE *Art Amateur* for November contains matter of unusual interest, especially in its biographical sketches. Richard Whiteing gives a very pleasant account of Henry Bacon. Bacon began his artistic career by drawing sketches of military scenes while he was a volunteer in the Thirteenth Massachusetts. He left the service in consequence of a wound, went to Paris, and entered the studio of Cabanel with his arm in a sling. He first became known as a *genre* painter, and then tried his hand at historical painting, even venturing on the difficult ground of American history. His "Boston Boys and General Gage" was shown at the Centennial Exhibition. He paints animals, and is extremely fond also of seashore scenes. The engravings of sketches which illustrate the article are very bright and vigorous, and make us ready to believe all the good things said of the artist. M. B. W. gives us a very interesting account of Miss Marianne North, an English lady, who has devoted herself to flower-painting, and who gives a free exhibition of her works in a beautiful gallery in London. The writer calls it a "rich, beautiful, and curious exhibition," and compares her flower-painting to the masterpieces of the seventeenth century. The holiday season is foreshadowed by designs for Christmas cards, quaint and pretty; and there is as usual a great deal of suggestion and instruction in decorative art.

ROSE KINGSLEY, the daughter of Canon Kingsley, contributes to the holiday *Wide Awake* an amusing article about the famous trio of dogs at Eversley Rectory,—Dandy, Sweep, and Victor. It is illustrated by drawings of the noble fellows from water-colors by Miss Kingsley, a portrait of Canon Kingsley, and a picture of Eversley Rectory, the two latter from photographs. The Christmas *Wide Awake* will be notable for a group of original illustrated poems from English poets,— Christina Rossetti, Philip Bourke Marston, A. Mary F. Robinson, and the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*.

IN the *Unitarian Review* for November, Rev. Francis Greenwood Peabody discusses "Liberal Christianity and the Spirit of Worship"; "The Hebrew Prophets" is the subject of Rev. R. P. Stebbins' article; Rev. C. C. Everett explains some "Recent Studies in Buddhism"; Rev. E. A. Horton tries to answer the question "What shall we do with the Sunday-school?" Edward Everett Hale has a characteristic article on "Opinion and Faith"; the "Editors' Note-Book" and "Things at Home and Abroad" are earnest and spicy as usual.

AMONG the contents of the *Herald of Health* for November, we particularly note "Infants Over-handled," by Charles Reade, "The Muscle Machine," "Electric Light *versus* Gas," "Rapid Eating," "Faith Miracles," "Vinegar as a Cure for Obesity," and several other subjects.

THE *Sanitarian* for November is at hand. Among the subjects discussed in this number are "Epidemiological Society Report," "Why Sewer Traps are Unreliable," "Disguised Syphilis," "The Yellow Fever," and other matters pertinent to health.

"BABY-LAND" for November is as bright and spicy as usual. "The Cat" is the longest, cutest, and best of the poems; "Cat's Cradle," the frontispiece, is the loveliest picture; and "The Three Model Mice," the nicest story.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

BISMARCK has got his forty-fifth decoration.

KANSAS intends to erect a statue of John Brown in Washington.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will be seventy-two years old November 29.

O. B. FROTHINGHAM with his wife has returned to the Vendôme for the winter.

THE wife of President Gonzales of Mexico is studying medicine and surgery in Chicago.

THE junior editor of *The Index* will lecture at East Dennis next Sunday afternoon and evening.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS is in poor health. He lives quietly at home, and avoids exertion and excitement.

REV. JOSEPH COOK recently arrived in San Francisco on the "home stretch" of his lecturing tour around the world.

REV. WILLIAM R. ALGER will henceforth make his home in Boston, and devote himself almost exclusively to literary pursuits.

IT is said that the family of P. J. Proudhon have recently discovered a manuscript of his bearing the title *Le Césarisme et l'Histoire*. They propose to publish it.

MISS BETHAM EDWARDS is an acknowledged authority on Egyptology in England; and Miss Margaret Harkness is delivering lectures on the ancient Assyrians, at the British Museum.

MR. S. C. HALL, well known in literary circles in England, who is now eighty-two years of age, recently delivered an address two and a half hours long, which he repeated entirely from memory.

THE veteran historian, Leopold von Ranke, is now engaged in preparing for the press the third volume of his *Weltgeschichte*. It will comprise the Roman Empire and the beginning of Christianity.

A STATUE has just been unveiled at Darmstadt in memory of Luise Büchner, sister of Prof. Dr. Ludwig Büchner. Fräulein Luise Büchner is very well known in Germany by her writings and her good works.

FRANCIS AND GEORGE DARWIN, the sons of the great naturalist, are about to move from the old Down House to the vicinity of Cambridge, where they will establish a large factory for making philosophical instruments.

THE London *World*, commenting on Mr. Gladstone's skill as a logician, takes occasion to say that Englishmen are, in their way, as proud of the "hair-splitter of Hawarden" as the Americans were of the "rail-splitter of Ohio."

MR. JOHNSON, of Baltimore, and his wife (who is still remembered in Washington as Miss Harriet Lane, mistress of the White House during President Buchanan's administration) are now in Paris; but they have taken a villa at Nice for the winter.

FRENCH journals are commenting on the letter of Darwin in which he says he does "not believe that any revelation has ever been made," and wonder how the English can raise a monument in a cathedral to an unbeliever who is dead while refusing to allow a living unbeliever to take his seat in Parliament.

HERBERT SPENCER visited Boston, Cambridge, and Concord last week, in the same quiet and incognito fashion that he has glided up and down through the United States. In Cambridge, he was the guest of his disciple, John Fiske. In Concord, he called on the Emersons, and saw something of the town. He sailed for England last Saturday.

BLANCHE DELAPLAINE, of Madison, Wis., writing to the Chicago *Alliance*, in contrasting the mission of Felix Adler with that of Oscar Wilde, pertinently remarks: "How invigorating and inspiring it is to turn from the refined and enervating selfishness, which must inevitably deaden the sensibilities and corrupt the taste, to those noble workers who, welcoming the clear sunlight as one of their strongest allies, take it with them into the darkest corners, the poorest homes, and most degraded neighborhoods, making the curved line of beauty a circle which shall include all!"

QUITE a number of the friends of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake gathered on the evening of November 7, in the parlors of the Parker Memorial, to meet this English Liberal and economist who recently came to this country. Mr. Holyoake was accompanied by his daughter and Mrs. Leech. The early part of the evening was spent in general conversation. On the suggestion of Edward Everett Hale, Mr. Holyoake made an informal address, describing his work and mission. He gave an account of the birth and progress of co-operation in England. He spoke particularly of a valuable book which he had just discovered, *Social Reports*, by Dr. Burnham, which appeared about 1795. It contains more schemes of co-operation which were actually experimented upon than are known at the present day. He described the Economical Society of 1817, which formed a co-operative store that is still existing in a flourishing condition. Mr. Holyoake places greater emphasis upon the moral effects of co-operative institutions than upon the pecuniary profits. It is a step toward correcting the evil of competition, by which one man tries to undersell another, and is a means of making commerce a little more honest. Co-operative stores induce workingmen to save, make them feel that it is a degradation to be in debt, and thus beget self-reliance. The *Advertiser* and *Transcript* of this city, among other papers, gave reports of Mr. Holyoake's address, which was extremely interesting.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 241

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Assurances of Progress, Wm J. Potter, ... 242
Evolution: A Third Letter to Mr. Underwood, D. A. Wasson, ... 242
English Opinion of America. E. C. Towne, ... 243
Mind and Matter, B F. Underwood, ... 244
Comments on Church Statistics, ... 245

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 246

POETRY.

Prometheus, B. W. Ball, ... 246

ESSAY.

Evolution Objective and Subjective, Wm. I Gill, . . . 247

Philosophy at Dinner: Addresses by Herbert Spencer, Hon. William M. Evarts, and Others, ... 248

CORRESPONDENCE.

Darwin's Letter to a Student, Lee J. Vance, ... 250
"The Point raised by Dr. Ellis," W. H. S., ... 251

BOOK NOTICES.

Stories from Robert Browning, by Fred. May Holland, . 251
A Little Pilgrim, ... 251
A Short History of the Bible, by Bronson C. Keeler, . . 251
The Sunday Review, Sidereal Messenger, ... 251

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 251

CURRENT TOPICS.

IT is said that, when a native Hindu sees another drunk, he says of him, "He has gone to Jesus"; that is, he has turned Christian and indulges in strong drink. A striking commentary and also rebuke of some Christian (?) practices.

SAYS Rev. George E. Ellis, "Probably there is not a single occupant of a Congregationalist pulpit in this State who believes literally the account of the first pair of our race in the book of Genesis, which is the turning pivot of the whole orthodox creed."

IT seems a little odd to read that in a country so advanced in intelligence as Scotland there is still so much conservatism in religious matters that it is only just now that organs are being admitted in the churches at all freely. Only a few years ago, the proposal to add an organ to a church as a means of worship was met with indignant protest against the unholy innovation from the conservative element, then in the majority.

AT a recent convention of Baptists in Brooklyn, Mr. George H. Andrews opposed the taxation of church property, on the ground that churches were not, like most other property, business investments. Rev. Dr. Briggs, of New Jersey, however, favored such taxation; said that, while in 1850 the value of church property in this country amounted to $87,000,000, now it was estimated at $700,000,000, and urged that what the State could not directly support it should not indirectly. The tax, he added, could easily be met by church members. That of Plymouth Church (Beecher's) would be, for example, no more than the price of two cigars per capita on the congregation, and that on the church property of New York State no more than twenty-two cents per capita. Rev. Dr. Wayland, of Pennsylvania, followed in the same strain. *The Index* is glad to find that it is not alone in its views on this subject.

TENNYSON is growing old, and apparently childish, judging from the tenor of his recent work. His new play, "The Promise of May," hinges on the terrible misdeeds of a freethinking hero, who is also a miscreant and avowed free-lover, who breaks up, without apparent motive, a farmer's happy home. The play is voted by even the most religious an ignominious failure as a play, whatever may be its merits as a sermon against free thought. But, even in the latter rôle, it evoked the ire of the Marquis of Queensbury, who, himself an avowed freethinker, unfortunately had not the forbearance so necessary to the exponent of new and unpopular truths, and so, on the second night of the play, rose up indignantly in the audience, and protested against Tennyson's misrepresentation of modern freethought. A noisy discussion necessarily followed; and, at the suggestion of a government official, the Marquis walked out of the theatre in disgust.

SAYS the Springfield *Republican*, referring to the Herbert Spencer Dinner in New York: "The most noticeable and assuredly the most entertaining speech was that of Henry Ward Beecher, who adroitly steered between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. He would impress persons unacquainted with his peculiar manner as a very clever trimmer and a humorist withal, bound to be funny under any circumstances and at any cost. It really was droll, the way in which he mingled St. Paul and Darwin, salvation and evolution, atonement and the survival of the fittest, the Old Testament and the gospel of humanity, St. Augustine and Herbert Spencer, materialism and spirituality, supernaturalism and reason, until the conglomerate mass was more or less chaotic. He said any number of bright things, and kept his auditory continually laughing; but I venture to affirm that no one present could have told after he sat down what his opinions were."

AT the regular monthly meeting of the Bostonian Society, held in the rooms of the society in the State House on the 14th, Mr. Samuel Adams Drake read a paper on "Taverns and Tavern Life under the King," in which he said that the old-time taverns were the resort of literary men and people of respectable standing, and were regarded as a necessity, not as a necessary evil; that the Puritan fathers punished dealers who refused to sell liquor as well as those who sold too much to an individual; that the price of liquor, like that of labor and other things, was regulated by law; that the use of tobacco was considered more sinful than that of liquor, and for a time raising it was forbidden; that many times citizens were arrested for smoking on the streets of Boston; that it was lawful to get intoxicated only at a church-raising; and that less than a century ago the omission of wine at a funeral would have led to remarks not at all flattering to the relatives of the dead.

A FEW months ago, an architect in Rome brought a suit against the major-domo of Pope Leo XIII., his claim being that he had performed certain services for which he had not been adequately paid. The lower Italian courts decided in his favor. The papal authorities protested, claiming that the civil jurisdiction of Italy did not extend to the walls of the Vatican, that the apostolic palace and all its inmates were under the independent sovereignty of the pope. But now the higher Italian courts have decided that the Vatican belongs to the legal domain of Italy, and cannot be regarded as a tract of independent territory. Pope Leo, it is said, will make an appeal to the European governments. Since the continental powers send accredited ambassadors to the Vatican, it is thought that they may be disposed to acknowledge the claims of sovereignty made by the papacy. "It would indeed be strange," says an exchange, "if a quarrel over a little bill, amounting to a few odd dollars, should have the effect of completely overturning the political standing of the Roman Catholic Church."

INSTANCES of true justice like the following, which we quote from one of our exchanges, give us a much more cheerful view of human nature than police records usually incite: "Arthur McLaughlin, a young man, was arraigned before Recorder Smyth yesterday; and the judge, after a few minutes of thinking, said: 'Arthur McLaughlin, you were convicted, and I think righteously, of having robbed Edward Dunn of $17. I sent for Inspector Murray, in whose district you live, and had your character thoroughly investigated. I am convinced that you were an honest man, and that this is your first offence. I found also that at the risk of your own life, at a fire in a tenement-house in Greenwich Street, not long ago, you saved the lives of a number of people, among them several children. The father of those children says that they would never have been rescued alive, had it not been for your gallant conduct. You there, also, had an opportunity to steal, but did not. Under the circumstances, I suspend judgment.' The prisoner left the court-room with tears in his eyes."

IF, at the end of his coming term of office, Gen. Butler fails of re-election, there seems to be indications of his eminent fitness for another no less useful vocation,—that of a revivalist preacher; for in addition to the devotional tone assumed by the General since election day, and the telegraphing of the doxology to him by his Springfield admirers, it is reported as a fact that through him a "faith-cure" has been effected. An old man over seventy years of age, living in Westfield, Mass., proudly announces that Gen. Butler's election has cured him of kidney complaint and rheumatism; and he has for the past two days been going around among the local Butler leaders, thanking them for what their efforts did for him. For a long time, he has been confined to the house, and much of the time to his bed by his complaints. He says that, much as he wanted to vote for Butler, he had not strength to walk or ride to the polls on Tuesday; but, when he got news of Butler's election the following morning, all his illness left him at once, and he found he could walk about nimbly. He is confident his cure is permanent, and wants every one to know Gen. Butler's election did it.

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ASSURANCES OF PROGRESS.

Pessimism alleges that there is no assurance that human progress will continue; that, as it has happened in the past, so again intellectual and moral progress may be stayed, and civilization subverted by evils which itself generates and by a new uprising of the still barbarous forces of mankind. Now, a spice of pessimism in one's practical philosophy of life may be a good thing,—just enough, that is, to keep one conscious that there are evils in the world which are dangerous unless vigilantly watched and opposed; just enough, in other words, to counteract that easy-going optimism which complacently folds its hands, and thinks every thing will come all right, whatever people may do or forbear to do. But, if one takes any stronger dose of pessimism than this, practical moral paralysis is likely to ensue. Let us look, therefore, at two or three facts which seem calculated somewhat to relieve the dismal forebodings concerning man's continued progress which pessimistic prophets are in the habit of uttering.

And, first, no large body of people, perhaps not even a single person, can be found loving error for its own sake. If the movements of the world were set to the key-note of pessimism, we should naturally expect to find people perversely attracted to error, just because it is error. But we shall find no set of opinions or beliefs, that have had any important sway over men's minds, which can be condemned as pure and unmitigated error from the point of view of those holding them. However irrational they may appear to our minds, and however intellectually and morally wrong they may be, yet they have represented some truth to those cherishing them; and it is the truth, not the error, which has given them their power. There is no popular superstition or delusion which is clung to because it is seen to be such. That, we might say, were an impossible feat of the human mind. But people cling to superstition or delusion under the conviction that it is truth. Clarify their vision, enlarge their knowledge, change in some way their belief, and they drop the error. Even the false theologies, the mythologies, and idolatries, which have now in enlightened countries become wholly obsolete, have represented some important truths to the people among whom they have existed; and they stand for truth still, and not for the error which we may see in them, wherever they are sincerely and earnestly believed. It may be a difficult task to break up the delusions and illusions of mind that uphold these false beliefs, but that it is not an impossible task the whole past history of human progress bears witness. With the increase of knowledge and culture, the truth is separated from the erroneous opinions which environed it and becomes allied to more rational beliefs. Thus does it appear that the natural gravitation of the human mind is to truth, and not to falsehood; and this is an important fact of psychology, which is at the basis of all human progress.

A second fact of importance is that, both in respect to intellectual and moral attainment, progress is not effected so much by a steady onward movement as by waves. Now there is a forward flow, and then there may be an ebb; and yet the general movement is one of advance and ascent. Hence, it is unsafe to make a deduction concerning the general future of human progress from any special phase of mental or moral condition presented by society in a single generation or era. Crime, for instance, may be specially rife in our time and land. Political and financial corruptions have been stimulated to rank growths in this country within the last fifteen years. In consequence —at least in part—of the Civil War and its results, the national life has been undergoing a transformation which has not been favorable to moral stability. But it would be an altogether too hasty inference, were we to argue from this fact to the conclusion that society, as a whole, is hopelessly rotten and morally retrograding. If we will read the diaries of the fathers, notably those of John Adams and John Quincy Adams, we shall find many of the same evils lamented in their time, which are complained of as indicating the special political and moral degeneracy of our age. The truth is, crimes and vices are of no particular age or people, though peculiar causes may make them more excessive in one age or community than in another. Individuals, judged by the standard of their own time and nation, may not be more virtuous in modern than in ancient days. Yet, in spite of occasional aberrations and relapses owing to exceptional causes, the average standard of virtue is certainly improved and elevated with advancing civilization. One cannot read the history of any people for two or three hundred years without seeing that fact. Men, not so very old, can remember that, even in their own lifetime, the moral standard of society has changed for the better. Intemperance, bad as it still is, is not so general a vice as it was two or three generations ago. Slavery has gone down within the present generation in three of the great nations of the world, and is becoming a crime of an outgrown barbarous past. And humanity and philanthropy were never more active than they are to-day in efforts to remove the wrongs under which any portion of the human race may be suffering

Again, neither intellectual nor moral truth ever failed from the earth for the want of standard-bearers. Unwise and evil men may have sometimes delayed its course, but its power is so ingrained in the very substance of the human mind that it has never failed at last to summon victorious defenders to its side. The old Hebrew prophet declared that even ten righteous men, were there no more, could save a city. His prophetic vision, perhaps, did not reach so far as to descry the moral condition of some of our modern cities; yet seventy earnest and just men, combining their strength, certainly did something a few years ago toward cleansing New York's municipal government. And the power of even a smaller number than this, of men thoroughly earnest and determined, ready for any labor and any sacrifice, has again and again made itself felt, to the discomfiture of evil and the great good of mankind. Garrison began his work of proclaiming immediate emancipation as the right of the slave and the duty of the nation almost single-handed, with State and Church, society and wealth, against him. Agents sent by the Governor of Virginia to ascertain the strength of his resources reported that, after much searching, they could only find one man with one small printing-press in an obscure garret and a negro boy to help him; and that the movement was harmless. The one man lived to see the nation write his demand in its Constitution, and every slave in the land a free man. It is true that no great cause of human amelioration and progress ever goes of itself. A mission must have its missionaries. Philanthropy must have its workers. Truth must have its witnesses, its devotees, its soldiers, if need be its martyrs. It calls to its service the brave, the aspiring the heroic, the noble. The great popular leader of Italy, Garibaldi, used to summon his followers, not to ease and pleasure and gain, but to hunger, to thirst, to poverty, cold, and fatigue, to wounds and death. Yet the brave young Italians came, and they carried his standards to triumph. So Truth calls her followers to tasks which demand an invincible moral purpose and an undaunted will and unflinching self-sacrifice. But it is the glory of man's past, as it is his hope for the future, that her call never fails of a response from human nature.

WM. J. POTTER.

EVOLUTION:

A Third Letter to Mr. Underwood.

My dear Sir: After all, my preceding letter, with which I had hoped to make an end for the present, requires a postscript. In that letter a certain conception of evolution was rendered in a degree intelligible by means of an analogy, that of language. Apart from that analogy, or with but slight reference to it, let me now try to state broadly and directly what, on the one hand, I cannot think concerning evolution, and what, on the other hand, I am constrained to think.

1. I cannot conceive that a nebular gas should from its mere phenomenal properties as a gravitating gas produce the genius of a Shakespeare, the conscience of a Socrates, the thinking mind, the active soul, of humanity. When I seek by any process of thought to call such spirits from that vasty deep, they do not come, and my mind confesses itself incapable of the process required. At the outset we have a somewhat defined as without thought, without purpose, without initiative, direction or goal; in the end this same thing, by its mere blind push, comes to think, to know, to recognize itself, to see what it was and what it has become, to ask questions concerning itself and to answer them. In the gas there was not only no thought or knowledge, but no principle of thought or knowledge; nevertheless in man, who is simply one of the forms ultimately assumed by it, this same gas becomes conscious thinker and knower, and not only studies into its own order of being and becoming, but looks beyond itself, sees itself as embosomed in infinity and eternity, perceives that it is but an appearance only to itself appearing, and out of a spontaneous, indestructible longing renews the question it can neither answer nor quite suppress, Whence and whither? In man, too, the same blind push of physical force turns back upon itself to become through labor and invention its own conscious and purposeful master. Is this conceivable or credible? Can one really think it? To me, it is utterly unthinkable. Now, I am ready upon due occasion to believe what I cannot think, and actually do so in a thousand instances. I believe that a tree grows, though I can by no means think out the whole fact of vital growth. I believe in the fact of evolution, but am infinitely far from professing to have thought the fact fully out. But what I have spoken of is a theoretical explanation of the fact, or what purports to be such; it is the theory that all in the world has come from the phenomenal properties of a primitive gaseous matter. Now, a theory must be thinkable, though Fact have a privilege to be otherwise; and to me the one in question is not so. My mind, accordingly, simply *cannot* take it in.

It is a capital defect of this theory that there is in it no principle of origination. But along the whole line from first to last there has been origination, or what seems to be such; and evolution without this were evolution no longer, but a mere continuity of sameness. What have our philosophers to say at this point? They deny the fact of origination, and set up the conservation of energy as a bar against its possibility. It could easily be shown, though not in the space at my command just here, that this law is no bar; but supposing it such, what then? Whence come the seeming originations that are the essential fact of evolution? They come, it is answered, from the hidden properties of physical elements. In the physical

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antecedents of each new and higher product there are concealed properties which in such product become apparent. As utterly unapparent, those properties were and are phenomenal, so it is said. But the phenomenal is that which appears, and, accordingly, the resource which our good philosophers here draw upon is simply this, *unapparent appearance*. Unapparent appearance appears, and there is no origination! In the primitive gas there was a wonderful deal of this remarkable somewhat, wholly inconceivable to me. Life and mind were there, but as a certain unphenomenal-phenomenal, or as appearance not appearing. To a plain man this is very puzzling. Life became phenomenal when it appeared, but how it was so before its appearance or how it is phenomenally present now in inorganic elements where no sign of it can be detected either by observation or experiment, I can by no means understand. But this is the alternative: evolution is origination, that is, the emergence into phenomenal manifestation of that which was not thus manifest, or it is the appearing of unapparent appearance,—which latter is a sort of emergence that I cannot at all conceive of.

2. On the other hand, I cannot conceive of an unconditioned being or power, call it God, spirit, the Absolute, or whatever else, as standing outside the known universe to see it go, and to intervene occasionally, or as giving it a start, and then withdrawing to let it go, or as operating continuously upon it from without to make it go. In whatever shape and under whatever name, the supernatural or unconditioned *outsider* is to me inconceivable; give it a name, and that which may seem the corresponding reality is but *nominis umbra*, the shadow cast by a word perfectly opaque. That only is unconditioned which is unrelated; and that which is unrelated, what is it? All, or nothing. The universe in its wholeness, as principle and product at once, is not outwardly conditioned, since it can have no external relations, and indeed, being infinite, has no outside. He that can see it as radiating from a centre which is at the same time content and circumference,—as the one-and-all, the one as all and the all as one,—he may speak intelligently of absolute and unconditioned being. Without clearly seeing it, even for a moment, in that light, I sometimes dream of it thus, and in the temple of the universe worship the infinite mystery, the eternal whole, not with words and postures, but only by a felt gesture of the soul; and then space and time and the stars of heaven seem but moods and motions, whose transience one may contemplate with no sense of impending loss. But whatever is engaged in the process of the universe is in relation, therefore conditioned; in other words, whatever works in the system of nature, works and appears as nature. Unconditioned action,—can any man think it? I cannot, and make bold to say that no man can. So far as we know or can think, whatever acts in any sphere must be in determinate relation with the conditions and forces there present. But, it may be said, God is the author of all physical forces, and may act at pleasure, or unconditionally, upon his own creation. God is the author of physical forces: what does this mean? It means creation *ex nihilo*, an impossibility, say some. Not necessarily; it may mean that God becomes physical force, or assumes this as a representative form, and in this form conditions himself. Suppose this the case: what then? Does he as unconditioned power break off connection with his conditioned form, and then step aside to act as a foreign power upon it? This, of course, is not to be imagined, but we may suppose him entering in another representative form, say as mind, into relation with physical force, and so bringing forth a product which could not come of the latter only. However this be, there is no place in reason for the notion of an unconditioned power which from without shoots its will and pleasure into the natural world, there to take effect without process.

Now, it is this spectre which arises before certain eyes as the necessary alternative to a blind or purely physical evolution. Herbert Spencer has it in view in his vigorous and spirited polemic against the notion of special creation. Haeckel conjures it up as the alternative which must compel us to accept his notion of spontaneous generation. To my mind, the alternative is factitious. Nor is the much-dreaded special creation escaped after all. Millions of years ago, let us say, certain atoms of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon spontaneously united to produce life with all its laws and in the five or six primitive forms assumed by Darwin, empowering those atoms of the same elements which should come in the line of succession from them to continue and reproduce life. That act has never been repeated; those atoms fixed it as the order of the world that thereafter only life should be the antecedent of life. Was not that a special creation as truly as if the same work had been done by a personal creator? It was a special and wholly exceptional act performed by certain atoms of genius; and if it would have been creation as done by a God, it was creation as done by them. Yet I suppose that there was in some sort a spontaneous generation of life; but I also suppose and believe that there was and is somewhat in the play besides the powers of inorganic atoms, though the somewhat is not an unconditioned being operating upon the world *ab extra*.

3. What then? As the evolution of language has two factors, the one physical and the other mental, which two, are one in the unity of man, and again one in language, their product, so it may be in the great world-process; two principles or modes of power are at work, but they are one in the unity of Nature, and one in the evolution that proceeds from them. Speaking analytically, we say two; speaking synthetically, one; and nature is the synthesis of reciprocal opposites, between which is the flow of productive power, the generation of life, the struggle, the overcoming, the ascent of vital and spiritual existence. On the one side is that which moves, but cannot, in the proper sense of the word, act; on the other, that which veritably acts, but does not locally move. In short, I find myself pressed always toward the conclusion or hypothesis that there is in the system of nature, besides physical or physico-chemical force, an originating principle, the proper field of which is covered in Darwin's doctrine by the term "variation." Physical force conserves itself, and its highest law, as has been lately learned, is that of self-conservation; changing form, though only in a prescribed round, it is still and always the "same old sixpence." That is, it is distinctly and exclusively the conservative principle in evolution, bound to be only what it has been and to become only what it is. Nevertheless it is constantly running to waste, constantly becoming an energy out of which no work can be got. And so it is with all mere conservatism, in a Calvinistic or Catholic Church, as elsewhere; it is always running down into the shape of mere dark, unproductive heat, dogmatic or other. Now, I see no way to get evolution out of a purely conservative principle, as I see none to get the whole work and progress of history out of mere conservatism. To get on at all, I must suppose in the world of nature, as in history, a certain radical principle, which may here be named Spontaneity,— self-active, formative, productive, in a valid sense of the word creative, and the true virile antecedent, as material motion is the condition and concomitant, of thought and will, consciousness and conscience, in man. Always conditioned, always and of necessity working mediately, able to act only by and through relation with its antithesis, it is not to be judged of from what immediately is, but only from that toward which evolution looks. Will you think me quite wild if I venture to say that there may have been a dim poetic apprehension or adumbration of this principle in that imagination which has wrought so powerfully in history, the imagined Christ, the God subjected to all the conditions of terrestrial existence, eating and sleeping, working, suffering, dying, but eternal and eternally life-giving none the less. I am not mad, most noble Festus, but such a fancy has often occurred, and in some degree recommended itself, to my mind; and I love to believe that, if Bacon's "dry light" was reserved for modern science, there was real light in the colored thoughts of earlier times. However, the principle may now be seen by a light as dry as science or scientific philosophy could require. So thinks

Yours very truly, D. A. WASSON.

ENGLISH OPINION OF AMERICA.

It is extremely natural for an American at home to think lightly of such a demand as the London *Spectator* recently made for somebody in America to answer Matthew Arnold's "Word about America" with serious and earnest vindication of society and culture on this side of the Atlantic. Six or seven years ago, I should have thought of such a demand in the same way. But, after a long residence in England, I am compelled to look at the matter in a different light. I have been forced to the conclusion that, of all the shortcomings of mankind at the present time, there is none more significant and deplorable than English failure, intellectual and moral, toward America; and that an American can have no more serious duty than that of caring for the good name of his country: 1st, not lightly to malign it by charges which are understood here at their true value, but which in England are welcomed by the great majority as damning proofs that America is a hot-bed of all things detestable; and, 2d, to meet charges which are made in England, or may be made here, seriously and earnestly, for the sake of those vast interests of civilization which a close moral union of England and America would promote. Part of the object which took the present writer to England for several years' residence was study of the English in England, for the purposes of a new History of the Pilgrim Fathers and of the Puritan Fathers in part,—a history of the English Origin of Freedom and Culture in America; and, while I have found in English spirit and character a great deal to explain such a Puritan as Winthrop, the founder of Massachusetts, and to correct the singularly inaccurate views to which Dr. George E. Ellis has lent the highest authority,—that our fathers were aiming at a Theocracy, and that they were not aiming at liberty of conscience,—I have also found that through the whole history, from the earliest American settlements, there has been general antipathy in England to American democratic progress. It culminated in England's antagonism to us in the civil war, when Mr. Gladstone's "friendly" voice was against us, when Rev. Dr. Martineau was in favor of such enterprises as that of the "Alabama," and when the English Government was so contemptuous of our moral rights that, as Mr. Mozley, in his *Reminiscences*, puts it, "there was not one of her Majesty's ministers who was not ready to jump out of his skin for joy when he heard of the escape of the 'Alabama.'" The *Spectator* is "always friendly to this country";

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but it is perfectly serious in its frequent reproduction of unfavorable opinions, and in the candor with which it asks us if we have anything to say why sentence on us for the failure of our culture and the enormities of our freedom should not be pronounced. My answer, after the most careful observation and study of England and the English, is that, if the light of publicity and criticism were let in, in England as in America, English failure and English enormities would appear worse than American. And I think it due, not so much to our candid friends in England as to the vast human interests which hang on the close moral union of the two countries, to meet the case as often and as carefully as we can, both to convince our English friends of their utter mistake about us, and to instruct our own people as to the need and the duty of looking after our good name, abroad as well as at home. Mr. Arnold ought to be answered, not only his recent word about us, but the earlier and graver statement in the preface of 1869 to his *Culture and Anarchy*. And our people ought to understand, a great deal better than they do, how serious the matter is.

It is difficult for Americans, who have only visited pleasantly in England, to understand how commonly current opinion in English society and English journals is contemptuous toward almost everything American, and upon what a basis of ignorance and bad feeling this contempt rests. There is a large better class, a very respectable minority, in which good feeling and kind respect prevail; but, even in this class, knowledge of America is very imperfect. After living in England five and a half years, in the vicinity of London, at Manchester, at Sheffield, and at Birmingham, and giving special attention to English characteristics, life, institutions, and history, as compared with American, I should say that very great ignorance of America is well-nigh universal in England, that the most false ideas of American characteristics and life prevail everywhere, even among those who are generous and friendly in their feeling; and that with the vulgar majority, which embraces from two-thirds to four-fifths of the population, contempt for our country, our people, our products, our public life, and our private manners, is as natural and hearty as ignorance and prejudice can make it. It is one of the largest and most extraordinary facts to be met with in England. There is hardly a public journal which does not at times reflect at least English ignorance of America, if not English spleen and bitterness. A whole range of false ideas have become rooted in the common mind; and frequently persons who mean no injustice assume the truth of some one of these, and go most absurdly wrong in their estimate of things American. In the earliest colonial days there got abroad in England the general belief that in Virginia the climate turned the colonists into negroes, and that laborers were harnessed as cattle to the wagons and ploughs. From that day to this, sources of gross misrepresentation have kept the public opinion of England richly furnished with commonplaces about America entirely destitute of truth.

A conspicuous example of these sources of misrepresentation is the *Times*, which has always been not an advanced leader of the higher culture of England, but a polished reflection of vulgar opinion. In 1861, Mr. Bright said of this great journal that it "had not had, since Mr. Lincoln took office, one fair and honorable and friendly article on American affairs." Four years later, in 1865, Mr. Bright said again that the course of the *Times* had been one of "four years' uninterrupted publication of lies with regard to America." That the spirit has not changed, I may cite proof from an English authority in the following paragraph from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, of a date near the close of the Guiteau trial:—

Readers of the *Times* who love the morbid and more hateful side of humanity found a disappointment in store for them on opening their paper on Tuesday morning. The usual telegraphic column about the Guiteau trial was missing. The want of it, however, was due to no failure of "enterprise" on the part of the conductors of the paper or of their correspondent. There was no telegram because there was no trial. To-day, the *Times* is again to the front, with its careful selection of all that is most disagreeable in these melancholy proceedings. Whatever is most discreditable to the United States, whatever is best adapted to fix a permanent stigma on the administration of justice in that Republic, the Philadelphia correspondent of the *Times* may be trusted to transmit, and, more oddly, the *Times* may be trusted to print in its most conspicuous type.

It has not been the custom of English journals to have more than a few lines of American news. The *Standard*, a conservative paper, has quite recently set an example of enterprise in this respect, but it is a new departure. The rule has been, and with most journals still is, a few lines daily of American news. But, when the Guiteau business was in hand at Washington, English journalism generally showed a great appetite for a selection of the most disgusting facts. It is a commonplace in England that American journals sin abominably in their reports of disgusting matters. Yet here was all England fed on the garbage of the Guiteau trial, although for respectable news English journalism has not found America worth special attention. It was partly because the English journals are just as apt to sin as the American, and partly because of so general English interest in anything discreditable to America.

Even cultivated England, the highest and finest tenth or fifth of the nation at large, cannot be depended on always for an ethically just and intelligently right drift of opinion and sympathy in anything so far off and so foreign to English backward ways as average American culture. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge has lately said:—

I remember the time when it was difficult even among cultivated men to get a hearing for the North, and when the sympathies of society went with slavery. As far as I know, the Church of England never raised a finger, and very few of its bishops ever raised a voice to put down our own slave-trade or set free our own slaves.

The state of things on which Lord Coleridge puts his finger, in this last sentence, goes far to explain average English antagonism toward America. Whatever is established in England, Royalty, the Church, the Aristocracy, the Social customs which maintain marked distinctions of caste, and the Conservatism of habit which is the rule still with the large majority,—all these are deeply implicated with barbarism surviving in one or another form, and laying a heavy curse on many of the best interests of the country. I expected, when I went to England to live, to go out of the front door of America into the finest paradise of modern culture. And certainly in "a good few," as the Yorkshire phrase is, a large and a very fine minority of individuals and of families, the culture is there, in its purest and noblest and most delightful form; and many persons will visit England and see hardly anything but this. But to live in England among the common people is to find frequent occasion to feel as if one had gone out of the western back door of America into a land more backward and more barbarous than any part of the United States. Even at a centre of the best English advance, like Birmingham, much of the public expression of culture in institutions is newer and more recent than in corresponding American towns.

But the worst form of the evil is in the widespread taint which survives in the Church, the Throne, the Aristocracy, the Social distinctions, and the customs and manners enforced upon the mass of the people by influences from above them. All this maintains a state of things naturally antagonistic to America. Mr. Roebuck, the Sheffield plebeian in Parliament who, during our civil war, attempted to get England and the Emperor Napoleon to join in recognizing the Confederacy, gave a voice, in his gross ignorance and almost infamous spleen, to a traditional barbarism which lies heavy on the whole land, except in the many rare spots where it has disappeared, and in the many rare individuals, almost everywhere, the elevation of whose character and largeness of whose intelligence have made them exceedingly fine examples of the best possible culture. Matthew Arnold, a very rare critic, whose ideal is all that could be desired, but whose omniscience, as an apostle of sweetness and light, has amazing spots of darkness in it, has lately said of the English people:—

As a whole, as a community, they have to acquire a larger and sweeter temper, a larger and more lucid mind. And this is indeed no light task; yet it is the capital task now appointed to us, and our safety depends on our accomplishing it.

He says again:—

The English people are improvable, I hope. Slowly, this powerful race works its way out of its confining ruts and its clouded vision of things to the manifestation of those great qualities which it has at bottom,—piety, integrity, good-nature, and good-humor. Our serious middle class, which has so turned a religion full of grace and truth into a religion full of hardness and misapprehension, is not doomed to lie in its present dark obstruction forever: it is improvable.

Mr. Arnold sees how this applies to Ireland. It no less applies to America, although Mr. Arnold does not see this, because he turns on America an eye of extremely defective omniscience, which some common knowledge would wonderfully clear Not even for their religion do the average English need to clear their minds and come to their good nature as much as they need this in their attitude toward America. Mr. Arnold is entirely right, that at bottom the fine qualities are not wanting, and that, when their working is no longer obstructed, nothing more need be desired. Those English who have outgrown British limitations present an illustration of culture almost unexampled, and they form so large a fact and so delightful a feature of English life that many visitors to England naturally fail to discover how widely antagonism to America prevails with the mass of the nation.

E. C. TOWNE.

MIND AND MATTER.

Prof. Asa Gray, in his address last September before the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston, said: "Either nature is the outcome of mind, or mind is the outcome of nature. We have to choose between these two hypotheses, for no other appears."

In this statement, Prof. Gray voiced the popular belief that mind and matter are so related that one must necessarily be the cause of the other; that either mind is the effect of matter or matter is the effect of mind; and that one of these must be the independent, self-existent cause of everything that exists except itself.

Is philosophy reduced to this alternative? We think not. If Prof. Gray were as well acquainted with psychology as he is with botany, in which it is well known he is an eminent authority, he would probably not have made the statement above quoted, which, to say the least, is in conflict with

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the conclusions of some of the profoundest thinkers of the age.

A little careful thinking enables us to see that both matter and mind are phenomenal manifestations,—forms or appearances of an ultimate reality, the nature of which is not only unknown, but unknowable. Discarding Reed's superficial theory that we know things as they are, that in every act of perception things are given immediately in consciousness, and recognizing the psychological fact that the objective reality is known to us only as states of consciousness, we readily see that what we call matter is a symbol, an x standing for that which in itself cannot be known. We know matter as a congeries of qualities, weight, resistance, extension, etc.; and these are mere names for different ways in which our consciousness is affected. Were we destitute of sight, touch, smell, taste, and hearing, what we call the qualities of matter would have no existence; for they are the product of two factors, consciousness and the external reality. If there are beings organized differently from any known beings, so differently that it is impossible for us to form any conception of them, the objective reality may give rise to conscious states of which the word "matter" conveys no idea whatever. Nevertheless, we have sensations that come and go independently of our volitions, and we cannot divest our minds of the conviction that something not ourselves determines them. The doctrine of the relativity of knowledge necessitates the postulation of an unknowable existence beyond consciousness. As Spencer says: "When we are taught that a piece of matter, regarded by us as existing externally, cannot really be known, but that we can know only certain impressions produced on us, we are yet by the relativity of our thought compelled to think of a positive cause. The notion of a real existence, which generated these impressions, becomes nascent. The momentum of thought inevitably carries us beyond conditioned existence to unconditioned existence; and thus ever persists in us the body of a thought to which we can give no shape.... At the same time that by the laws of thought we are rigorously prevented from forming a conception of absolute existence, we are by the laws of thought prevented from ridding ourselves of the consciousness of absolute existence, this consciousness being, as we see, the obverse of absolute existence." But this absolute existence which can be known only as it manifests itself in consciousness, only as it appears under the conditions and with the limitations imposed by the constitution of the human mind, must not be identified with what we call matter; for that we know only as phenomenal manifestations, or, psychologically speaking, only as co-existent states of consciousness, which we call the perceptions of resistance, extension, color, sound, or odor.

But can the absolute reality be identified with mind? Certainly not. We know mind only as a series of states of consciousness, as a succession of sensations, as a phenomenal manifestation of the unknown reality. That a series of states of consciousness constructed this universe or produced the phenomenal existence which we mean when we speak of matter is a proposition that does not admit of proof and cannot be conceived. "If," says Spencer, "I am asked to frame a notion of mind, divested of all those structural traits under which alone I am conscious of mind in myself, I cannot do it.... If, then, I have to conceive evolution as caused by an 'originating mind,' I must conceive this mind as having attributes akin to those of the only mind I know, and without which I cannot conceive mind at all.... I cannot think of a single series of states of consciousness as causing even the relatively small groups of action going on over the earth's surface. How, then, is it possible for me to conceive an 'originating mind' which I must represent to myself as a single series of states of consciousness, working the infinitely multiplied set of changes simultaneously going on in worlds too numerous to count, dispersed throughout a space that baffles imagination? If to account for this infinitude of changes everywhere going on, mind must be conceived there under the guise of simple dynamics, then the reply is that, to be so conceived, mind must be divested of its distinguishing attributes by which it is distinguished, and that, when thus divested of its distinguishing attributes, the conception disappears, the word 'mind' stands for a blank."

To speak more concretely and from an empirical point of view, mind implies organism and environment, consciousness and something to be conscious of, perception and something to perceive, conception and something to conceive, reason and something to reason about, memory and something to remember. Mind, therefore, implies matter. We can have no conception of mind without matter; neither can we have any conception of matter without mind. The creation of either by the other is unprovable and inconceivable. So far as we know, they have no causal relation. Both are phenomenal manifestations,—phenomenal manifestations of that which is in itself inscrutable, but which forms worlds and impels them through the fields of space, thunders in the storm and murmurs in the brook, gives sensation to the worm and reason to man, wisdom to the sage and modesty to the maiden, the thrill of love, the pleasures of hope, and the satisfaction of purpose achieved.

In further support of the position that the ultimate basis of all phenomena—of which mind is one—is itself mind cannot be maintained, we will quote from one of the profoundest of modern thinkers. Says John Stuart Mill: "Because among the infinite variety of the phenomena of nature there is one,—namely, a particular mode of action of certain nerves which has for its cause, and, as we are now supposing, for its efficient cause, a state of our mind; and because this is the only efficient cause of which we are conscious, being the only one of which, in the nature of the case, we *can* be conscious, since it is the only one which exists within ourselves,—does this justify us in concluding that all other phenomena must have the same kind of efficient cause with that one special, narrow, and peculiarly human or animal phenomena?"

More reasonable it is to regard "that particular mode of action" as one of an infinite variety,—*all* due to an eternal, self-existent reality which can be known only as phenomenal manifestations, only as it is revealed to and conditioned by consciousness. "When," says Tyndall, "I attempt to give the Power which is manifested in the universe an objective form, personal or otherwise, it slips away from me, declining all manipulation. I dare not, save poetically, use the pronoun 'He' regarding it; I dare not call it Mind; I refuse to call it even a 'Cause.' Its mystery overshadows me; but it remains a mystery, while the subjective frames which my neighbors try to make it fit simply distort and desecrate it."

"May we not, therefore," Spencer asks, "rightly refrain from assigning to the Ultimate Cause any attributes whatever, on the ground that such attributes, derived as they must be from our own natures, are not elevations, but degradations?"

This, substantially, is what we should have said in reply to Prof. Gray, had we been invited after opening the discussion to examine the criticisms that were offered.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

COMMENTS ON CHURCH STATISTICS.

Very interesting have been the comments of some of the New York city clergymen, as reported in the New York *Times*, on the church statistics which that paper presented to its readers last summer. These statistics indicate that, so far as New York is concerned, Protestantism has been brought almost to a stand still, there being but a non-Catholic church membership of ninety thousand out of a non-Catholic population of eight hundred thousand, the total population of the city being one million three hundred thousand. Dr. Rylance, Episcopal, thinks that, bad as the showing is, it is more favorable to organized religion than the facts; and Dr. Newman, Congregationalist, says to the reporter, "The *Times* gives the most favorable view possible; for, you can depend upon it, no minister ever returns a less number than the facts will warrant." The latter gentleman, who will be remembered as Gen. Grant's *protegé* in Washington, suggests, in the way of helping matters, that greater freedom be granted church members in amusements, and instances horse-racing. Others look at the matter more seriously. Dr. Rylance says, "What we need is less dogma and a higher order of Christian or spiritual ethics." Dr. W. M. Taylor, Congregationalist, and Dr. R. Heber Newton, who needs no introduction to our readers after his noble discourse on Emerson printed in these columns, though they might need to be reminded that he is in good standing in the Episcopal Church,—these gentlemen unite in the opinion that the middle class is being pushed out of New York, leaving only the extremes of wealth and poverty. Dr. Taylor utters radical sentiments as to property, which is, he declares, of the nature of a trust, and to be used not for pleasure and profit merely, but for the welfare of those not blessed with it; and contrary to what some would call "the ethics of Darwinism," with which some would replace the old philosophy of the obligation of the strong toward the weak, he declares that "the power of the strong is divinely mortgaged in the interests of the weak." Dr. Newton thinks the first condition of a revival of religion to be a new thought of religion. The churches, he fears, have been converted to what he calls the "paganism of political economy." No word, he continues, against the root-evils of our industrial system is spoken from the pulpits whence the carpenter's son has been driven by Mammon. And, to his mind, it is not charity, but justice, that the world needs. "One decade of the Christian Socialism Maurice and Kingsley tried to inspire would be better than all the Bible and Tract Societies for the reviving of religion." Rev. Robert Collyer also brings the social questions into the foreground. If the Church could, for example, unite on some method of mediation between capital and labor, he would regard it a grand thing. Our duty, he says, is to put some conscience into capital; and owners of tenements should not exact 12 and 15 per cent. as an income from them, but should be satisfied with 5 and 6 per cent., and lay out their money in such a way as would do the poor most good. Such a suggestion looks as if the clergy were awaking to some sense of the gravity of the problem of poverty. What is charity worth, may we not ask, the very means for which are in this way wrung from the poor? Mr. Collyer also urges the view of the successful business man as a steward of wealth, and says that in a sense his accumulation is also the work of others, and that these others are entitled to a larger share than they receive in the form of wages. It is his opinion that there is no place in the world where the employer cares so little for his employés as in this country,—probably, we may suggest, on account of the very spirit of freedom

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and individualism that prevails among us. Prof. Felix Adler is reported as saying, in reference to such expressions of opinion as the above: "I have read with intense interest the noble utterances in this direction of several clergymen of New York published in the columns of the *Times*. It seems like a new day of hope dawning for mankind when the representatives of the old doctrinal faith themselves declare that we must have less of dogma, less of ecclesiasticism, and that the chief emphasis must be placed on ethics; or when we are told that the functions of the Christian teacher must be to plead the cause of the poor, and bring the strong to a sense of their responsibility for the weak. In such a course of action, I, too, perceive a true remedy,—the only remedy. We have trusted to material forces: it is time we trust again in moral forces. We have been growing rich in railroads and corn and goods: it is time to remember the saying, 'Let us have worse cotton and better men.'" Will not the journals of other cities, Boston and Chicago, for example, be equally enterprising, and present us with similar statistics showing the strength or weakness of the churches in their midst?

EDITORIAL NOTES.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

UNTIL further notice, make all cheques and drafts payable to the order of John C. Haynes.

THE next two months, or during Mr. Underwood's absence in the West, Mrs. Sara A. Underwood will be the acting office editor of *The Index*.

WE send this week to a large number of our readers packages of *Index* circulars, hoping all who receive them will do us the kindness to distribute them judiciously, with a view to adding new subscribers to our list.

ALL lovers of flowers will be glad to see the score of floral poems from favorite authors which Miss Kate Sanborn has brought together in a little pamphlet, bearing an appropriate illuminated cover, and called *Grandma's Garden*.

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD contributes an interesting article to the November *New Englander* on "The Pilgrim Fathers," traversing in some respects the views of Prof. Herbert B. Adams of Baltimore, who has attributed to them predominantly secular motives in coming to New England.

MR. M. J. SAVAGE'S sermons are printed every week in pamphlet form. They are widely read and highly appreciated. In a letter to Mr. Savage, Mr. Charles Voysey, of London, writes: "I am doing my best to get you more readers here, *for their own sakes* and not for yours. I can find nowhere else such perfectly satisfactory and sound religious teaching — truly needed in these days."

A WRITER in a recent number of the *Christian Register* makes an excellent showing of the effects of a liberal faith like that of the Unitarians, by quoting the names of such thinkers and workers as Longfellow, Channing, Sparks, Edward Everett, Bancroft, Ticknor, Prescott, Norton, Ripley, Emerson, Parker, Hawthorne, Holmes, Whittier, Agassiz, Lowell, Motley, John Quincy Adams, Robert Rantoul, Sumner, Gov. Andrews, and many others equally distinguished, as among those who professed that faith.

"GRUNDZUEGE DER PSYCHOLOGIE" is the title of a little volume of one hundred pages, containing the late Prof. Lotze's lectures in 1880–81 on Psychology, as taken down by his son, Robert Lotze. The Leipzig publisher, S. Hirzel, promises succeeding volumes, giving similar reports of other lectures on the philosophy of religion, practical philosophy, logic, æsthetics, history of German philosophy since Kant, etc. Since they are notes of actual dictations, we are almost as fortunate as if possessed of the work of Lotze's own pen. *Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie* and *Grundzüge der praktischen Philosophie* have already appeared, and the remaining volumes will follow shortly.

THE *True Religion*, which started, we believe, as an organ of Universalism, and which, together with the religion it advocates, is a very good example and illustration of evolution, expresses "entire agreement with Dr. Ellis that so far as the textual controversy has been a factor the advantage has been on the orthodox side, and this for the reason that the orthodox can gather the greater number of texts, and furthermore that the age in which many books of the Bible were written was not an age of liberal opinion in religion or in anything else." So it has always seemed to us, in spite of the efforts of Universalists to make the whole Bible speak the language of benevolence and humanity.

WE recently attempted to rescue our liberal neighbor and the Unitarianism it represents from an inconsistency by remarking, "We presume the *Christian Register* does not hold that it is necessary to accept either the Bible or Jesus Christ as an authority in order to be a Christian." We knew this to be true of many ministers and members of the Unitarian denomination. But now, to confute and confound us, the *Independent* quotes Article IX. of the Constitution of the American Unitarian Association, together with "The Statement of Belief unanimously adopted by the New Hampshire Unitarian Association," and adds, "It seems that Unitarians believe in 'Jesus Christ as an authority,' whether Christians do or not." So it would seem from the *Independent's* quotations. And yet prominent Unitarian ministers, like Mr. M. J. Savage of this city, and members of the denomination we meet every day, and the majority of Unitarians with whom we are acquainted, especially in the West, have as little belief as the writer of this paragraph "in Jesus Christ as an authority." Consistency is a jewel, no doubt; but one must not always expect to find it in religious bodies during periods of rapid transition like the present.

THIS week, Mr. Gill gives us the first of a series of articles on the Philosophy of Perception. This with much more was promised in his work, *Evolution and Progress*,—a work which it will be remembered stirred up the Newark Methodist Conference a few years ago. His *Analytical Processes* was the first instalment of the promised philosophy, but that work is too abstruse to command general interest. What he now designs to present will, he thinks, be recognized by all as sufficiently striking, whatever be thought of his views. It will constitute a portion of a larger work, but of that work it will be the main conclusions. He would have offered this work for publication sooner, but for the belief that the times were unripe for it and that delay would inure to its advantage. Mr. Gill is a thorough evolutionist, yet an idealist with whom all evolution is subjective. He affirms that all sensible things or objects are modes of self, and denies that there is any proof of the existence of supersensible matter, and thus shuts us up in the *ego*. He then endeavors to exhibit a scientific egress from the known *ego* to the unknown but inferred *non ego;* and, following this, he unfolds certain logical implications of the same which favor supernaturalism. Mr. Gill thinks that his speculations are an advance on all previous attempts at philosophy, especially as they assimilate all admitted facts and principles of modern science, whether physical or psychical.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

PROMETHEUS.

My writhing form
The wintry storm
Lashes with rain and hail and snow;
In summer time,
When melts the rime,
The lightning's arrows round me glow.

Warble in vain
To soothe my pain
The quiring Oceanides,
Bringing the spell
Of chorded shell,
Who have come from their far-off seas.

Brute Violence
With hate intense
And swart Hephæstus nailed me here;
While loudly rang
Their hammers' clang
O'er lonely steppe and crag austere.

The coasts of light
With squadrons bright
Of stars I nightly contemplate.
Hoar frosts of morn
Find me forlorn,
Still subject to an iron fate.

New-raised to sway,
'Twere vain to pray
To tyrant with unheeding ears:
A spirit hard,
A cold regard,
In insolence of power he wears.

From flashing gyre
Of Helios' fire
I snatched man to ameliorate,
Bent that my child
From savage wild
Should climb through art to high estate,—

Man, whom I wrought
From clay and taught
The gods with altars to appease,
And heavenward flame
And hymned acclaim,
For which Jove bonds to me decrees.

If ceased my race
Him prayer and praise
And fragrant altar-smoke to give,
His gods and he
Would meagre be
With fast, and unapplauded live.

The Titans old
With scorn behold
The Olympian upstarts on their thrones,
But o'er them Fate
Will drive elate,
And crush at last the starry drones.

In feast and song
The bright day long
They spend, while Man with pain and toil,
Large drops of sweat
And care and fret,
His food must gather from the soil.

In future time,
With craft sublime,
He will Jove's dreaded lightning wield,
And make it ply
In earth and sky
And servile to his bidding yield.

In that far day,
Sky-fallen, gray
Will Jove and all his conclave be,
Shrivelled to dreams
By truth's bright beams,
While man upsprings erect and free.

B. W. BALL.

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The Index.

BOSTON. NOV. 23. 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

Evolution Objective and Subjective.

BY WILLIAM I. GILL.

I.

Grandeur of Objective Evolution.

The theory of Evolution is the grandest and promises to be one of the most enduring monuments of the human intellect. It has opened up a field of thought and research which is literally boundless. It has fused the universe into a clear, intelligible unity, here meeting the utmost hope and want of science and philosophy, and with more thoroughness and apparently with closer approximation to ultimacy than they had ever anticipated. It avails itself to the utmost of the methods and results of physical science; and thence in a marvellous way, which cannot be controverted, it identifies matter and mind. It furnishes a scope for inductive reasoning never before known or conceived in connection with the pursuit of an ultimate and all-comprehending philosophy, and it is all along giving increasingly admirable exemplifications of the inductive method and spirit. By this method, it has made an utter end of the old, disjointed, science-repelling dualism, so that the only possible, effective enemy which remains to contest the supremacy of evolution is some form of idealism; and that cannot do it, for, to be true and effective, that must be evolution and make evolution paramount.

Evolution gives us a philosophical history of the universe, with the causes and connections of its successive changes. In all this wide field, it has the merit which belongs to physical science, the ability to unite many minds in the harmonious though emulous pursuit of the same end. As a consequence, it has already become the source of more positive intellectual wealth than accrued from all the labors and acquisitions of the world before it began its course.

Its Defective Psychology.

There is one department of research in its all-embracing field in which it is less advanced than the rest. That department is the psychological, the most important of all. Before the work of evolution is complete, all psychological phenomena must be duly registered, and their relation to each other and to the external world as a whole exhibited, and the perfect *egoistic* unity of the inner and outer worlds must be philosophically expounded. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Spencer has done much; and his Principles of Psychology is his ablest work. But, as this department is the most difficult and profound, it should be expected to lag behind.

All Phenomena and therefore all Evolution subjective.

Growing out of this, the great defect of evolution in its present stage of development consists in its being too exclusively objective in its course and character. While evolution is objective, it is also subjective; and the question concerning their respective spheres has yet to be considered. A proper answer to this question, I believe, will give to evolution all it has ever claimed, and much more, and all more philosophically expounded and scientifically classified; will therefore make evolution more thorough and comprehensive as a theory, and may radically change its religious aspect without calling in question a single fact or principle or process which has been verified.

When the advocates of objective evolution begin to carry their researches into psychology, to study external phenomena in regard to their ulterior nature and origin and their relation to their subject, and then to analyze them to the utmost, they find (with all psychologists of modern times) that all the external world known or knowable, in every form, is purely subjective, a congeries of experiences, feelings, or modes of consciousness. These feelings imply a subject, whatever that may be and whatever its powers or origin, if origin it had. We know it as the power to have all these experiences, and we name it self or *ego* or me; and, relative to it, we say or it says, "I," or "I feel," "I think," "I will." This *ego* is the subject of all known phenomena, which is to say, simply, that they are phenomena or modes of the *ego*. The *ego* thus spreads itself over all the known universe, and says of every form and object or motion, "It is I, a mode of myself." Once clearly understood, this fact will give a sudden metamorphosis to evolution, making it dominantly subjective.

Relative to its subjective aspect, the new exposition will be generally designated by the objectionable, because partial and much ridiculed term, idealism, since it resolves all known and knowable things into ideas, using that term in the old meaning in which it was employed by Descartes, Locke, Berkeley, and other of the earlier writers. Mr. Spencer considers idealism and evolution as antagonistic to each other; and, on this ground, he makes very elaborate efforts to refute idealism, and to establish a dualism of the *ego* as unknown and some sort of an unknown external world. This betrays an incomprehension of both theories. Nothing can antagonize evolution, because evolution is a fact of indubitable experience; and, for the same reason, nothing can philosophically antagonize idealism as an assertion of the subjective nature of all phenomena. Evolution is as extensive as Mr. Spencer conceives it, and I think indefinitely more so; but it is always a subjective process, even where it is external to the organism. No one has ever attempted to carry evolution beyond the knowable universe; but all that universe is never more than the modes of one individual, *ego*. I allow that in all that universe the law of evolution reigns. But subjective evolution multiplies universes and all their evolutionary processes by the number of souls or subjects, and thus makes evolution, so to speak, infinitely more extensive and multifarious. Subjective evolution includes objective evolution, as the greater the less, as the temple includes all its parts, the grand façade, the lofty tower and pinnacle, the majestic dome, the pillared arches and every angle and curve and sculptured form in the great building.

What is called my organism is only an infinitesimal fraction of the sensible phenomena of which I am the subject. Of known and knowable objects beyond my organism, there is almost an infinite number. They are not a part or mode or product of my organism. They are not even objects of my organism, as sensible phenomena or organic precepts. My organism does not perceive them, for it perceives nothing. I perceive it, and so it is a mode of me. All extraorganic objects are modes of the *ego*, but not of the organism. They transcend the organism, but not the *ego*. It is logically possible for these to exist without the organism, or for the organism to exist without them. But, in point of fact, they begin and run their course together. On the other hand, it is a logical necessity that the *ego* exist as a condition of the existence of any phenomena, organic or extraorganic or superorganic, because these in all cases are *ego*, and nothing else. It is clearly possible that the *ego*, the essential being we now so designate, may exist before any of the phenomena of which we speak, and may then evolve phenomena in and of itself, according to laws which we may discover. That this possibility is the fact, all experience, informed by the light of modern psychological analysis, conspires to say and prove. The doctrine of the subjective nature of all phenomena logically necessitates this conclusion, as we shall see.

Nature of Supposed Material World.

That all phenomena are subjective, that all the sensible realities of heaven and earth are *ego*, I shall assume as having been sufficiently proved and generally accepted. Hence, if there is any non-egoistic material world, it is a thing which transcends all sensible experience and all direct knowledge. Nearly all German philosophers have affirmed the existence of such a world, admitting that the *non ego* can be known only indirectly. But they are singularly illogical. They offer no proof of its existence, deeming the fact that it can be known mediately only to be sufficient proof. That is no proof or argument at all. Whoever thought that the mere fact that we cannot know Cæsar or Mohammed directly is proof of their existence? It is that fact which makes proof necessary as a condition of a rational affirmation. That proof is therefore called for. Can it be furnished?

The English-speaking mind, from its more scientific habit, is more exacting concerning proof than the German mind. Here, it recognizes the need of proof, and that it needs to be good and strong, and endeavors to furnish it. We should have a good, if not sufficient, proof, if it were shown that such a world would be very useful, still more if it were really a necessary condition of experiences of which we are the subject; and this is supposed to be exhibited Mr. Spencer says: "Not a step can be taken toward the truth that our states of consciousness are the only things we can know, without tacitly or avowedly postulating an unknown something beyond consciousness. The proposition that whatever we feel has an existence which is *relative to ourselves only* cannot be proved, nay, cannot be intelligently expressed, without asserting, directly or by implication, an *external existence which is not relative to ourselves.*" What is logically implied in the phenomena of consciousness cannot surely be justly described as "*not relative to ourselves.*" It may not be ourselves, but it is relative to ourselves always. Whether it is true that the proof of egoistic phenomena is impossible without implying a *non ego*, we shall consider in its place.

In the mean while, let us make very clear to ourselves our acknowledged position and what must be the external world which would thus be proved. If all phenomena are *ego*, then the *non ego*, called the material world, if it were thus proved, is supersensible and transphenomenal. Sometimes such a thing is boldly affirmed, and called the material world. This supersensible world is supposed, in some inconceivable way, to answer to sensible phenomena, and is explanatory of them as their cause. Judging from sensible phenomena, it is supposed to operate with lexical regularity, and thus reveals its existence and action and nature in its effects. Thus, while the visible sun is only a mode of mind, it is an effect and sign of a non-egoistic, material sun, which is invisible, inaudible, intangible, and every way supersensible. Similarly of all other sensible objects. All are *ego*, and all are effects and proofs of supersensible, non-egoistic, material causes variously differing from each other in correspondence with the phenomena.

This View is Only a Metaphysical Theory.

This is a view (if we may speak of a view of the viewless) of the material world which at every point is utterly at variance with both the popular and scientific notion. All men engaged in the pursuit of physical science assume that the realities of the world are sensible; and it is only the *sensible* forms, motions, and forces of the universe that they ever contemplate, and they never think of any other universe than this same sensible universe. Never do they conceive the material universe, whose laws they are supposed to study, to be utterly beyond their senses and all direct knowledge, and so void of all qualitative differentiation as to be also entirely inconceivable. Whatever assent they give to the psychologist's assertion that all phenomena are *ego*, they none the less always speak and think of the sensible universe as the real material universe. They are inconsistent and superficial; but they are right in assuming that the sensible world is the material world, and the only material world of interest to science or practical life. Of the material world of the metaphysician they never think or feel the need, thus contradicting Spencer's alleged intellectual necessity for it in concerning phenomena.

If the material world of the metaphysician has an existence, it follows that either there are two material worlds—the sensible and the supersensible—or that

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the sensible world is not material, neither of which accords with any accepted notion of the material world or is likely to find any acceptance among the living convictions of mankind. At the best, they can only be like Hume's philosophical scepticism, effective in the study, but not in the saloon, the drawing-room, or the place of business. The theory of the two worlds, one of which—and that the real one and the effective one—is absolutely unknown and unimaginable, will surely require much in the way of exposition and argument to make it intelligible, and to prove that it is neither an empty verbalism in part nor a false because a needlessly cumbersome complication, like the old Ptolemaic system of astronomy. The alternative, which denies the sensible world to be the material world and affirms that the real material world is wholly supersensible, contradicts all human thought and expression. It says that material science never is material science; that of all its objects, from nebulæ, comets, and globes to whales, animalculæ, and atoms, not one is material. But, while the ultimate nature and distinction of mind and matter are not yet agreed on, one thing is universally agreed on,—to call the sensible the material, whatever be the immaterial, or whether there be anything immaterial. The position, then, of our objective evolutionists is itself very unenviable, and of a kind which will be very difficult, if not impossible, to defend against an enemy.

PHILOSOPHY AT DINNER.

Addresses delivered at a Banquet given to Herbert Spencer, in New York, Thursday Evening, Nov. 9, 1882, by Hon. William M. Evarts, Herbert Spencer, Prof. William G. Sumner, Prof. O. C. Marsh, Hon. Carl Schurz, Prof. John Fiske, and Henry Ward Beecher.

(*Concluded from last week.*)

Address of Prof. Marsh.

Mr. Evarts then gave the following toast: "Evolution,—at first an hypothesis, now an established doctrine of the scientific world." Prof. Marsh said in response:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—In meeting here to-night to do honor to our distinguished guest, who is one of the great apostles of evolution, it seems especially fitting to the occasion that we should, for a moment at least, glance back to the past, and recall briefly the progress of a doctrine which has so rapidly brought about a revolution in scientific thought.

Modern science and its methods may be said to date back only to the beginning of the present century; and, at this time, the first scientific theory of organic evolution was advanced by Lamarck. During the twenty centuries before, a few far-seeing men, from Aristotle to Buffon, seem to have had glimpses of the light; but the dense ignorance and superstition which surrounded them soon enveloped it again in darkness.

Before the beginning of the present century, it was impossible for evolution to find a general acceptance, as the amount of scientific knowledge then accumulated was too small to sustain it. Hence, the various writers before Lamarck who had suggested hypotheses of development had based them upon general reasoning, or upon facts too scanty to withstand the objections naturally urged against new ideas.

With the opening of the nineteenth century, however, the new era in science began. Here, at the very beginning, the names of Cuvier and Lamarck stand forth pre-eminent; and the progress of natural science from that day to the present is largely due to their labors. Cuvier laid the foundation of the study of vertebrate animals, living and extinct; but, with all his vast knowledge, he was enslaved by the traditions of the past. Although the evidence was before him, pointing directly to evolution, he gave the authority of his great name in favor of the permanence of species.

Lamarck made a special study of the invertebrate animals, and his investigations soon led him to the belief that living species were descended from those now extinct. In this conclusion, he found the germ of a theory of development, which he advocated earnestly and philosophically, and thus prepared the way for the doctrine of evolution as we know it to-day.

The methods of scientific investigation introduced by Cuvier and Lamarck had already brought to light a vast array of facts which could not otherwise have been accumulated, and these rendered the establishment of the doctrine of evolution for the first time possible. But the time was not yet ripe. Cuvier opposed the new idea with all his authority. The great contest between him and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the strongest advocate of Lamarck's views, is well known. Authority, which in the past had been so powerful in defence of tradition and creed, still held sway; and, through its influence, evolution was pronounced to be without foundation. This triumph of Cuvier delayed the progress of evolution for half a century.

During this period, however, the advance in all departments of science was constant; and the mass of facts brought together was continually suggesting new lines of research and new solutions of old problems. In geology, the old idea of catastrophes was gradually replaced by that of uniform changes still in progress; but the corollary to this proposition, that life also had been continuous on the earth, was as yet only suggested. In the physical world, the great law of the Correlation of Forces had been advanced, and received with favor; but, in the organic world, the miraculous creation of each separate species was firmly believed by the great mass of educated men. The very recent appearance of man on the earth, and his creation independent of the rest of the animal kingdom, were scarcely questioned at the close of the first half of the present century.

When the second half of the century began, the accumulation of scientific knowledge was sufficient for the foundation of a doctrine of evolution which no authority could suppress and no objections overthrow. The material on which it was to be based was not preserved alone in the great centres of scientific thought; but a thousand quiet workers in science, many of them in remote localities, had now the facts before them to suggest a solution of that mystery of mysteries, the Origin of the Species.

In the first decade of the present half-century, Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, and our honored guest, were all at the same time working at one problem, each in his own way; and their united efforts have firmly established the truth of organic evolution. Our guest to-night did not stop to solve the difficulties of organic evolution; but, with that profound philosophic insight which has made him read and honored by all intelligent men, he made the grand generalization that the law of organic progress is the law of all progress. To show how clearly, even in the beginning, he comprehended this great truth, let me recall to you one sentence which he wrote five-and-twenty years ago:—

"This law of organic progress is the law of all progress. Whether it be in the development of the earth, in the development of life upon its surface, in the development of society, of government, of manufactures, of commerce, of language, literature, science, art, this same evolution of the simple into the complex, through a process of continuous differentiation, holds throughout."

How completely the truth of this statement has since been established, you all know full well.

The evolution of life, and of the physical world, are now supplemented by the evolution of philosophy, of history, of society, and of all else pertaining to human life, until we may say that Evolution is the law of all progress, if not the key to all mysteries. These profounder departments of Evolution I leave to others, for in the few minutes allotted to me I cannot attempt to give even an outline of the progress of evolution in biology alone.

If, however, I may venture to answer briefly the question, What of Evolution to-day? I can only reply: The battle has been fought and won. A few stragglers on each side may still keep up a scattered fire; but the contest is over, and the victors have moved on to other fields.

As to the origin of species, once thought to be the key to the position, no working naturalist of to-day, who sees the great problems of life opening one after another before him, will waste time in discussing a question already solved. This question, so long regarded as beyond solution, has been worked out by that greatest of naturalists, whose genius all intelligent men now recognize, and whose recent loss the whole civilized world deplores.

Not only do we know to-day that species are not permanent, but every phase of life bears witness to the same general law of change. Genera, families, and the higher groups of animals and plants are now regarded merely as convenient terms to mark progress, which may be altered by any new discovery.

All existing life on the earth is now believed to be connected directly with that of the distant past, and one problem to-day is to trace out the lines of descent. Here embryology and palæontology work together, and the results already secured are most important. The genealogies of some of the animals now living have been made out with a degree of certainty that amounts to a demonstration, and others must rapidly follow.

In this, and in all other departments of natural science, the doctrine of evolution has brought light out of darkness, and marks out the path of future progress. What the law of gravitation is to astronomy, the law of evolution is now to natural science. Evolution is no longer theory, but a demonstrated truth, accepted by naturalists throughout the world.

The most encouraging feature in natural science—indeed, in all science—to-day is the spirit in which the work is carried on. No authority is recognized which forbids the investigation of any question, however profound; and, with that confidence which success justly brings, no question within the domain of science is now believed to be insoluble. Not even the grand problems now before us,—the antiquity of the human race, the origin of man, or even the origin of life itself.

Carl Schurz's Speech.

The next speaker was Carl Schurz, who responded to the toast, "The progress of science tends to international harmony." He spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Two things that fell from the lips of the first two speakers struck me as remarkably pertinent to our present situation. One was the proverb quoted by our worthy Chairman, that "stuffed bodies see not secret things"; and, great orator as he is, he did not fail to accompany the same with the illustration of example. The other was the remark which formed the text of the eloquent speech of Mr. Spencer, that too great continuity and intensity of work will necessarily destroy our physical constitution; and I am very sorry to see that in this respect he himself appears more like an American than an Englishman. And I hope that, when he returns to his country, his incessant labors for the benefit of humanity will sometimes be interrupted by pure relaxation. Mr. Spencer never said a wiser word than this: that the ultimate result of all our efforts to protect men against the consequences of their folly is to people the world with—I will not say what he said, "fools"—but I will say with dyspeptic philosophers. I, for my part, have resolved to belong to that class.

Leaving the discussion of profound scientific and philosophical problems to others who are more reckless of their physical well-being, I prefer to call up some pleasant personal memories which this distinguished occasion brings to my mind. Some nineteen years ago, shortly after the battle of Missionary Ridge, I was camped with my command in winter quarters not far from Chattanooga, where we had so little food for our horses that many of them died, and so little salt that we could scarcely make our beef and hard-tack palatable: but I found in my effects a copy of Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*, and during those long winter nights in my tent I studied them by the light of a tallow candle, and for that delightful luxury I shall never cease to be grateful to our distinguished guest. I became convinced that, if the Southern people had read and thoroughly digested that excellent work, there would never have been any war for the dissolution of the Union. I essayed to hammer the fundamental principle of the *Social Statics* into the heads of the soldiers; namely, that "every man is entitled to the freedom of doing what he wills, provided he interfere not with the same freedom of any other man."

I am supposed to respond to a sentiment touching the effect that the progress of science has upon the harmony of nations. Looking at it from a common-sense point of view, I am moved to think that the effect of that progress upon different nations is very much as it may be upon different portions of one people or upon different individuals. Given a certain number of subjects of discussion beween different nations or different individuals, if the progress of science increases the number of things upon which they agree, it will in the same measure and at the same time diminish the number of things upon which they disagree, and thus lead them to a good understanding and national harmony; and, going on

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further, if the progress of science increases the number of subjects of discussion between men and at the same time teaches them how to dispose of those subjects by amicable and peaceful reasoning, the less occasion there will be for them to come to blows.

I take it that science and philosophy do not accomplish their ends merely by enlightening the minds of men, but that they must also influence their conduct, and not only the conduct of a chosen few, but the conduct of the many; and, in order to influence the conduct of the many, they must be understood by the many. There was a time when the investigations of science and their results were carefully kept as a private possession by certain social orders or select circles, treating them as a mystery which could not be exposed to the gaze and the understanding of the multitude without profanation. That time is happily behind us; but I suppose some of us have seen the day when science and philosophy, at least by a good many of its representatives, were clothed in such darkness of formidable terminology and of obscure forms of speech that they were entirely inaccessible to the multitude. In fact, by many it was considered that the man of science might be accused of superficiality, if he had discussed those problems of philosophic and scientific research in a language intelligible to the rest of mankind.

In the distinguished man who this evening honors us, we greet one of the foremost representatives of that great development of thought which has burst the bonds of the closet; we greet in him the great apostle of the doctrine of Evolution; we greet him as a hero of thought who has devoted his life to the sublime task of vindicating the divine right of science as against the intolerant authority of traditional belief.

John Fiske on Evolution and Religion.

Mr. Evarts then announced as the next toast, "Evolution and Religion,—that which perfects humanity cannot destroy religion," to which, as it was a double toast, he said, there would be a duet of speakers to respond. The first of these was Prof. John Fiske, of Cambridge. He said:—

Mr. President,—The thought which you have uttered suggests so many and such fruitful themes of discussion that a whole evening would not suffice to enumerate them, while to illustrate them properly would seem to require an octavo volume rather than a talk of six or eight minutes. There are one or two points of signal importance, however, to which I may at least call attention for a moment. It is a matter which has long since taken deep hold of my mind, and I am glad to have a chance to say something about it on so fitting an occasion. We have met here this evening to do homage to a dear and noble teacher and friend, and it is well that we should choose this time to recall the various aspects of the immortal work by which he has earned the gratitude of a world. The work which Herbert Spencer has done in organizing the different departments of human knowledge so as to present the widest generalizations of all the sciences in a new and wonderful light as flowing out of still deeper and wider truths concerning the universe as a whole; the great number of profound generalizations which he has established incidentally to the pursuit of this main object; the endlessly rich and suggestive thoughts which he has thrown out in such profusion by the wayside all along the course of this great philosophical enterprise,—all this work is so manifest that none can fail to recognize it. It is work of the calibre of that which Aristotle and Newton did; though, coming in this latter age, it as far surpasses their work in its vastness of performance as the railway surpasses the sedan chair, or as the telegraph surpasses the carrier pigeon.

But it is not of this side of our teacher's work that I wish to speak, but of a side of it that has hitherto met with less general recognition. There are some people who seem to think that it is not enough that Mr. Spencer should have made all these priceless contributions to human knowledge, but actually complain of him for not giving us a complete and exhaustive system of theology into the bargain. What I wish, therefore, to point out is that Mr. Spencer's work on the side of religion will be seen to be no less important than his work on the side of science, when once its religious implications shall have been fully and consistently unfolded. If we look at all the systems or forms of religion of which we have any knowledge, we shall find that they differ in many superficial features. They differ in many of the transcendental doctrines which they respectively lay down for men's guidance. They assert different things about the universe, and they enjoin or prohibit different kinds of behavior on the part of their followers. The doctrine of the Trinity, which to many Christians is the most sacred of mysteries, is to all Mohammedans the foulest of blasphemies; the Brahmin's conscience would be more troubled if he were to kill a cow by accident than if he were to swear to a lie or steal a purse; the Turk, who sees no wrong in bigamy, would shrink from the sin of eating pork. But, amid all such surface differences, we find throughout all known religions two points of substantial agreement. And these two points of agreement will be admitted by modern civilized men to be of far greater importance than the innumerable differences of detail. All religions agree in these two assertions, one of which is of speculative and one of which is of ethical import. One of them serves to sustain and harmonize our thoughts about the world we live in and our place in that world: the other serves to uphold us in our efforts to do each what we can to make human life more sweet, more full of goodness and beauty than we find it. The first of these assertions is the proposition that the things and events of the world do not exist or occur blindly or irrelevantly, but that all, from the beginning to the end of time, and throughout the furthest sweep of illimitable space, are connected together as the orderly manifestations of a divine Power, and that this divine Power is something outside of ourselves, and upon it our own existence from moment to moment depends. The second of these assertions is the proposition that men ought to do certain things, and ought to refrain from doing certain other things; and that the reason why some things are wrong to do and other things are right to do is in some mysterious but not very real way connected with the existence and nature of this divine Power, which reveals itself in every great and every tiny thing, without which not a star courses in its mighty orbit and not a sparrow falls to the ground.

Matthew Arnold once summed up these two propositions very well, when he defined God as "an eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." This twofold assertion, that there is an eternal Power that is not ourselves, and that this Power makes for righteousness, is to be found, either in a rudimentary or in a highly developed state, in all known religions. In such religions as those of the Esquimaux or Zulus, this assertion is found in a rudimentary shape on each of its two sides,—the speculative side and the ethical side; in such religions as Buddhism or Judaism, it is found in a highly developed shape on both its sides. But the main point is that in all religions you find it in some shape or other. I said, a moment ago, that modern civilized men will agree that this two-sided assertion is of far greater importance than any of the superficial points in which religions differ. It is really of much more concern to us that there is an eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness, than that such a Power is onefold or threefold in its metaphysical nature, or that we ought not to play cards on Sunday or to eat meat on Friday. No one, I believe, will deny so simple and clear a statement as this. But it is not only we modern men, who call ourselves enlightened, that will agree to this. I doubt not even the narrow-minded bigots of days now happily gone by would have been made to agree to it, if they could have had some doggedly persistent Socrates to cross-question them. Calvin was willing to burn Servetus for doubting the doctrine of the Trinity, but I do not suppose that even Calvin would have argued that the belief in God's threefold nature was more fundamental than the belief in his existence and his goodness. The philosophical error with him was that he could not dissociate the less important doctrine from the more important doctrine, and the fate of the latter seemed to him wrapped up with the fate of the former. I cite this merely as a typical example. What men in past times have really valued in their religion has been the universal twofold assertion that there is a God who is pleased by the sight of the just man and is angry with the wicked every day; and when men have fought with one another, and murmured or calumniated one another for heresy about the Trinity or about eating meat on Friday, it has been because they have supposed belief in the non-essential doctrines to be inseparably connected with belief in the essential doctrine. In spite of all this, however, it is true that in the mind of the uncivilized man the great central truths of religion are so densely overlaid with hundreds of trivial notions respecting dogma and ritual that his perception of the great central truths is obscure. These great central truths, indeed, need to be clothed in a dress of little rites and superstition, in order to take hold of his dull and untrained intelligence. But, in proportion as men become more civilized and learn to think more accurately, and to take wider views of life, just so do they come to value the essential truths of religion more highly, while they attach less and less importance to superficial details.

Having thus seen what is meant by the essential truths of religion, it is very easy to see what the attitude of the doctrine of evolution is toward these essential truths. It asserts and reiterates them both; and it asserts them not as dogmas handed down to us by priestly tradition, not as mysterious, intuitive convictions of which we can render no intelligent account to ourselves, but as scientific truths concerning the innermost constitution of the universe,—truths that have been disclosed by observation and reflection, like other scientific truths, and that accordingly harmonize naturally and easily with the whole body of our knowledge. The doctrine of evolution asserts, as the widest and deepest truth which the study of nature can disclose to us, that there exists a Power to which no limit in time or space is conceivable, and that all the phenomena of the universe, whether they be what we call material or what we call spiritual phenomena, are manifestations of the infinite and eternal Power. Now, this assertion, which Mr. Spencer has so elaborately set forth as a scientific truth, nay, as the ultimate truth of science, as the truth upon which the whole structure of human knowledge philosophically rests,—this assertion is identical with the assertion of an eternal Power, not ourselves, that forms the speculative basis of all religions. When Carlyle speaks of the universe as in very truth the star-domed city of God, and reminds us that through every crystal and through every grass blade, but most through every living soul, the glory of a present God still beams, he means pretty much the same thing that Mr. Spencer means, save that he speaks with the language of poetry, with language colored by emotion, and not with the precise, formal, and colorless language of science. By many critics, who forget that names are but the counters rather than the hard money of thought, objections have been raised to the use of such a phrase as the Unknowable whereby to describe the Power that is manifested in every event of the universe. Yet when the Hebrew prophet declared that "by him were laid the foundations of the deep," but reminded us "Who by searching can find him out?" he means pretty much what Mr. Spencer means when he speaks of a power that is inscrutable in itself, yet is revealed from moment to moment in every throb of the mighty rhythmic life of the universe.

And this brings me to the last and most important point of all. What says the doctrine of evolution with regard to the ethical side of the twofold assertion that lies at the bottom of all religion? Though we cannot fathom the nature of the inscrutable Power that animates the world, we know, nevertheless, a great many things that it does. Does this eternal Power, then, work for righteousness? Is there a divine sanction for holiness and a divine condemnation for sin? Are the principles of right living really connected with the intimate constitution of the universe? If the answer of science to these questions be affirmative, then the agreement with religion is complete, both on the speculative and on the practical sides; and that phantom which has been the abiding terror of timid and superficial minds, that phantom of the hostility between religion and science, is exorcised now and forever. Now, science began to return a decisively affirmative answer to such questions as these, when it began to explain moral beliefs and moral sentiments as products of evolution. For, clearly, when you say of a moral belief or a moral sentiment that it is a product of evolution, you imply that it is something which the universe, through untold ages, has been laboring to bring forth, and you ascribe to it a value proportionate to the enormous effort that it has cost to produce it. Still more, when with Mr. Spencer we study the principles of right living as part and parcel of the whole doctrine of the development of life upon the earth; when we see that, in an ultimate analysis, that is right which tends to enhance fulness of life, and that is wrong which tends to detract from fulness of life, we then see that the distinction between right and wrong is rooted

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in the deepest foundation of the universe; we see that the very same forces, subtle and exquisite and profound, which brought upon the scene the primal germs of life and caused them to unfold, which through countless ages of struggle and death have cherished the life that could live more perfectly and destroyed the life that could only live less perfectly, while humanity, with all its hopes and fears and aspirations, has come into being as the crown of all this stupendous work,—we see that these very same subtle and exquisite forces have wrought into the very fibres of the universe those principles of right living which it is man's highest function to put into practice. The theoretical sanction thus given to right living is incomparably the most powerful that has ever been assigned in any philosophy of ethics. Human responsibility is made more strict and solemn than ever, when the eternal Power that lives in every event of the universe is thus seen to be in the deepest possible sense the author of the moral law that should guide our lives, and in obedience to which lies our only guarantee of the happiness which is incorruptible, which neither inevitable misfortune nor unmerited obloquy can ever take away.

Speech of Henry Ward Beecher.

The chairman then introduced, as the last speaker of the evening, Mr. Beecher, who spoke as follows:—

The old churches used to have two ministers: one was considered as a doctor of theology and the other a revivalist and pastor. The doctor has had his say, and now the evangelist will have his. Paul complained that Alexander the coppersmith did him great harm. Mr. Spencer has done us immense harm. I don't believe that there is an active, thoughtful minister in the United States that has not been put to a peck of troubles, and a great deal more than that, by the intrusion of his views and comparisons with the old views. I can't for the life of me reconcile his notions with those of St. Augustine. I can't get along with Calvin and Spencer both. Sometimes one of them is uppermost and sometimes the other; and I have often been disposed to let them fight it out themselves, and not take any hand in the scrape. It is to be borne in mind that, when a man is driving a team of horses that are just all that he can manage anyhow, he is not in a state of mind to discuss questions with his wife by his side, who is undertaking to bring up delicate domestic matters. A man that has a woolly-headed deacon watching everything that he does, or a gold-spectacled lawyer,—not a fat one, but a long, lean, lank one,—he can't afford to talk Spencerism: he has got to take care of himself first. He must therefore expect not to come in like an equinoctial storm: he will come in like a drizzle. He will descend as the dew.

But one thing is certain: Mr. Spencer is coming, whether men want him or not, and coming to stay. Mr. Spencer may have dyspepsia, but his books have got no dyspepsia. They like the climate, and they are working their way steadfastly in this country. When Mr. Spencer speaks of our being so industrious, he speaks like an insular gentleman. You haven't anything to do in England: you have but about three hundred miles diameter one way and eight hundred the other. We have got this whole continent to take care of. We are rather an ambitious people. We have learned from the astronomers that they are five hours ahead of us every day in England, and we have to work with all our might to make up those five hours.

Now let me say, with a little more approach to sobriety, I think that the doctrine of evolution, and its relation to the work of Mr. Spencer, which takes in that and a great deal more besides,—to speak in plain language, it is going to revolutionize theology from one end to the other, it is going to make good walking where we have had very muddy walking hitherto. It is going to bridge over rivers, which we have had to wade. There are many points in which the theology of the past did well enough for the past; but it does not answer reasonable questions, and the moral considerations that are brought to bear upon it in our day. The New Testament idea is that religion is the art of putting men on an anvil, and hammering them out into perfect manhood. There is no difference between that tendency in Mr. Spencer's work or Mr. Darwin's, or the galaxy of eminent writers that shine in the East, and ourselves, on that subject. On the other hand, the whole business of religion is not merely to insure a man against fire in the other world, but to create an insurable interest in him. The business before men is the making of themselves while they are making also the world in which they dwell. The doctrine of immortality was not known in the Old Testament day. Here we have Prof. Park, of Andover, and a great many good and godly men in New England, discussing to-day whether a man who doesn't believe that everybody that dies impenitent will be damned forever and ever is fit to preach the gospel. Five thousand years ago there was not a man on the face of the earth that knew there was a future. We have an explicit declaration in the New Testament that life and immortality were brought to light by Christ.

In conclusion, Mr. Beecher addressed these words to Mr. Spencer:—

May He who holds the storms in his hands be gracious to you, sir, and may your voyage across the sea be prosperous and speedy, and may you find on the other side all those conditions of health and of comfort which shall enable you to complete the great work, greater than any other man in this age has attempted; and may you live to hear from this continent and from that an unbroken testimony to the services which you have done to humanity; and thus, if you are not outwardly crowned, you will wear an invisible crown on your heart which will carry comfort to death, and I will greet you beyond.

A Letter from Dr. Holmes.

After Mr. Spencer's speech, Mr. Evarts read the following letter from Oliver Wendell Holmes:—

BOSTON, Nov. 6, 1882.

Dear Sir,—I regret that my engagements will not permit me to enjoy the meeting in honor of Mr. Spencer, which I hope may take place as proposed on the evening of November 9. It would have been a great pleasure to me to testify by my presence that I share the feelings of respect and admiration of which this occasion is our passing manifestation. Mr. Spencer has come nearer to the realization of Bacon's claim of all knowledge as his province than any philosopher of his time. It is a life's work to exhaust a single specialty, as it must be studied to-day. "Go to the ant," with Sir John Lubbock, "consider his ways," and learn what it is to study a square inch or two of nature's surface. The man who takes the survey of the entire order of things as his specialty must needs have a long stride and a clear outlook. He must have a well-measured and largely extended base-line of ascertained fact, to begin with, and command the views which extend themselves from all the heights of the various sciences. The facts of development furnished Mr. Spencer with his base-line. From the summit of one branch of knowledge after another, he has brought its phenomena into relation with this base-line and with each other until we look with amazement upon the reach and compass of his vast triangulation of the universe.

Nature taught him her great law in the life of an egg which completes its history,—a mass of organizable matter which has escaped being turned into an omelet; a spot; a line; a groove; a group of walled spaces with their soft contents; self-distribution into regions; self-differentiation into tissues and organs: self movement as a whole; self-consciousness as an individual; emergence at length from this inviolate secrecy of the divine studio, where it has been shaped, a creature of God, full armed to fight for its life against the elements. Just in this same way, and no other, are built up the Newtons, the Youngs, the Darwins, the Spencers, who interpret the hieroglyphics of nature and of history for common mortals. All is development; and the standing illustration of it was laid before the world by the bride of Chanticleer, when she proclaimed to the virgin creation that she was a mother.

An apple gave the hint of gravitation. An egg taught the lesson of evolution. The old Roman banquets proceeded *ab ovo usque ad malum:* the course of sciences has gone just the other way,—*a malo usque ad ovum*,—from the apple of Isaac Newton to the egg of Herbert Spencer. May he live to place the capstone on that pyramid of achievements which is already one of the wonders of the modern intellectual world. Very truly yours, O. W. HOLMES.

VIEWS of life and conduct which originated with those who propitiated deified ancestors by self-tortures enter even still into the ethical theories of many persons who have years since cast away the theology of the past, and suppose themselves to be no longer influenced by it.—*Herbert Spencer.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

DARWIN'S LETTER TO A STUDENT.

Editors of The Index:—

The recent letter of Darwin to a young student at Jena has led some to inquire whether the writings of the prominent evolutionists—Darwin, Tyndall, Spencer, Haeckel, and others—have not worked serious harm, by throwing the minds of the readers into confusion in proposing problems that confessedly have ever admitted of no valid answer. It is to be noticed that the young student to whom the letter was written had drunk deeply, but it was a dangerous draught.

> "Then was kindled within a thirst which outran
> Those perishing waters; a thirst of fierce fever,—
> Hope, doubt, desire, which consume him forever."

It seemed as if he had almost touched his parched lips to the cup of Tantalus. But the delusion was short-lived. Now, I have seen it strongly urged that no good results can flow from tormenting the mind with dread doubts that may ultimately lead the individual to become either an atheist or an agnostic. These writings, it is claimed, tend to inaugurate a struggle within the man that will never cease to vex him during his lifetime. Admitting that these writings do all this, what is the legitimate result?

There is a special meaning for each one of us in the words spoken by the good old Bishop Blougram, in Browning's verse, "When the fight begins with himself, a man's worth something." I am still of the opinion that not until a man has fought with and subdued his greatest enemy—himself—is he conscious of his own full worth. There surely comes a time in every one's lifetime when he is called upon to decide whether in the struggle with his greatest enemy he will come off the vanquished or the victor. He is a weakling who gives up the fight with himself before a blow is struck. The victor over himself alone can exclaim, as Faust did: "Here I am a man! Here dare I be a man!" The struggle begins when a conscientious man seeks to answer in a conscientious way those doubts that threaten to undermine those deeply rooted beliefs that constitute the basis of his religious faith. No lasting rest is to be found until these doubts are either answered or severely silenced. No man can deceive himself for any length of time by stifling the rising doubts that will not "down" at his bidding.

The outcome of this inner struggle is oftentimes doubtful. It may be that the individual will end in accepting the teachings of ultra-agnosticism. Perhaps the man will go to the other point, and embrace the doctrines of the strictest theism. Or, it may be that, like Hamlet, he will drift upon the open sea of troubles, not knowing the where or the whither of his destination. Many a person might frankly confess how at times he wavered between belief and unbelief; how he cautiously ventured into the paths of Orthodoxy; how he strayed timidly into the unknown fields of agnosticism; how, for days and days, he only dared to hover on the border-lands of both extremes. In this perpetual round of strife, the victim is constantly pursued by the dark visions of his uneasy mind,—*post equitem sedet atra cura.* In a recent essay, Prof. Tyndall exhibits a "fragment" only of the process by which he eventually became a convert to scientific materialism. With lively *naïveté*, the professor let us into the wanderings of his innermost thoughts during that most critical period. Many and many an hour flitted by ere he was aware that he had been dreaming to himself so long. Thus, day after day went along; and still he was no nearer to finding that rest for which he sought. At last, after years of fighting with himself, Tyndall proved his worth.

Finally, this is the legitimate result: no man ever passed through the fiery furnace of this fight with self without coming out the purer, brighter, and better for having gone through the ordeal. To those men who first quieted their own doubts before they attempted to quiet others, to those students who answered their own speculations before they gave them out to their learned brethren for solution, to all those who fought long and long with themselves, we should feel under lasting obligations. What we call unscientific thinking is due more or less to those impulsive scientists who, to use Mr. Bagehot's phrase, lack animated moderation. The man who sits still, and yet takes a good many steps, is the one who will arrive at the goal the quickest. That hilarity which scientists are wont to display when congratulating

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one another upon the rapid manner in which they have progressed in their discoveries has been detected and noticed by the Rev. Mr. Chadwick. Generations of unscientific thinking at last become an undesirable inheritance which we are very glad to get rid of. On the other hand, those students who looked outwardly calm when the struggle was raging the fiercest within, have proved their worth by arriving at permanent results. It is no argument at all that the writings of Darwin and the other leading evolutionists have made sceptics: rather, they have raised doubts which led men to fight with themselves, and thus prove they were worth something. In this sense alone, they have proved to be of incalculable value to all. The young student to whom this letter was addressed was one of them.

In an "Imaginary Conversation,"—though it might easily pass for an actual conversation,—the gifted Pericles confides to his wife this secret: "I do believe, Aspasia, those studious men who look so quiet are the most restless men in existence."

LEE J. VANCE.

"THE POINT RAISED BY DR. ELLIS."

Editors of The Index :—

In his *Age of Reason*, part second, Thomas Paine, in the year 1795, wrote the following: "Before anything can be admitted as proved by the Bible, the Bible itself must be proved to be true, . . . whether there is sufficient authority for believing the Bible to be the Word of God, or whether there is not. Are we sure that the books that tell us so were written by his authority? Speaking for myself, if I had no other evidence that the Bible was fabulous than the sacrifice I must make to believe it to be true, that alone would be sufficient to determine my choice. But, in addition to all the moral evidence against the Bible, I will in the progress of this work produce such other evidence, . . . and show from that evidence that the Bible is not entitled to credit as being the word of God."

He then goes through the Bible, producing evidence which, to liberal minds, is logical and conclusive. In conclusion, he writes: "Those who rest their faith upon such authority put man in the place of God, and have no foundation for future happiness. Credulity, however, is not a crime; but it becomes criminal by resisting conviction. It is strangling in the womb of the conscience the efforts it makes to ascertain truth. The evidence I have produced to prove them forgeries is extracted from the books themselves, and acts like a two-edged sword either way. If the evidence be denied, the authenticity of the Scriptures is denied with it; for it is Scripture evidence; and, if the evidence be admitted, the authenticity of the books is disproved." The Boston *Herald*, in an editorial headed "The Point Raised by Dr. Ellis," says: "The merit of Dr. Ellis' essay before the Unitarian Club is that it goes straight to the issue which has got to be faced by the thinking men of our own time. . . . That their theology, so far as it rests upon proof-texts of the Scriptures and not upon the eternal verities of life in nature and in the mind of man, is without sufficient foundation, because the Scriptures themselves are without the authority that has been claimed for them. . . . Dr. Ellis clearly concedes this; and it is notable that such a veteran religious controversialist, who has again and again gone over every inch of the Protestant ground, should come out so flat-footed for a revision of the estimate of the Bible as a divine book, which has heretofore been put upon it. He has struck a tender chord, but it is here that the discussion is now brought."

The point I wish to raise is this, Was Thomas Paine eighty-seven years ahead of, or are some other persons eighty-seven years behind, the times?

W. H. S.

BOOK NOTICES.

STORIES FROM ROBERT BROWNING. With an Introduction by Mrs. Sutherland Orr. By Frederic May Holland. London: George Bell & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden.

To the comparatively few who stand in poetic insight and appreciation on the plane of Browning's thought, his poetry is freighted with the richest intellectual stimulus toward a still higher altitude. But, to the majority of thinkers, his expression of thought is too vague to be understood and appreciated; and the lessons he seeks to inculcate are lost, save to those who have no special need of their teaching. Mr. Holland, discerning this lack of clearness for the ordinary reader, and desirous that those who have most need of the teacher should be brought into more intelligible relations with one so capable of instructing as Browning, makes in this volume a commendable and satisfactory effort to clear away some of the mists from some of the most obscure of his poems; *i.e.*, "Strafford," "Sordello," "Luria," "The Adventures of Balaustion," "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," "The Ring and the Book," "Pippa Passes," "The Return of the Druses," and "Colombe's Birthday." This he does by bringing these poems into prose form as stories simply, gems of history divested of their brilliant setting of poetic imagery. With these "stories" as guides or keys, the most prosaic reader can the better catch and follow the poet's erratic fancy and meaning. Mrs. Orr, who prefaces Mr. Holland's work with an "Introduction" of over thirty pages, is said to be an intimate friend of Mr. Browning, and may thus be considered as an authority for the poet's true meaning, declares that Mr. Holland's prose rendering of Browning's poetry "helps the reader who has not unlimited time and knowledge to devote to these poems to do justice to them for himself, and in this respect almost every step of the process has brought clear gain." And again: "In judging . . . Mr. Holland's stories, it must be remembered that they are written for those who do not know Browning, in no sense for those who do; and that the necessary deficiencies which cause a feeling of disappointment in the latter case only raise expectation in the former. Mr. Holland would have failed in his object, if his readers were content to rest on what he has done; and he sends them to Mr. Browning himself, with the certainty that their highest expectations will be fulfilled."

A LITTLE PILGRIM. Reprinted from *Macmillan's Magazine*. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

This unpretentious little volume of 123 pages is a new and charming version of "The Gates Ajar." It purports to give the possible experience of a gentle, loving spirit in its first entrance upon the life beyond. Although deeply religious in tone, it is in no wise sectarian, and could be read by the most rigid devotee of any sect without jarring upon his sectarian feelings; and it is so sweet a prose-poem that it will be enjoyed as such by the most pronounced agnostic or materialist. It is divided into two parts, "In the Unseen" and "The Little Pilgrim goes up Higher." The reason of the title *A Little Pilgrim* is given by the unnamed author in the following words: "When I call her a little Pilgrim, I do not mean that she was a child; on the contrary, she was not even young. She was little by nature, with as little flesh and blood as was consistent with mortal life, and she was one of those who are always little for love. The tongue found diminutives for her, the heart kept her in perpetual youth. She was so modest and so gentle that she always came last, so long as there was any one whom she could put before her. But this little body, and the soul that was not little and the heart which was big and great, had known all the round of sorrows that fill a woman's life, without knowing any of its warmer blessings. . . . She had gone about the world, which had no prize or recompense for her, with a smile."

C. P. FARRELL, of Washington, D.C., has republished *A Short History of the Bible*, by Bronson C. Keeler. Paper, 50 cts.; cloth, 75 cts. This book, which was reviewed in these columns some months ago, is the best account of the formation and development of the Canon, of the origin and growth of the Bible, in a condensed form, that we have seen, and is valuable to the majority of readers for the information it contains, and to all interested in the subject for its convenience as a work of reference.

THE *Sunday Review*, published by Trübner & Co., London, advocates, among other liberal reforms, the opening of museums and galleries on Sundays. The October number contains an interesting and suggestive article by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Chairman of the Workingmen's Club and Institute Union, on the question "In What Way can the Influence of Art be best brought to bear on the Masses of the Population in Large Towns?"

THE *Sidereal Messenger* (published by the Carleton College Observatory, Northfield, Minn.) for November contains "Comet Cruls," by C. S. Hastings of Johns Hopkins University; "Drifting Meteor Trains," by E. E. Barnard; "Transit of Venus," by Edgar Frisby; "Observation of Comet 'B' 1882," by C. A. Young; and other articles, together with late astronomical news.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

GEN. BUTLER is sixty-four years of age.

ANTHONY TROLLOPE, the well-known novelist, was lately suddenly seized at dinner with illness, and is considered in a very precarious condition,—the result, physicians say, of overwork.

THE Springfield *Republican* describes Prof. John Fiske, one of America's most philosophic and scientific thinkers, as "the pursy, red-headed, and red-bearded German-looking lecturer at Harvard."

B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak at Canton, Ohio, November 25 and 26; Salem, Ohio, November 27, 28; Massillon, Ohio, November 29, 30, and December 1; Alliance, Ohio, December 3; Mechanicsburgh, December 5 to 10, inclusive.

A SUBSCRIPTION toward the English Darwin memorial has been opened in Stockholm. The Swedish press warmly supports the same, pointing out that it is not money which England asks for, but the tribute of a cultivated nation to one of her greatest *savants*.

FATHER HYACINTHE, who used to fill every seat in Notre Dame, now has slim congregations at his small church in the Rue d'Arras. His rent is overdue, and he is threatened with ejectment. While the French like free thought, they are said to object to deviations from the established Catholic ritual.

PROF. HAECKEL, the most eminent of German naturalists, contemplates the publication of an exhaustive analysis of the Darwinian system. He will probably take advantage of this opportunity to publish some very interesting correspondence he has had with Mr. Darwin, and also to indicate the bearing of his celebrated theory on current theological and ethical theories.

LOUISE MICHEL, the ferocious Parisian Communist, was in early life a pious Catholic schoolmistress, with a tendency to mysticism, and was the author of several devotional hymns. It was the doctrine of eternal punishment as taught by the Church, she declares, which first made her sceptical; and the support given by the clergy to the empire turned scepticism into downright disbelief and hostility to all religion.

HERBERT SPENCER is described as a man about sixty-two, slender and erect, above medium height, with fair complexion and blue eyes not wide apart, with a refined, kindly, and reflective face. His countenance is framed in gray side-locks of hair, never very dark, and a gray fringe of whiskers under the chin. His mouth is straight and firm, expressive in conversation, and easily breaking into smiles and laughter.

IN a brilliant little book on Nihilism, just published in London, Vera Sassulitch is called the first of the terrorists; and Sophy Perovsky is described as infinitely graceful and charming, as exquisitely neat and pretty; she loved children, and was the best sick nurse in the world; she had an indomitable will and the genius of affairs,—in short, a perfect Tourguéneff heroine. In Russia, she is regarded as a heroine and a martyr; and the cushion she used and the sofa she lay on are regarded as relics.

AT the dinner given to Gen. Grant at the Vendome, on the occasion of his recent visit to this city, Gen. Butler, in the absence of Gov. Long and by the Governor's request, responded for the State in his behalf, and in the course of his speech said, "Were I called upon, as representing Massachusetts, to take a distinguished stranger and show him the things wherein I was most proud of my State, of her honor and glory, I would first take him to our common schools, next to our colleges, and lastly to this exhibition of the high degree of skill reached in our mechanic arts."

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN, leader of the free Brahmins of India,—an almost Christian sect, opposed to idolatry and caste,—is a man of unusual attainments. He is a graceful orator, both in English and Bengalese, and a profound scholar in the philosophy and sciences of Europe. He has travelled much, having visited London and been presented to the Queen. Personally, he is of striking and handsome appearance, being more than six feet tall, and in the prime of life. He is very wealthy, and at his own expense maintains a large church in Calcutta, and edits and publishes a paper called the *New Dispensation*.

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In this age of scepticism, when almost everybody doubts and insists upon proof, this work cannot fail to be a great help to those whose visions are clouded by fears that the grave ends all, and that there is no spiritual existence beyond the dark valley. —*Boston Herald.*

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 253

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Sympathy as an Educator in Ethics, Wm. J. Potter, . . 254
The Relation of the Beautiful Arts to the Evolution Philosophy, W. Sloane Kennedy, ... 254
Truth in Error, Robert C. Adams, ... 255
Two Contemporary Queens, B. W. Ball, ... 256

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 257

POETRY.
Bugle-Call, H. T. Clark, ... 257

ESSAY.
The Creeds of Agnosticism, L. J. Vance, ... 258

CORRESPONDENCE.
Catholics in Politics, B., ... 261
Ecclesiastical Interference with Civil Government, Howard Worcester Gilbert, ... 261
Mr. Beecher on Herbert Spencer, Evolution, and Progress, Carl H. Horsch, ... 262

MISCELLANEOUS.
Extracts from Girard's Will, ... 262

BOOK NOTICES.
The Battle-ground of the Spiritual Reformation, by S. B. Brittan, M.D., ... 263
Rückert's "Wisdom of the Brahmin," by Charles T. Brooks, ... 263
Century Magazine, Atlantic Monthly, Catholic World, . 263

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 263

CURRENT TOPICS.

A CHRISTIAN missionary in China, who tenderly cared for a poor native left half-dead at his gate, is somewhat taken aback at the form his *protégé's* gratitude takes. The native now spends all his spare time in beseeching Buddha to turn him (the native) at death into an ass, so that his Christian benefactor may not be without one in the future world.

IN these days of liberal thinking and talking, the business corporation which undertakes to evade its legal responsibilities under the specious cloak of its veneration for religion fares badly, as a Horse Railway Company of Providence, R.I., lately discovered, when, on being sued by a lady of that city for compensation for damages received on its road, it claimed that, as the accident occurred on Sunday, all contracts made to carry passengers on that day were void, and hence they rode at their own risk. This plea only excited the ridicule of the court, and the lady was awarded heavy damages.

IN the *Congregationalist* and other denominational papers, theologians are discussing the question whether those who die in infancy have a probation after death. The Boston *Sunday Herald* exclaims, "What a question that is for theologians to be getting up a discussion over!" "How fortunate for the children," it adds "that they are taken care of by a loving Father when they leave this world, instead of falling a prey to theorizing theologians! Theology has seemed to have a grudge against the little ones ever since the disciples tried to keep them away from Jesus. But he said: 'Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

WHAT the Church of Rome is doing for the poor is shown by a Parisian journal called the *Pilgrim* (*Le Pelerin*), and profusely illustrated with pictures extolling the impostures at Lourdes, representing saints, angels, and priests triumphing over the damned, and devils falling to earth where they become free thinkers, encouraging hatred of the Jews, and calling attention to the repeated charge that the common school is a preparation for hell. Truly, the Church is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever,—always the foe of knowledge and mother of persecution. The first page of each number represents the Virgin Mary standing on the globe,—a felicitous device; for the world is turning round, and the idol already beginning to tumble off.

REV. DR. WILLIAM SALTER, of Burlington, Iowa, the father of one of our contributors, wrote the following in a communication to the Tariff Commission, which was ordered to be printed: "I beg leave to submit to your candid consideration the question of the expediency of placing books upon the 'free list.' The taxation of knowledge is especially objectionable among a people whose political institutions rest upon their general intelligence. It is a singular anomaly to put a tax of twenty-five per cent. upon new books, or those printed within twenty years, while old books come in free; as though antiquated and effete learning were best for our people, and we should be made to pay dearly for the latest knowledge. Would it not be more worthy an enlightened government to place no restriction upon the importation of books fresh from foreign centres of intelligence?"

STATISTICS of church charity in New York city, recently given in the *Times*, reveal the fact that those denominations are doing the most effective work whose structure is most organic. Where there is large individualism, there is apparently little for the masses. Thus, the Catholic and Episcopal Churches easily lead, the latter doing more than all the other Protestant denominations combined. This fact should perhaps be remembered, when the reproach is brought against the Episcopal Church of being fashionable and worldly. There is a marked difference between Catholic and other charities, in that the former give no account to the donor of how the contributions are laid out. As the *Times* says, "The Catholic Church compels the public to take its work on trust"; and, as matter of fact, it draws its funds for charity to no inconsiderable extent from outside secular hands. On the other hand, the report of every Protestant or secular charity institution gives the minutest details of expenditure. Further, something like a million of dollars is paid out of the city treasury, by order of the Albany Legislature, yearly for charitable purposes; and the lion's share of this amount goes to the Catholic Church.

SAYS the Boston *Herald:* "A letter from Prof. Haeckel, in the London *Academy* for November 4, puts to rest the question whether the letter addressed to Baron Mengden by Charles Darwin in 1879 has been correctly printed. He forwards a copy of the letter, of which the essential part reads thus: 'Science has nothing to do with Christ; except in so far, as the habit of scientific research makes a man cautious in admitting evidence. For myself I do not believe, that there ever has been any revelation. As for a future life, every man must judge for himself between conflicting vague probabilities.' These are his exact words and punctuation. In addition to this, Mr. Darwin is reported to have said to Dr. Ludwig Büchner a year ago, when the German scientist visited him in his English home: 'I am with you in thought, but I should prefer the word "agnostic" to the word "atheist." . . . I never gave up Christianity until I was forty years of age.' And, in reply to a question why he had given up Christianity, he added: 'It is not supported by evidence.' Mr. Charles Voysey, the English preacher of theism pure and simple, recently asserted that Mr. Darwin acknowledged himself to him to be a theist; but it is plain, from what is now published by Prof. Haeckel and Dr. Büchner, that he was an agnostic, and so uncommitted to any special conviction as to the future life."

THE Springfield *Republican* observes: "Dr. Smyth and Mr. Thayer now both occupy evangelical pulpits, and their doctrine is the very advance ground of Orthodoxy. Yet we cannot help seeing that their extended probation is based on the narrowest grounds, those of mere intellectual belief, and makes no account of character. They might personally hesitate to place Ralph Waldo Emerson among the damned, but their conditions of probation would surely place him there. He was not one of Newman Smyth's exceptions that might have a further trial,—'infants, idiots, antediluvians, some heathen, and children born apparently to no moral chance': he had received what Orthodoxy declares the indispensable requirements, and he did not comply with them. It is this subordination of character—which every one knows to be the one thing that is good for self and fellow-men—to mere belief, which may coexist with the most harmful nature,—do not 'the devils also believe and tremble'?—which makes it impossible for many thinking men in this age to respect Orthodoxy, or greatly to admire the cautious ventures that are made at the very edge of its pale." The fact that men have for centuries been surrounded and saturated with superstition, until it has become a part of their breath and blood, so to speak, can only explain the interest they manifest in discussions like those between Dr. Smyth and Mr. Thayer on the one side and their more orthodox opponents on the other. In view of the foolish controversies with which the orthodox clergy have diverted the attention of men from matters of practical importance, the decline of their influence, corresponding with the decay of theology, is one of the most happy signs of the times; and it is gratifying to see that there are multitudes now for whom the opinions of Newman Smyth and those of Prof. Park in regard to "extended probation" have no interest whatever beyond the indications they may afford of increasing freedom and independence of thought.

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SYMPATHY AS AN EDUCATOR IN ETHICS.

Under the tuition of science, we are not permitted, of course, to consider man as beginning his existence on earth in the condition in which we find him in civilized society to-day. We must think of him as beginning in the savage state, not "a little lower than the angels," but only a little above the brute animals. We must think of primitive men as subject to pain chiefly through their bodies. To mental and moral pain, they were yet dull. The "hunger and thirst after righteousness" had not yet come. It was actual bodily hunger and thirst that they knew. It was the beating of the pitiless elements upon their exposed bodies that they felt. It was not any pangs of conscience that pressed from them the cry of distress, but the keen agony of their flesh torn by wild beasts. Thus, sympathy was begotten, or the fellow-feeling of a common distress. Literally, the word "sympathy" means *suffering together*. And the first primitive manifestation of the feeling doubtless was that, when one was seen to suffer a present physical pain, another suffered over again in recollection a like pain experienced in the past. Philosophically considered, the essence of the feeling was the capacity of one man, through the faculty of remembering his own experience, to put himself imaginatively in another's place, so as mentally to feel pain because of another's physical pain.

But the function of sympathy did not stop with feeling. It immediately became active. From the *feeling* together there came a *banding* together for mutual protection against the common foes that caused the distress,—against the hunger, the cold, the pitiless elements, the ferocity of wild beasts, the assaults of more savage men. This was practical sympathy. And, in this way, the ingenuity, the strength, the experience, the quickened perception of the more fortunate and the more favored were put at the service of the weaker and less skilful members of the primitive human community. And hence this quality of sympathy between the two classes of human beings that have always existed in every human community, the distressed and the relievers of distress, the helped and the helpers, may almost be said to lie at the basis of civilization,—to be, at least, one of the most primary facts in the moral education of mankind.

And, through the whole history of the civilizing and educational development of the human race, the relation of these two classes to each other has retained, nor has yet lost, its place of dominant importance. There is no doubt that that feature of all life, human and infra-human, which later science has named "the struggle for existence," has had a tremendous influence in human education. Here has been the arena of competition and conflict in which both individual faculty and race characteristics, not only physical, but mental, have been shaped, sharpened, and strengthened. In this contest, qualities of courage, of sagacity, of independence, of hardihood, of endurance, of tenacity and persistency of purpose, have without doubt been cultivated and transmitted. And these are qualities, too, that have a moral side. But this feature of *sympathy* has had a place of equal importance in the schooling of the world; and, in its moral education, a place of vastly greater importance. The principle of the struggle for existence, with the survival of the fittest, might of itself have brought a strong intellectual development and a splendid material civilization; but it is more than doubtful whether alone it could have produced anything that could properly be called ethics. The root of ethics lies in the feeling between two or more men of having something in common whereof each must respect the other's share equally with his own. There could have been no practical morality until such a perception as this arose. Morality, therefore, demands in its very essence *fellow*-feeling, or the recognition of common interests and a common law, whereby people are bound together in mutual trust, regard, and helpfulness; that is, sympathy, both emotional and practical. But this is just the opposite of the principle of "the struggle for existence." This latter principle, operating by itself, would lead each individual to do the utmost for himself and his own life regardless of others. The weak would succumb in the struggle. The strong would survive, but each with his hand against his neighbor. Every man's house would be indeed his castle, bristling with weapons of offence and defence against every other man's; and a man's family would be merely an appendage for his own selfish aggrandizement and enjoyment and the better defence of his stronghold. There is, it is true, considerable of this attitude even to-day among the householders of civilized society toward each other. But we can better imagine than describe what would have been the state of things, if society had developed solely by this principle of "the struggle for existence," and there had come in no balancing and regulative principle of sympathy as an additional civilizing and educating force; if people had never learned to stand by and hold up and help on one another in the rough and hard places of life, and to pull one another through to some common place of safety and strength.

But, in fact, mankind learned very early that there was not merely a struggle for existence of individual against individual, or not so much that as a struggle for existence of the whole race against common foes. They learned that individuals, with all their aggrandizement of power, would stand little chance of preservation, unless the race (which to any particular people would be represented in their respective tribe or nation) should stand with or back of them. The enemies which they had to meet in nature's forces and in savage beasts could only be resisted and overcome by combination. The very weakness of individuals massed together by those capable of organizing sympathetic, co-operative effort, was thus converted into power. And, as mankind advanced, it was seen that there were other evils besides physical to which the human race was subject, other wretchedness than that of the body; and hence other ways of people standing by and helping one another than in matters of food or clothing or shelter or any real or threatened peril to the flesh. As intellectual capacity developed, it became evident that there was ignorance imprisoning many people's minds; baneful superstitions keeping them in darkness and terror; terrible passions and appetites preying upon mental as well as physical life; terrible vices consuming the vitality of intellect and heart with that of the body, and entailing their dire consequences of woe on posterity; terrible social injustices, too, keeping whole classes of people perforce in ignorance and want and degradation and animalism.

And the presence of these evils has called forth the army of helpers,—the philanthropic men, the tender, pitying women, who can themselves take no rest so long as this manifold wretchedness presses upon any portion of mankind; the benevolent hearts, the ready hands, that find in every suffering fellow-being a neighbor to be helped. Thus, the slave, the crushed and struggling peasant, the defrauded laborer, the victims of intemperance, the victims of lust, the slaves of ignorance and passion, the oppressed and degraded of every sort, whether by wrongs committed against their bodies or against their souls, have all found friends to hear their story and to plead their cause. At their cry of distress there is begotten in every genuinely human heart the feeling of compassion; and there springs up spontaneously to the rescue the band of consecrated workers, not large but determined, who have taken upon themselves the vow to live not to save themselves, but to save others, and to know no heaven as their reward but that which they shall make by lifting from mankind's shoulders its burden of woes. And it is certainly a great compensation for the hard fact of evil that, by this struggle with it, man's moral personality has been thus trained, culminating in the devout band of wise and humane souls who have been the world's redeemers and saviors.

WILLIAM J. POTTER.

THE RELATION OF THE BEAUTIFUL ARTS TO THE EVOLUTION PHILOSOPHY.

An enticing theme! and so broad and profound that one must plead guilty to the charge of rashness in throwing upon paper even a few hints, or outlines, of it.

The beautiful arts in any given epoch are always conditioned upon and organically articulated with the great substructure of the intellectual spirit of the age. Nothing so subtle, so elusive, so exquisitely capricious as beauty "gliding through the sea of form,"

> "Somewhat not to be possessed,
> Somewhat not to be caressed,"

and perhaps once in a thousand years deigning to "touch, for our despair," the work of our hands, and put upon it in one secular moment of eternity the stamp of undying beauty. It took a millennium for the art of Greece to flower out into perfect blossoms of shining stone; it took a thousand years for the Christian religion (although sublimed by the daring imagination of the Nazarene) to effloresce in the sculpture and painting and cathedral architecture of the Renaissance; and it may be a thousand years before supreme Beauty again incarnates herself in art. But it is possible for us even now to indicate the *Trieb*, or trend, which must characterize the efforts of artists.

The most apparent objective result of the discovery of human evolution has been to swing humanity around, as by the sweep of an enormous revolving platform, and entirely reverse the direction of faces.

In art, in morals, in religion, we were formerly a backward-looking race: we are now a forward-looking one,—I mean as respects our faith, our aspirations, our ideals; and, in the fine arts, these are the essential things. In regard solely to material or intellectual vision, the stretch of thought has been in every direction. The walls of experience have shot outward with enormous rapidity. And what of the fine arts? Are there any signs of reciprocal expansure on their part? Are artists aware that mankind is passing from its childhood into the dewy freshness of youth, and that the road into the new realm passes through the portal of Scientific Philosophy? Are they taking the hint? Have they caught glimpses of the inconceivable grandeur of the vista? Are they Titan-thewed for the struggle? Is the iron of eternity in their blood? Are the colored fires of the suns reflected in their eyes? Have they mental pictures of the far-stretching desolation of early geological eras, the sobbing waves, the vegetation, the monsters, the tree-combats of faun-men, the submergence of continents, the animal joy of the unconscious ages, the mythological ages? Have they caught the hint of resistless progress, and "in dens of passion and pits of woe" do they see

> "Strong Eros struggling through
> To sun the dark and solve the curse?"

If so, we ought to see signs of an abandonment

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or proper subordination of the thousand-times-thrashed straw of European mythologies, and a working up of Hindu, Japanese, and Aztec lore; we ought to find poets and other artists of thought working out bravely along the lines pioneered by science; we ought to have struggles to represent in art gigantic impersonations of Fate, or Brahm, in accordance with our broadened views of the universal sway of law. We should expect to find the old bookish style of belles-lettres becoming irksome and antiquated, and a fresh nature-invigorated literature, as well as painting and sculpture, coming into vogue,—gigantesque, Gothic, wild, and luxuriant, not cramped by the old classic rules, not Greekly sculpturesque (the time for that is not yet).

And we actually do find indications of all these things. The ideas I have spoken of are percolating through the mind of artists in words, colors, and forms. There are already a good many happy prologues to the swelling act of the imperial theme. In poetry, we have Emerson and Whitman, with their superb spirituality and faith in man and democracy; in Tennyson, too, there is a slight infusion of cosmism. Then there are Jean Paul, Goethe, and Hugo, all modern, democratic, cosmic. In music, we have Shaksperean Wagner, unconsciously voicing, in his magnificent Nibelungen musical dramas, the great secular thoughts awakened by the discovery of man's far origin, his long and terrible upward struggle, and the inconceivable splendor and vastness of the universe in which he is embosomed. In sculpture, perhaps there is no recent example of an artist inspired by the spirit of the Scientific Renaissance. Angelo and Thorvaldsen come nearest to the ideal sculptor of this age. In painting, the Englishmen Turner and Blake, and our American Hunt, had the gigantesque and Gothic quality, the richness of imagination, tempered with classic severity of taste.

I know not whether we ought not almost to class religion as a fine art, the highest of all. Certainly, in its historical aspect, on its ritualistic and mythological side, it has been a fine art,—art-ificial, at least. And if we take Mr. Abbot's definition of religion, "the effort of man to perfect himself" (and it is a definition having profound metaphysical bases), we shall still have to regard religion as in some sense a beautiful art. The chiselling of a beautiful character, the painting of beautiful ideals in the mind, the rhyming of the lines of life and duty with the lines of fate or nature,—is not this a beautiful art, the art of all arts? The line severing the moral from the beautiful is hard to draw. Emerson says of beauty,—

> "All that's good and great with thee
> Works in close conspiracy."
> —*Ode to Beauty.*

And it is that noble soul, whose mortal casing lies now under the flowers of Sleepy Hollow,—it is he, our lost guide, our great one, our commander, our father, who is (still in his books) the representative preacher of the age. Surely, with him religion was a beautiful art.

Such a survey as we have taken leads us to certain conclusions. In the first place, it must be admitted that all of the artists of the ideal in words, colors, forms, and character, who have been mentioned, received their impetus and inspiration from an age of faith,—from a time when Christianity was the impelling force. Whether artists of the beautiful shall now and henceforth do strong and adequate work depends upon one thing only; namely, upon the possession by them of faith and courage in view of the realities of life and death. It depends upon whether they can enlarge the range, velocity, and endurance of their minds in correspondence with the actualities of things. It depends upon whether they can keep their faith in the noumenal, or invisible, order of things, in spite of the sneers of coarse and inferior minds who, by reason of their limitations, are unable to see in the universe anything but lumps of dirt and seas of lifeless fire.

If they can do these things, then a splendid heritage is theirs. The Christian or any other mythology could never begin to offer the inspiration that streams out of every chink of the living universe of science. If man is willing to abate his ridiculous and petty claims, and take the position of obedient self-abnegation which a marvellous and august universe demands of him, that moment he will obtain peace of mind and artistic repose; his cheerfulness will return; he will cease to grow dyspeptic over worms and souls, and will take a wholesome pagan pleasure in grass and dew and roses and clouds, his dog, his dinner, and his wife; and his religious faith will crown his nature as unconsciously and beautifully as a sunset crowns the Alps with its amethyst and crimson splendors. And, when the mass of men reach this normal condition, the world will see a great out-flowering of the ideal arts.

W. SLOANE KENNEDY.

TRUTH IN ERROR.

I. Hell.

It may be asserted that all universal beliefs have either been founded upon some genuine fact of nature or have been serviceable in the development of man. They may have been to a great extent mistaken inferences, but there was a basis of truth and a measurably beneficial result. When more of the fact is discovered, man's conceptions change, and he alters his belief and his methods. In rejecting the religious dogmas, whose falsity is being exposed by the increasing light of science, we do well to search if there is any good thing in them and preserve the truth germs they may contain, which have been helpful to man in the past, remembering Shakspere's words,—

> "There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
> Would men observingly distill it out."

One of the most prominent universal beliefs is that of punishment after death, which in Calvinism has assumed the form of the doctrine of the eternal torment in hell of all who reject the way of salvation by the atonement of Christ. The falsity of this dogma has often been shown; but its opponents do not always recognize the fact that its belief rests upon a fundamental truth, which is, that the law of the unfailing succession of cause and effect prevails in morals as truly as in the physical world.

It is considered a waste of words to attack the Calvinistic doctrine of endless punishment, for it may fairly be claimed that no intelligent person now believes it. True, many profess to believe it, and some even think they believe it; but, judged by accepted rules of evidence, their belief is disproved. Genuine belief is always manifested in corresponding action. Belief in the existence of a pitfall, the approach of an avalanche, or the presence of a wild beast, is always eagerly communicated to others. Men will not allow others to go into danger without warning, and without deep concern for their welfare. Judged by this rule, how many really believe the doctrine of everlasting punishment? If men all around us are going down to an eternal hell, and Christians believe it and know of an easy way of escape, would they so seldom vary their lives of business and pleasure by a word to the impenitent? Would they be able to live contentedly in a round of diversion, music, embroidery, and cigar-smoking, while their neighbors are dropping into ceaseless doom, where "the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever"? Would ministers of churches only make vague allusions to the dread dogma, and leave the preaching of terror to evangelists, without charge of societies, who are not imperilled by the dissent of parishioners? It is seldom preached now in city churches, and ministers' minds are everywhere perplexed in the effort to reconcile revelation with good taste.

Genuine belief is evidenced not only by action, but also by a consistent application of the theory espoused. But the doctrine of eternal damnation is never applied within the circle of the believer's acquaintance: it only does for strangers and heathen, or possibly, like Artemas Ward, for one's wife's relations. In all cases where sympathy is aroused, it is denied or evaded. A lady, brought up in this creed, professedly held to it, until a favorite son, a wild, wayward boy, swam across a stream to rob an orchard, and, being chased by the owner, was drowned in mid stream, with profane curses on his lips. Her creed sent him to hell; but the loving mother's heart abolished the creed, and she ceased to be a Calvinist.

Two ladies, cousins, lived alongside of each other in a seaport town. One was brought up as a Calvinist, the other as a Unitarian. They were wealthy, intelligent, hospitable, and especially kind to the poor. They lived to old age, and died,—one trusting in Christ for salvation through his atoning blood, the other, without any faith in Christ, peacefully committing her soul into the hands of her heavenly Father. A lady who was a cousin of both was asked, "Can any one be saved who rejects Christ as an atoning Saviour?"

She emphatically answered, "No, the Bible clearly says so: 'He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.'"

"Did your cousin S. believe in Christ as a Saviour?"

"No, she died as she lived, denying that he was anything more than a good man."

"Then, she is in hell!"

She started in horror, and replied: "Oh, she was a dear good soul! It can't be!"

Let us see what the doctrine of hell means, when consistently applied. The population of the world is stated to be 1,350,000,000. Of these, about 300,000,000 are nominal Christians; but very few have been converted or born again, and, "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." The majority rely for salvation upon the rites of the church or good works, or else are indifferent as to their future state. An estimable and learned man has lately said in a public lecture that, of those whom men call Christians, God would only call two per cent. Christians. Upon this estimate there are six million truly converted Christians in the world; and, as about forty million people die every year, it follows logically that 180,000 people yearly go to heaven, and 39,820,000 are doomed to hell. There have been many people who would have assented to this, and who had no hope for the salvation of infants and heathen; but the mind and heart of the nineteenth century revolt from these atrocious statements. Infant salvation is now generally admitted, except that Roman Catholics limit salvation to the baptized. This rescues half of the human race; and charity saves a majority of the rest, in fact all toward whom sentiment is excited. Men will not now admit there are few that be saved, though they still profess to revere the words of Jesus,—"few are chosen," and "few there be that find it." To make the doctrine less horrible, some say that the unbelieving are annihilated. They find this in the Bible, but the great majority of Christians do not so read it. Others say the heathen will not perish;

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but, to justify foreign missions, Prof. Shedd preached a sermon before the American Board, entitled "The Guilt of the Pagan," enforcing Paul's words, "For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law"; and he proved that, according to the Scriptures, the heathen are "without excuse." The Broad Churchman relies upon Canon Farrar's interpretation of *aionios* and *gehenna* to soften the doctrine, and limit the duration of the penalty.

But none of these explanations reconcile the eflecting mind and tender heart to the doctrine of damnation as being the will and revelation of God. An eminent Congregational minister was asked what he thought about eternal punishment. "I try never to think of it," was replied. "If I do, it gives me the blues for a fortnight." When an unregenerate philanthropist dies, men fall back upon "the mercy of God," and say, "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right!" "None will perish without a good reason for it." "We know not what may have passed between the soul and its Saviour in the last moments." Carlyle, Emerson, Longfellow, and Darwin may reject revelation with impunity, but woe to the unknown and unhonored unbeliever!

A doctrine thus loosely believed is not worthy of attack, and we can only wonder that men do not abandon it in principle, as they have already done in practice. Instead of attempting to trim down the doctrine into accord with science and sense, thus conceding the imperfection of "revelation," is it not more honoring to God and more creditable to man to admit that the New Testament contains merely the human record of the human beliefs of the age in which it was written?

But is this all-prevailing idea of hell, reaching over all lands and back through distant ages, utterly false? No: it is founded on fact and use, as is every other human belief. The fact is the pleasurableness of good and the painfulness of evil. In the long run, virtue brings its own reward and sin its own curse; and these results continue while existence lasts. The sinner will forever be the worse off for his sin: no atonement, no death-bed repentance, can remove the natural consequences of sin to the guilty. It is untrue that a complete and hopeless doom will be arbitrarily inflicted upon the sinner; but the natural ill of each transgression will follow its commission. Nature has recuperative power: the wound in the flesh is healed; but the effort has made a certain drain, minute it may be, upon the stock of vitality. So, evil in the end may sometimes lead to good, but there has been a loss that is never repaired. Men seem to escape the consequences of their evil acts; but a knowledge of their thoughts and lives would show the ills they bear, and these are often more plainly manifested in their posterity. This is the truth that underlies the false doctrine of hell,—natural retribution.

The use of the belief is the restraining power of fear. This has been a potent influence in the past; but the doubted threat loses its power, and men are losing belief in hell. It no longer terrifies educated people, and its far-away curse does not restrain the passionate.

Liberals are accused of lessening the restraints upon immorality by overthrowing the Bible doctrine of everlasting punishment; but they really are more severe toward sin than are the orthodox, for they do not encourage the sinner to believe that the consequences of lifelong crimes can be escaped by the lifting of the eye to the cross. They teach unavoidable injury from sin.

Though men cease to have the dread of eternal, hopeless torture before them, other motives may be as serviceable. The perception of the advantages of goodness, a sense which is growing in man through the experience of ages, the certainty of the human retribution of crime, which social science will yet evolve, and the perception of the inevitable natural punishment which follows all wrong-doing,—this hope and these fears will regenerate the world. ROBERT C. ADAMS.

TWO CONTEMPORARY QUEENS.

An Historic Study.

Next to Helen and Cleopatra, Mary Queen of Scots is the most winning of the heroines of history and historic romance. Ever new generations of admirers love her by hearsay. She is always conceived of as was Helen, as inviolably beautiful, in spite of all her woes and sufferance, and as exciting love, desire, and admiration in all who came within her influence. She is sure to become even now the ideal lady-love of more or less historic students in each new generation, so that her memory never lacks vindicators. And she still continues to win more or less converts or perverts to Romanism, which is now nothing but a reactionary sentimentalism which fondly fancies that it can stay the tidal wave of current industrial, scientific, and democratic civilization. From her "brilliant window-niche" in history, the Scottish queen rays out a continuous charm, like Poe's "Psyche":—

> "Lo, in yon brilliant window-niche
> How statue-like I see thee stand,
> An agate lamp within thy hand,—
> Ah, Psyche, from the regions which
> Are holy land!"

Her beauty was, as it were, forever sanctified by her tragic fate. She seems the sweeter for her woes and sorrows. She is in lovely feminine contrast to her sister queen, the haughty and intellectually masculine Elizabeth. Her grim enemy, John Knox, makes her soft, feminine lineaments seem still more bewitching by contrast. She was a queen in her gracious bearing to the last, and died with heroinely fortitude.

In Schiller's "Maria von Stuart," while a prisoner at Fotheringay, she is represented as apostrophizing the clouds which were sailing over her head in the direction of that land of France, where she had known naught but joy and honor and felicity. It was no wonder that she yearned to be wafted away with them from imprisonment and impending death to the fair land of her youth. Doubtless, the Queen of Scots was a beautiful, joyous, brave woman, full of love and poetry, and as good as the terrible times and the infamous society and faith in which she was nurtured would permit her to be. It is sufficient to say that she had been brought up in the Court of Catherine de Medici of Bartholomew Massacre infamy. Mary was religious after the fashion of the France of her time and of her Church. The Roman Catholic God of the period was a Moloch, whose nostrils dilated with delight while snuffing the odor of burning heretics, and whose favorite worshippers were high-born harlots and incestuous kings, and whose favorite priests and ministers were Jesuit assassins of heretical monarchs.

The only marvel is that Mary was even as good as she was. Walter Scott, Schiller, Alfieri, and lastly Swinburne have made her the subject of dramatic and romantic representation. As for Queen Elizabeth, she was the greatest sovereign who ever sat on the throne of England. She helped to break the bonds of Rome. Largely through her it was that the Anglo Saxon race became the champions and initiators of civil and religious liberty in both hemispheres. Hers was indeed a "lion port and awe-commanding face," to borrow the words of the poet Gray.

She was, in her inexorable will and courage, a true daughter of Henry VIII.; and she needed all her determination and leonine qualities to confront and foil her enemies, whether open or covert. Spain was then the foremost power of Europe, and was roasting heretics by hecatombs wherever her hideous sway extended. The smoke of her *autodafé* darkened the atmosphere of both hemispheres. Her rulers were atrabiliar, demoniac devotees, who by contrast make Nero, Caligula, and Tiberius quite respectable and amiable. The great heretical queen of England stood like a tower, the conspicuous mark of Roman Catholic, or rather Jesuitical hate and conspiracy; for it was in Elizabeth's time that the new order of Jesuits took the Papacy in charge, with the purpose of checkmating and counterworking the Reformation of Luther, proclaiming that any means, even assassination, were justified by the end which they had in view; namely, the prevention of the enlightenment of the people by the spread of knowledge, which, according to the historian Hume, they foresaw would be fatal to superstition and priestcraft in the long run.

But Queen Bess was equal to the emergency. She baffled all her foes, whether they were sneaking Jesuitical assassins or great kings with fleets and armies behind them. She saw from the safe shore of her inviolate island-realm the mighty Armada, which was gathered for her destruction and the forcible restoration of England to the papal fold, dispersed and destroyed by the tempest and the valor of her undaunted sea-rovers or vikings, such as Drake and Raleigh. Elizabeth was not only a great ruler, but she had the elements, natural and acquired, of a great writer in her, if she had been born in a private station. In that case there would have been one illustrious literary lady in the group of great scholars, thinkers, philosophers, and poets, who were her subjects and contemporaries. Had the case been reversed, and Queen Elizabeth been in Queen Mary's power, she would have been put to death in obedience to the demand of the Roman Curia.

It was a bloody and cruel age; and Elizabeth, instead of being made a sacrifice herself, was able to sacrifice her enemies. Although a regular Tudor and despot (for as yet a constitutional monarchy was unknown), still Queen Elizabeth, by the check which she gave to the Roman Curia, the patroness of tyrannies and despotisms of all sorts, must be regarded as a forerunner and promoter of modern science, liberty, and civilization. She was, in fact, the crowned pioneer of the social, political, and intellectual state of things in which we find ourselves living to-day. As for her fairer rival, Mary, she was a siren, a Circe, whose blandishments were all on the side of mediæval or feudal tyranny, priestcraft, and popular superstition and ignorance,—that is, on the side of the feudal Church and State. Out of her loins issued that ill-starred and wrong-headed brood of Stuart kings, one of whom was a coward, an ungainly pedant, and licentious in a manner not to be described in a living speech; while another was beheaded; and another was a dissolute *roué*; and still another and the last of the bad lot was expelled from his kingdom, or ran away from it, never to return.

Thus was the ill-starred but beautiful mother succeeded by a progeny equally ill-starred. In spite of the Stuarts, feudal England was bound to become modern, industrial, and, ere long, democratic England, and to plant overshadowing republics in the farthest West and East,—republics that will yet Anglo-Saxonize the entire globe, or cover it with free Anglo-Saxon institutions, and make the air of

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every land and clime resonant with the accents of the most cosmopolitan of all tongues,—namely, the English or English-American. B. W. BALL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

UNTIL further notice, make all cheques and drafts payable to the order of John C. Haynes.

DR. G. STANLEY HALL has an article on "The Education of the Will," in the Princeton *Review* for November, which deserves the attention of those interested in the moral training of children.

USUALLY, the source of weakness in all such attempts is the religious crank, the man who determines to found the organization upon some ism, and who thrusts forward his notions as offensively as the most fanatical ecclesiastic. We remember one instance in point, where a liberal club was formed and where the majority of the members preferred that it should be confined largely to the subject of natural history, but where one individual insisted upon a new era from which history should be dated; namely, the birth of Thomas Paine. Now, a liberal society should be disposed to treat Paine and Jesus and all other men with perfect impartiality, aiming only to arrive at the real truths of history. It is not man worship, but truth we are seeking; not the substitution of one dogma or one master for another, but the perfect freedom to learn the actual facts in religious history, and the latest that science has brought to us of the universe and its life.—*New Religion*.

IN a recent discourse at Cincinnati, Rabbi Benjamin said: "The question now naturally arises, What would be the probable effect, if the ministers of the various religions persisted in purifying their faith by removing the inaccurate and unnecessary, and maintaining only the true and everlasting? There would be a steady and gradual diminution in the differences that separate sects, in the ill-will that sectarianism engenders, thus leading to the practice of a universal religion,—which I venture to prognosticate would be a reformed Judaism, and thus leading to the coming of the glorious time when all men will be as brothers, working hand in hand for the general good and for the individual happiness." The effect of the "purifying" process, according to Rev. M. J. Savage, would be Unitarianism. Now, what does Rabbi Benjamin mean by reformed Judaism and what does Mr. Savage mean by Unitarianism? Is either system broad enough to accept on terms of perfect equality the agnostic who says, I am doubtful about God and immortality, but believe in "working hand in hand for the general good and for the individual happiness."

THE following powerful sonnet is from Swinburne's *Tristram of Lyonnesse, and Other Poems*:—

ON THE RUSSIAN PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS.

O Son of Man, by lying tongues adored,
By slaughterous hands of slaves with feet red-shod,
In carnage deep as ever Christian trod
Profaned with prayer and sacrifice abhorred
And incense from the trembling tyrant's horde,
Brute worshippers or wielders of the rod,
Most murderous even of all who call thee God,
Most treacherous even that ever called thee Lord;
Face loved of little children long ago,
Head hated of the priests and rulers then,
If thou see this, or hear these hounds of thine
Run ravening as the Gadarean swine,
Say, was not this thy Passion, to foreknow
In death's worst hour the works of Christian men?

"I AM not," says Col. Higginson, "one of those to whom the election of Gen. Butler seems the worst of calamities, although I sincerely regret it. It is a part of the general reaction against the shortcomings of the Republican party, which reaction I personally share. Some of Gen. Butler's views in regard to State government seem to me very reasonable, though nine-tenths of what he says on this subject is undoubtedly pure clap-trap. He will have every inducement to make a good governor, and his powers will be so limited that he will be compelled to the exercise of some tact and conciliation. The chief evil of his election is in the bad example that it gives to our young people, of success attained by the arts of a demagogue. Nevertheless, an occasional relapse of that kind is quite inevitable under a republican government."

A CORRESPONDENT of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* writes that,

The Tithing House is still in active use in Salt Lake City, and through it half a million a year is collected by the Mormon officials. This comes mostly from the poor; and nobody knows to what use it is put, although many had their surmises, when they found that Brigham Young, although not entitled to any salary, died worth several millions. The rich evade their tithes in a variety of ways: the poor must pay them, or they are subjected to trouble and annoyance. When they have paid their tithes, they are not out of debt to the Church. They must contribute, when called upon, to the erection of new buildings, or do anything else which the priesthood may demand. "Better starve your body than your soul," and away goes the last bushel of corn or the last sheep or the last steer.

MR. JAMES K. APPLEBEE, in a recent discourse at the Parker Memorial, said: "There is another thing that I object to,—that is, the very common practice of giving people certain privileges because they happen to be preachers. Very often, when I have been making purchases, storekeepers have said, 'The price of this article is so much; but, as you are a minister, we'll charge you so much less.' Now, why should that be? Why should I be treated like a baby, and be defrauded of my right to drive my own bargains? Out West, they have a vicious custom of allowing ministers to travel on the railroads for half-fare. That is a union between the Church and the railroads every whit as vicious, in its way, as any union between Church and State. It costs so much to run the railroads; and, if a certain class of people pay less than others, the others must be taxed to make up the loss. Let the minister take his place, a citizen among other citizens; and let him pay his own way, as other citizens do."

PROF. FELIX ADLER, in a recent lecture before the Society for Ethical Culture, said: "The Free Religious Association arose in opposition to the claim of Christianity that it is the only true religion. Christianity has always claimed that it considers itself to be the light, and all other religions the shadow. It quietly ignores the most obvious facts, and uses the word 'Christian' as if it were synonymous with 'religious.' But in modern times, since the faith of Persia, with its fervid mysticism, has become known; since the beautiful legends of Buddha have made us acquainted with the religious ideals of millions on millions of our fellow-men in the East; since the writings of the German philosophers and of many philanthropists and reformers have been studied,—the proud claim of the Christian must be disputed. It has become evident that a vivid religiosity, reverence for the great, hate of wrong and love of right, is to be found among the professors of the world's various creeds, and not only that, but among the small company of those who have in all nations and ages held aloof altogether from the popular theologies. When the Unitarian clergy assembled at Syracuse, and after a determined opposition adopted a preamble, in which they declared themselves to be followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, there were a number of men in that body who declined to be bound by what was tantamount to a formulated creed, who declined to indorse the opinion that morality must be stamped with the name of Christianity's founder in order to pass as acceptable coin; and it was through their efforts that the Free Religious movement was started. In so far as the Free Religious Association implied a protest against intolerance and narrowness, its work was valuable."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

BUGLE-CALL.

Rouse thee, warrior! Idle dreaming
Ill befits thy stalwart might,
While the crimson watch-fires streaming
Flare above yon dusky height!

Lift thine eyes, and gird thine armor;
Never let thy stout heart quail.
Let no voice of subtle charmer
Lure thee from thy burnished mail.

Not in vain shall be thy breasting
Of the foes that strike thy steel:
If thou draw at Truth's behesting,
Naught shall make thy courage reel.

Not on reddened fields of battle,
Where the flower of manhood dies,
Where the cannon's roar and rattle
Murks the azure of the skies,

Shall thy victories await thee,
With the woven crown of fame,
But where men revile and hate thee,
And where falsehood blights thy name.

Bring the valor that thou vauntest
To thy daily, toiling life:
That shall be thy field of contest,
That thy never-ending strife!

Greet the poison of the hater
With the olive-branch of love;
Meet the whisperings of the traitor
With the whiteness of the dove.

Front the coward blow that smites thee
With the outstretched palm of peace;
Nourish him who ill requites thee
From thy harvest's full increase.

Mourn not seeming lost affection,—
That which perisheth is vain;
Nor essay its resurrection:
'Tis not worth thy tears and pain.

Cast the links so lightly riven
Back into thy changeless Past.
That which *thou* hast freely given
Grudge not! It shall surely last.

Let not Disappointment sting thee:
Sweeter than the siren's song,—
Kindly cruel,—she shall bring thee
To the highways of the strong.

Let thy step be sure and steady
On the grief-girt Hills of Time.
Keep thy heart and hand full ready
For thy brother's feet that climb!

As the years that bring thee nearer
To the daisies and the sod
Purge thine earthly vision clearer,
Till thou seest the truths of God,

That which vexed thee, that which frets thee,
Shall be caught like mist away,
By the Hand of Love that sets thee
Far above the lessening fray,

When the speech of scorn and censure
That made dark thine earlier days,
Slow-repented, peradventure,
Shall be changed to songs of praise!

H. T. CLARK.

FLORENCE, MASS.

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The Index.

BOSTON. NOV. 30. 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index*.

THE CREEDS OF AGNOSTICISM.

BY L. J. VANCE.

The formidable prominence into which the creeds of Agnosticism have sprung up at the present day merits (it seems to me) all the attention which conservative thinkers are bestowing upon them. The present inquiry concerns not only the genesis and development of the formulated creeds of the agnostics, but also their present acceptability.

The rapid manner in which the arguments advanced by Agnosticism are making sturdy proselytes; the aggressive attitude which it assumes toward everything in the established religion; the bold, initiatory steps which it has taken forward in matters of belief,—in these many ways, Agnosticism is fast exciting alike the hopes and fears of rival parties.

There are several features presented by Agnosticism which we may briefly point out. We find on examination that the agnostics as a class are not at all united by any one system, not subscribing to any one set of tenets, nor are they united by any other common bond except the mere fact of their Agnosticism. It may seem strange that even the agnostics cannot agree upon a creed to which they can pin fast their common faith. The result is that rival systems flourish side by side, and skilful advocates urge their acceptance as eloquently as their abilities will permit. Prominent among these creeds of Agnosticism stand face to face the systems promulgated under the names of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. The antagonism between them is recognized as deeply seated. This issue raised between these creeds cannot be overlooked or avoided by the agnostics, however much they may deprecate its unfortunate occurrence. The creed of one is formulated as "The Religion of Humanity"; the other side "utterly reject" such a form of Agnosticism, as unfounded in fact and as unscientific. It would look as if the best way to reconcile this antagonism would be to keep the two creeds separate and apart. A recent writer, in an exceedingly ingenious article, thinks he can "bridge over" the chasm between the contending parties. (See *Index* for August 3.) However, a brief *résumé* of the manner in which the agnostics have arrived at their creeds will clear up much that has hindered both sides from coming to a lasting truce, and will show us wherein Agnosticism has failed at times to meet the test.

It may be confidently asserted that Religion and Agnosticism are fundamentally based upon a common origin. The truth of this proposition is at once clear and convincing. Comparative mythology, together with philology, has furnished us with evidence which explains the origin and growth of the religious beliefs of primitive man. We may briefly summarize the results of these investigations.

1. Philological inquiries point to the conclusion that, in the earliest stages of his existence, man was unconsciously a monotheist. That is to say, he worshipped one God only. The evidence seems to show that for this Power he had no distinctive name. Hence, primitive man at first said, "It rains," "It thunders," etc. It should be borne in mind, however, that the state of language at so primitive a state did not permit the use of more than a single sound to express a separate idea.

2. The evidence furnished by comparative mythology is abundant enough to show that, at a later stage of man's development, the words which were at first used as verbs were turned into nouns, and as such they became the names of deities. This is Polytheism. In the lowest stage of polytheism, everything is regarded as full of life and animation: the clouds roar; the trees speak; the mountains walk; in short, all phenomena are endowed with human attributes. In the highest stage of polytheism, man's mental, social, and moral characteristics are deified. In this stage, we have a God of Love, a God of War, a God of Peace and Plenty, together with numerous other deities, who watch over the doings of man here on earth.

3. The next forward step in the evolution of religion was taken by the Semitic people. The nature of their language necessitated such a step. Their gods are derived from roots denoting purely moral attributes. Thus, Baal signifies ruler; Moloch also means to govern; the name El signifying the "Almighty" is transformed at a later date into Jehovah, the "self-existent." The mythology of the Shemities will show quite clearly that the personalities of their gods reveal the objects of nature which they represent. (Müller, *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 348-352.)

From the preceding, it will be seen that the Rev. Mr. Chadwick correctly expresses the truth when he says that "the essence of religion is man's sense of his relation to the universe, and his endeavor somehow to convert this sense into a binding law of life." The origin of all religious belief is only partially interpreted when the writer in *The Index* (see the number for February 16) stated the source lies in man's dependence on Nature and her forces. Primitive man attempted to solve the mysteries that environed him, in order that he might take advantage of his knowledge to promote his own welfare. If man had no hopes or fears to satisfy, Religion would never have arisen. Therefore, man hoped some day that his relation to the universe would be satisfactorily known. His hopes led him to seek consolation that happiness would come through religion. When man saw that he was a mere child before the powers above and beyond him, his fears led him to seek preservation by invoking the kindly aid of gods. Hence, religion is a birth from mythology, and afterward cradled by philosophy. In the many-hued rainbow, in the vivid flash of lightning, in the chilling blasts of wind that are felt but not seen, in the movements of the sun and the heavenly bodies, in the clouds of fantastic shapes,—in all these and many other things, man was profoundly impressed with the wonders of nature. Then, again, these same wonders caused man to shudder at his dependence.

At one time the clouds, a moment before so bright, now darkened in rage, and torrents of rain and fierce storms would destroy his home. The lightning, with crashing force, would destroy the stoutest oak and cleave the body of the human victim. The burning sun would wither up all vegetation, dry up the streams, and man's means of subsistence were gone. And so the religious beliefs of man continued to be only a definition of his dependence upon the universe through the aid of gods, until some day he began to inquire into his faith and look into the grounds for his belief.

At this point there is a break. Right here, Agnosticism, which had heretofore kept pace with Religion, takes its starting. To think that the very inquisitiveness which led man to formulate a religion to satisfy his fears, and for his self-protection, should at last be the means of arousing the very hopes and fears he had hoped to satisfy! This is the fatal fact. When man first studied the wonders of nature, two important things were noticed:—

1. Some phenomena were evidently regular. Thus, the succession of day and night, the succession of the seasons, the regular growth of animal and plant, was something that occurred regularly.

2. It was observed that some phenomena took place at irregular intervals. Thus, showers of meteors, the appearances of comets, and sudden epidemics were things that took men by surprise. Hence, the important fact should be noticed that the changes which occurred so irregularly were attributed to gods. At another stage of development, man thought he could give a valid explanation of these arbitrary phenomena. In this first explanation of nature's operations, the agnostic asserts his earliest creed; namely, all changes in the universe act in blind obedience to invariable law.

This proposition, of itself, is not formidable. The subscriber to this creed may or may not be an agnostic. If we believe that invariable law is the cause of phenomena, if we accept the explanation that it includes within itself all power, then we are agnostics. If, on the other hand, we believe that there is an Infinite Power immanent in the world of spirit and of matter, yet transcending both, we are Theists. The former thinks that his creed explains itself. The latter admits that, while physical nature is governed by laws, still invariable law explains nothing either by itself or of itself. John Stuart Mill wisely declared that "the laws of nature do not account for their own origin." The question seems narrowed down to the precise meaning and import of the term "law," especially in connection with the phenomena of nature. Huxley gives a singular definition of this term. He says, "Law means a rule which we have always found to hold good, and which we expect always will hold good" (*Lay Sermons*, p. 340). Note that the wary scientist speaks of law as "a rule," not intimating whether there is a ruler. Belief in law, which is a tenet of the agnostic, is connected with belief in a law-giver, which is a tenet of the theist. If law always holds good, the one who gives those laws we expect, of necessity, would always hold good, too. This leads us irresistibly to inquire, if law reigns throughout the physical world, is it supreme over everything, or is it under control of some Power? The venerable Prof. Peirce pertinently puts it in this wise: "If everything is governed by law, and if all the power is in the physical universe that ever was there, where is God?" He adds, as his individual response, "In the intention." Another instructive interpretation may be found in the language of Principal Dawson. "Law," he writes, "expresses the uniform exercise of some force or power. We may speak of law as a voluntary limitation of God's power." The controversy over this word "law" is the direct outgrowth of metaphysical interference. No permanent advantage can be gained to either parties by quibbling over a word of their own coining. A line in Emerson correctly sets forth what both sides wish, but cannot say,—

"And Conscious Law is King of kings."

In the foregoing, enough has been indicated that this elementary creed of Agnosticism is purely objective. An Infinite Power in some form or another has ever been recognized in the earliest as well as the latest times by all men. In our method of recognizing this Infinite Power may be said to consist either our Agnosticism or our Theism. In one sense, we are agnostics, if we recognize this Power objectively. If we recognize the Infinite Power subjectively, we are, in a certain sense, theists. Here, we have the primary starting-points of the creeds of all religion. Let us briefly examine, and see how such antagonistic creeds could have arisen. This brings us down to the latest teachings of modern Agnosticism. In the writings of Herbert Spencer are found the cleverest exposition of the position of the agnostics. With laborious exactness of detail, with its cogency of argument, with its subtile analysis and felicity of expression, the work of Spencer excites at once the expressions of admiration from those who pay honor to merit. His one great aim he set out to fulfil a quarter of a century ago, and he has at last built up an imposing system of philosophy. Nothing has been spared to make it complete; nothing has seemed to escape his keen glance, in order that everything should be utilized in the erection of his philosophy. Therefore, an examination of his system, as set forth in his *First Principles* and other works, is necessary in considering the creeds of Agnosticism.

Spencer divides the universe into two divisions,—the Knowable and the Unknowable. It is unfortunate Spencer has given no express definition of either of these important terms. I have looked in vain for such an explanation. What does Herbert Spencer mean by "Knowable" and "Unknowable"? If by Knowable he means knowableness, and by Unknowable unknowableness, as concrete terms, denoting

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an object by its objective properties, we refuse to believe it. If, on the contrary, Spencer uses these words abstractly, they denote, ontologically, nothing. Another thing should be noticed: Spencer uses Unknowable and Knowable with two opposite meanings. First, we have the Unknowable and Knowable in science, and, secondly, the Unknowable and Knowable in religion. And he certainly has not shown that, used in these ways, the terms are strictly identical, or of the same quality. Under the chapter of the "Knowable," he discusses (1) Ultimate Religious ideas, (2) Ultimate Scientific ideas, (3) the Relativity of all Knowledge. Let us rapidly examine these propositions.

Spencer starts out under this subject of ultimate religious ideas with the undisputed assertion that "to the aboriginal man, and to every civilized child, the problem of the Universe suggests itself." The next step is to examine the origin of the universe. He criticises the three suppositions regarding this question. He says, "We may assert that it is self-existent; or that it is self-created; or that it is created by external agency" (*First Principles*, p. 30). After carefully examining these suppositions, he comes to the conclusion that "these three different suppositions, verbally intelligible though they are, and severally seeming quite rational, turn out, when critically examined, to be literally unthinkable. It is not a question of probability, or credibility, but of conceivability." He then examines the nature of the universe. Thus, he asks, How came all these things so? and this leads him to the nature of the First Cause. He asks, "Is the First Cause finite or infinite?" He shows to his satisfaction that the First Cause, "if it can not, it must be infinite"; that it must be absolute; that the Infinite is unconditionally unlimited; that the unconditionally limited is the Absolute.

Spencer is candid enough to define "a religious creed as an *a priori* theory of the Universe, leaving out the accompanying moral code." In examining aboriginal creeds, be they fetich, polytheistic, monotheistic, or pantheistic, they assert that there is a mysterious something to be explained, that such and such is the explanation (*First Principles*, p. 44). As the final conclusion to all his philosophical examination, Spencer enunciates the creed of the agnostic; namely, that the Power which the universe manifests us is utterly inscrutable. This is an ultimate religious idea.

Under the subject of ultimate scientific ideas, Spencer starts out with five things, or objects. They are space and time, matter and motion, and lastly force. After his examination of space and time, he concludes they are "wholly incomprehensible." So, also, he says, after searching analysis, that "matter, in its ultimate nature, is as absolutely incomprehensible as space and time." Motion, after undergoing the same method, is shown, neither when considered in connection with space, or when in connection with matter, or considered in connection with rest, do we find it truly cognizable. And, again, "It is impossible to form any idea of force." The conclusion of Spencer is thus summarized: that space, time, matter, motion, and force "are all representative of realities that cannot be comprehended"; that, whether in the external or the internal world, these things are absolutely unknown; that they are beyond our comprehension, and to think of them either in past time or in the future is something we cannot do. In the final conclusion of this examination, Spencer asserts that, in its ultimate essence, nothing can be known. This is an ultimate scientific idea.

Together, these two propositions constitute the formulated creeds of Agnosticism. He attempts to combine these two conclusions into some common faith. The two creeds just enunciated both hold in common that the Absolute is unknowable. Yet Spencer elaborately argues that we have "an indefinite consciousness" of the Absolute. What is this indefinite consciousness? If it is a vague and uncertain consciousness of *something* that is absolutely inconceivable, we are agnostics of the Herbert Spencer school. This something of which we are indefinitely conscious, this something which is Absolute, this something which is unlimited and unconditioned, this something which is an inscrutable Power, this something of which we have no knowledge, this something which is all this and something more, is to be revered as the Unknowable. This Power works in us certain effects (*First Principles*, p. 557). Among these may be mentioned that man recognizes that he is a mere plaything in the hands of the Unknowable; that man must bow down with all humility before this Unknowable Power, who exacts worship in the form of obedience to his inflexible will. The Unknowable is an object of religious adoration. Yet it seems almost absurd to recognize the Unknowable as an object of worship, when Spencer is never tired of asserting that this Power is absolutely incognizable. The worship of an unknowable God is not worship at all. It is pure symbolism, and nothing else. To worship something which is incognizable, inconceivable, or incomprehensible, is to worship a *figuræ dictionis* of your own making. The Unknowable is the Frankenstein of Spencer's creation; and, as is usually the case, such a being is the spectre of its creator.

There is still another aspect of Agnosticism. This phase is presented by the teachings of Auguste Comte. A brief summary may be needful. The fundamental tenets of this class of agnostics are:—

1. That Humanity is the Supreme Being whom we should worship.

2. That Humanity is the mediator between man and the Infinite Power.

Auguste Comte propounded a religion that enunciated as its creed that "between man and the world we find Humanity." Now, what is this Humanity which is the Supreme Being? It seems that the Humanity worshipped by the agnostics is those characteristics which make up the manliness of man. We ask, What is manliness which we predicate of mankind? A writer in *The Index* (August 3) confidently urges the acceptance of Comte's theory. As he is ingenious, his statements have a sort of authoritative value. He says, we "perceive the sublime image of the Supreme Being endowed with the same characteristics which are seen in every living organism." He adds, a little further on, that "this image represents humanity as an organism endowed with high spiritual characteristics." We inquire again, What is this "image" which represents humanity, and of which we predicate spiritualness? Humanity, so used by the positivists, cannot mean the whole human race, with the individuals of both high and low, good and evil, characteristics. When Humanity is worshipped, do the worshippers include in their devotions Talmage and Beecher, Guiteau and Arabi Bey? Humanity, accordingly, is an image that has its outlines undefined. The Religion of Humanity may be defined as the sum of all human characteristics, whether in the past or present. It is the epitome of all that "humanness" which is possible of man. If I understand the tenets aright, the positivists, in humanity, see

> "Heaven's numerous hierarchy span
> The mystic gulf from God to man."

Such is the function of this Supreme Being, Humanity. Can we realize what this "image" of the Infinite Being really is? If so, why should it be worshipped instead of Humanity? The Religion of Humanity must be something more than belief in an image of a Supreme Being. I believe that Goethe has come nearer to definite solution of the problem than any one, concerning the position of humanity. Faust starts out as an eudemonist. At first, he feels the selfish passions of the race. He slowly advances from high to higher, from clear to clearer, from good to better. At last, he is a noble worker for the welfare of mankind. Faust is finally an altruist. What he has done for humanity can never be lost or forgotten. His labor has become a part of the property of humanity, and is so cherished. Well may he exclaim,—

> "Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdetagen,
> Nicht in Aeonen untergehn"!

This idea of the indestructibility of the individual, whether spiritual or material, is not totally foreign to the system of M. Comte. The materials which go to make up our corporeal structure have been clearly proved, *a priori*, to be indestructible. So the works we have performed, the deeds we have enacted, the words we have spoken, the tears that once have been shed, yea, the blush that mantles the cheek,—these are things that do not perish. Therefore, you and I, one and all, live in that humanity which we claim as our own; we live in that humanity which is quickened and made better by our deeds, by our thoughts and words.

Therefore, those who best typify the spirit of humanity are called great men. They represent in one form or another its general characteristics. Humanity identifies great men with itself. The great man is the interpreter of the divine ideas of his age. Under the spell of these great names, we acknowledge the common bond of humanity. Great men are the standard-bearers of humanity; and, following their daring footsteps, their fellow-men march stoutly forward on their appointed way. The cheering voices of the leaders touch within us the tender chords of brotherhood. But great men are great, not in themselves, but in their race,—in that humanity which all climes and all ages are rapidly enriching. This is not the teaching of Auguste Comte; but it is the teaching of that rugged iconoclast of the North, Thomas Carlyle. This constitutes the so-called hero-worship; and Carlyle reiterates, in every possible way, that such worship leads us directly to communion with the Divine

II.

It has seemed to us that a concise and matter-of-fact statement of the creeds of Agnosticism would be eminently satisfactory alike to friends and foes. The former would perhaps take pride in the strength of their well-fortified position. The latter might draw comfort in pointing out the errors which underlaid the position of their opponents. I hope I have done justice to both parties, without any display of literary expression. The greater portion of our self-appointed task is finished: we still purpose to examine whether or not these formulated creeds of the agnostics are now, or can be, acceptable. This can only be done by ascertaining their truth, as all truth is acceptable.

It should not be necessary further to explain or discuss the first elementary creed,—that all changes in the universe act in blind obedience to invariable law. As has been mentioned so many times, the whole construction of this creed depends upon the meaning we attach to the word "law." We may poetically express the meaning of the theist, and say,—

> "God is law, O Soul, and let us rejoice;
> For if he thunder by law, the thunder is yet his voice."

Or we may simply say with the agnostics, The whole course of nature is governed by supreme law, that the notion of the interference of the Deity with particular phenomena, as thunder, is false and unscientific (Lecky's *European Morals*, p. 355). I do not see how the agnostic has any special advantage over his Theistic brethren in maintaining that law reigns supreme over the phenomena of nature. The differences between the two parties centre around the powers and attributes which we give to "law." If we make natural law include the origin of the living and the non-living, and also go so far as to say that "the forces of nature," by "natural selection," etc., cause certain results, we become subscribers to the agnostic's creed.

But let us point out a subtle error underlying the position of the agnostics. In this creed, the word "law" is used as though it were all the time concrete; and they carry their error farther by objectifying an abstraction. Thus, the word itself is constantly used as though it really meant something that rules other things, and sometimes may even cause results. This is a most singular yet fatal error. The term is indisputably abstract; and then to say that laws "cause results," we objectify our own abstraction. To speak of "forces" and "laws" as if they were real things is to personify the realities thus invented. This conclusion is logical, and quite unavoidable. Suppose we take Huxley's practical definition of law, and substitute the creed of the agnostic, then could any one hold that law denotes something that regulates, something that controls agents, something that causes results? The answer is plainly in the negative. To use the word "law" in the sense which the agnostics do is to create something which is no longer law. We cannot dispense with such words as "forces," "laws," etc., until we gain a clearer insight into the cause of all phenomena, and their *modus operandi*. There is no great harm in using abstract words as if they were realities, provided we understand all along that they are fictions of our creation. Such abstractions as Forces, Laws, etc., are *muscæ volitantes* that dance before the eyes of the metaphysician. If he knows their nature, he will not attempt to brush them away. We live in a world of rapid changes: not for a moment does anything remain the same as it was the moment before. These changes are for the most part orderly and regular. Back and far beyond these natural phenomena, an Infinite Power manifests itself, —a Power infinite in wisdom, infinite in perfection, and infinite in justice. This is the simplest, easiest, and best conception we have of the Infinite. In some degree all of us are able to comprehend that the phe-

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nomena in the course of nature are certain fixed ways of divine workings.

In the ancient creeds of Agnosticism, no such prominence is given to this word "law." The reason is that man's knowledge did not allow him to define exactly just what changes were subject to mere caprice and just what were regulated by invariable law. The philosophers of India were in every way deeply imaginative, and in their religion we find very subtle traces of this faculty of the imagination. Hence, Pantheism is the legitimate outcome from this imaginative notion of the nature of the world. It was repeated over and over again in Hindu philosophy that there is no God independent of nature. Whether in Vedic theology or in Buddhism, with plausible imagery the philosopher depicts in lively colors the beautiful hope in store for mankind. Thus, he says: "Thou hast seen the spider spin his web, thou hast seen it shine like a rainbow in the rays of the morning sun. From his bosom the little artificer drew forth the wonderful thread, and into his bosom he can withdraw it again. So Brahm made, so will he absorb the world." It should be pointed out that the Unknowable of Spencer is quite identical with Brahm of the Hindus. The one is (so to speak) the exact counterpart of the other. Very little can Herbert Spencer's Unknowable be distinguished from the Brahman's Undiscernible. Max Müller says that Buddha converted a philosophical system into a Religion. If this is indeed correct, Spencer has also turned his system of philosophy into a system of Religion. What Herbert Spencer terms the Spiritualistic Philosophy is nothing more nor less than Pantheism; while the materialistic school is avowedly atheistic. Prof. Huxley, with remarkable perspicuity, has finely showed the similarity between Pantheism and Materialism (his fourteenth Lay Sermon). Spencer himself confesses that the dispute between these two philosophies is a "war of words." Huxley well puts it when he says that "two paths meet at the summit of the mountain, though they set out on opposite sides of it." Let us take for examination the mind, and see how both parties arrive at the same place by different paths. As the term is commonly used, we speak of it as a reality. We say, "The mind thinks, acts," etc. However, Hume says that the mind is "nothing but a mere bundle or collection of different perceptions." For example, Hume assumed Locke's theory of ideas. This theory stated that "ideas" are formed in the mind by particles of the properties of the bodies. Hume's conclusion was that all our knowledge comes from the sensations produced by these properties. Condillac preferred the word "sensation" to the word "perception" as used by Hume. On the other hand, Spencer is quite particular to say that "mind will not be treated by the narrow, metaphysical method, but as a phase of nature's order." Here, then, are the two paths: first, the materialist makes mind "a phase of nature's order"; the other says that mind never acts "except by one of its faculties." Is not the result identical? Both clearly agree in making mind to be a mode, that its attributes, "ideas," "faculties," etc., are substances, that these substances are properties, that these properties are substance. Thus, we see how Pantheism and Materialism meet upon common ground. It is plain that Spencer in his definition does not mean by "mind" mere mental phenomena; but, as an abstract term, it is only a mode in which it acts. Therefore, Huxley's acute sense of analogy did not fail him, when he pointed out the identity between Materialism and Pantheism.

In the Grecian creeds of Agnosticism, speculations concerning the mind were not in order. Anaxagoras is a great central figure in Grecian philosophy, yet in his creed he asserted the principles of modern Agnosticism. He repeatedly exclaimed that "nothing can be known; nothing can be certain; sense is limited; the intellect is weak." If this is not the argument of Spencer over again, I greatly misunderstand his writings. The very same conclusion is arrived at in his chapter on "The Relativity of Knowledge." It is not practical to enumerate the articles in the creeds of ancient Agnosticism, because time fails us completely.

Passing down to modern times, the "method of using one's reason rightly," etc., of René Descartes, forms a starting-point for scientific Agnosticism. The method is briefly this: he sought "to resolve all the phenomena of the universe into matter and motion, or forces operating according to law." By this method, it is as easy to follow the path of Materialism as it is to tread the path of Idealism. These two systems - Idealism and Materialism—were the inevitable forerunners of the creeds of modern Agnosticism. It was of necessity a logical result that, as science developed, so soon would Agnosticism develop. The formidable controversy over "mind and matter," once sprung up, has rapidly assumed vast proportions, measured by voluminous writings. The materialists are put into this awkward position: matter—and by matter we mean the material elements, as iron, oxygen, etc.—is eternal or it is not. Of course, if these elements were created, something in existence before them must have done this act of creation. Suppose they are eternal, according to Spencer's own philosophy they must, at some time in the past, have come to a period of rest, the *equilibrium mobile*. Now, in order to pass out of this state of the minimum of condensation, something, it must be confessed, must have started or moved these material elements into motion, and afterward into action. The question is resolved then into this form: When the universe comes to "the complete equilibrium,"—that is, when all the particles and molecules have become entirely inactive, and cease completely to act on each other,—what Power can set them in motion again? This is the question the Sphinx impassionately asks of the agnostics. As before mentioned, in our method of recognizing this Power may be said to consist either our Theism or Atheism.

Herbert Spencer has, with some exceptions, embraced the philosophic recognition of the Infinite as interpreted by Sir William Hamilton. He quotes, with approval, Dr. Mansel, who says, "To conceive of the Deity as he is, we must conceive him as first cause, as absolute, and as infinite." The agnostic has seized upon these terms; and, by printing them in large capitals, they are turned into quite important objects. Hamilton says that "the mind can conceive, and, consequently, the mind can know, only the limited and the conditionally limited: the infinite, the unconditionally limited, or the absolute cannot positively be construed to the mind. . . . The infinite and the absolute, properly so called, are inconceivable to us." These terms are in form, as Hamilton admits, negative; and even our conception of them is negative. The Infinite, as such, cannot be God. The term expresses only an attribute. If we say "Infinite," we may inquire, "The infinite what?" If we mean infinity by infinite, we must agree with both Hamilton and Spencer that it is "inconceivable." It is quite as impossible to conceive of "infinity" or "absoluteness" as to conceive of "blueness" or "hardness." Putting "*the*" as an article before "infinite" is still more confusing. What have we in our mind when we speak of "the Infinite" or "the Unknowable"? The words are negative, and denote nothing. To the Unknowable, Spencer assigns infinite as an attribute. What is that *something* of which infinity is a predicate? Thus, Spencer triumphantly says that "to say we cannot know the Absolute is by implication to affirm there is an Absolute." It seems to me that, keeping in view what has been said, we may affirm that to say we do not know the Absolute does not imply that there is any Absolute to be known at all. I hold this to be indisputable.

Therefore, Herbert Spencer, in his method of recognizing Divine Power, fails to embody it so as it can be comprehended by the pure reason,—*der reinen Vernunft*. To say that the Unknowable exists is impliedly to assert that it (the Unknowable) is not wholly unknown. Indeed, there may be no Unknowable to be known. Still, to recognize the term Unknowable as something real is a fatal error of Spencer,—an error of logic as well as of metaphysics. Take again the five elements referred to by Spencer as ultimates,—motion, matter, time, space, and force. Motion is an abstract term. The word "force" is used both in an abstract and concrete sense. Spencer uses Force so as to include light, heat, magnetism, etc. As an abstract word, Force may mean matter in motion. Light, magnetism, gravity, etc., are not known to be substantial. He says that "Force, as we know it, can be regarded only as a certain conditioned effect of the Unconditioned Cause, as the relative reality indicating to us an Absolute Reality by which it is immediately produced. And, here, we see more clearly than before how inevitable is that transfigured realism to which sceptical criticism finally brings us round." Such a frank admission is worthy alone of its great writer. These five ultimates are incongruous, and whether these explain the Unknowable is very much doubted. Knowledge, according to Spencer, is only the knowledge of matter and its various manifestations,—motion, time, space, and force. This is pure materialism. And to speak of an Inscrutable Power working in the universe as the "Unknowable" is also materialism.

There is another side to the creeds of Agnosticism. This is presented by the scientific formulas of evolution. Let us briefly summarize this evidence. The creed of the agnostic declares that the Unknowable is a First Cause. We are assured that the First Cause is itself Infinite and Absolute. (*First Principles*, § 12.) Scientific Agnosticism has stoutly asserted it can get along without a First Cause. Yet science may justly claim that there is no need of recognizing a first cause, because in the various branches of science we deal only with secondary causes, which have occurred in the course of evolution. Science never finds herself face to face with a first cause: that is no reason for denying there is one. In the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, we see that, in the struggle for life, those people best adapted to their environment survive over their inferior neighbors. So with the individual: the progress of man has been in a forward direction on account of this struggle. The evidence is rapidly showing that man was originally in a barbarous condition. The question at once arises, What was the condition of the first man? How did he originate? According to the law of development the first parents must necessarily have been produced in a different way than their offspring. There was a time when there was no human being in the world. The first being gave rise to a long line of human beings, but the fact remains that the first being itself could not have arisen like its immediate descendants. In order to avoid such a conclusion, the materialists have attempted to explain the origin of man by spontaneous generation. But where did the elements come from, in order to produce such a being?

If we apply this kind of reasoning to a First Cause, the result is the same. The argument is something like this: every effect must have had an immediate cause. Every cause must have a cause back of it, and so on endlessly. But a series of causes without a first cause is, *a priori*, impossible. The first cause of a long line of causes was not produced as the other causes were, but it must have had a cause *of its own*. A first cause, which did not have a cause for itself alone, would not be rightly called a *first* cause. A first cause does not arise like the causes to which it gives birth. It must have been produced by some agency other than a mere cause. Spencer says that "evolution must come to a close in complete equilibrium or rest." When the universe was ever at a period of rest, it could never have evolved out of that condition, unless some extra agency started it in motion. If we suppose the world eternal, in the past it must have reached a point of *equilibrium mobile*. So too, if evolution had no beginning and it has been going on endlessly, it must have produced a first cause, or Infinite Being. The whole progress of evolution is continually higher and higher; and, if it has been going on forever, it must have produced the highest, God. This is a final cause. Darwin's very phrase—the survival of the fittest—by implication asserts a final cause, as something to which it is fittest. The final cause of all the manifestations in the universe is the first cause. In order to produce such a final cause as Darwin would have us believe was produced, the First Cause must have acted intelligently, in order to produce an intelligent final cause.

One reason that Spencer dissents from Theism is because we ascribe to "an ultimate cause desires that are to be classed as higher and lower like our own." The fault—if a fault it be—of representing God as he is not, of ascribing to him attributes which we conceive he must have,—these faults are inherent in man's nature. There is a latent anthropomorphism in man's breast, and no scientific philosophy can wholly eradicate it. Spencer urges that, "by continually seeking to know and continually thrown back with a deepened conviction of the impossibility of knowing, we may keep alive the consciousness that it is alike our highest wisdom and our highest duty to regard that through which all things exist as the Unknowable." Is this all? If we are to be continually striking our heads against the bars, what good can arise by telling us they will never yield? Why should we be wasting our strength, when we are solemnly warned? Why does Spencer propose his "relativity of knowledge" and "the law of evolution," if "all things exist as the Unknowable"? In other words, we are told

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that beyond a certain limit all is unknowable, we can form no conception of it; yet the agnostic recommends us to spend our time and treasure in attempting to know the best we can what is unknowable. This is what Spencer teaches in various forms in his philosophy. The persistent yearning to know is universal: this grasping after the mysteries which elude our utmost endeavors is to be recognized with humility. Be it in Idealism, be it in Materialism, be it in Pantheism, be it in Theism, be it in any shape or form of religious belief, "we can hear a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of God." Is not this true, I would ask with all frankness, of all the creeds of Agnosticism?

We would draw to a close by devoting a few words to Agnosticism as formulated in the creed of Humanity. The Religion of Humanity had a place in the Transcendental movement. Yet Transcendentalism never held up Humanity, as understood by the Comtists, to the position of Supreme Being. In the last writing of his "experience," Theodore Parker took occasion to beautifully express his sentiments. He exclaims, "Oh that some young genius would write out the formulas of the universe, the celestial mechanics of mankind!" Parker did not deny the existence of God but he inculcated as his most central principle that we have "an instinctive intuition of the Divine,—a consciousness that there is a God." This is explicit enough. Parker's conception of Humanity was similar to Faust's. There is a wide gap between *Menschlichkeit* and mere *Menschheit*. Emerson, the companion of Parker in this search after the divine truth, strayed off into a by-path. His deep love for nature led him irresistibly in that direction. Faust determined that—

> "All of life for all mankind created
> Shall be within mine inmost being tested. . . .
> Stood I, O Nature! man alone in thee."

Emerson felt—

> "The mysteries of Nature's hearts;
> Though no Muse can these impart,
> Throb thine with Nature's breast,
> And all is clear from east to west."

Here we see the stand taken by Emerson as distinct from Carlyle. The latter, though he wrote no verses of his own, was a hero-worshipper: the other poured forth into song his nature-worship. If there is a tinge of Pantheism in Emerson's poetry, so there is a vein of scepticism running through his prose writings. He regarded the face of Nature as the reflection of the divine image. He thought man should put himself *en rapport* with the expressions of Nature; and, as these expressions are manifestations of Nature's God, so, by obeying and following these commands, we ally ourselves with the Divine. Therefore, Emerson leads us through the worship of nature to the worship of nature's God. His axiom is thus expressed: The laws of the mind are the laws of nature, and *vice versa*. If we know the ways of one, we are on a path of discovery to find out the workings of the other. He says, "As the history of nature is charactered in man's brain, therefore he is the prophet and discoverer of her secrets." Should this rule hold good, it appeals powerfully to the scientific agnostic. The scientist, who interprets the phenomena of nature, is led closer and closer into the presence of a God whose ways, whose works, and whose will become better known as we advance.

I have not considered the probable chances which some form of Agnosticism has to become the religion of the future, because I do not know what those chances are. It is idle to speculate how much or how little other people will accept of Agnostic Philosophy. The dominant religions of to-day were little thought to be considered religions of the future in their humble beginnings. In matters of emotional belief, mankind are strikingly peculiar. The rapid spread of some form of faith is oft-times unaccountable to the wisest philosopher, who fails to perceive the cause from the effect. Such simple formulas as these: The Voice on the Mount; There is one God; and Mahomet is his Prophet; Justification by Faith; Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,—in these short formulas the pulse of humanity has beat quicker and quicker, and the whole course of civilization is at once changed, for better or worse.

Are the creeds of Agnosticism acceptable? If our brief examination, both *pro* and *con*, concerning these creeds, has been closely followed, it will be noticed that there are certain fundamental mistakes which are embodied in those creeds which must be eliminated before we can fully accept them. We may say that the truth largely overweighs error, and on this account accept the remainder. Yet is this a reason for not holding fast to that which is good? Finally, we come to the conclusion that in its present form the creed of Agnosticism is not unreservedly acceptable, *sed tamen in pretio*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CATHOLICS IN POLITICS.

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 11, 1882.

The Catholic Central Society convened in Milwaukee in the latter part of September, and began proceedings by an imposing street parade on Sunday, the 24th of September. The procession was long, and included all the German Catholic societies of the city and many from other cities, Catholic officials and citizens and delegates from all over the United States. Banners were carried with ominous devices; and fifteen bands of music accompanied the procession, which passed through all the principal streets of the city.

This Sunday street parade called forth comments from the non-religious portion of the community, as it immediately followed the agitation on the Sunday observance question, which had been in progress through the early summer. It was said that, if the Turner societies had street processions and music, it was considered desecration; but a great religious body could do the same, and it was thought no wrong against the Sabbath. The *Catholic Citizen*, in reply to these comments, said: "A procession proclaiming that the manhood of our country are still imbued with religious sentiments is not at all 'a desecration of the Sabbath.' If those Protestants who talk so piously about 'disturbing the Sabbath quiet' would pay less attention to mere externals, matters of a sleek face and a sanctimonious deportment, and concentrate more interest upon interior disposition,—matters of the heart and soul,—it would be better for us all."

This expression is true enough, though the sentiment proceeds from that religious body which is undeniably the exponent of "sleek faces" and "sanctimonious deportment."

The sessions of the convention occupied three days, and matters of business were formally despatched and telegrams were received and read from the Pope and other high officers of the Catholic Church.

It had been denied that this conference would assume to dictate political action; but this was its real animus, and very soon came to the front. The Milwaukee delegation, after submitting a lengthy communication which brought up the school question and recommended certain proceedings to insure the sending of all children of Catholic parents to the Catholic schools, advising a *régime* by which Catholic schools should be conducted somewhat similar to the public schools, presented the following, which reads:

"The experience of the past few years has taught us that it has become a necessity for the Catholic citizens to effect an organization to preserve their constitutional rights intact. The Catholics demand no privileges as citizens. The fact is, however, that the rights of Catholics are being opposed. Self-protection, therefore, demands an organization of Catholics. Let us take an example from the enemy who opposes us with solid phalanx, and seeks to injure our interests and deny our rights. A united front on our part will insure us success for ourselves. We can make our power felt by giving our suffrage to only those candidates who pledge themselves to, and we are assured will, stand for the rights of, and oppose discrimination against, Catholic citizens. The Catholic citizens constitute one-seventh of the population of the United States. By united efforts, we can command the respect to which we are entitled. We do not wish to be misunderstood. Far be it from our intention to drag the Central Catholic Society into the corruption incident to politics, neither do we intend to discriminate as to the indorsement of parties, neither do we ask for offices. We ask not what is the religion of a candidate. All we desire is that a candidate desiring our votes shall be unprejudiced, so that he will allow Catholics the same rights as other citizens. We do not require that any one shall be elected to office wholly because he is a Catholic; but we protest against opposition to a candidate who possesses the qualifications on the sole ground of being a practical Catholic. Let us at all times cast our votes, without regard to party distinctions, for such men as are willing to protect our rights."

These rights the Central Society failed to set forth with any explicitness. The public was left to the imagination to find out in what they consist. Subsequent events have explained this to the satisfaction of all concerned, as the stress of all the Catholic effort has been concentrated in the recent election upon the danger the Church was in from those candidates who are in favor of church taxation. The privilege, constitutionally granted, of exemption of their church and school property from taxation, they claim as a right. The Catholics of the city have marked every man who has been in the Wisconsin Legislature since the first introduction of a bill to repeal the exemption laws of the State regarding church property. By their "united efforts," they have secured the defeat of all such who were candidates for re-election.

Catholic priests from their pulpits, on the two Sundays previous to the election, admonished all Catholics to vote only for such men as were known to be favorable to the Catholics.

Catholic citizens were indefatigable in visitation to parishioners, and in tricks to withdraw third party candidates who might weaken the straight Democratic ticket. Communications were addressed through the journals to candidates by Catholics, asking them to state publicly their position upon the question of church taxation. The *Catholic Citizen* uttered a loud warning cry to its patrons and friends to beware of that "Bigot Bate," or he would be run in again upon the strength of his well-known position upon this question.

"United effort" did tell. Those candidates who were known to favor church taxation were defeated, including Mr. Arthur Bate, who ran for re-election in the first assembly district. In this district, the Democratic victory was doubtless influenced to a degree by this religious issue; but the same causes which have resulted in the sweep of Democratic victories throughout the United States also contributed to it.

The friends of church taxation in Milwaukee congratulate themselves, in spite of defeated candidates, with the local prominence which has been given to the question. It has been taken up by the Republican party as a respectable issue; and it has stood, for the most part, in a manly attitude of defence for candidates who have espoused the question with zeal.

The *Republican Sentinel* has given large space to all discussion upon the subject, and presented several able editorial articles, containing forcible, logical, and convincing arguments in support of the justice of taxing all church property.

Milwaukee may take the palm for the successful agitation of this phase of State secularization.

The conflict between the Church and the State has been well begun. Democratic victories will not bring peace. Catholic Central Societies with grand parades and party or political organizations will not bring peace. In fact, the course pursued by the Central Society has been deprecated by many intelligent and far-seeing Catholics, who wisely interpret it as a certain means of hastening this inevitable conflict, and bringing about the sooner those disastrous results which are threatening Catholic privileges in this country. B.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTERFERENCE WITH CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Editors of The Index:—

Many people, who are more solicitous to be patriotic than accurate, still keep asserting that this country is an example of perfect religious freedom; that here the union of Church and State is utterly unknown, except through hearsay. How false this assertion is, in a general way, the readers of *The Index* do not need to be told. Some particulars, however, may be instructive. Here in Pennsylvania, for instance, under the school law, plots of land are purchased in connection with the Normal Schools, chapels built upon them in which "Christian" services are conducted by some member of the faculty, generally the principal, and the pupils compelled to attend them under penalty of having their grade lowered. Bible classes are also formed under similar auspices; and, if it is not made absolutely obligatory to attend them, pupils are at least given to understand that compliance on their part will contribute to their good standing. The reading of the Bible by the teachers in all the public schools is made compulsory,

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though all comment on the passages read is prohibited,—a provision which is, however, violated with impunity by "orthodox" teachers. Independent and impartial comment would at once awaken the ire of the parish popes.

A very few years ago, an attack, emanating apparently from a certain orthodox college of this State, was made on the common schools, on the alleged ground that they were nurseries of infidelity; and the writer very shrewdly suggested a remedy by saying that it was the fault of the "Christians" that it was so, since in the town which was the seat of the college, out of twenty-two teachers employed in the public schools, twenty were members of some orthodox church. It was a quite natural inference, of course, that the remaining two were in a hopeful frame of mind.

The communication referred to was published in the Pennsylvania *School Journal*, the official organ of the State schools; and the editor, who was also the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, called attention to it, inviting any who might be disposed to controvert the writer's positions to do so through the columns of that organ. He tacitly took the ground that the position assumed by the orthodox critic —namely, that the orthodox Christians of any given school district had a perfect right to institute an inquisition into the theological beliefs of all applicants for places as teachers in the common schools— was entirely just, contending, however, that the charge of infidel influences in the State schools was altogether unwarranted. This was done in a State founded by William Penn who in his constitutions forbade all religious tests beyond a belief in God and in future accountability, without which provision his polity would probably have been disallowed by the home government; a State, too, whose constitution contains the following clauses: "No man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or *support* any place of worship, or to *maintain any ministry* against his consent; no human authority can, in any way whatever, *control* or *interfere* with the rights of conscience; and *no preference shall be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship*": the whole, be it observed, under a Federal Constitution which explicitly declares that "there shall be no legislation on the subject of religion." The contradictory clauses in the State constitution and the school law only add another example, to the immense accumulation previously existing, of that fine incapacity for logical reasoning which constitutes so charming a feature in the human intellect.

In spite of all this, Judge Duncan, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, years ago decided that "Christianity was a part of the common law of this State," —a decision that was seized, in defiance of all law and justice, as a pretext for the scandalous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which utterly frustrated Girard's determination to exclude all theological instruction from his college,—a decision worthy only of a body of pettifoggers, and which has greatly conduced to the confusion of all ideas of right and wrong in the State. Girard had taken the precaution to name as executors of his will a majority of Quakers, knowing well the Jesuitical tact of the body whom he had confronted; but they were more than a match even for him, and have utterly thwarted his clear intention in every respect except the comparatively unimportant one of the exclusion of the ordained clergy,—a provision which was so explicit as to defy even the combined ingenuity of the pettifoggers both of the State and Federal Supreme Courts. This is probably, if complete superiority were possible where there is so much that is really fine, the most perfect example on record of the difference between ingeniousness and ingenuousness. It was, however, reserved for the *Sunday School Times* to give the last and supreme touch of artistic perfection to the work, by pointing to it as an illustration of "the spirit of religious freedom which has been manifested in this Commonwealth from its inception."

This high-handed interference of the ecclesiastics and their instruments with the civil government would not be tolerated but for that muddy-brained condition so characteristic of the human race at large, and which is aggravated here by the disastrous union of Quaker quietism and German sluggishness.

A very amusing and instructive instance of the watchfulness of the parsons occurred here on the occasion of a recent Thanksgiving proclamation. The governor of the State had altered the inadvertent phraseology of his secretary, and erased the word "Christian" before the word "commonwealth" Now, the official style of this State is "the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." For restoring the official form to the proclamation, a certain parson of the Lutheran denomination, in the city of Lancaster, fiercely denounced the governor, and declared that he had seriously resolved not to deliver the usual Thanksgiving sermon at all, but that, reflecting upon the fact that a day had been set apart for the ceremony by the President of the United States, he had concluded to comply with the superior injunction, desiring his hearers, however, to keep it in mind that it was only in obedience to this latter behest that he had deigned to favor them with his lucubrations. It is easy to imagine the loss his hearers might have sustained but for the fortunate intervention of the superior dignitary.

Let me, in conclusion, Mr. Editor, say a few words on a topic not strictly germane to the general tenor of this communication. It seems to me a great pity that *The Index* is not known all over the country as an organ of the freest expression on all subjects connected with the welfare of the human race. The *North American Review* supplies this want, to a certain extent, for a limited class of readers; but the very fact that the wealthy publishing house which has profited so largely by the work of the great liberal writers of the whole world refused any longer to allow its appearance with their imprint shows not only that their supposed liberality and independence were very much overrated, but also how greatly, notwithstanding all our boasting, we are trammelled by a hide-bound conservatism, which, without any formal censorship of the press, quietly but effectually serves very much the same purpose as does that institution in foreign countries.

Last July, I wrote for a Philadelphia journal, and at the request of its editor, an article on an important subject which has occupied more or less the pens of several of your contributors, and which contained the following incidental passage, one that could probably have obtained admission into no other journal in the city:—

"It is a common boast of the American newspaper press that it moulds and leads public opinion. Precisely the converse of this is true. The 'able editor' is selected for his post because he is in sympathy with the average reader, and is perfectly ready to do any work that may be required of him without the least regard to any moral conviction on his part, because there is no danger that with the negative character which caused his selection he will awaken any troublesome antagonism. This is the rule; though there are undoubtedly occasional exceptions, notably in the case of two or three of the more respectable and influential New York journals. And it is certainly true that in this degrading servility, which, so long as it exists, renders high-toned journalism utterly impossible, there are degrees. All newspapers, even in Philadelphia, are not subservient to the greed and desire for popularity which stamps, with the unmistakable seal of mediocrity, the majority of them."

The Index, admitting as it does in the most generous manner not only views opposed to those of its editors on important topics, but even the very frankest criticisms of their personal utterances, commends itself to the support of all independent thinkers; and it is surprising, in view of this fact, that any of its patrons should feel themselves aggrieved by the expression of sentiments however antagonistic to their own, and the fact of their discontinuing it on this ground proves that illiberality is not confined to conservatives. I can conceive of no greater service to free thought than the extension of its circulation, a work which is especially needed in view of the utter impossibility of securing a hearing on any unpopular question through the newspaper press of the country, a fact which I think was not too strongly stated in the quotation given above.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

MR. BEECHER ON HERBERT SPENCER, EVOLUTION, AND PROGRESS.

Editors of The Index:—

The following is from the Dover (N.H.) *Daily Republican:* "Henry Ward Beecher said in his speech Thursday evening, at a banquet in honor of Herbert Spencer: 'We are rather an ambitious people. We have learned from the astronomers that they are five hours ahead of us every day in England, and we have to work with all our might to make up those five hours.' Mr. Beecher also said, 'I think that the doctrine of evolution, and its relation to the work of Mr. Spencer,—which takes in that and a great deal more besides,—to speak in plain language, it is going to revolutionize theology from one end to the other [applause], it is going to make good walking where we have had very muddy walking hitherto. [Applause.] It is going to bridge over rivers which we have had to wade. There are many points in which the theology of the past did well enough for the past, but it does not answer reasonable questions and the moral considerations that are brought to bear upon it in our day.'"

That is true, and so is a part of Mr. Beecher's article, "Progress of Thought in the Church," published in the *North American Review*, August, 1882. But Mr. Beecher finishes that essay with the following sentences:—

"Our time is one of transition. We are refusing the theology of absolute monarchy, of divine despotism, and framing a theology consistent with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ."

No person endowed with reason, common honesty, sense, and reverence, will deny the good life and teachings of Jesus, or the learning and theological training of Beecher; but can Mr. Beecher, or any free citizen, believe and advocate the divine right of kings, or the consecration and sanctification of any person?

The Christship is, in my opinion, not only a divine despotism, but also a divine partiality and weakness. No person with developed reason, and who comprehends the necessary conditions for the maintenance and propagation of republican principles, can believe in a despotic, partial God. It is also just as improbable for a reasoner of the nineteenth century to believe in a Devil, Holy Ghost, as in a spiritual ruler and saviour of the human soul. Each one is so constituted that he has to work out his own salvation.

Is it not folly and mockery of those who manifest by their sermons, essays, and conversations that their reason dictates them to believe in an all-wise, just Creator, to ask special favors of him in the name of "the Saviour, Jesus Christ"? CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N.H., Nov. 13, 1882.

MISCELLANEOUS.

EXTRACTS FROM GIRARD'S WILL.

A competent number of instructors, teachers, assistants, and other necessary agents shall be selected, and, when needful, their places from time to time supplied; they shall receive adequate compensation for their services; but no person shall be employed who shall not be of tried skill in his or her proper department, of established moral character, and *in all cases persons shall be chosen on account of their merit, and not through favor or intrigue.*

. . . And, especially, I desire that by every proper means a pure attachment to our republican institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars.

. . . *Secondly*, I enjoin and require that *no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said College.* In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion among them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce. My desire is that all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars *the purest principles of morality*, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may from *inclination and habit* evince *benevolence toward their fellow-creatures*, and *a love of truth, sobriety, and industry*, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer.

THE Indianapolis *Aye*, after describing a class of so-called Liberals, who "are illiberal with the Church, more illiberal with one another," says: "There are men who claim to be atheists, materialists, infidels,

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who are not making much clamor, but who are full of charity and are tolerant. They do not fall out with people who disagree with them in belief. They see the hypocrisies, the weaknesses, the bigotry, and the uselessness of the Church in the main, but are not blind to the sincerity of purpose and the purity of life of very many professed Christian people. These infidel philosophers are men of pure lives,—men who look more in pity and sorrow than in anger on the shortcomings, the false beliefs, and the follies of their fellow-men. If men can be reasoned or ridiculed good-naturedly out of false beliefs and useless customs that cost much money and time and that have no warrant in reason or common sense, it is well. But for the 'Liberal' to wage an angry warfare upon his fellow-man for doing and believing what seems to him absurd and foolish is illiberal instead of liberal and very much lacking in charity. The true infidel is generally a good man. His wish is for the welfare of his fellow-men, and he tries to promote their well-being to the extent of his ability. In all ages have the infidels to Christianity been noted for their goodness and their exalted character. If they have not built colleges and charity hospitals in the name of infidelity, they have been generous contributors to them, and suffered Christianity to have the credit and control of them. Let us who go about the business of opposing wickedness, double-dealing, immorality, and dishonor, whether inside or outside of the Church, who hate hypocrisy in a 'Liberal' as well as in a Christian, who desire to do good in the world and to give every man credit for the good that is in him regardless of his belief or unbelief, who have charity for all and malice for none, call ourselves infidels and atheists, and be done with it."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE BATTLE-GROUND OF THE SPIRITUAL REFORMATION. By S. B. Brittan, M.D., editor at large. Pages 510. New York: Published by the author. Boston: Colby & Rich, 9 Montgomery Place. 1882.

Dr. Brittan has long been known as one of the most able and scholarly advocates of modern Spiritualism. In this, his latest work, he appears to advantage as an accomplished writer and a skilful controversialist. It is made up chiefly of articles that have appeared in various journals in this country in defence and exposition of the philosophy of Spiritualism. The titles of some of these articles will suggest an idea of the scope of the work. "The Battle-ground of the Spiritual Reformation," which is the subject of the introduction, is followed by "The Poets and the Spirits"; "The Philosophy of the Inspiration of Genius"; "Religion of Faith and Fashion"; "Rev. Dr. John Hall and the Logic of the Pulpit"; "Scientific Evidence of Spiritualism"; "Wandering and Crying in the Wilderness"; "Modern Spiritualism, Review of Rev. Joseph Cook's Lecture"; "Religious Intolerance, Prof. Henry Kiddle and his Critics"; "Science versus Dogmatism, Review of Prof. Wundt's Letter"; "The Tribune on Spiritualism, Politics, Fashion, and Sporting to the Front"; "Meeting the Enemy, Charges of the Tabernacle Pastor Examined"; "A Great Darkness in Vermont,—an editor defends Satan and defames Spiritualists." The friends of Spiritualism generally, we think, will be pleased with these articles in book-form, since they discuss Spiritualism in relation to current events of interest, and in a manner to engage the attention of cultivated minds. Some of the sentences are so finely polished that their strength is impaired, and the irony and sarcasm give rather a caustic tone to some of the articles, and thereby detract from the effectiveness of the style; but, in spite of these defects, the work has literary merit and controversial strength. The latter part of the book, which is devoted to personal matters and the opposition the author has had to encounter in his work as "editor at large," is rather captious in spirit, and should in our opinion have been omitted. The typographical work of this volume is excellent, and it is handsomely bound.

THE WISDOM OF THE BRAHMIN: A Didactic Poem. Translated from the German of Friedrich Rückert by Charles T. Brooks. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price $1.25.

"*The Brahmin* is a poem of vast range, expressing in epigrammatic form in twelve-syllable iambic rhymes the world-wisdom which the author (who was for some time Professor of Oriental Literature) had been for years storing up in his large heart and evolving out of his creative soul, enriched and quickened by sympathetic study of the poesy and philosophy of the 'Morning Land.' But the result is not a translation, nor even a transfusion (nor what N. P. Willis once called a *transcreation*) of Oriental sentences; but it is mainly an original work composed by the author in the character of a Brahmin, spiritually born in the East, but located in the West." We feel very grateful to Mr. Brooks for his appreciation of a broad and wise thinker and writer, while wishing he had not followed so closely the "twelve-syllable iambic" form of the original rhyme in which the truly Brahmimic wisdom of Rückert appeared; for in English it hardly comports with the dignity of the expressed thought, however well it may read in the German. In spite of this drawback, *The Wisdom of the Brahmin* is very strong and thought-inspiring reading, while the beauty and compactness of the volume make it a very desirable holiday gift book.

THE *Century Magazine* for December opens with an interesting article on "The Supreme Court of the United States," by E. V. Smalley, prefaced by a frontispiece portrait of Chief Justice Marshall, and embellished with a number of interesting portraits and pictures. Frank H. Cushing gives the first instalment of his unique Indian experiences, under the title "My Adventures in Zuñi," with descriptive illustrations. Wm. Elliot Griffin discusses "The Corean Origin of Japanese Art." "The Taxidermal Art," with appropriate illustrations, is the subject of a paper by Franklin H. North. Andrew Lang, a personal friend of Dr. John Brown, gives an interesting biographical sketch of "Rab's Friend," with portraits. T. R. Lounsbury writes on "The Problem of Spelling Reform," and John Burroughs talks charmingly of the "Hard Fare" of the birds and small animals in winter. Henry James, Jr., in a series of letters from travellers of different nationalities, gives an idea of "The Point of View" from which such persons get their impressions of American life and manners. "Through One Administration," by Mrs. Burnett, seems to be nearing its close; while interesting instalments are given of Rev. Dr. Gladden's and Mary Hallock Foote's serials. There is the usual number of poems, none of remarkable significance, however.

THE two serials of the *Atlantic Monthly* are concluded in the December number,—"Two on a Tower," by Thomas Hardy, in a very unsatisfactory manner; and "The House of a Merchant Prince," by Bishop, in the old-fashioned style, by a satisfactory wedding. O. B. Frothingham has an article on "Art and Wealth," Sarah Orne Jewett tells of "An Afternoon in Holland," "Persian Dualism" is the subject of Elizabeth Robins' paper, and John S. Dwight writes of "Our Dark Age in Music." The admirers of Hawthorne will be interested to read the beginning of the fragmentary romance left by him and only recently discovered, which the publishers of the *Atlantic* have secured from Mrs. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop the right to publish, and of which a long instalment is given in this number, entitled "The Ancestral Footstep, Outlines of an English Romance." "The Letters of Lydia Maria Child" are reviewed at length, and in the "Contributors' Club" and book reviews will be found excellent reading. Agnes Paton's poem on "Œdipus" is the only contribution to the poetic department.

IN the *Catholic World* for December, the Rev. A. F. Hewit discusses, from the Catholic stand-point, "A Crisis in Congregational Theology," as shown in the recent councils of Congregational ministers at New Haven, in regard to the case of Rev. Newman Smyth, and at Quincy, Ill., at the installation of Rev. Dr. Thayer. The other contents of this number are "Out of the West," a story by Henrietta M. K. Brownell; part third of "The Comedy of Conference"; "A Scrap of Unwritten History," by Julia C. Smalley; "St. Cecilia and the Organ," a poem by Rev. Alfred Young; "The Tomb of Dante, and his Portrait at Ravenna"; "A Brave Life," a story by Jane Dickens; "Powerscourt Waterfall," a poem by C. M. O'Keefe; "Guido Monaco," by Ella Edes; "The Great Comet," by Rev. George M. Searle; "The Seven Dead," a long poem by D. Connolly; and "A New but False Plea for Public Schools," by Rev. I. T. Hecker. The list of "New Publications" contains some interesting reviews.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. HENRY GEORGE lectured on "The Malthusian Theory" before a highly intelligent and appreciative audience in New York last week (November 20). He was introduced by Rev. R. Heber Newton, and Prof. Felix Adler followed the lecture with a few remarks.

MR. W. H. LAMASTER, editor of the *Iconoclast*, writes us that the Lake Pepin (Wis.) *Gazette* has been consolidated with his paper, and that he and Mr. W. F. Jamieson will unite their labors in conducting the *Iconoclast*, Mr. Jamieson devoting a portion of his time to the lecture field.

THE late Francis G. Shaw (father of the brave young Col. R. G. Shaw, killed at Fort Wagner), besides being an outspoken and patriotic lover of liberty, was also a man possessed of many intellectual attainments. He translated for the American public George Sands' *Consuelo*, with its sequel, *The Countess of Rudolstadt*, and also Zschokke's *History of Switzerland*.

W. CLARK RUSSELL writes to the London *Athenæum* that he has not received a farthing from America, from the publishers here who have disposed of tens of thousands of reprints of his marine yarns. He declares that Charles Mackay was wrong when he wrote of America as the land of the free. "It is," he says, "the land of those who make free,—the land of the free and easy."

THURLOW WEED, the oldest representative of journalism in America, and according to the New York *Times* the "Warwick" of American politics, died in New York city on Wednesday, November 22, at the advanced age of eighty-five years. He was successively editor of the Norwich *Agriculturist*, the Rochester *Anti-Masonic Inquirer*, the Albany *Journal*, and New York *Commercial Advertiser*. He was of a genial, generous nature, was possessed of great energy of character, and was an honest politician.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR, it is said, cherishes the memory of his dead wife with a loving devotion which is rare in these days. Her room in their New York mansion is kept undisturbed as she left it. The needle she left in her embroidery, the pen she last used, her slippers where she put them off, her wardrobe as she arranged it, every little detail which speaks of her once living presence, remain as when her eyes last looked upon them. A fresh bouquet of her favorite flowers is placed upon her table every morning by order of her husband, who makes this room his private sanctuary on his frequent visits to New York.

PROF. HENRY DRAPER, a son of Prof. John W. Draper, and himself a well-known scientist of the largest promise, died of a sudden attack of pleurisy at his residence in New York city on Monday, November 20, aged forty-five. He held for several years the chair of Professor of Physiology in the University of New York, and was considered one of the best astronomic investigators in this country. For his services in photographing the transit of Venus in 1874, he was voted by Congress a gold medal. He made also many valuable discoveries in his favorite science, and his loss to the world at so early an age is greatly deplored.

MR. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE spoke in Cosmian Hall, Florence, Mass., on Sunday afternoon, November 16, on "My Early Religious Days." In the morning, he spoke to the children in the Sunday-school, in reply to an address recited by a little girl about nine years of age. A reception was given him in the evening in the lower hall, which was crowded. He was introduced by Mr. W. H. Spencer, the resident speaker, and spoke by invitation on his "Imprisonment for Blasphemy." After which a social evening was passed, with songs by the Euterpe Quartet of this city, under the direction of Miss Lucy Garlin. A public reception was also given Mr. Holyoake in New York city last Monday evening, and on the Committee of Arrangements we notice the names of many of the most prominent people of that and other cities, such men and women as Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Felix Adler, Hon. Erastus Brooks, Jennie June Croly, Kate Field, Rev. Heber Newton, Edmund C. Stedman, Rev. Robert Collyer, Parke Godwin, and many others equally distinguished. Last Thursday evening Mr. Holyoake gave an address in Rev. R. Heber Newton's church, New York, on "The Moral Force of Co-operation."

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The Springfield Republican

FOR 1883.

DAILY—SUNDAY—WEEKLY.

[Established in 1824 by Samuel Bowles.]

THE REPUBLICAN will continue its ministrations for the benefit of mankind in general and the New England public in particular, during the coming year, in the same liberal spirit and with the same high purposes that have marked its course in the past. In some respects, it expects to serve its constituency more acceptably than ever before.

The political developments of the past year have abundantly justified THE REPUBLICAN'S recent attitude toward public affairs, State and national. The men whom it has denounced and the measures that it has opposed have directly or indirectly brought defeat upon the Republican party and carried the Democrats into power, not because the country has special confidence in the latter, but because it is disgusted with Republican rule.

In this situation of affairs, THE REPUBLICAN finds cause for great rejoicing, mixed, it is true, with some regret that in Massachusetts the independent voter has not tempered his zeal with broader intelligence and finer discrimination. Out of this revolt there will surely grow a healthier condition of the body politic and a wiser, more honest administration of public interests. We are nearer the achievement of reform in the civil service, in taxation and administration, through the sweeping political change. Whether these reforms are to be finally and fully attained through new parties or by the awakening and purification of the old organizations is not essential. That they must be realized in some way for the safety and welfare of the republic is the vital fact. In laboring to bring them about, THE REPUBLICAN is and will be wholly independent of men, parties, and factions, recognizing and using instruments, but bound to none.

Apart from its discussions of political questions, which are the first interest of society, THE REPUBLICAN aims to perform the great duties of the modern newspaper with energy, discretion, and faithfulness. It gathers the daily news of the world, and particularly of its own field, with alertness and enterprise, sifts it intelligently, and presents to its readers all that is worthy in compact but interesting form. It interprets the term news in its broadest sense as including thought and theory as well as fact, and it seeks to inform its readers of the world's movement in morals, religion, science, and literature equally with material matters.

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 265

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
A New Unitarian Controversy, Wm. J. Potter, ... 266
Materialism. John W. Chadwick, ... 266
The F. R. A. Conventions, ... 267
Prayer and an Ethical View of Life, W. M. Salter, . . 267
Notes from the Field, B. F. Underwood, ... 268

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 269

POETRY.
Electricity, Lita Barney Sayles, ... 270

ESSAYS.
Christian Theology *vs.* Human Fellowship, Frederic A. Hinckley, ... 270
Emerson and Plato, E. D. Mead, ... 272

CORRESPONDENCE.
The Renunciation of Rev. W. T. Cheney, A. A. Bell, . . 273
Science and Religion, L. R. Hopkins, ... 273
No Finality in any Present Form of Faith, M. J. Savage, 273

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 274

BOOK NOTICES.
Theology and Mythology, by Alfred H. O'Donoghue, . . 274
Boston Inside Out, by Rev. Henry Morgan, ... 274
Thoughts on Theism, ... 274
Washington Irving's "Old Christmas" and "Bracebridge Hall," 274
Historical and Critical Review of the Sunday Question, by George W. Brown, ... 275
Sunshine in the Soul, ... 275
The Art Amateur, North American Review, Popular Science Monthly, Wide-Awake, St. Nicholas, Our Little Ones, Baby-Land, ... 275

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 275

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Dean of Westminster has consented to the placing of a bust of Longfellow in the Abbey.

THE body of Dr. Thehart, of Allegheny City, Pa., was cremated in Le Moyne Crematory at Washington, Pa., on Monday of last week. This is the fifteenth cremation in this furnace. The body was reduced to ashes in two and one-half hours.

"WHAT are we coming to?" exclaims the Boston *Herald*, anent the avowed heresy of another Congregational clergyman, Rev. Alfred J. Bray, of Montreal, Quebec. Apparently, whatever we are coming to, a majority of the ministers are coming to their senses, and a higher ideal of truth-speaking.

THE Advanced Republicans of France intend doing away with all religious ceremonies in practical matters. At a village in the Indre-et-Loire recently, the mayor of the town publicly baptized a child by pouring wine on its head,—"In the name of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. *Vive la République!*"

THE *Christian Register* very forcibly and sensibly says, "If God ever sees fit to make an infallible book, we may be sure he will not so botch his work that the Church will have to spend half her time and strength for centuries in succession in proving its infallibility and reconciling with each other its different parts."

WE shall have to send Mr. Beecher, or some other clergyman of "advanced" views, over to Canada as a missionary of liberal religion; for they are so far behind the progressive ideas of the age there that, the other day, the collector of customs at Toronto confiscated an importation of Thomas Paine's theological works, on account of their expression of free-thought views. And yet Paine was a reverent theist, and would probably be admitted to-day as a consistent member of the Unitarian denomination.

RECENTLY, a lecturer named O'Connor, who had been a priest, was prevented by a mob of two thousand Roman Catholics from speaking in Toledo, Ohio. And yet our Catholic friends lament the tyrannous spirit of England's government, which prevents "free speech" in Ireland. The freedom of speech which this Catholic mob dubs "heresy," cannot be a whit more obnoxious to its religious feelings than the free speech which England dubs "sedition" when uttered in Ireland is to the political convictions of the ruling power in that country.

BEFORE this issue of *The Index* reaches our readers, the great astronomic event of the year—the transit of Venus—will have taken place. There has been much elaborate preparation for this event on the part of scientific men all over the civilized world, encouraged and aided by the governments of this and other nations. The main object of all this preparation and interest is said to be to obtain such observations as will enable the astronomers to determine the exact distance in miles of the earth from the sun. This is the last transit of Venus that will occur for more than a century, the next taking place in the year 2004. There was one in 1874, at which photography was brought into use, but not with entire success. The best photographs of the phenomenon were obtained by a process invented by the late Prof. Henry W. Draper. His photographic methods will be used by the American astronomers on this occasion.

TWENTY-THREE years ago the first of this month, John Brown was hanged at Charleston, Va. During these years, what important events of the century have occurred! The institution of human slavery, which had grown to be the potent political power of the nation, and which John Brown hated with all the strength of his heroic soul, has been destroyed. The States by which it was cursed have been reconstructed on the broad principle of equal justice to all. The negro, who was regarded merely as a chattel, has been raised to the plane of manhood and invested with the rights of citizenship; while those who defended slavery as a divine institution and fought to perpetuate it have become reconciled to the transformation, and but few now have any regrets to waste over "the lost cause." In reflecting on the great and significant events that have closely followed one another since John Brown's death, we find in them a practical verification of what our soldiers used to sing,—

"His soul goes marching on."

M. A. GAULT, a correspondent of the *Christian Statesman*, has been interviewing prominent Western clergymen and politicians in regard to the "God in the Constitution" amendment, but with poor success. Among others, he interviewed Gov. St. John, of Kansas, of whom he reports as follows: "His attention had been called to it before, and he expressed himself in sympathy with any movement aiming to inspire government with a deeper sense of responsibility to God and his law. But he questioned whether recognizing God in the Constitution would make the nation any more Christian? What we most need, said he, is more Christianity in the hearts of the people. I replied that the same reasoning would apply to the prohibition amendment in behalf of which he had taken such a distinguished part. A mere prohibition amendment in the Constitution would not make the nation any more temperate. What was needed was more temperance in the hearts of the people. The Governor replied that prohibition was designed to remedy a specific evil. I said that the religious amendment was designed to remedy a number of specific evils, among which were the obliteration of the Christian Sabbath, the prohibition of the Bible in our public education, as well as the great evil of intemperance. As I was leaving, he said, 'Do not understand me as opposed to National Reform, because you cannot put any too much of God in the Constitution for me.'" Apparently, *this* St. John is not "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way" for true Liberalism.

A WAVE of ultra piety struck the great metropolis of New York city last Sunday, and agitated it greatly. The authorities determined to put in force the Sunday laws recently re-enacted in the penal code, and issued orders to the police board to that effect. As, with certain exceptions, the interpretation of the law was left to the discretion of the policemen, much confusion prevailed, citizens were annoyed by unexpected renderings, and some comic situations was the result. One officer ordered his men to arrest all persons found carrying food in the streets, unless it could be shown that the food was for sick persons. Newspapers were forbidden to be sold on the streets, the sale of mineral waters was not allowed, express wagons were stopped, telegraph boys were ordered not to carry bundles, baggage was not allowed to be transferred, boot-blacks were arrested, and general confusion prevailed. Over in Brooklyn, Beecher preached vigorously against such a law, saying, among other things, that "he didn't believe men were bound to respect the Sabbath from religious grounds, but solely from civil grounds, as for the public welfare. He stood for the Sabbath, because it was democratic. Drinking, card-playing, and entertainments, so long as they were confined to private property and did not interfere with public peace, should not be touched by law. If he wanted to play cards in his own home instead of reading tracts on Sunday, he could do it, and he would like to see an officer interfere. He would play under his nose, if for nothing else than a declaration of his liberties; that is, after learning how to play. He believed in the Sabbath for a poor man, a day honorable and beautiful. He would not put a stop to public conveniences, conveyances, or excursions."

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A NEW UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY.

A new and unique controversy has arisen among the Unitarians. Under cover of the pleasantries of the dinner table at the Hotel Vendôme, where once a month the recently organized Unitarian Club of Boston meets to dine, and with the help of the excellent cuisine of that eminent Bostonian hostelry to promote the interests of Unitarianism, Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., one of the most distinguished theologians and scholars of the denomination, has suddenly thrown a bomb into the Unitarian camp. In the midst of a carefully prepared and notable address, the main thesis of which was that Orthodox Congregationalism cannot satisfactorily revise its creed and allay the discussions now threatening a schism in that body until, in the light of reason, it revises its view of the authority of the Bible, he interjected the statement that, after fifty years of study, he had come to the conclusion that the Bible, under the orthodox theory of its infallible inspiration, "yields what is called the orthodox creed," and that in the old controversy between Unitarians and Trinitarians, when both parties appealed to Scripture for authority, "the liberal contestants were worsted."

It is this part of Dr. Ellis' address—but a small and incidentally, though logically, connected portion of the whole—which has aroused the protest and remonstrance of Unitarians, while it has given corresponding satisfaction to the Orthodox. The bomb, well charged and intended for the latter, has burst, in fact, to a large degree in the Unitarian ranks, and caused, if we may judge by the commotion and resuscitation of veteran combatants, a good deal of alarm. The old war-horses of the Unitarian conflict—we use the term with no irreverence, but rather with a grateful recognition of services rendered a generation ago—have sniffed the battle from afar, and wheeled into line and charged down upon their quondam fellow-warrior in a body. In other words, twelve Unitarian clergymen, of sixty years old and upwards, in and about Boston, seven of whom have retired from stated professional work, have united in a counter-statement, published over their signatures. This they begin by expressing their "surprise and pain" at reading Dr. Ellis' opinions concerning the Unitarian side of the old controversy, and end with "disavowing" for themselves "any participation in the views" uttered by him on this point. Indeed, it almost looks as if Dr. Ellis were to be drummed out of the Unitarian camp for betraying the cause of which he has long been a stalwart leader, and deserting to the enemy.

But no thinking person can read the whole address without seeing that, so far from going back to give any support or even genuine comfort to Orthodoxy, Dr. Ellis has gone on far in advance of the old Unitarian camp, and is to be found in front of even its present position rather than in its rear. It were much to be desired that these twelve remonstrants, since they felt impelled to disavow his view on this one point, had not felt equally called to express their sympathy with the main doctrine of his address. Few Unitarians—hardly one, indeed, of his age and distinction—have stated the argument against the old view of the authority of the Bible so strongly and plainly as Dr. Ellis has done in this discourse. How much greater a thing it would have been for the advancement of Unitarianism and the promotion of truth, if these twelve scholarly gentlemen and preachers had seized the occasion to place themselves by his side in this argument, than is their hastening to disavow his opinion concerning the critical merit of the respective contestants in the old controversy on Bible texts fifty years ago! We had supposed that the time had gone by, at least in the ranks of liberal scholarship, for anybody to suffer "pain" because of any other person's candid expression of an honest opinion. "Pain" at what, pray? There is no question of Dr. Ellis' honesty, no question that he spoke calmly and after deliberate study and conviction. The "pain" must be caused by his having changed his convictions after honest inquiry, and, having had the courage to acknowledge the change, thereby to have given a point apparently to the Orthodox. That is, it is not so much the spirit of truth that is aggrieved as the spirit of partisanship. For ourselves, therefore, the "surprise" comes in at reading this manifesto of the twelve, and not at Dr. Ellis' statement. It was a good deal of "surprise" to see some of the signatures among the twelve. We cannot confess, however, to feeling any "pain" at the manifesto. We are afraid rather that we smiled at beholding this mustering in hot haste of the old Unitarian squadron, and we have noticed that the spectacle has produced smiles on much better Unitarian faces than ours.

As to the statement that Unitarians have been driven to ingenious and forced constructions of Scriptural texts in order to secure Bible authority for their doctrines, we do not see how it can be denied by any one who has been acquainted with Unitarian exegesis, nor in what interest it should be denied by any who have accepted the new views concerning the origin and growth of the Bible which have come in with the modern school of Biblical learning. Dr. Noyes, in the Cambridge Divinity School, used to fight manfully against this method of *rationalizing* the text so as to get out of it one's own preconceived views. In the Old Testament and in Paul's Epistles, he was himself quite free from it, for these he no longer regarded as authority to be implicitly followed; but when he came to the reported words of Jesus, whom he still regarded as an infallible guide, even he fell into the method. But this method of Scriptural interpretation is not the exegetical vice of Unitarians only. It is the almost inevitable vice into which all sects fall that seek Biblical authority for their views. The Orthodox do not escape it. They, too, twist texts and read between the lines. "Views," fortunately, change and grow. But the Bible, the authoritative standard, does not change. Therefore, the new views must somehow be read into the old texts to get authority for them. And if Unitarians and Liberal Christians have been constrained to resort to this method of splitting open old texts to let in modern ideas more than have the Orthodox, it is because more than the Orthodox they have kept their minds open to the new growths of rational and humane thought. But, happily, rational thought in religion has now advanced so far that it has exposed the viciousness of this method, and no longer feels either the adequacy or the need of any support from Scriptural authority. So, again, the more is the pity that the twelve stanch Unitarians who have protested against Dr. Ellis' statement did not use the occasion to add their voices to his in strong condemnation of the doctrine that the Bible is the ultimate and authoritative standard of religious truth and duty.

On the question, however, whether the Bible, even on the orthodox view of its composition, "yields what is called the orthodox creed," and only by a forced interpretation can be made "to teach anything but Orthodoxy," we incline to think that the statement of Dr. Ellis in his first paper was rather too concise for entire accuracy. A second paper, printed in the *Christian Register*, expanding and illustrating the first, though professedly retracting nothing, gives certainly to his views on this point a somewhat different coloring. Still, he does not seem to us to allow sufficiently for the gradual growth of the orthodox creed in the Christian Church. (This gradual growth of doctrine can be traced in the New Testament itself, but this fact must be left out of sight in the orthodox view of the book.) Somewhere in the volume, it must be admitted, may be found the germs, the roots, of all the chief doctrines of Orthodoxy,—as also the roots of prominent Unitarian doctrines. But what is called the orthodox creed in ecclesiastical history is a compact, logically developed, and unified system of faith, which may have grown naturally enough from doctrinal germs which the Bible writers planted, but which, nevertheless, they might not recognize as any production of theirs. Paul, we may say, sketched the orthodox creed, and yet we may well question whether Paul would have accepted Augustine's and Calvin's development of his sketch; and it is these men rather than Paul that have framed what is called the creed of Orthodoxy. The germ of the Trinity may be found in the Fourth Gospel; but there is no such doctrine of the Trinity in the New Testament as the tri-personality of Deity,—the form of the doctrine that belongs to the commonly accepted orthodox creed. When, therefore, it is said that the Bible yields the orthodox creed, it is important to remember, as somewhat modifying the statement, that there is a difference between the roots of doctrines and the doctrines themselves.

WM. J. POTTER.

MATERIALISM.

John Stuart Mill wonders, in his autobiography, why Manichæan Dualism, the opposition of God and Matter, has not played a more important part in men's opinions. But surely it has had the part of Hamlet in the play; nay, rather the part of base Iago, stirring up the jealous passions of the Moor. As if matter were the most comprehensible of all things, as if it could be seen and felt and tasted, as if its very essence had been discovered, and discovered to be absolutely vile, it was maligned for many centuries by the philosophers and theologians, until at length the hatefulness of matter became thoroughly ingrained in human thought, as axiomatic as the axioms of geometry. Because this has been so, men have resented every attempt to show an intimate relationship between the body and the mind. But, surely, knowing what we do to-day of so-called matter, its wonderful combinations, the multitude of its organic forms, these wonderful revelations of the microscope and spectroscope and chemical analysis, and knowing, too, how ignorant we are of its essential character, I see not why we should not sound a truce to all our animosities, which have never had any basis of observation or experiment, but have been as purely fanciful as the stories of Jules Verne. As for myself, I find no fault at all in this which men call "matter." I find it very dear and beautiful. Why not? The stars and clouds are made of it, and these late autumn flowers that make the city gardens bright and gay, the mountains and the rivers and the sea, all of the children's faces, the baby's beaded toes, and the deeper coral of the lips that kiss them with a mother's pure delight. Wonderful matter! Catch me speaking ill of you after all the happiness that I have had with you these forty conscious years! I have no words to tell a millionth part of all your blessed ministration.

The intimate relation of the body and the mind has been resented, because such a relation seems to materialize the mind. But here, again, the feeling roots in a sentiment concerning matter which has no validity whatever. And surely there is another side to every instance of this intimate relationship which is not to be denied. It materializes spirit

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no more than it spiritualizes matter. Every such instance goes to prove that matter has a spiritual endowment. My friend called his best sermon of the year "the Roast Beef Sermon," because it was written after a tremendous invoice of that vitalizing food. If there was any real connection,—nor doubt I that there was,—the sermon was no worse for it. That was not materialized. The beef was spiritualized. Goethe could work more easily when the barometer was high. The poems were no worse for that. The atmosphere was better. The best barometer is a poet's brain. No weather is so fair as that which makes his genial current flow. Plutarch affirms that "a certain temperature of air and winds" is the chief cause of inspiration. Thoreau perceived the law, but, so Emerson tells us, was "sad that atmospheric influences should bring to our dust the communion of the soul with the Infinite." But what care I how the communion comes, so that it comes? Whatever brings it, the communion is not discredited, but the messenger is approved, and should be duly crowned. It is not cause for sorrow "that the atmosphere should be an excitement; that it should be theistic, poetic; that the dull rock should be drenched with Deity." So Emerson affirmed; and what materialism there was in him was not at the expense of the ideal and the spiritual.

Is there, then, nothing which is called Materialism, or which might properly enough be called so,—if the word is to have its meaning determined, not by what matter really is, but by what it has been considered,—against which one might well lift up a warning voice? Would that it might be so, but it is not. There is even a speculative Materialism which is crude and gross, the utter thoughtlessness of those who talk as if from mere dead matter had come forth the ordered Cosmos in which we abide and part of which we are. But this does not deserve a moment's pause. The instant that a man begins to think, he is delivered from this nonsense. Quite different from this is the materialism which is rightly to be feared and shunned. Some of it goes by such high-sounding names as Ritualism and Authority and Supernatural Religion. It consists in the exaggeration of formal and external at the expense of ideal elements. It is saying nothing against matter, nothing against that special form of it which we call "water,"—which has I cannot say how many perfect uses, and takes on so many beauteous forms,—to suggest that it is possible to exaggerate the importance of a few drops upon an infant's forehead, or complete immersion in it of the adult believer. Matter has everywhere its spiritual implications. Materialism consists in making the relation of the former to the latter too abrupt and artificial. When a Roman missionary, under pretence of comforting a South Sea Island baby by sprinkling a few drops of scented water on its head, adroitly changes the flask, and uses without the mother's knowledge "the water which conveys regeneration," he is guilty of an action for which if materialism is not the right word, it is because its long association with a certain form of speculation has made it much too honorable a word to indicate such foolishness as this, to say nothing of the acted lie. And so when, in our very midst, clergymen send round among their people instructions as to the manner in which they should take the eucharistic elements, bidding them be careful never to drop the smallest crumb of bread, because it is the Lord's body, and never to wipe their lips with a handkerchief after partaking of the wine, but to "put out the tongue a little and gently suck off any that may have been left upon the mouth or beard,"—if this is not materialism, it is something for which we ought to have a harsher name. It is a gross exaggeration of the spiritual significance of the material bread and wine. The ritualist is always guilty of this exaggeration of material forms and substances. Ritualism is always materialism. The Rev. Arthur Tooth, who, after keeping the whole Church of England for some months in pain, was lately extracted from his dainty chapel and put in jail for disobeying some injunction of the courts, was not less a materialist, because he made himself a martyr for his favorite altar-cloth and gown. What but materialism is the insistence on the importance of these things one way or another? Can the acceptableness of a man's worship be affected by the color of the shirt he wears outside his other garments?

As there is sacramental materialism, so there is dogmatic. And as the tendency of the former is to set something purely formal and magical above simple goodness, so the tendency of the latter is to set up something above truth to sanction it, as when, to establish the validity of the Christian revelation, it appeals to physical marvels or to the numbers that adhere to certain statements of theology. And still another form of materialism—a form, too, which is multiform—is the materialism which most of all makes good the popular acceptation of the word as a synonyme for coarseness. This is the materialism which most of all we have to fear,—materialism not of philosophy or theology, not of ritualism or dogmatism, but of the daily life. Surely there is a difference in the ideals by which men are attracted. Surely there is a lower and a higher. There is no sense, there is no passion, which is not beautiful and honorable in its own proper sphere, within the boundaries of reason and of fellow-service. But the exaggeration of the senses, the exaggeration of the passions, at the expense of spiritual satisfactions, this is a materialism which might well monopolize all of the evil odor which attaches to the name or ever has attached to it. When a man takes no thought for his body what he shall eat or what he shall drink or wherewithal he shall be clothed, he is very apt to come to grief, and somebody else has to take thought for him. These things should be thought about. We all of us know people who do not think about them half enough; but here, too, there is the law of fitness and proportion. Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from out the mouth of God. The man who lives only for the gratification of his senses and his passions, who does not subordinate these to intellect and affection, who does not live for truth and beauty as well as for ease and comfort, he is the materialist against whom we should always be upon our guard. Not the material in which we deal makes us materialists or spiritualists. He always is the spiritualist, the idealist, who is bent on finding the ideal elements that inhere in human life, and bringing these into commanding place and power. Whatever be our philosophy of the ultimate constitution of the world or of our own personal life, let us see to it first and always that our daily life is not materialistic, in that it is sensual or coarse or petty, mean, or low. Let us live for truth and beauty, love and fellow-service, not less by any means than for our food and clothes. Let us exaggerate no incident, hold fast the simple sense of all things, being led astray by neither miracle nor magic, and, slow to argue from the philosophic creed of others to any defect of faith or character in them, see to it that our own creed does not commit the folly of supposing that a less can ever generate a greater thing, and that our life responds to every law it knows with swift obedience and crowns its every highest impulse as the vicegerent of the invisible and all-sustaining Power.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE F. R. A. CONVENTIONS.

According to notices which have been published in *The Index*, the Free Religious Association has resumed this season the plan, for several years suspended, of holding autumnal conventions. Syracuse, N.Y., and Chicago were the points fixed upon by the committee, after consultation with local friends of the Association. The Convention at Syracuse opened on the evening of November 20, and continued through the following day. The attendance was good, and the spirit of the meetings excellent. The only disappointment experienced was owing to the inability of Col. Higginson to be present as one of the speakers on account of critical sickness in his family. The President of the Association, William J. Potter, the Secretary, F. A. Hinckley, Mr. M. J. Savage, and Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Spencer, were in attendance from New England; and they were well supported on the platform by Mr. Mann of Rochester, Mr. Powell of Utica, and Messrs. Mills, Calthrop, and Fiske of Syracuse. At Chicago, the Convention began on the evening of the 23d, and held through the 24th. The same speakers were in attendance from New England, with the exception of Mr. Spencer, whose place was supplied by Mr. C. D. B. Mills. Mrs. Annie M. Diggs was also present from Kansas, and Rowland Connor from Michigan, and rendered good service. But not the least notable among the addresses were those made by Judge Booth, and Rabbis Hirsch and Felsenthal, and Jenkin Ll. Jones, of Chicago. The attendance, perhaps, did not average quite so large as at Syracuse; but it was a meeting of growing interest to the end, and did an important and needed work in divesting many of the citizens of Chicago of false impressions concerning the Free Religious Association. A very considerable accession to the membership of the Association was made at these Conventions, and it is noteworthy that the general tone of the addresses was positive and constructive.

PRAYER AND AN ETHICAL VIEW OF LIFE.

Prayer seems to have its origin in a consciousness of weakness, joined with a belief in hidden sources of strength; and is an appeal, whether spoken or only felt, or indeed only a motion or look or sigh of the spirit for the strength that it may supplant and drown our conscious feebleness. Prayer may be selfish, it may be unselfish. Man has prayed for unrighteous victories over his fellow-man, he has also prayed for the "kingdom of God." Whatever seems above us and beyond us—whether it be strength of body or of soul, whether an ideal personal purity, or some great cause before which we feel the pitiful inadequacy of all we do or can do—becomes a natural object of prayer.

What, then, can lead those to abandon prayer, nay, compel them to do so, who neither disown the consciousness of weakness, nor, on the other hand, the unseen Power, and who have but slight sympathy with the outward, mechanical, secular, manner of life into which so many, alas! who have broken with existing religious institutions, incline to fall? I think it may be called an ethical, a morally serious view of life. Preparing the way to it and almost making a part of it is a purely *intellectual perception*. This perception is that prayer does not gain its end. And here let me be clear. I do not say that prayer is without effect. No motion, whether of body or mind, is without effect. I simply say it does not gain *its* effect, *i.e.*, its appropriate effect, or the one according to its idea and meaning. It is to my mind hardly more than intellectual trifling to say that the elevation and tranquillity of mind that may

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often follow prayer are the answer to it, though the object of the prayer be not granted. The question is, Does prayer as such, the appeal to unseen Power, win its end? (And I need hardly say that I have in mind only prayers for what is right and good, excluding all such as are selfish and partial, to which there may be objections on other grounds.) For myself, I must say no; and I think, in so doing, I speak in more than my own name,—indeed, in the name of a scientific view of the world. The unseen Power is in all the world and in all its order, and of this order the scientific view is nothing but the transcript. But, if it made of itself a person, and acted as one of the series of causes in this order, either the order would *ipso facto* cease, or itself would cease to be the unseen Power, and become a creature like ourselves.

And this order extends to the sphere of human thoughts and purposes as well as to the phenomena of nature. By this is nowise meant that we are not free beings and original causes ourselves of effects, nor that our individual lives are not parts of a larger plan, so that results undreamt of may come from our individual actions; but simply that, under the supreme ordering, we are the proximate causes of the effects; that none happen without our causation; that as in nature no change takes place save by the expenditure of phenomenal energy, so none in our individual souls or in the order of human society, save by thought, by purpose, or some species of human energy. If I will be pure in thought, I must set my heart on purity: I must order my life and put a rein on my desires and *become* pure, and no power without in heaven or earth can *make* me so, whether with or without my prayers. If I will see justice in human society, I and my fellows must create that justice. 'Tis utterly vain to join even with John Milton in his hymn,

> "Defend the poor and desolate,
> And rescue from the hands
> Of wicked men the low estate
> Of him that help demands.
>
> "Regard the weak and fatherless,
> Despatch the poor man's cause,
> And raise the man in deep distress
> By just and equal laws."

John Milton may have been sincere in so praying, psalmists and prophets and all the religious of the olden time may have been. I make not a doubt that they were sincere in similar prayers; and far better were the prayers with the sympathy and instinct for justice they express than the low contentedness of those whose hearts nowise responded to them. But, to those who share the view of the world of which I have spoken, such prayers, so far as they are *prayers*, are superstition; and I do not believe that many educated men and women at the present day would repeat them, if they distinctly realized all their implications. Save for the aspirations and moral demands that were hid behind them and found effect in other ways, I do not think all the prayers of the ages have advanced one single step the cause of goodness or of right.

This intellectual perception is a modern gain, but it serves to give new clearness and seriousness to *a moral conviction* which is age-long. This, in one form and another, is the sense of what ought to be, the feeling of the sanctity of that conception that life, according to its idea and purpose, is an effort, a struggle to win it and irradiate the world with it. The idea of the good extends to the heights of heaven, and covers the most trivial acts of earth. John Henry Newman has given it fervid utterance by saying that it is better for the sun to drop from heaven and the earth to fail than that one soul should tell an untruth or steal a farthing's worth of property. And it is contradicted by all that way of thinking so in vogue at the present day, that makes life and happiness in life the end of man, and forgets that our human existence gets worth and meaning only as it reflects certain moral ideas. Even Juvenal teaches us better, who could point his satire at those who, for the sake of life, would virtually lose the ends of living:—

> "Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori,
> Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

The sun shines to witness holy men and women, the earth to spread out as a field, whereon a battle, the battle of the right, may be fought. And we defeat the very purpose of their being when, for the sake of enjoying them, we do, or countenance any one in doing, shameful or unjust things. And I have no idea that religion will come again in the world (in accordance with the new view of things, I mean) till once more the sense dawns on man of something above all pleasure and happiness, more sacred even than life.

And let me bring out clearly the fact that it is we ourselves who are to win the just and the good, so that, even if some influence apart from ourselves should make us so, the demands of morality would not be met. Indeed, it must be said such justice and goodness would not *be* justice and goodness. So long as instinct or temperament or any species of influence, even if they be life-long in their action, determine us in the matter, we have not risen to the dignity of moral beings. The just and the good must be chosen, must become a principle of the will, before any worth enters into us. Neither grace of nature nor that of what the Christian calls the "Holy Spirit," but only the creative effort of man himself, can make an answer to the demands of morality. Have we then a lonely task? Yes; but we must accustom ourselves to loneliness. In the last analysis, each one is alone. Whatever influences go out from him or come to him, his personality and its character are incommunicable. Not that mighty Power, in whose hands we all are, can change our will or take the place of our own individual determination. *Thou must save thyself* is the stern mandate laid upon us: all other salvation is vain. And no matter if our own efforts win little, very little, that little has more worth — yes, infinitely more worth—than a so-called perfect life which is made for us by whatever means outside ourselves. It is not what we do or to what we attain, but what is our resolution, whither are our eyes turned, whither go out the unconquerable purposes of our spirits, —that is of moment.

And equally does this thought hold of a perfect state of society. I will not say I have no interest in it, if it is not in part made by me; but of this I am sure,—that I have no place in it. To humanity is given a task. Do we suppose the unseen nature of things, in virtue of which we have it, will dispense us from it? Do we imagine that it will defeat its own ends in placing us here, and the very significance of our being, by accomplishing the task for us? I am rather thankful that it *is* inexorable, that our wishes and prayers beat vainly against it, that it will not bend or yield, but summons us to match it in the inflexibility of our own purposes, to become ourselves gods, partners, and not underlings, in working out the eternal purpose.

Diviner action, then, must take the place of prayer. The limits which seem to close about our souls and to bar the progress of human society must be pronounced conventional and passable. Men must not merely say, but prove by their action that they are children of infinity. The religion of mere conservatism must be denied the name of religion, since it clings to the actual and denies the infinite element in man. And yet I hope it is clear that I do not mean action in any other sense. Action divorced from thought, and a divine thought of ourselves, has the interest only of a problem in mechanics. And it is true that prayer has been just such a means of connecting men, and the humblest of them, with an unseen and supersensible order of things. The connection has been conceived as one of desire (or request) and answer. And better, I believe, is almost any connection, so it be honestly thought of, than none at all. It is a part of man's dignity that he believes in something higher than himself. But there is another possible connection, at which I can now only hint. It might be expressed in almost the same words as the foregoing, but with directly opposite references. It is *demand* and answer, only the demand comes not from us, but from on high; and the answer must be given not from on high, but by us. All genuine morality is such a connecting of the individual with somewhat above the individual: it is the response of man to a task which neither he nor society imposes on him, but is set for him in the rational constitution of things, and, ideally speaking, is unalterable and unescapable. This, too, is union with the supersensible, though of a very different kind from that of prayer. The sense of it will find expressions in the future, and they will be the triumphs, the jubilations of the soul; but they will not be prayers, though they will give a new setting to the rational element at the basis of prayer, and will be soonest found, in my opinion, by those who frankly abandon prayer and adapt themselves entirely to the new attitude.

W. M. SALTER.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

Some of the advocates of liberal thought have the past year or two expressed surprise at the decline of interest in lectures that were better attended when the views advanced were more unpopular than they are now. It is probably true that the lecture field generally has fewer attractions for speakers than it had a few years ago. People depend for information, more now than formerly, upon books and periodicals which make easily accessible to all whatever can be presented in a popular style. But one reason perhaps that the average liberal lecturer attracts less attention now than he once did is that the people are pretty well acquainted in a general way with the thought presented. It requires the wit and eloquence of an Ingersoll to attract a large audience to hear a lecture on "The Mistakes of Moses." The people are getting familiar with objections to the divinity of the Bible, and the subject has lost its novelty. They go to hear Ingersoll, not for instruction, but to enjoy his inimitable wit and his stirring eloquence.

Yet there is room for needed and useful work in the liberal lecture field. There is among the intelligent class of dissenters from church creeds unwillingness to stop with mere disbelief, and a desire to encourage lectures which explain and popularize the best scientific and philosophic thought. Such lectures are needed in this period of transition, when people are abandoning old views faster than they are accepting and assimilating the thought which must supersede the decaying theology. In some communities there is yet a state of things that calls for the work of criticism, for the exposure of the absurdities of the Christian system and the assumptions and fallacies of the orthodox clergy.

With these convictions, we have left the editorial chair for the lecture field, in which engagements will keep us busy until the first of January. We have given a dozen lectures in Ohio to audiences numbering in some places from six to eight hundred, which have listened with an attention and interest which show the fullest appreciation of

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our efforts to familiarize the people with the facts and philosophy of evolution in the physical, mental, and moral world. At Canton, Massillon, Alliance, and Salem, our first lectures have been given; and in another letter will be presented some observations and reflections based thereon, pertaining to the condition and needs of the liberal movement. A few facts in regard to one of the places we have visited may possess some interest for readers of *The Index*.

Salem has quite a history in connection with reform. It was the Western head-quarters of the anti-slavery movement, and many who still live there were members of the "Underground Railroad" Company when it did a flourishing business. The anti-slavery *Bugle*, edited at different times by Benjamin Jones, Marius Robinson, and Oliver Johnson, was during a period of some eight or ten years published at Salem. The most uncompromising and radical abolitionists, Garrison, the Fosters, Henry C. Wright, Parker Pillsbury, all in fact who wanted to express their abhorrence of human slavery and to denounce the Church, that "brotherhood of thieves," for its attitude toward the "sum of all villanies," invariably found a warm welcome and sympathetic audiences. The opposition was strong, the meetings were generally disturbed and sometimes broken up; and Marius Robinson, one of the bravest and noblest men that ever lived, was tarred and feathered by a crowd, one of whom still lives at Salem, and has long been a member of the Republican party. What political changes have occurred in this country since those days!

A Bible convention was held at Salem previous to the date of the celebrated Hartford Bible Convention. The freedom with which the character and claims of the Scriptures were discussed was something remarkable and startling for those days. Joseph Barker was one of those who took part in the discussion. He was then in his prime; and the ability and vigor with which he, a powerful speaker and experienced debater, assailed the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible, produced a marked impression, and contributed to make the anti-slavery people in this region still more heterodox religiously, and more aggressive in their attitude toward the Churches and their creeds.

Salem was the home of Barker several years. He spoke at anti-slavery meetings, lectured against Christianity, debated with ministers who had the courage to meet him, wrote letters to the *Liberator* and *Investigator*, and gave attention besides to the cultivation and improvement of his farm. Personally, he was not liked, and was unpopular even among those who were glad to see his ability given to the support of their views. His personal unpopularity was one of the reasons of his leaving Salem and moving to Omaha.

He afterward went back to England, announced his reconversion to Christianity, lectured against "infidelity," and published a work in which he gave what purported to be an account of the circumstances that led him to abandon his faith, together with his experience as an unbeliever and the reasons of his restoration to Christ. The story is a sad one, and shows the ambitions, the vacillations, the enmities of a strong yet a weak man, one whose emotional nature and religious feelings were much of the time in opposition to the conclusions of a naturally vigorous intellect, one in whom doubt was painful, with whom faith was an indispensable condition of happiness, and yet whose active mind would not admit of that condition. In old age, which was attended with ill health and physical suffering, his religious tendencies and early impressions reasserted their control over his mind, and he was apparently in the condition expressed by the words, "Lord, I believe: help thou my unbelief." He advised all to avoid the books and even the company of free thinkers, for the reason that the mind once troubled by their objections could never quite escape their influence. Here, we are reminded what Bayle wrote: "The Christian who has allowed himself to be bothered by the objection of a sceptic has already one foot in the grave of his fidelity. The ship of Christ is not made to be tossed about on the stormy sea of doubt, but to remain securely anchored in the harbor of faith."

The Broad-gauge Church—a name bestowed by some of the orthodox people, and adopted by the members of a liberal association composed of many of the most substantial citizens of the community—flourished some dozen years in Salem. Marius Robinson was the first president. Many of the leading supporters were brought up Hicksite Quakers. During the first four or five years of its existence, the association employed Mr. Charles Ellis, who had graduated from Meadville, but was too heterodox to speak acceptably from a Unitarian pulpit. His discourses are spoken of as among the most brilliant ever given before the association, and they were not without their results on the public mind. At a later date, the desk was occupied by many of the leading representatives of liberal thought. During the last year of its existence, Mr. Parker Pillsbury spoke for the association regularly every Sunday. But after a while, Liberalism became so diffused through the community that the "Broad-gaugers" did not feel the necessity or importance of keeping up a distinct organization, and the past four or five years they have maintained a "masterly inactivity." Lately, however, the young men, encouraged by several members of the old organization, have formed a Lecture Association; and it is gratifying to note that there is a strong feeling among the active members in favor of scientific lectures, or those of a constructive character, rather than those merely that repeat the criticism of creeds and the objections to theology with which the community is already pretty familiar. B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

UNTIL further notice, make all cheques and drafts payable to the order of John C. Haynes.

"SUNSHINE CALENDAR" is the title given by Miss Kate Sanborn to her collection of extracts, taken from many good sources, selected sometimes for the sake of their humor, sometimes for their poetic beauty, but oftener for their moral worth, and ornamented by illuminated pictures and mottoes. We think it will justify its name in any household.

THE search for "True Religion" has always, so far in the world's history, brought to its seekers, conjointly with the glorious martyr spirit, the martyr misfortunes and trials. The paper by that name seems to share the usual fate of such seekers, as the editor and his assistant are sick, the compositors away, and this just after a fire and a removal. We hope better times will soon come to our contemporary.

THE *Turnzeitung*, published as an appendix to the Milwaukee *Freidenker* for November 19, contains a list of one hundred and one questions of recent interest, admirably fitted for the use of debating societies and lyceums. We add a few: "Is the father or mother the chief power in the education of children?" "Protection or Free Trade?" "Is there any doubt of the continuance of our Republic!" "Common-sense *versus* classical education." "Which country in Europe is most likely to become a republic?" "Has the moon any influence on climate?" "Should the concentration of capital in a few hands be restricted by law?" "Should telegraphs and railroads be managed by the government?"

WE have received from the manufacturers, Asa L. Shipman & Co., No. 10 Murray Street, New York city, a very neat, simple, ingenious, and durable binder for *The Index*. It has a flexible back which adjusts itself to any thickness, and, though offered as a temporary binding, is equally well adapted for a permanent one. By it, any one can bind their own papers, one sheet or number at a time, as neatly and thoroughly as a regular book binder. Those of our subscribers who keep their *Index* on file will find this binder of great use; and they can be supplied with them from this office at their retail price, $1.00.

THE following, which we clip from an exchange, shows how America is preserving and caring for her historic ruins:—

The walls of the old engine-house at Harper's Ferry, where John Brown made his last stand with a dozen men against seven thousand [says a correspondent], now furnish an artistic background to a huge placard setting forth the virtues of somebody's liver pad. The inscription on the front of the building, which tells the story of Brown's crusade, cannot be read at any distance. The advertisement of the liver pad is in letters as long as a Springfield musket. The grass grows rank in front of the heroic spot, as though few pilgrim feet visited it. A clump of tall ragweed stands in the open doorway where young Watson Brown and his brother were shot down. The roof has gone, the windows have disappeared, and there is an air of neglect and gradual decay about the spot that accords well with the stagnation of the town.

WE have received from Houghton, Mifflin & Co., of this city, two beautiful calendars for 1883, either or both of which we are sure will suit the taste of most *Index* readers. They are respectively entitled "The Emerson Calendar, 1883," and "The Longfellow Calendar, 1883." The first mentioned has for its leading decoration a gigantic pine tree: at one side of the design is a vignette of Mr. Emerson's home at Concord. The coloring of this calendar is wonderfully rich, including twenty colors, without any approach to tawdriness or glaring effects. The Longfellow Calendar has a fine portrait of the poet: on one side of the medallion containing it is a view of Longfellow's home in Cambridge, and on the other the belfry of Bruges. Below, on the right, is a picture of Evangeline standing on her father's porch, and on the left a picture of Priscilla in the snow, carrying food to the poor, while a band of golden daisies bearing the names of Mr. Longfellow's most famous works encloses the whole. This calendar is also printed in twenty colors tastefully blended. In both calendars, each day of the year has a motto accompanying it from the writings of the poet it commemorates; and the price of each is the same, $1.00.

THE new literary venture, *The Life of Whittier*, of our valued contributor, W. Sloane Kennedy, is, we are pleased to see, very favorably commented on by the critics. The *Transcript*, at the close of quite a lengthy review of it, says: "The volume shows so much care and labor in its historical and biographical bearings, so much deep thought and strong expression, so much critical ability and elaboration, that, whatever else may be said of it, the work remains one of great interest, and will attract attention." The Springfield *Republican* says: "Mr. Kennedy . . . takes hold of literature with a positive grip." The *Herald* of this city speaks in the following high terms of Mr. Kennedy's literary ability as shown in this *Life of Whittier*: "He has no reason to be ashamed of his modest efforts at authorship. He displays the free hand of the born *littérateur*, if not that of the original author; and there is an undercurrent of fresh thinking in these pages which indicates that his next work will be an expression of thoughts

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of his own, which are impatiently awaiting utterance." In these favorable opinions, the readers of *The Index*, who have had occasional samples of his vigor and originality in both prose and poetry, will, we are sure, most heartily coincide.

THE *Catholic Review* informs "good Dr. Park" that neither the Congregational system nor any other phase of Protestantism furnishes any permanent resting-place in the progress of religious opinion, any logical ground of defence against the attacks of radicalism short of the Catholic Church. The *Review* thinks his recent utterances in Boston are "the last gasp of so-called Orthodoxy," and addresses the champion of Orthodoxy as follows: "With your knowledge of Catholic theology, we might naturally hope that your conservative feeling would prompt you to recoil from the fearful vortex into which modern free thought has led so many of your contemporaries, and to take refuge in the Fortress of Peter which is founded upon the rock of eternal truth. But, alas! experience leads us to fear that, like so many other orthodox old fogies who still linger as venerable fossils of a past generation, you have become so thoroughly imbedded in the conglomerate stratum of opinion, in which, at an early period, you were 'deposited,' that nothing will ever be able to liberate you from your Silurian bed but the sound of the last trumpet which shall awake the nations from the dead, and call them to their final account. Will you then, dear Doctor, be able to put in the available plea of exculpation,—the plea of 'invincible ignorance'?"

B. F. UNDERWOOD is lecturing to large audiences in Ohio. He will remain in the lecture field during December and January. All applications to him for lectures should be addressed to this office.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

ELECTRICITY.

Thou ridest through the heavens, thy course is far,
Thou rollest on in thy triumphal car;
Through the vast conclave, loud thy wheels resound,
Loud echoing backward from the nether ground.
Thy varying foot-steps make the faint hearts quake;
But strong ones rouse to catch thy voice elate:
Force over other force, what should we be
Without thy penetrating agency,—
Beneficent, earth-saving Electricity!

When sultry skies and drowsy airs have come,
With insects' vague, monotonous, low hum,
Thy muttering, fierce approach how welcomed then
By all of life, from grasses up to men!
If in the morning thou dost culminate
And for the day portend a rainy fate,
Or in the evening doth expend thy dower,
Adding new beauties to the sunset hour,
Still welcome thou, cleansing and renovating power!

We hail thy lightning's instantaneous flight,
Its vivid play upon the clouds of night;
List the reverberating thunder-roar
As rolls thy chariot o'er heaven's hollow floor;
The pureness of the glorious atmosphere
When thou art roused, so cool and fresh and clear!
The water's avalanche, oh, let it burst,
That the broad thirsty earth no more may thirst,
But yield its plenty as in Eden's bowers erst!

In other forms than these thy reign we bless,
Thy bounteous, awe-inspiring graciousness!
Much coveted and lavishly bestowed,
Through thee we gain our strength to walk life's road:
Peoples have worshipped sun and moon and star,
And birds and beasts, and mythic ones afar;
But here we reverently bend the knee,
Thou all-pervading, potent one, to thee,—
Life-giving, life-sustaining *Electricity!*

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

KILLINGLY, CONN.

The Index.

BOSTON, DEC. 7, 1882.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

Christian Theology vs. Human Fellowship.

A Discourse before the Free Religious Society of Providence, R.I.

BY FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY.

This has been what we might call a sensational year in theology. Thinking people were startled last spring by the Andover controversy. They are at least surprised by the present attitude of the National Unitarian Conference. And they may be said to wonder at the recent action of the Congregational Association of New York and Brooklyn.

It had been supposed that if Orthodoxy, of the pure and unadulterated type, had a home anywhere, it was in the Theological Seminary of Andover. As long ago as 1807, this institution, an outgrowth from Phillips Academy, had been founded with the stated object of providing for the Church "a learned, orthodox, and pious ministry." And Samuel Abbot, a Boston merchant, one of its earliest patrons, had established a professorship, in which it was specially provided that the most rigorous doctrines of the Church should be taught. But in this year, 1882, the school, now seventy-five years old, having to fill this particular chair by reason of a vacancy, selected, through its Faculty and Trustees, the Rev. Newman Smyth, well known as what is called a liberal orthodox minister. Dr. Smyth does not believe in infant damnation, neither does he believe in everlasting punishment; and so when the matter came before the Board of Visitors, a third body whose consent was required, a controversy sprang up, with the results of which you are familiar. I need not here rehearse the details. I desire now to call attention to some very interesting points which this controversy has developed.

In the first place, the Faculty, who certainly ought to know what they do, and ought to be sound on all doctrinal points if anybody is to be, selected a professor who was known to be unsound on several of them.

In the second place, the candidate selected, privately and publicly committed against at least two articles of the creed, subscribed to it without any hesitation or reservation.

Thirdly, the Faculty, when severely criticised for their action, affirm that the rigorous enforcement of the creed in its literal sense would absolutely prevent the maintenance of any trust reposing on a creed.

And, fourthly, so eminent a writer as the Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon says: "The most obvious fact in the whole affair is this: that no one of the parties interested in it, officially or unofficially, places the slightest value on the mere fact of subscription to the prescribed creed. Neither the Faculty that nominated, nor the Trustees who elected, nor the Visitors who approved, nor the candidate who submitted to be successively catechised, nor the newspapers which pitched in, nor the critical public looking on, has any confidence whatever in the subscription, joined to however irreproachable a character for intelligence and sincerity, as giving a guarantee of the candidate's conformity to the creed subscribed." It is Dr. Bacon, remember, who says this, not I.

Bearing in mind these four points, let us turn for a moment to the Unitarians, and see what they have been doing. In the year 1866, the Unitarian denomination formed a National Conference. It was christened, and has since been called, the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches. The Preamble and first Article of the Constitution adopted were as follows:—

PREAMBLE.—*Whereas* the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration, at this time, increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building up of the kingdom of his Son:—

ART. I.—Therefore, the Christian churches of the Unitarian faith, here assembled, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches, to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination with which they are connected to the largest exertions in the cause of Christian faith and work. . . .

This action was of course unsatisfactory to the Radicals, and resulted in the formation of the National Free Religious Association. In 1868, however, under the pressure of the criticism which its former action had aroused, the Conference, without repealing anything, adopted the following additional article:—

ART. IX.—To secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, it is hereby understood that all declarations of this Conference, including the Preamble and Constitution, are expressions only of its majority, committing in no degree those who object to them, and dependent wholly for their effect upon the consent they command, on their own merits, from the churches here represented or belonging within the circle of our fellowship.

This was in turn unsatisfactory to the most conservative; and, a few years later, Rev. Mr. Hepworth, who has since left the Unitarian and joined the Orthodox body, offered a substitute for Article IX. as follows:—

ART. IX.—Reaffirming our allegiance to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and desiring to secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, we invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ.

The old Article IX. was repealed, and this substitute adopted. And now in this year 1882, famous for theological somersaulting, the Conference, on motion of no less a radical than Minot J. Savage, adopts a new Article, not a substitute for Article IX., which still remains, but an additional Article, namely:—

ART. X.—While we believe that the Preamble and the Articles of our Constitution fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches, yet we wish distinctly to put on record our declaration that they are no authoritative test of Unitarianism, and are not intended to exclude from our fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims.

The points in this bit of history to which I would especially call your attention are these:—

1st. This National Conference of Unitarians affirmed its faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and took to itself the Christian name.

2d. It declared that the Constitution was simply the work of the majority, and was not necessarily binding upon the minority; that is, it could mean something or nothing to its members as they might choose to interpret it.

3d. It repealed this last declaration, reaffirmed its faith in the Christian Gospels, and invited to its fellowship those, and *only* those, who wish to be followers of Christ.

And 4th. In this year 1882, it retains this Article, but adds another, saying, that nothing contained in this Constitution is intended to exclude from our fellowship any who are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims. So that Article IX. limits the fellowship to followers of Christ; and Article X. says we do not mean what we say in Article IX., we invite all to our fellowship who are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims.

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Remember these points, please, while I notice briefly one more of the surprises of this eventful year.

At a recent meeting of the New York and Brooklyn Congregational Association, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, after a full statement of his theological views, sufficiently muddy to be hard to understand, it must be confessed, but nevertheless clear on certain points, notably the denial of the doctrines of atonement, of total depravity and everlasting punishment, laid down his membership, and withdrew. After his withdrawal, a long discussion ensued, in which it soon became evident that Mr. Beecher did not stand alone. And the meeting came to an end by unanimously adopting a resolution in which this sentence occurs: The full and proffered exposition of doctrinal views that he (Mr. Beecher) has made at this meeting indicates the propriety of his continued membership in this or any other Congregational association. And yet the doctrines that Christ died a ransom for many, that we of this day and generation are saved by his blood, that the wicked who do not repent shall be everlastingly damned, that the little child who dies before he can subscribe to the creed is totally depraved,—all this against which Mr. Beecher has been protesting for years, and which he now thinks cause for his withdrawal from the New York and Brooklyn Association, still forms a portion of the fundamental law of the orthodox body. Again allow me to suggest the salient points:—

1st. Mr. Beecher, the most noted preacher of the orthodox faith in America, holding views inconsistent with the creed of his church on vital questions, has maintained until now his formal membership with this representative association.

2d. When he resigns, the association unanimously resolve that these views are not at variance with the opposite views held and proclaimed in their constitutions and creeds, and express the hope that he will reconsider his resignation, and remain with them and of them, as heretofore.

Well, men and brethren, what are we coming to! Have words lost their meanings? Have the irregularities of the street got into the pulpit? Is Christianity, from either good or bad motives, trying to be, in a vulgar as well as in a sublime sense, all things to all men? To answer these questions candidly, but I trust also fairly, is the task I have set myself for this hour.

Theology as defined by the lexicographers is the science of God and his relations to his creatures, the doctrines we are to believe and the duties we are to practise. In the popular use of the term, and in the church use of it as well, theology relates chiefly to man's conception of and relations with God. If it involves at all the idea of duty, it is duty toward God rather than duty toward man. Christian theology, then, we may say, is that conception, or series of conceptions, of an Infinite Being, and of man's duty to him, held by the Christian Church, or, to make our definition as broad as possible, by the people calling themselves Christians. What these conceptions are in the Protestant Church, or in other words what Protestant Christian theology is, it is exceedingly difficult to determine. The position of the Catholic is more fixed and consistent, and consequently more easily measured; but the multitude of sects in Protestantism make a precise definition well-nigh impossible. Still there is such a thing as Christian theology. Let us see if we can obtain some idea of what it is. If you will go with me to the Episcopal Church some day, you will hear the rector and people repeat, in solemn tones, "I believe in the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting." If you will go with me into most any orthodox Sunday-school, you will hear recitations from the Westminster Catechism, according to which the whole pagan world—a large majority of mankind—is to be damned. If you had attended the recognition of a new church in Pawtucket the other day, you would have heard the minister confess to the council there assembled his belief in the Trinity, the infallibility of the Bible, the fall of man, the atonement, and the everlasting punishment of the unregenerated. All this is Orthodoxy, pure and simple, once the all but universal creed here in New England, now accepted literally by large numbers, and indorsed with certain reservations by many more. Mr. Beecher dissents from some of it, Miss Phelps affirms with great earnestness that a growing portion of intelligent Christians disbelieve several of its affirmations; but still it remains in plain letters as the standard of authority in the Orthodox Church, to be read of all. But let us not do injustice to the dissenters. Dr. Smyth, Mr. Beecher, and Miss Phelps may be taken as their representatives. They all distinctly reject some of the doctrines of their Church. But Miss Phelps maintains that these things are no longer the doctrines of the Church. To attack a man for the faith of his great-grandfather, she says, is only next to imputing to him the sin of Adam, and ranks the rationalist among the barbarians at whom he sneers. There must be freedom of interpretation; and if Mr. Beecher and Dr. Smyth and Miss Phelps, interpreting the Bible and the creed in the light of the civilization of to-day, find their meaning to be precisely the reverse of the interpretations given by their grandfathers,—why so much the worse for the grandfathers, that seems to be the argument. But, in the mean time, what has become of the doctrine of plenary inspiration? And how about the grandchildren of the future? Suppose they, bettering the lesson, reject all that seems vital to the grandchildren of to-day?

The simple truth is, if the signs of the times are worth anything,—the simple truth is that the old doctrines of Orthodoxy have been so thoroughly undermined in the natural progress of the evolution of thought that the most intelligent and unprejudiced minds find it necessary to reconstruct their beliefs. That is what Dr. Smyth has done; it is what Mr. Beecher has done; it is what Miss Phelps has done; more than that, it is what thousands are doing every day. But orthodox people are not peculiar in this respect. Not a denomination in our city but can testify to the same conflict; the non-thinking portion holding to the old, the thinking portion very slowly, but not less surely, breaking away from it. From the stand-point of creed, where shall we look for a church in which some of the keepers have not become betrayers of the citadel?

The Unitarian body is a very instructive example of this change, because, more than any other church organization, it represents the minimum of what was originally the Christian theology. It began, as all know, with a protest against the Trinity: it is not hampered now, it never has been hampered, by ideas of total depravity, everlasting punishment, and all that. Even its conservative wing will not hint at such doctrines as these; but they emphasize the personal Father and the special sonship to him of Jesus, the Christ. Old-fashioned Unitarianism, however, is no longer accepted without question. Indeed, the dissenters have become so numerous that it is by no means certain which is in the majority, the conservatives or the radicals? Judging from the vacillating action of the National Conference, one year it is the left, the next year the right, wing which moves the body.

Now, this radical Unitarian element retains as little of Christian theology as it is possible to possess and have any. It believes in God, but explains away nearly all the sectarian ideas concerning him. It takes the name Christian; but it believes Jesus to have been a man, as we believe him to have been. In its forms and professions, it is Christian and theistic, tenaciously so. It cannot separate Religion from Christian Theism. As was recently said by one of its representative preachers, we are necessarily theists and Christians. And yet, in its spirit, it is much like ourselves, largely universal and agnostic.

The thing called Christian theology, to-day, then, among Protestants, ranges from the strong, harsh, barbarous conceptions of ignorant Orthodoxy to the attenuated written or unwritten creed of radical Unitarian culture. Each sect and each division of a sect of course thinks it has the final and fundamental truth, would not be justified in existing if it thought otherwise; but a close study of church history shows a constant changing of statement, to meet the constant change in theological conceptions. If it had been said to Dr. Watts or Jonathan Edwards, "Gentlemen, the views concerning God and Christ which you hold are essentially false, they must give way to other and more liberal views with the progress of general enlightenment," these venerated leaders would not have believed it: they would have denounced as infidels and fanatics, they did denounce as infidels and fanatics, those who dared suggest such a thing. But the fact is, their theology has gone: the fanatics and infidels were right.

Nor is this the most interesting part of the case to us. In the ameliorated form in which we see the old theology to-day, it is going,—witness Dr. Smyth, Mr. Beecher, and Miss Phelps. Nor is this all. Not only is the ghost of the theology of Watts and Edwards vanishing, but that which was originally a protest against it is going too. It is not too much to say that, aside from the question of fellowship and the advantages of organization, a large number of radical Unitarian ministers do not care a fig for the Christian label or for any form of theology whatsoever. As we look all along the line, therefore, it is hardly necessary to say the Christian theology *must* go. It is a fact of evolution that it has been going, piece by piece, for years; and the process gives every indication of continuance, until it is all gone. I do not assert it as an opinion: I merely interpret it as a phenomenon of growth. Now, this is a startling fact, if it be a fact, to many reverent souls. What does it signify? they ask in fear and trembling. Has the Christian Church outlived its usefulness? Is Christianity itself a sham and a lie? Not at all. It simply indicates that there are people who have outgrown the Church; that the number of these is constantly increasing; and that Christianity as an exclusive system, as the means of salvation for all men, no longer has the unquestioning allegiance of men's hearts. Christian theology, in its mildest forms, assumes to define the Universal, and to regard Christianity as in a special sense a more direct revelation from the Universal than any other system known to man. Thus, it necessarily assumes for a part that which belongs only to the whole, to universal Religion. This is the pith of Unitarian theology. It is what is vital in all Christian theology. But it is based on assumption, to the falsity of which science is every day adding new proof. Therefore it is that I say the whole Christian theology is going and must continue to go.

But, side by side with this theology, there has grown up a spirit of fellowship which I greatly revere. In the Church, looking through theological spectacles, they call it *Christian* fellowship; but it is not that, it is *human* fellowship. It is a most noticeable fact, and a most natural one too, that theology has grown small just about in proportion as this feeling of fellowship has grown large. Once it was only the company of the elect that was desired. The inner body of church communicants drew about themselves a charmed circle into which only true believers could come. They called that Christian fellowship then. After a while, it broadened out a little. It was discovered that there were saints in other denominations, so a union of churches of similar faiths became possible. Still later came Universalism, proposing to enlarge the circle so that it should take in the sinners as well as the saints. But they always called it Christian fellowship, as in the beginning. And now, to-day, some men have extended their hands to Jews and Hindus and Parsees in a universal fraternity of love; and Unitarianism says, Good, very good, but labels this *Christian* fellowship too.

Now, what is the truth about it? I take it simply this: it is all the growth of the idea of the brotherhood of man, an idea which has been found under all systems. It is not Christianity, it is not Buddhism, it is not Zoroastrianism, it is the Almighty Heart making its way through these and over them to the Universal from whence it came. Systems of theology, the Christian included, have always been obstacles to be overcome, never helps to be welcomed, in the prosecution of this work. Of course, it has been well, a part of the natural environment; but, nevertheless, these forms have stood in the way of the complete manifestation of brotherhood. Their entire destruction is a condition precedent to its realization. The caterpillar may be very beautiful, but it is not the butterfly; and the power to soar comes only as the power to crawl goes. I wonder what would become of our friend's Christian fellowship, if he should carry it to China or Japan or Persia. As some great soul in a Chinese or a Japanese or a Persian body gave him that brotherly grasp which knows neither sect nor system, I fancy he would hardly like to exclaim, This is *Christian* fellowship! Suppose he did so exclaim, and suppose the Chinaman replied, No, it is Confucian; and the Japanese added, No, you are both mistaken, it is Buddhistic; and the Persian in his turn should say, No, you are wrong also, it is Zoroastrian,—what would be the result? Why, if they were sensible men, if they were able to see beyond their theological schools, they would all laugh at their own narrowness, and would exclaim with one voice, No, brothers, neither Christian, Confucian, Buddhistic, nor Zoroastrian, but Human Fellowship, —that is what our hand-clasp means to-day.

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Now, friends, radicals in religion have been evolved from the crawling state, they have soared high enough to see over theological fences, they have had this vision of the Fraternity of Man. And it is the grandest thought I know, that this process of enlightenment is *going* on in every sect and under every system, and some little glimmer of this vision is throwing its divine light into every human soul. When you find a man or a woman with the enthusiasm of humanity, you find one who is openly resisting, or at least trying to explain away, the old theological statements and confessions. That is the trouble with Dr. Smyth, it is the trouble with Mr. Beecher, it is the trouble with Miss Phelps, it is the trouble with our radical Unitarian friends. They have seen a vision,—they understand now how God hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,—and henceforth that vision, even when they know it not, is the inspiration of all their living. It makes the idea of everlasting punishment so atrocious to Dr. Smyth and Mr. Beecher and Miss Phelps, it makes the idea of refusing to fellowship, without any reservations, with a good man who is non-theistic and non-Christian so abhorrent to such men as Chadwick and Savage that they would sooner cut off their right hands than tolerate it.

Very well, then, you will ask, naturally, What does it mean that these men and women cling so desperately to their old theological connections? That is precisely what we are trying to find out, and I think we are prepared now to solve the problem. In the first place, it is clear that there is no intentional dishonesty involved. The character of the persons concerned makes such a supposition impossible. It might be dishonest for you, it certainly would be dishonest for me, to do as they do; but it is not dishonest for them. We must look for an exalted motive, and I think we shall find one. These come-outers, who do not come out, are not blind to the fact of their own dissent *from* certain doctrines of the Church. They know very well that, if they proclaim this dissent, the Church ought to excommunicate them. They appreciate the logical consistency of those who stand on independent platforms affirming the inalienable rights of the human reason; but they believe honestly, though as I think mistakenly, that they can do better service for humanity, really accomplish more for human fellowship, or for what they call "Christian fellowship," by maintaining than by severing their ecclesiastical relations. They say to themselves, Here I have a church-building, attractive and imposing, and a large number of people come to hear me,—come not because they want to hear me particularly, but because they think they should go to church and help support public worship. Why should I give up my opportunity, why should I throw away my lever and fulcrum, and so lose the power I now possess? Well, it is a dangerous argument, subtly so. It leads to one of the greatest abuses of this day, the unconscious but not less real *stretching* of the formula to meet our own individual wishes. We can all see other people's sins plainer than our own. Certainly, the Unitarians can see this sin in the Orthodox Church without apparently thinking for a moment that they can find it nearer home. I quote from the *Unitarian Review*: "The great Greek historian points it out as the surest sign of degradation in his day that men altered at their will and pleasure the customary meaning of words in reference to action. It seems to be the aim of the Evangelical Church to do the same in reference to religion." I think that is true of the Evangelical and just as true of the Liberal Church. There is to-day in all denominations a tremendous holding on to the old formulas, and a tremendous license of interpretation of them in behalf of a larger fellowship, such as directly promotes dishonesty. Is it quite honest to subscribe to a creed containing doctrines which one rejects and abhors? Who will say yes to that? But Dr. Smyth has done it. And a large portion of the orthodox denomination indorse him in doing it, too. What excuse will he give for this action? He will say there is no such doctrine as you mention in the creed. Some have thought so, but the words mean nothing of that sort to me. Is it quite honest for a man to say, "I accept the tri-personality, the Trinity of God? There are difficulties in it, but so there are in all views. I believe one can be three, and three one. It cannot be demonstrated, but it follows the analogy of the world. In a general way, my theory of the atonement is the moral-influence theory. I believe in miracles, they are possible now. I believe in the miraculous conception and the resurrection of Christ. I believe in these, and also in evolution; and I have labored to lay foundations for belief which are scientific." Is it possible to find any honest, straightforward logic in such talk as this? The New York and Brooklyn Congregational Association the other day said, yes, certainly; and invited the talker to remain with them, declaring that he had said nothing to indicate any unsoundness in his orthodox theology. I do not think Mr. Beecher and the Association deliberately dishonest in all this. They are only stretching the formula, trying to reconcile their doomed theology to the facts of life.

Is it quite honest to write and publish an article to prove that the old meanings of the creeds are no longer in existence, that dissenters have no right to hold the subscribers thereto responsible for what their language has been interpreted to mean for several generations? This pouring of new wine into old bottles is the occupation in which Miss Phelps is engaged, vainly trying to reconcile reason and so-called revelation. Of course, the motives of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps are as pure as crystal, no one questions that; but is she not deceiving herself in attempting to marry old error to new truth? It seems so to me. The marvel is that so many people, of sound minds and sound morals, so easily and unconsciously sacrifice both, by means of this astonishing license of interpretation.

But most marvellous of all is the attitude of radical Unitarianism. You find it at the West, you find one example of it in Brooklyn, another in Boston,—men holding on to the old institution with their hands, while their minds are largely pulling away from it all the time. Is it quite honest for an association to say in one part of its Constitution, "We reaffirm our allegiance to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ," and in another part to say, "This is intended as no authoritative test; we hereby invite all to our fellowship who are in general sympathy with our purposes and aims." Messrs. Savage and Chadwick say it is not only honest, but ought to satisfy the most radical of us. Mr. Chadwick, writing to the Editors of *The Index*, says: "If you do not come in, after this, and work with us, we shall feel that it is because you do not like our company, and not because you do not like our creed." But how could I become a member of the Unitarian Conference, without reaffirming my faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and declaring my desire to be a follower of Christ? Of course, if the act of assuming membership of the Conference means anything, it means that. How does it happen then that such radicals as I have mentioned maintain their membership? It is because they, too, are stretching the formula. They have explained away, in their own minds, all the old meaning of the phrases "followers of Christ" and "Son of God." Christ was a man, they say, in our view. To be followers of him, then, is to be followers of the man Jesus precisely as we are followers of the man Emerson. In that way of looking at it, we reconcile Articles IX and X; and keep the body a unit for freedom, fellowship, and character in religion.

I say again it is a *most* dangerous style of argument, and can be made to justify almost any departure from the straight line of *perfect* truth. The trader who sells adulterated food and shoddy clothing can justify himself with reasons as *good*. The lawyer who lies to save his client and the politician who buys votes to save his party can justify themselves with reasons as good. What we want at this hour, and we want it not less in the pulpit than in the counting-room, the office, and the hall of legislation, is a square, upright, and downright manhood and womanhood, which will say precisely what it thinks, regardless of consequences, in language which will convey one and the same meaning to all men. The *Unitarian Review*, in an article on what it is pleased to call "The Failure of Free Religion," said, "We have noticed even the outcropping of a curious barbaric instinct in certain radical quarters, betraying utter lack of confidence in men of trained theological ability." I have noticed it too, and I will tell you its cause. It is because men of trained theological ability so often show a greater aptitude for logical hair-splitting than for practical common-sense dealing with vital questions of life that this "curious barbaric instinct" is rife. Plain common-sense people are responding to the discoveries of the real scholars of to-day much faster than the mere theologians are. And I would give more for the religion of weak, glorious Robert Burns than for all the theology of Christendom. Tear up your sectarian labels and Christian badges, O you brave-hearted reformers, striving to reconcile the decaying old with the budding new,—tear them up, let them add fuel to the flames of universal and unadulterated truth. You are not to save men in bundles. You are not to save men by your theology. You are to save them by the example of a brave, consistent life, strong in mental outlook, pure in purpose, loving in all its ways.

You know the use of the flag in time of war. It does not shoulder muskets and storm batteries, but it inspires the men who do. Strange power of the ideal that so stirs the sentiment in man when his country's colors, gathering to their folds the holiest memories and the brightest hopes, speak to him as no other colors can. But there it is a fact more potent than arsenals and forts. Men follow it to death. They follow it to immortal life.

Friends, the great army of humanity is always on the march. To-day, its most advanced column lacks leadership. It awaits the inspiration of the flag. The old division colors of sect do not arouse it now as in the days that are gone. The ensign of *human* fellowship can alone stir it to the enthusiasm of humanity. Come then, brothers,—come, drop all meaner work, and help us to loyalty to that universal religion whose temple is all space, whose ideal aim is the Commonwealth of Man.

For *The Index*.

EMERSON AND PLATO.

BY E. D. MEAD.

It will be remembered how Lowell, in his parallel or antithesis between Carlyle and Emerson, in *The Fable for Critics*, styles Emerson "half Greek." Max Müller, too, has recently said that Emerson's genius, thought, and character were not American, but, above all things else, Athenian. The same thing, of course, has been said many times in many ways, and for reasons which are quite obvious. The likenesses between Emerson's thought and the thought of Plato, in particular, have been often dwelt upon; and it is certainly true that, in tracing Emerson's intellectual ancestry, we find none in the great line whose stamp he bears so notably as his whose works, he himself has said, are those which really deserved the praise which Omar gave to the Koran, when he said, Burn your libraries, for all the truths of other books exist in better form in this. The writer has been interested in reading Emerson's essay upon Plato for the express purpose of noting how much of what is said of the philosophy and the genius and character of Plato is applicable, in varying exactness and nicety, to the thought and nature of Emerson himself. The following extracts, given in instance, will doubtless be of equal interest to others:—

"Every man who would do anything well must come to it from a higher ground. A philosopher must be more than a philosopher. Plato is clothed with the powers of a poet, stands upon the highest place of the poet."

"His subtlety commended him to men of thought. The secret of his popular success is the moral aim, which endeared him to mankind. 'Intellect,' he said, 'is king of heaven and of earth'; but, in him, intellect is always moral. His writings have also the sempiternal youth of poetry. For their arguments, most of them, might have been couched in sonnets. As the poet, too, he is only contemplative. He did not, like Pythagoras, break himself with an institution. You cannot institute, without peril of charlatanism."

"The unity of Asia and the detail of Europe; the infinitude of the Asiatic soul, and the defining, result-loving, machine-making, surface-seeking, opera-going Europe,—Plato came to join, and by contact to enhance the energy of each. The excellence of Europe and Asia is in his brain. Metaphysics and natural philosophy expressed the genius of Europe; he substructs the religion of Asia, as the base."

"A man who could see two sides of a thing was born. The wonderful synthesis so familiar in nature; the upper and the under side of the medal of Jove; the union of impossibilities, which reappears in every object; its real and its ideal power,—was now, also, transferred entire to the consciousness of a man. The balanced soul came. If he loved abstract truth, he saved himself by propounding the most popular of

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all principles, the absolute good, which rules rulers and judges the judge. If he made transcendental distinctions, he fortified himself by drawing his illustrations from sources disdained by orators and polite conversers; from mares and puppies; from pitchers and soup-ladles; from cooks and criers; the shops of potters, horse-doctors, butchers, and fish-mongers. He cannot forgive in himself a partiality, but is resolved that the two poles of thought shall appear in his statement. His argument and his sentence are self-poised and spherical. The two poles appear; yes, and become two hands, to grasp and appropriate their own.... This command of two elements must explain his power and his charm."

"Where there is great compass of wit, we usually find excellences that combine easily in the living man, but in description appear incompatible. The mind of Plato is not to be exhibited by a Chinese catalogue, but is to be apprehended by an original mind in the exercise of its original power. In him the freest abandonment is united with the precision of a geometer. His daring imagination gives him the more solid grasp of facts, as the birds of highest flight have the strongest alar bones. His patrician polish, his intrinsic elegance, edged by an irony so subtle that it stings and paralyzes, adorn the soundest health and strength of frame."

"He has not a system. The dearest defenders and disciples are at fault.... One man thinks he means this; and another, that: he has said one thing in one place, and the reverse of it in another place.... Here is the world, sound as a nut, perfect, not the smallest piece of chaos left, never a stitch nor an end, not a mark of haste, or botching, or second thought; but the theory of the world is a thing of shreds and patches.... He argues on this side, and on that. The acutest German, the lovingest disciple, could never tell what Platonism was; indeed, admirable texts can be quoted on both sides of every question from him."

"He has a probity, a native reverence for justice and honor, and a humanity which makes him tender for the superstitions of the people. Add to this, he believes that poetry, prophecy, and the high insight are from a wisdom of which man is not master, that the gods never philosophize; but, by a celestial mania, these miracles are accomplished. Horsed on these winged steeds, he sweeps the dim regions, visits worlds which flesh cannot enter."

"His circumspection never forsook him. One would say, he had read the inscription on the gates of Busyrane,—'Be bold'; and on the second gate,—'Be bold, be bold, and evermore be bold'; and then again had paused well at the third gate,—'Be not too bold.' His strength is like the momentum of a falling planet; and his discretion, the return of its due and perfect curve,—so excellent is his Greek love of boundary, and his skill in definition. In reading logarithms, one is not more secure than in following Plato in his flights. Nothing can be colder than his head, when the lightnings of his imagination are playing in the sky. He has finished his thinking, before he brings it to the reader; and he abounds in the surprises of a literary master. He has that opulence which furnishes at every turn the precise weapon he needs;... he is never restricted, but has the fit word."

"He is a great average man; one who, to his best thinking, adds a proportion and equality in his faculties, so that men see in him their own dreams and glimpses made available, and made to pass for what they are. A great common sense is his warrant and qualification to be the world's interpreter. He has reason, as all the philosophic and poetic class have; but he has, also, what they have not, this strong solving sense to reconcile his poetry with the appearances of the world, and build a bridge from the streets of cities to the Atlantis. He omits never this graduation, but slopes his thought, however picturesque the precipice on one side, to an access from the plain."

"He apprehended the cardinal facts. He could prostrate himself on the earth, and cover his eyes, whilst he adored that which cannot be numbered, or guaged, or known, or named; that of which everything can be affirmed and denied; that 'which is entity and non-entity.' He called it super-essential. He even stood ready to demonstrate that it was so,—that this Being exceeded the limits of intellect. No man ever more fully acknowledged the Ineffable. Having paid his homage, as for the human race, to the Illimitable, he then stood erect, and for the human race affirmed, 'And yet things are knowable!'—that is, the Asia in his mind was first heartily honored,—the ocean of love and power, before form, before will, before knowledge, the Same, the Good, the One; and now, refreshed and empowered by this worship, the instinct of Europe, namely, culture, returns; and he cries, 'Yet things are knowable!' They are knowable, because, being from one, things correspond. There is a scale; and the correspondence of heaven to earth, or matter to mind, of the part to the whole, is our guide."

"He said, 'I announce to men the Intellect. I announce the good of being interpenetrated by the mind that made nature; this benefit, namely, that it can understand nature, which it made and maketh. Nature is good, but intellect is better, as the law-giver is before the law-receiver. I give you joy, O sons of men, that truth is altogether wholesome, that we have hope to search out what might be the very self of everything. The misery of man is to be balked by the sight of essence, and to be stuffed with conjectures; but the supreme good is reality; the supreme beauty is reality; and all virtue and all felicity depend on this science of the real: for courage is nothing else than knowledge. The fairest fortune that can befall man is to be guided by his demon to that which is truly his own.'"

"He domesticates the soul in nature; man is the microcosm. All the circles of the visible heaven represent as many circles in the rational soul. There is no lawless particle, and there is nothing casual in the action of the human mind. The names of things, too, are fatal, following the nature of things."

"He represents the privilege of the intellect, the power, namely, of carrying up every fact to successive platforms, and so disclosing, in every fact, a germ of expansion. These expansions are in the essence of thought. They are organic. The mind does not create what it perceives, any more than the eye creates the rose. In ascribing to Plato the merit of announcing them, we only say, here was a more complete man, who could apply to nature the whole scale of the senses, the understanding, and the reason. These expansions, or extensions, consist in continuing the spiritual sight where the horizon falls on our natural vision, and, by this second sight, discovering the long lines of law which shoot in every direction. Everywhere he stands on a path which has no end, but runs continuously round the universe. Therefore, every word becomes an exponent of nature. Whatever he looks upon discloses a second sense, and ulterior senses."

"More striking are his moral conclusions. He affirms the coincidence of science and virtue; for vice can never know itself and virtue; but virtue knows both itself and vice. The eye attested that justice was best, as long as it was profitable; he affirms that it is profitable throughout; that the profit is intrinsic, though the just conceal his justice from gods and men; that it is better to suffer injustice than to do it; that the sinner ought to covet punishment; that the lie was more hurtful than homicide; and that ignorance, or the involuntary lie, was more calamitous than involuntary homicide; that the soul is unwillingly deprived of true opinions; and that no man sins willingly; that the order of proceeding of nature was from the mind to the body; and, though a sound body cannot restore an unsound mind, yet a good soul can, by its virtue, render the body the best possible."

"He said, Culture; he said, Nature; and he failed not to add, 'There is also the Divine.' There is no thought in any mind but it quickly tends to convert itself into a power, and organizes a huge instrumentality of means. Plato, lover of limits, loved the illimitable, saw the enlargement and nobility which come from truth itself and good itself, and attempted, as if on the part of the human intellect, once for all to do it adequate homage,—homage fit for the immense soul to receive, and yet homage becoming the intellect to render. He said then, 'Our faculties run out into infinity, and return to us thence. We can define but a little way; but here is a fact which will not be skipped, and which to shut our eyes upon is suicide. All things are in a scale, and, begin where we will, ascend and ascend. All things are symbolical, and what we call results are beginnings.'"

THE first and last thing which is required of genius is the love of truth.—*Goethe.*

ALWAYS think the best of a man. To think the worst is the sure mark of a mean spirit and a base soul.—*Bolingbroke.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE RENUNCIATION OF REV. W. T. CHENEY.

In the last issue of the *Christian Index*, of Atlanta, Ga., appeared the following card:—

Inasmuch as I have been connected with the Baptist denomination, and have been known in many parts of the State as a Baptist minister, I feel it to be my duty to the public and myself to make the following statement:—

After thorough investigation, thought, and reflection, and after arriving at conclusions satisfactory to my own mind, I have seen fit to cease my labors as a Christian minister, and also to sever my connection as a member of the Baptist Church. As a conscientious man and a man of convictions, and one who would be true to himself and to the public, I make this statement. My present convictions do not allow me to believe or to preach the fundamental doctrines of the Christian system. What the future may reveal I know not. It would be out of place here to attempt to itemize my various reasons for my change of belief.

If I am in error and darkness, may the Sun of Light and Truth illuminate my mind and heart.

ROME, GA., Nov. 7, 1882. W. T. CHENEY.

Mr. W. T. Cheney is the son of a clergyman in high standing in his denomination in Georgia. Mr. Cheney is considered a young man of considerable capacity; and, in addition to officiating as a minister, he has taught elocution with considerable success, and I believe has appeared in your own city.

It is to be hoped he will cast his lot with scientific Liberalism, and become an Ingersoll of the South. Whenever a man gets his mind widened, his eyes open. A. A. BELL.

MADISON, GA.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

Editors of The Index:—

Enclosed please find a slip taken from the Brooklyn (N.Y.) *Eagle*. It speaks for itself. "Prof. Brooks, of the Red House Observatory, in behalf of astronomical science and astronomers, asks that prayers be offered on Sunday next in all the churches for clear weather on the 6th of December next, the date of the transit of Venus. The solution of the sublimest problem known to science is to be attempted on that occasion, the opportunity for which will not occur again for one hundred and twenty-two years. Millions of dollars and months of valuable time have been expended in preparation for the great event."

Now, it seems to me that Prof. Brooks might have made his request in a different form, and it would have been much better; namely, that prayers be offered that, if the weather should be rainy or cloudy on Wednesday, December 6, that He (God) would *postpone the transit until the next fair day.* The Professor knows that the laws governing the weather are just as sure in their operations as the laws governing the transit of Venus, and that one could be changed by prayer just as easily as the other.

BROOKLYN, N.Y., Nov. 29. L. R. HOPKINS.

NO FINALITY IN ANY PRESENT FORM OF FAITH.

Editors of The Index:—

Under "Editorial Notes," in your issue of November 30, I find a quotation from a recent discourse of Rabbi Benjamin at Cincinnati. He takes the position that the outcome of the process of religious purifying—a process that should leave only the essential and eternal elements—would be "a reformed Judaism." Then *you* go on to say, "The effect of the purifying process, according to Rev. M. J. Savage, would be Unitarianism." And you draw a moral by raising the question as to whether either Judaism or Unitarianism is "broad enough" to include all souls who are working for the welfare of humanity.

My only reason for troubling you now concerning this matter is to say that I regard the above as a misuse of my position. I have never committed myself to any such statement as that which is made concerning me. All efforts to slough off this or that, and to *get back* to original and supposed primitive elements,—as, *e.g.*, to get back to either Moses or Jesus or Paul,—I regard as necessarily misleading. The world does

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not move that way. Progress means going forward. I do not believe that the final form of religion will be either Judaism or Unitarianism, as at present defined by anybody. So far as we are *alive*, we are *all of us en route*. Though I rejoice in the good work it is doing, I do not believe that the eclecticism of Free Religion is the goal any more than the others. Religion must follow the guiding intelligence of man, and be shaped by our highest conceptions of the universe and of human nature. And to talk of *any* present conception as *final* is absurd. I do not wish to be classed with any of those who are in such a hurry to *finish religion* before the world *gets done growing*.

M. J. SAVAGE.

Dec. 4, 1882.

[Though not responsible for the editorial note which has called forth Mr. Savage's good statement, the senior editor may take occasion to say that he does not regard "Free Religion," so called, as simply an "eclecticism" of the good things of all religions, but rather as the necessary condition and pathway of that endless vital growth of humanity to which Mr. Savage refers.—W. J. P.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE Boston Evening *Transcript*, in an editorial on Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, says: "It is well worth while to bestir one's self for a sight of this venerable, fine-natured Englishman. . . . His Sunday evening lecture in that hall was a unique bit of platform literature. His topic, 'My Religious Days,' was a sufficiently strange one for a man who has been known as the great apostle of secularism for more than a generation, and who withal has suffered incarceration for atheism in an English prison. But Mr. Holyoake's atheism is as remote as possible from the aggressive and defiant philosophy of Mr. Bradlaugh. His story of his religious experience is told out of a vivid memory and with a straightforward simplicity that stirs a reverent interest in the listener. Religious conceptions are wont to become material for derision to those who have outgrown them. But this is not Mr. Holyoake's temper. One of the most logical of living thinkers upon the present issues between theology and rationalism, he still recalls without bitterness the time when the distinctions between Wesleyanism and Unitarianism were matters of agitating moment. As a youth, he used to watch the roof of the Unitarian chapel at Birmingham, in the expectation that it would some time fall and crush the daring worshippers who dared to doubt the trinity. All these data which Mr. Holyoake reproduces so vividly ought to be looked on as so much valuable psychological material for a history of mental evolution. Few men have the power of recasting long-past mental experiences in his terse and vital language. His story is a valuable addition to the record of slow organic intellectual changes which have been gone through by men of original minds. Of Herbert Spencer, Mr. Holyoake speaks as one who has worked over in a leisurely and dignified way the intellectual field which such irrepressible spirits as himself had roughly prepared. Finally, it seems quite in order to apply to Mr. Holyoake Spencer's words at the close of the famous chapter on the reconciliation of science and religion. It is a plea for the free utterance and toleration of thought not to be forgotten by one who has read it. Spencer says: 'Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that, while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future, and that his thoughts are as children born to him which he may not carelessly let die. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter, knowing that, come what may of it, he is thus playing his right part in the world,—knowing that if he can effect the change he aims at, well; if not, well also, though not *so* well.'"

THE younger men in the Congregational pulpits seem to be very generally affected, and deeply affected, by the prevailing religious scepticism. Nearly all the cleverest of them are Universalists, and some of the honestest and boldest avow their doubts of inspiration. . . . Those preachers, however, do not follow the example of Dr. Channing in leaving the Congregational Church. Their flocks are in sympathy with them. They are all the more popular because of their Unitarianism or Universalism. Accordingly, they are likely to grow bolder and bolder in their liberalism. Knowing the feeling of the churches, ecclesiastical councils are usually afraid to declare such minister heretical, though there can be no doubt that the logical consequence of their teachings of their loose theology is downright infidelity. Even if a council does pronounce against a minister, he can find churches enough which will be glad to get him as a pastor, provided that he sufficiently sugar-coats his scepticism. . . . Yet, while the Congregationalists are thus approaching the Unitarians, both those denominations are losing strength. The Congregational liberals do not go quite far enough to satisfy the Unitarians, while they irritate the orthodox theologians of their own body. The Unitarians do not meet the demands of the more sceptical minds; and, instead of growing, they are losing strength because of the many desertions from their ranks into those of the infidels who wish to have nothing to do with churches. There is no vigor among either the Congregationalists or the Unitarians. Together, they are leading into scepticism the young people of New England who naturally belong to them. It is time, therefore, for the orthodox party, led by the *Congregationalist*, to bestir themselves to protect the old Puritan theology from obliteration. Would they not do better if they boldly separated themselves from the rising party of Liberalism which wears the livery of Orthodoxy only to serve the cause of scepticism? Religious earnestness and religious sincerity are lacking in New England. There is too much pretence of belief where there is really no belief. It would be a good thing to make everybody show his true colors.—*New York Sun*.

IN an article on Oscar Wilde, the Springfield *Republican* has the following: "There are great poets who have written what cannot be subjected to that test, but their offences are episodes,—eddies in the tumultuous tides of their genius. This poetaster thrust his priapisms forward as the very acme of his inspiration. Is it not a curious thing that persons of this sort, who write as if their one concern were the sexual passion, and as if all that was beautiful and precious and worthy were wrapped up in it, should be able to mix with their kind with unabashed cheeks,—nay, that women should meet them without blushes, and talk with them without embarrassment? An Oscar Wilde, in his small way, like a Swinburne or a Villon, really exhales a subtle, corrupt odor, which steals unnoticed amid the companies he frequents until the whole social atmosphere is miasmatic; yet those who breathe it are so infected that they resent nothing so much as the hint that their air is vile. It is in a really cultured portion of our society that Wilde has met with such a warm reception; and we must try to think that Anglophilism has much to do with this tolerant hospitality which has allowed the man to deny repeatedly the rumor that he is engaged to a certain young lady of the most desirable family and personal qualifications. Another part of our society, the class of moneyed leisure, ready to catch up a fashionable whim, professedly quite devoid of moral motive, has shown honor to this person. They have 'guyed' him a good deal; but, as he is on a commercial trip, and sharp enough to play his part in the guying, there has been little enough reaped on their harvest. When Wilde was at Saratoga, he was the butt of half the crowd and the idol of the other half. There was an excursion to Mt. McGregor gotten up expressly to make a mock at him; but he showed, as he had done to the Harvard students who filed into his lecture in knee-breeches, that he was quite their match in fooling. 'I shall count every one my disciple who loves the lily,' he said. And every one at table drew a pond-lily ostentatiously through his or her buttonhole. If the rest of the fools laughed, be sure he laughed as heartily as any of them. He has taken the measure of our plutocracy. Wilde is no fool, but he must think American society is made up of fools. How absurdly this passing fashion is made to count for real influence is seen in the common remarks over a display of sunflowers in one of our New England gardens. The sunflower has been the glory of our gardens for two centuries: all the farmers have planted them, if it were only to raise seeds for the fowls in the idea of the man, the good wife has cherished them also for their splendid show, and every eye that has the sense of beauty has admired them. And have we now to learn from this trivial loafer around London that the sunflower is something to admire? And did Wilde discover the lily? Had no lilies bloomed in America till this fellow, stale from nocturnal interviews with statues, observed them and called our barbarian attention to their loveliness? This Wilde business makes one sick: let us hear no more of it."

BOOK NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY. An Inquiry into the Claims of Biblical Inspiration and the Supernatural Element in Religion. By Alfred H. O'Donoghue, counsellor-at-law, formerly of Trinity College, Dublin. Pages 194. Price $1.00. New York: Charles P. Somerby, 121 Fourth Avenue. 1882.

In this work, the author discusses the claims of supernatural Christianity with moderation and candor. His object is, he says, "to eliminate what is purely false, without foundation in fact, and fictitious in Christianity as now taught." Arguments against the theory of the divine origin of the Bible are adduced, and a plea made for estimating the value of the book by its actual merits, by the amount of truth which it contains. Orthodox views, as to the genuineness of different books of the Bible, and of prophecies and miracles which have been relied upon to sustain these views, are briefly examined from a rational standpoint. The character of Jesus is eulogized, and the excellence of the main doctrines ascribed to him freely conceded; but the author sees no reason for regarding him otherwise than as a pure man and a brave reformer, and maintains that his essential teachings are the most effectually promoted and realized in life, not by mythological beliefs in regard to him, but by science and liberal thought. The work does not claim to be one of great erudition, nor does the author profess to bring forward facts or arguments that have not already been presented; but he has given his views with frankness and in an admirable spirit, and in a style that is clear and forcible.

BOSTON INSIDE OUT: Sins of a Great City! A Story of Real Life. By Rev. Henry Morgan. Boston: Shawmut Publishing Co., 81 Shawmut Avenue.

We have received from the author, who is well known in Boston as a sensational preacher, this handsomely bound volume, which purports in its preface to be a *bona fide* relation of veritable occurrences in the hidden life of a great city. It is written in the flashy, dramatic style of Ned Buntline's *Mysteries and Miseries of New York* and other works of that class. That Mr. Morgan intended his book as an incentive to a higher moral life in the community whose concealed sins he professes to uncover we have no occasion to doubt, but we do doubt very much as to the efficacy of his method. In our opinion, such sensational descriptions of respectable or disreputable vice only pander to the vicious tastes of the ignorant and credulous, and lead even the more innocent into wickeder ways than they had ever before known through the glowing and unreal descriptions given of the downward road. Mr. Morgan is mistaken, too, in thinking that the vices of any city are "hidden." The crime, wickedness, and weaknesses of all great aggregations of humanity are amply shown by our prisons, our reformatories, our court records, and our daily press.

THOUGHTS ON THEISM, with Suggestions toward a Public Religious Service in Harmony with Modern Science and Philosophy. Ninth thousand, revised and enlarged. pp. 100. Price one shilling. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1882.

The object of this pamphlet is to meet the wants of those who believe that there exist a faith and a religion compatible with true philosophy and modern science, and through which man may express his sense of gratitude for what he is and what he may become. The work is strongly theistic, and is made up of articles and extracts expressive of faith in a Universal Providence and desire for "a Church as wide as the wants of humanity, as catholic as the first and great commandment."

WASHINGTON IRVING'S "OLD CHRISTMAS." From the *Sketch Book*. With upward of one hundred illustrations by R. Caldecott. 4to, paper, 20 cts.

WASHINGTON IRVING'S "BRACEBRIDGE HALL." From the *Sketch Book*. With one hundred and twenty illustrations by R. Caldecott. 4to, paper, 20 cts.

We have received from the publishers, Macmillan & Co., London, England, the above-mentioned books. It is a pleasure to renew one's acquaintance with these works of Irving in this fine, clear type, and

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with the quaint scenes he describes so clearly brought before us by the engraver's art. These illustrations show original and sympathetic genius.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE SUNDAY QUESTION: With Replies to an Objector. By George W. Brown, Rockford, Ill. Price 15 cts.

This little pamphlet treats of the derivation of the Sabbath, glances at its history, and discusses it from an ethical and legal stand-point. The author wants our libraries thrown open on Sunday and the day devoted to teaching "scientific and moral truths."

SUNSHINE IN THE SOUL. Poems selected by the editor of *Quiet Hours*, etc. Second series. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price 50 cts.

This is one of the neat-looking "Wisdom Series" issued by the above-mentioned publishers, and consists of over one hundred selections from various authors of devotional poems.

THE *Art Amateur* for December has another interesting biographical sketch. It is of an artist now on a visit to this country, and who was during his boyhood a resident here, though he is now settled at Southampton, England. Mr. Herkomer's experience is instructive to young artists, as showing both the difficulties and the assistance which they may reasonably expect to meet with in their career at the present time. The art school is now open to the student, but it depends upon himself what use he makes of its instruction. He need no longer wait at the door of a rich patron for encouragement and protection; but he will find in the constant demand of illustrated periodical literature an opening for the exercise of any skill or excellence he may possess. He will find this patron more exacting, but also more just and impartial, than the titled connoisseur; and, if modest and teachable, he will get a discipline out of such work which will help through all his future career, besides giving him that honest pecuniary independence which is indispensable to the free development of genius. Mr. Herkomer said recently before a London audience "that he owed all his art to the training which came from drawing in black and white for a newspaper." Mr. Herkomer's pictures seem to be mainly representations of humble life, in which character is expressed with great truth and feeling, if we may judge by the clever engravings which illustrate this sketch. He is full of variety, however; and his critic hints that he may be in danger of dissipating his artistic powers by attempting too many things. He has already addressed a New York audience, and we hope that he will not fail to visit Boston. An account of the Philadelphia Exhibition is the other long article in this number, which also contains the usual variety of short notices of decorative art and patterns for work.

THE *North American Review* for December contains timely articles of practical interest. "The Health of American Women," by Dr. Dio Lewis, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Dr. James Read Chadwick, is full of information and suggestion on the subject treated. "Constitutional Prohibition in Iowa" is the subject of an article by Gov. Buren R. Sherman, who thinks "the spirit of the people gives every assurance that the effort to enforce the prohibition will be prosecuted with unflinching determination." "An Undeserved Stigma," by Gen. U. S. Grant, is an attempt to show that Gen. Porter is innocent of the offences for which he was tried and convicted, and that the government should, as far as possible, make the restitution which is due him. Richard A. Proctor contributes an article on "The Influence of Food on Civilization." "The Decline of Clerical Authority," by Prof. George P. Fisher, explains certain facts suggested by the title. The concluding article is "Success on the Stage," by John McCullough, Joseph Jefferson, Maggie Mitchell, Helena Modjeska, Lawrence Barrett, and William Warren.

THE opening article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for December is "Mr. Goldwin Smith on *The Data of Ethics*," by W. D. Le Sueur, in which the writer defends Spencer's ethical teachings from the misconceptions and misrepresentations of Mr. Smith with unmistakable success. Among the other articles of special interest are "Time-keeping in London," by E. A. Engler; "The Relations of the Natural Sciences," by T. Sterry Hunt, F.R.S.; "Brain-weight and Brain-power," by J. P. H. Boileau, M.D.; "The Cell State," by Prof. Ferdinand Cohn; "Speculative Zoölogy," by Prof. W. K. Brooks; "Annual Growth of Trees," by A. L. Child, M.D.; "Science in Relation to the Arts, II.," by C. W. Siemens, F.R.S.; "The Spectroscope and the Weather," by C. Piazzi Smyth; and "Criminality in Animals," by A. Lacassagne. "Editor's Table," "Literary Notices," "Popular Miscellany," and "Notes" add to the variety and excellence of the number.

THE holiday number of *Wide-Awake*, just received, even to those who know the usual variety and high tone of this magazine, must be a surprise and delight. This number of itself ought to make any young person, who receives it as a Christmas gift, content to forego all other gifts in the joy of its possession It has a beautiful illuminated sunflower cover, and contains between forty and fifty articles, many of them poems, by writers such as Mrs. Whitney, Miss Phelps, Rose Terry Cooke, Rose Kingsley, Celia Thaxter, E. E. Hale, M. E. B., Nora Perry, Mrs. Diaz, Dinah Mulock-Craik, Mrs. Stowe, Christina Rossetti, Tennyson, and many others nearly as well known, while nearly every page is adorned with one or more illustrations by some of the best artists known. The publishers, D. Lothrop & Co. of this city, have evidently surpassed in this number all previous efforts.

THE patron saint of all good children in a new guise greets us on the outside cover of the Christmas number of the delightful *St. Nicholas*, and a beautifully colored picture of "Christmas-day in the Morning," with the "compliments of St. Nicholas," meets our eyes on the first page. This is really a Christmas number, with a Christmas poem by Nora Perry, a clever short story, that is a true story as well, of "The Christmas Fairies." There is a pathetic Christmas tale by Malcolm Douglass, and a two-page Christmas carol with accompanying music. "The Tinkham Brothers' Tide-mill," by J. T. Trowbridge, grows in interest, and, in addition, the usual number of interesting articles, stories, and poems, with the always beautiful pictures which *St. Nicholas* never fails to furnish.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for December makes a charming holiday number, combining, as it does, instruction with amusement in its matter. Of the instructive articles in this number, we note "A Three-mule Coach," by Fred A. Ober, and "Insect Life," by Mrs. G. Hall. The lovely frontispiece, "Pop-corn," with its accompanying poem, will awaken old memories in the hearts of grown people and new delight in the younger ones. "Where the Pretty Path led" has a delightful illustration of a lily-pond. Russell Publishing Co., Boston.

THE December number of *Baby-Land*, from D. Lothrop & Co., is full of lovely pictures which tell the story which they are intended to illustrate plain enough to be understood by even those babies who are too young to spell out the printed words.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

PROF. VIRCHOW has in his Berlin laboratory a collection of six thousand skulls, representing all races and periods.

HERBERT SPENCER has telegraphed from Queenstown that the voyage over did him good, and that he is much better.

THE *Woman's Journal* says: "Anna Garlin Spencer was in Chicago last week, on the occasion of the annual meeting of the National Free Religious Association, and also delivered several lectures on various topics, with which Chicago people were especially well pleased. Mrs. Spencer was greatly admired."

MR. PETER COOPER, who is very nearly ninety-two years old, recently called on Miss Clara Louise Kellogg, who sang for him several charming songs. The old gentleman then asked if she knew an old ballad called "The Tortoise-shell Cat." Miss Kellogg had not heard it, so he sang it for her with such clearness and spirit that the prima donna encored him.

"THAT's the kind of Latter Day Saint I am!" exclaimed the extant Brigham Young, Jr., after he had given utterance to such nonsense as this: "I haven't a son or a daughter I would not rather see carried to their graves than to have one of them listen to Christian teachings. I would rather take my child and throw it into hell than send it to an outside school."

THE gift of John H. Slater, of Norwich, Conn., of $1,000,000 for the educational benefit of the freedmen of the South, is now in charge of the trustees of the fund, which is now incorporated under the laws of New York State. Ex-President Hayes is the president of the board, and its other members are Chief Justice Waite, William E. Dodge, the Rev. Phillips Brooks, Daniel C. Gilman, John A. Stewart, Alfred H. Colquitt, Morris K. Jesup, James P. Boyce, and William A. Slater.

MR. SPURGEON, though in much better health than when he preached last spring, still bears traces of the sufferings he has undergone. His feet are gouty, and this detracts from the promptness and agility with which he ascended to the pulpit in former times, when the female members of his congregation would rise and peep over each other's shoulders to watch his movements. His hands are swollen and twisted with rheumatic gout, so that his gesture is no longer free and unconstrained as of old; but his voice still possesses that charm and variety of tone which in times past have overcome the scruples of the most obdurate.

MANY of our readers, and especially those among them who have been interested in *The Index* from the beginning, will be pained to learn that Mr. and Mrs. Charles M. Nye, who for two years did the typographical work on this paper when it was first started by its founder, Mr. Francis E. Abbot, in Toledo, Ohio, have recently passed through a great affliction in the loss of their eldest son, Charles Harold, who died in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 15th ult., of typhoid fever, aged thirteen. He was a youth of fine promise, and was for several years a member of the public schools and of the Sunday-school of the First Unitarian Church in Cambridge, Mass. His loss is deeply felt by his parents, for in him were centred their fondest hopes.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Springfield *Republican* writes of Robert T. Lincoln, our Secretary of War, as follows: "Robert T. Lincoln would be called a good-looking man anywhere, because of his strong, firm build, his handsome, brown-bearded face, and his shapely head; but there is something peculiar about him that takes him out of that rather commonplace state of 'good-lookingness,' and sets him apart. There is a feeling of remoteness, of reticent depths of withdrawal, induced in the spectator at first by the curious habitual drooping of his gaze, and confirmed in conversation by the sweet and deep expression of his eyes. Mr. Lincoln has a rich, low voice,—a Southern voice, as if it were inherited from the mother's side, as perhaps all his physical characteristics were."

MOST REV. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the entire Anglican Communion, died at his home in England, Sunday morning, December 3, aged nearly seventy-one. The Boston *Herald* says of him: "Dr. Tait maintained a distinguished position as the leader of the best elements in the English Church to the very end. He was the peer of Bishop Thirlwall, with whom he was always in sympathy, more than a match for Bishop Wilberforce, his rival, the chosen friend of the late Bishop Ewing and of the late Dean Stanley, the defender of Bishop Colenso, when it was demanded that he should be slaughtered as a heretic without a trial, and the large-minded champion of every movement which brought the Christian Church into closer relations with modern society and modern thought."

EDWARD KING writes about the return of Stanley to Europe: "The brilliant explorer did not intend to come home until next year, according to his own letters; but he has been seriously ill, and, in addition to this drawback, he has doubtless been attracted to Europe by the extraordinary preparations making here to take away from him the legitimate profit and credit of the enterprise which he has been mainly instrumental in building up. The importance which the French attach to the mission of M. de Brazza may be estimated by the fact that the Chambers gave him without discussion a credit of 100,000 francs ($20,000) for his recent journey. If an American Congress had even given half that money to Stanley, the American flag would float now in a good many places on the African coast where only the banner of Saint George is seen."

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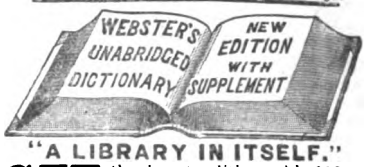

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 277

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Issue as seen by an Extreme Orthodox, Wm. J. Potter. 278
Christianity in Court, Moncure D. Conway, ... 278
The Nature of Free Will, H. D. V., ... 279
Science and Sentiment, F. M. H, ... 280
Notes from the Field, B. F. Underwood. 280

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 281

POETRY.
King Death's Soliloquy, "Old Birch," 282

ESSAY.
Do the Ethics of Jesus satisfy the Needs of our Time? W. M. Salter, ... 282

CORRESPONDENCE.
A Spectre Exorcised, Lewis G. Janes, ... 285
Prof. Chadbourne and the Christian Sabbath, Gilbert Billings, ... 286
The Name of the Lord, Julius Ashman. 286
Origin of the term "Agnostic," H. E. Armington, . . . 286
The Title "Reverend," W. H. L., ... 286

BOOK NOTICES.
Selections from Robert Herrick, ... 287
Respiratory Control for Vocal Purposes, by John Howard, ... 287
Unitarian Review, Herald of Health. 287

PERSONAL ITEMS. 287

CURRENT TOPICS.

THAT "Curfew *must* ring" is the decision of the Dublin (Ireland) Privy Council, in view of the recent outbreaks in and near that city; and all suspicious people found on the streets between an hour after sunset and an hour after sunrise are to be arrested. A sad state of things that, in this stage of the world's progress.

THE New York Sunday agitation can hardly fail to show those who insist on the observance of Sunday the necessity of drawing the line as to what are and what are not works of charity and necessity. Old notions on this subject are likely to undergo considerable revision before they are revised. It is too late to restore the Puritan Sabbath in this country.

THE trial of the Egyptian revolutionary leader, Arabi Pacha, was very short, occupying only a few minutes. He pleaded guilty of rebellion, and was formally sentenced to death according to the Turkish law; but the lenient spirit of the nineteenth century operates in every land to-day in despite of law, and the Khedive immediately commuted the sentence to perpetual banishment. This was thought to be done at the suggestion of the English Government, who may yet need Arabi as an ally or a witness in dealing with Egypt. It is said that Arabi's place of exile will probably be somewhere in the British domain.

THE pastor of a Columbus Avenue Presbyterian church in this city preached on Thanksgiving day a sermon, in which he advocated enforced religious instruction; that is, a union of Church and State. "We should," he said, "as a nation, see that continual and general instruction in the law of God is given to our children in our schools; and this should be non-sectarian, for on this our existence depends, and the State should see to it. It may be said that some would object; but, as in the Chinese bill passed by the government as a measure of self-defence, so now, when her very existence is threatened, it is the nation's duty to protect herself by enforcing religious with secular instruction in the schools."

CREMATION is to be made æsthetic. A writer in the London *Knowledge* suggests that as human ashes "consist wholly or principally of phosphate of lime, they therefore have only to be treated with sulphuric acid to convert them into sulphate of lime,—*i.e.*, gypsum, or plaster of Paris. With this substance, a model can be cast in a mould previously prepared, representing either the full figure of the deceased, or simply the bust, or the likeness can take the form of a medallion. Whichever form of memorial is adopted, a glass case would be sufficient protection for it; and the costly urn can be dispensed with as unnecessary, while the remains of our loved ones will themselves be gathered into the form of a compact and lifelike memorial, which itself will be composed of the veritable 'ashes of the dead.'" Wouldn't it be an improvement on this idea to mould such ashes into cups, to be distributed among the surviving relatives, something after the manner in which skulls were formerly introduced at the feasts of the great as a sort of *memento mori?*

THANKSGIVING day was very generally observed throughout the country. Business was suspended, and people gave themselves up to social enjoyment and popular amusements. But comparatively few devoted the day to religious worship. The *Evening Journal* of Chicago, commenting on this fact, observes: "It does not speak well for the religious devoutness of the average American citizen that he neglects to attend Thanksgiving services in the house of worship on the day expressly designated for that purpose by the Chief Magistrate of the government. The average American citizen may be very thankful and very full of gratitude for all favors received and all blessings enjoyed; but, if so, he prefers to manifest the fact by feasting rather than praying, by a family reunion rather than church-going,—in short, by having a 'grand good time' generally, he and all the folk around him. There are too many of us who, though thankful and grateful and God-fearing, are very prone to have our thanksgiving and our worshipping done by proxy."

THE "march of intellect" was strikingly illustrated on Wednesday of last week, the date of the transit of Venus. Once, such an occurrence, if noticed at all, would have been made the occasion of superstitious fears and omens. Science, the illuminator, has to-day made it a matter of interested investigation by all. It was pleasant to note the eager interest in the astronomic event evinced by the people in the streets of this large city. Smoked glass — which revealed only a small black dot, like a period, crossing the brassy disc of the sun — was brought, unshamefacedly, into requisition everywhere,— on the street, in the horse-cars, on doorsteps, from windows. On the Common two large telescopes were tailed, like a kite, by long lines of eager sight-seers who were obliged to get into line to see this star, greater than any theatrical "star," even greater than Mrs. Langtry, for the hour. Those who have gloried in the bright beauty of Venus as the "evening star" for the past few months were taught a rather hard lesson as to the relative importance of things in this great universe, when they saw their lovely and brilliant star reduced in the kingly splendor of the sun to an insignificant black dot. Although, at first, clouds dimmed the face of the sun, these cleared; and some excellent astronomic observations were taken.

FRANK JAMES, the notorious bandit and cut-throat of the Missouri James family, as remarkable for their piety as for their crimes, has been interviewed in his cell by a representative of the Kansas *City Journal*, in which the views of the "illustrious criminal" are given quite fully. In regard to Ingersoll, he thus expresses himself: "Ingersoll goes abroad denouncing the Bible, the most sacred of all books. He ridicules its teachings and the Saviour; and yet, amid all this, he has hearers to the number of two thousand, while a man, for using an indecent word while drunk, will be confined thirty days. My God! how can such a state of affairs be?" His reference was made to an interview with Ingersoll, as published in the *Journal*, by a visitor who said it was exaggerated, and that Ingersoll had not said so much against the prisoner as was reported. James replied that "any man who would assail the sacred book would dare do anything," adding: "The Lord is my helper: I care not what men shall do or say against me. Ingersoll is doing unspeakable injury to this nation. He is sowing the seeds of iniquity in the minds of our youth." A visitor replied: "He is having a good influence upon all. He is causing them to think." James then said, speaking to the visitor: "Even in you, we have an illustration of his evil influence upon the youth. You are a young man, and one, I suppose, whose mother endeavored to rear in the light of Christian truth; but, in your advocacy of Ingersoll, you are on the downward path, and unless you turn from its evil way you will go to hell." The visitor, endeavoring to retrieve, said that he did not indorse Ingersoll, but believed in free thinking, that God never made man to put him here and give freedom, yet bind him by laws which would compel him to pay his allegiance to the Almighty. To this, Mr. James replied: "In man there is an intuition which tells him there is a God, and any man who says to the contrary is a hypocrite. He deceives himself. God does live, and it seems that he will some time strike Ingersoll to earth for his blasphemy. How any man can live and have his being in this universe and say, 'There is no God,' I don't know." Turning to the visitor, who said he would have to retire, he said: "If you follow Ingersoll, you some day may be where I am now, in jail, and I know finally will be in hell, so turn aside. There is no one more lenient than the Creator, and you yet may escape the torments of hades."

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THE ISSUE AS SEEN BY AN EXTREME ORTHODOX.

The *Presbyterian* is an organ of Orthodoxy that strives heroically to stand by the old landmarks. In an article on the address of Dr. Ellis, of which we wrote in the last number of *The Index*, it welcomes his statement as clearly defining the issue between the only Orthodoxy that can be successfully defended and the Liberalism that, whether found in the orthodox ranks or outside of them, it regards as really a foe to the one sound and saving faith. The *Presbyterian*, though noting as a valuable admission from an enemy the statement of Dr. Ellis that the Bible, on the orthodox view of its inspiration, yields the orthodox creed, does not allow itself, as do some of its evangelical contemporaries, to be drawn away by admiration of this point from the main thesis which Dr. Ellis was engaged in defending. It commends, indeed, this point to its readers as an honest and courageous statement, and as containing much encouragement for those who faithfully adhere to the old doctrines. But still more does it commend to their attention and urge upon their convictions the chief purpose of the address, which was to set forth the view that "Orthodoxy cannot readjust its creed till it readjusts its estimate of the Scriptures." Declaring that it has no wish to readjust its creed in any such way as Dr. Ellis has in mind and as many orthodox are apparently seeking, it affirms the necessity of standing by the old view of the Scriptures for the sake of keeping the old creed. It would accept Dr. Ellis' proposition, and then join issue with him on the question of the infallible inspiration and authority of the Bible.

The *Presbyterian* is both consistent and courageous. It does not stop at any of the modern difficulties which Biblical scholarship itself has discovered in this old question of the Bible's infallibility. It says that it is well to know exactly "the positions now assumed by the enemy, that the men who propose to stand by the old faith and the old Bible may know how to form their lines, and may discern early the points from which the most violent assaults will be made. *The plenary inspiration of the Bible is evidently the fort which is to be held. If we cannot hold that, all is lost.* If we maintain its authority over all theological questions, and fix it more firmly than ever in the thought and affections of the church, then all the precious truths which have been surely believed by the past generations of Christian people will abide, and exert their gracious power in the generations to come." The italics in this quotation are ours, in order to call attention to the decisiveness with which the challenge of Dr. Ellis is accepted, and to the precision with which the point of danger to the orthodox faith is detected. The writer would seem plainly to admit that the orthodox creed would not have much chance, if left to-day to the court of human reason and the human heart. It must be buttressed by this miraculous authentication from heaven, or fall.

And it is to be presumed that when the *Presbyterian* used that phrase, "plenary inspiration," it measured carefully the full meaning of its words. It knows well that the sense of Scripture often depends upon the punctuation, and still more, in the Old Testament, upon the vowel points of the Hebrew text; and hence it is, doubtless, ready to affirm and maintain that the Holy Spirit dictated to the Bible writers merely as amanuenses the exact language in which they wrote, even to these minutest particulars. Indeed, it would not much surprise us if the *Presbyterian* should take refuge in that culminating assertion of the doctrine of plenary inspiration which was declared in a decree of the Protestant Council at Geneva, in 1675, wherein it was maintained that not only had the Almighty mind dictated every writing in the Bible, even to the punctuation and vowel-points, but had also supervised the work of translation. For, if the Almighty mind had once made a literally perfect book, the exact transcript of the divine thoughts, for human guidance, it is not reasonable to suppose that such a book would have been permitted to be corrupted, and its purpose thus frustrated, by passing through the hands of merely human and fallible translators. We do not see, indeed, how we are to secure the infallible authority of the book beyond all cavil, unless we go back to that rigid Genevan decree of literal inspiration, which was more rigid than any thing contended for by Luther or Calvin, and was not announced officially in the Christian Church until one hundred and thirty years after Luther's death; and unless, too, considering the liabilities to error among the numerous copyists of the book before the art of printing was known, we extend the doctrine of that decree to cover not only the translation, but the work also of the copyists used by the translators. In this way, the infallible standard of religious doctrine might be saved—provided.

It might be saved, that is, provided one can shut his eyes to the whole work of modern historical research, and of Biblical scholarship in particular, and read the Bible utterly blindfolded to any light thrown upon the text from the learning of such men as Jowett and Stanley and Davidson and Robertson Smith, and other scholars even of the evangelical branch of the Protestant Church. In other words, the issue, as stated by the *Presbyterian*, is between learning and ignorance, between reason and superstition, between the light of the awakened intelligence of the nineteenth century and the darkness of mediæval faith. And all its attempts, however sincere and courageous, to save the old authority of the Bible, are but vain struggles to stay the progress of human intelligence, and only add another illustration to the impotent efforts of King Canute to hold back the rising tide.

WM. J. POTTER.

CHRISTIANITY IN COURT.

In the old days of anti-slavery agitation and mobs, I heard a poet express the fear that the abolition of slavery, joyful as it would be, might be the end of the picturesque in American politics. What could there be to bring out such figures as Stephen Foster and Abby Kelley? The poet had been observing Stephen from a nook in some Boston hall. The brave champion came out with a smashed hat and coat torn down the back. He would have been greeted with roars of laughter in the Museum theatre, but here the crowd sat breathless as he arraigned the American Church for its faithlessness to freedom. "This hat was smashed by the church in Portland. This coat was torn by the church in Newburyport." I am not certain those were the towns mentioned. None required any explanation of the transcendental sense in which the outrages had been committed by the churches in those places. It was a time of general sublimation. Somewhat in the same way, I find myself wondering if the crumbling away of the English Church may not prove the entrance upon a prosaic era. No doubt, if one consider only the abstract monstrosity of antiquated creeds established by law in a civilized country, the picturesque scenes to which the anomaly gives rise are hidden under the detestation it excites. But there is another way of looking at it. The English Church fell heir to a vast estate set apart for the moral and spiritual interests of the nation. In that estate, it enjoys only a life-interest. The institution, with its vast resources, with its appliances for culture and charity reaching every heart and home in the land, must infallibly pass to the next heir. And there is not the least doubt who that heir is. He is yet in his minority: he will be none the worse for not coming to his estate until he has been schooled somewhat more. Meantime, you may observe that his guardians—the scientific and philosophic thinkers—by no means unite with the dissenting sects which, under the plausible cry of separation of Church and State, would distribute the minor's estate among themselves, to be their several freehold for irresponsible sectarian purposes. At present, it is not the freehold of any Church: it is entailed on the growing thought and conscience of the nation; and they who would be the first to resist the legal establishment of a Church where one does not exist are resolved that the endowment of man's spiritual nature it here represents shall not be frittered away or sectarianized just as it is about to pass into the possession of the science and freethought which so long bore its oppression. "Kiss the son lest he be angry, and ye perish by the way," was a poet's advice to those who would resist the succession of Solomon. The Broad Church is the Establishment's kiss to the advancing heir. No dissenting sect has any "broad" wing. They hate the son of English freedom and culture, and their cry of "Liberation" really means, "Let us take his inheritance." Such, at least, is my reading of the situation, after having long seen it otherwise, through instinctive horror of the State-Church principle and of the miserable duplicities it involves. There will always be duplicity so long as civilized nations profess uncivilized creeds; and historic combinations have made the State Church here mean the resolute holding of the tree of superstition close to the secular English oak, which steadily draws away life from its root and overshadows its branches, and will ultimately absorb and transmute it to make its own grain finer.

It is not, therefore, through any cynicism or indifference that I find myself chiefly impressed by the picturesque features of the struggle implied in the situation just described. And, of this kind, two especially interesting scenes have just passed in Her Majesty's courts of law, separated only by our solar Sabbath. On Saturday, the Bishop of Manchester appeared before a purely temporal judge and petitioned for the release of a clergyman from prison. This is the latest English edition of the Emperor holding the Pontiff's stirrup; and it involved the same elements, albeit in such different proportions. The clergyman is a ritualist, and found in his Prayer-Book justification for his Romish practices. But the same State which legalizes the Prayer-Book had passed an act against those practices. The clergyman regarded himself as a servant of God, not of any secular authority: to obey Parliament against his priestly faith was to obey man rather than God; so he continued his ritualistic practices. When summoned to answer for violation of the new law, he declined to appear. This, humanly speaking, was contempt of court; and the clergyman was locked up. All he had to do was to resign his living. He was perfectly free to ritualize in any house his friends chose to open for him. But he wished to give the secular authority a fall, to have it conceded that the State had no right to say what should take place on its own property. Hence, this clergyman had a comfortable martyrdom of nearly two years in gaol. But by the law it was also decided that after the elapse of a certain period of inhibition on a rebellious clergyman his pulpit should be declared vacant. That time having elapsed, and the pulpit

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having been supplied by another clergyman, it only remained for the Roman martyr to be let out of prison. But the secular judge maintained the dignity of the State. The Church must come as a petitioner at his feet, and beg that he would consider the contempt purged. This was the only bitter pill that the martyr had to suffer. He tried to evade it by resigning his charge. To be a martyr nearly two years and then see his Bishop kneeling to temporal authority was rather hard. But he had to endure it. The judge considered that, by the long imprisonment and deprivation of his pulpit, the clergyman's contempt had been purged, and he was released. The wrath of the ritualists is naturally great. When the new incumbent appeared in the church of the deprived ritualist, the congregation saw him as the figure-head of secularism with horns. Not one of them would accept the communion at his hands. He is taboo. But the step taken is irreversible. It is now published to the world by an unmistakable piece of history that the English Church is a secular institution; that all its articles and rubrics and titles, in their claims to divine inspiration and supernatural authority, are mere "survivals" from discredited ages; that the only inspiration and authority are in Parliament and the Queen's Bench, which have the right to abolish every creed to-morrow and turn every church into a lyceum.

That was the impressive sermon uttered by Lord Penzance from the bench, to which every Englishman listened the day after the release of the clergyman who had tried conclusions with the temporal State. On Monday morning, another scene of the same old drama was enacted. The curtain rose upon the forms of two very able judges,—Judge Field and Sir James Stephen,—whose white wigs were as cat-eye gems on a silver ring of wigs; for there were hardly any but lawyers present. Mrs. Besant and I sat together to witness the first stage of what is likely to be the last English trial for blasphemy. The two judges are well known for their liberal opinions. There is not a particle of doubt that, if the statute making it penal to deny the Trinity or the divinity of either person of it, or the divine authority of the Bible, were to be applied, these two judges would have to leave the bench they adorn and take their place beside the man who now rises to plead before them. This man is Charles Bradlaugh, M.P. He has not committed the offence which is to be prosecuted, but one of the agents of his publishing establishment had been selling the incriminated paper, the *Freethinker*. The whole prosecution, there is hardly a doubt, was got up by Bradlaugh's political enemies, who saw in this participation of a business agent the possibility of including him in a sentence for the sins of others, since this would incapacitate him from sitting in Parliament. This idea of imputed wickedness is quite Christian, and so was the procedure which followed. No faith with infidels was the rule by which the prosecutors acted. In a preliminary trial before the Lord Mayor, they withdrew two counts in the indictment specially aimed at Bradlaugh, because they could not sustain them, if he had sufficient time to meet them. But afterward they went before the Recorder and had them put in again, without giving him any notice. And now Bradlaugh appeared, asking the judges to quash the whole indictment on various grounds, of which this treacherous proceeding was one. The judges could not quash: they both complimented Bradlaugh on "the great ability" with which he had argued his case, but could not quash the indictment. However, the Christian Shylock should only be allowed his pound of flesh, no drop of an English freeman's blood that the law could protect. Consequently, the judges commanded that these prosecutors should appear, before any trial could occur, and answer for having inserted the counts they had withdrawn. The decision by Sir James Stephen was very interesting and important; and it is too bad that our daily papers, while giving columns to horse-races, should have reported only a few lines of a judicial statement worthy to make a chapter in the best history of England. It is literally reported in a special sheet of the *National Reformer*, a copy of which I send you.

But how indescribably droll it was to see all these cultured English gentlemen in their wigs gathered to consider seriously an offence against the gods of an ancient mythology! For such to every head of them, so soon as it is unwigged, are these crockery gods with which Sir Henry Tyler, M.P., is trying to break the head of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P. As I looked on, all these wigs seemed to be resolved into their native bristles, and to become the integument of an elephantine specimen of that animal whose philosophy is given in Carlyle's pamphlet on Jesuitism:—

"11. 'Who are lawyers?' Servants of God, appointed revealers of the oracles of God. . . .

"12. 'Where do they find that written?' In Coke upon Littleton.

"13. 'Who made Coke?' Unknown. The maker of Coke's wig is discoverable. 'What became of Coke?' Died. 'And then?' Went to the undertaker, went to the— . . .

"51. 'What are bishops?' Overseers of souls. 'What is a soul?' The thing that keeps the body alive. 'How do they oversee that?' They tie on a kind of aprons, publish charges. I believe they pray dreadfully, macerate themselves nearly dead with continual grief that they cannot in the least oversee it. 'And are much honored?' By the wise very much.

"52. 'Define the Church.' I had rather not."

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE NATURE OF FREE WILL.

Notwithstanding the thoroughness and exactitude of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, it is manifest that a point of great importance in human life has been very unsatisfactorily dealt with,—responsibility. Free will has been the stumbling-block of all religions, as of all systems of philosophy; and, although evolutionists in our age are agreed in most particulars regarding the ultimate causes of natural processes, they widely diverge regarding the nature of free will, or what has been called that name, to this day.

My intention, as a patient student of nature and of the evolution theory, is to compare the conclusions arrived at by some of the leading writers of the day in regard to the subject, and see whether a satisfactory conclusion may not be reached in that matter.

Th. Ribot, in his *Treatise on Heredity*, does not pronounce for or against free will, but quotes a number of eminent physiologists who stand about equally divided into two camps.

Probably, the ultimate principle attained in philosophy by those who accept the indestructibility of matter and the correlation of forces as proven facts is best expressed by T. Sterry Hunt: "All the energies seen in nature are but manifestations of the essential life and quickness of matter." Or by Rosmini: "The ultimate atoms of matter are animate; each atom having united with it, and forming its unity or atomicity, a sensitive principle." Haeckel, as quoted by Du Bois-Reymond, "has advanced as a metaphysical axiom that every atom possesses an inherent quantity of force, and is in this sense be-souled."

That is the foundation of monism, which agrees entirely with evolution. But, in the light of this philosophy, it is evident that the human being consists of a certain number of "be-souled atoms," each of which is complete in itself, is individual and free, and that man must be a *free collection* of atoms, and, consequently, independent and responsible. This is more rational than to suppose that man is the necessary intersection of certain lines of force. Should one day some great chemist prove all the elements to be modifications of one, this fact would not deprive man of the strong individuality which he would yet derive from being a compound of free atoms of that one element. It seems that mankind have recognized the seat of free will in the personality of man of old; for legal punishment has been administered to men for their intentions or their acts, not for the impressions they receive from their surroundings. Although these are all incidental causes of action, they have generally been ignored as factors.

If we look at the subject in a more materialistic and simpler way, we find that nothing inert has ever been seen in nature. The very particles of the rocks are in constant agitation under the lenses of the microscope (*Brownian Movement*), just as the stars are in constant motion. According to Stallo (*Modern Physics*, p. 53), Newton believed that the gravitation of atoms resulted from an external (pushing) force which brought them together. Whatever Newton's idea, as expressed in his letters, every physicist to-day denies absolute inertia, and formulates the law of gravity as an attraction, and assumes that the attracting force lies in the atom itself.

However, it seems that the nature of free will is better understood than are its workings in the human brain. But, before passing to that part of the subject, let us call attention to the fact that incidental causes are too often liable to be taken for primary causes. For instance, the process of natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, has originated the various species of animals and plants in an incidental manner; and, while Darwin never looked upon the process itself as a primary cause, and while Herbert Spencer refers to astronomic, geologic, and meteorologic changes as some of the primary factors of modification in organisms (*Biology*, Vol. II., § 169), yet how many to-day believe that natural selection was the original cause, to the detriment of the whole theory itself! The primary cause of a human act is referable to the cause of the man's existence, this to the species' existence, and must depend on the actions and reactions of the atoms composing living matter and giving it its independence and power. Yet how often are motives and incentives looked upon as the causes of human actions! According to J. Luys (*The Brain and its Functions*), than whom no higher psychological authority could be quoted, human personality resides in the gray cortex, outer layer, of the brain, and is an accumulation of cells which have been influenced in their growth by most of the impressions received by the various special senses. These cells represent a compendium of all past thoughts. When this part is diseased, the patient loses the consciousness of the presence of the various parts of his person, and may not know, for instance, where his legs are, as in some cases of paralysis.

But while brain-cells store various impressions, in the way that photographic paper absorbs images, these impressions are not the primary factors of the cells; for these result from a chemical union of oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen, carbon, etc., the most powerful of the elements, and therein lie their individuality, their capacity, and their freedom. Hence, the impossibility not to think or not to move as long as life continues.

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We must add, however, that certain sensations will be responded to even before they reach the brain, or when the latter has been removed, on account of the close communication of nerves of sensations and nerves of motion; and in fact sensation and consciousness of some sort exist in organisms devoid of nerves.

Man is not considered responsible, however, for acts which do not emanate from his sensorium. Suppose that, while asleep with her child, something causes a strong irritation of the foot or hand of a mother, and that by a sudden jerk she causes the child to fall off the bed and kill itself, she would not be considered responsible. For a free act is one resulting from an impression which has reached the ultimate cells of the brain (sensorium), set vibrating innumerable older impressions which react with it, and returned, thus modified, through nerves of motion. If a part of the sensorium is destroyed by inflammation or degeneration or atrophy, insanity is generally the result, and the patient cannot be responsible. This seems plain enough, and it is evident that the field of the psychologist is in the physiological laboratory.

But human freedom is in inverse ratio to the powers of the rest of nature against man. The civilized man who has partly subdued the elements is far freer than the wild creature that lives at their mercy. But a perfect freedom, as that attributed to the Christian God, has not been reached by man, though the point toward which the evolution of the mind seems to have thus far travelled is in that direction.

In conclusion, the revelations of science show that nature resolves itself into elements and forces of a wonderful individuality in their combinations, although seemingly one in its origin. And man, the highest production of our terrestrial sphere, has attained so great an individuality as to stand on his own forces, against the rest of nature, organic or inorganic. This individuality is his liberty, and man is free in proportion to his vitality or force (intellectual and corporeal). And this tallies with common sense; for, while the idiot is considered irresponsible, the man of genius is considered more responsible than the ordinary man.

H. D. V.

SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT.

The title, *Science and Sentiment*, which President Porter gives to his collection of magazine articles and lectures is singularly felicitous; for he occupies himself mainly in criticising popular scientists under the influence of sentiments which are most clearly shown, when they lead him to charge Herbert Spencer (p. 67) with "stealthy subreptions,"—the latter word, according to Worcester, meaning "a fraud committed to obtain a pardon, title, grant, or other favor by alleging facts contrary to truth," and, according to Webster, implying the "suppression or fraudulent concealment of facts." John Stuart Mill, also, is condemned for "timid and uncertain shuffling," for "jugglery," for "perhaps unconscious dexterity in shifting alternately from the sharp and rigid nomenclature of the schools to the indefinite and pliant language of common life," "for a hazy, unsettled mind which was determined to adhere to its original bent, even against its underlying convictions that its grounds had not been thoroughly examined, or were not thoroughly trustworthy," and for a "tendency to take advantage of the ambiguity of language to conceal from himself and his readers the uncertainty of his own principles." These readers will never say of Dr. Porter, as he does of the author of the *Essay on Liberty* and the *Subjection of Women*, "We might class a philosopher of this type among the pachydermatous animals, for truly he has shown himself not very thin-skinned." All lovers of justice and peace must regret such language, as well as the charge against Mill, who, in the essay just mentioned, calls it "a great error to persist in attempting to find in the Christian doctrine" a "complete rule for our guidance," who published an elaborate declaration of his own belief in the essential soundness of Comte's system, which latter is described in *Science and Sentiment* as one of "materialistic atheism," though it is really agnostic, and who lost his re-election for Parliament largely on account of irreligious speeches which were placarded on the walls of London, that he "uniformly avoided any reference to religious questions, or, in the few cases where they have been forced upon his attention, so carefully avoided committing himself as to seem wanting in both frankness and courage." It need surprise no one after this to learn that Oliver Wendell Holmes is "zealously propagating theory of necessitarian mechanism in thought and morals, which is inconsistent with moral responsibility or self-respect"; to hear about "the rankest materialists of the present age, like Alexander Bain and his associates"; to see Mill blamed on page 168 for overlooking a distinction which a quotation from the work in question, four pages later, proves him to have had constantly before his eyes; to have what Herbert Spencer says of supernaturalists represented as spoken of theists generally, many of whom do not believe in anything supernatural; to find the difference between agnostic and atheist clearly set forth near the beginning of this work, in a well-known passage from Tyndall, but so far ignored in later pages that Herbert Spencer is charged almost in the same breath with atheism and agnosticism; and, worst of all, to be told that "the priesthoods of atheistic, ethical, and political science, have sanctioned, if they have not inspired," the outrages recently committed by the Communists at Paris. We wish all these essays had been as dignified in tone as the two on the "Kantian Centennial" and on "What we mean by a Christian Philosophy."

F. M. H.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

Incongruities and anomalies seem to be inevitable in intellectual, social, moral, and religious evolution. Old conceptions, creeds, and forms, partially outgrown, persist through periods in which the newer thought and the movements in the line of progress are yet incomplete, unsystematized, and uncoördinated with the established order of things, causing temporarily imperfect adjustments and all sorts of inconsistencies in beliefs and habits, in ceremonies, customs, and institutions.

An illustration of the truth here stated is afforded by "*The Independent Christian Church*" of Alliance, Ohio, which, although thus named, is *without any theological creed*, and embraces in its membership almost every degree and shade of unorthodox thought. Its platform, like that of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., is broad and strong enough to support any kind of intellectual machinery,—"eccentric, concentric, or crank"; and, like the society at Florence, this church employs speakers to represent all the different religious and speculative views that prevail among its members.

The society was founded by, and is made up largely of, seceders from the Christian (Campbellite) church of the place, who, following with logical consistency the example of Alexander Campbell, protested against dogmatic authority and ecclesiastical restriction, and established a church to suit themselves. The majority of the seceders have become Spiritualists, although originally their heresy led them no farther than to protest against the propriety or importance of *baptism* as a qualification for membership. Accessions to the society have been made from other Spiritualists who were outside the church, from those who were brought up Hicksite Quakers, and from those generally not satisfied with creed of any church, yet desiring the social advantages of a church. The organization is supported in part by the most radical free thinkers of the community, even if but few of them are members; and representatives of agnosticism, atheism, materialism, etc., are invited to occupy the desk, and they are, too, expected to speak with the utmost freedom.

The society is an incorporated body; and the church a commodious structure, erected by the society, is exempt from taxation. All the members believe that churches should be taxed; but, while the law in regard to church property remains as it is, they think they should receive the benefit of exemption. The old church from which the founders of this new one seceded still exists, but it is numerically weak and not in a good condition financially.

The so-called Christian church is full of scepticism and disbelief, the result partly of the teachings and methods of Campbell, the founder, who opposed written creeds and encouraged independent thinking and discussion as a means of advancing the truth, and partly of those general influences which are everywhere contributing to the decline of the old theological beliefs; and in Alliance there was a combination of circumstances four or five years ago which brought this dissatisfaction and disbelief into prominence in the church in which it had quietly developed, and in which it would have given no offence but for its out-spoken and aggressive character. The new church is apparently in a flourishing condition. The audiences we addressed from its desk last Sunday were large and intelligent, especially the audience that assembled in the evening. The past dozen years and more, during which we have given probably not fewer than twenty-five lectures at Alliance, we have observed a very marked change in the community in the direction of free and rational thought and a liberal spirit.

Even fifty years ago there was a large number of free thinkers in the West. They gloried in the name "infidel." They were not all educated men, and their surroundings were not conducive to polish and refinement; but they were no such men as represented by Dr. Nelson in his superficial and slanderous work, "The Cause and Cure of Infidelity," which was published by the American Tract Society, and widely circulated a quarter of a century ago. Rough though many of them were, they were strong men, independent, had the courage of their conviction, possessed sterling qualities, were self-reliant, energetic, and well adapted to the work they did in laying deep and broad the foundations of States. They were of the stuff heroes are made of. From their loins came sons possessing the strength and courage to endure the hardship and privation of frontier life, and daughters fit companions for such men, with the vigor and vitality to bear and rear stalwart sons and daughters, such as were needed in a new country where untamed nature confronted men. They damned preaching, but they were as ready to give a preacher food and lodging as to argue with him. They denounced the Bible as "a pack of lies"; but they really respected whatever is good in the book, and meant only to emphasize their contempt for the claims of theologians in regard to its origin and authority. Many of them were "profane"; but their profanity, like much of the

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"meetin' talk," meant nothing. In their belief there was much that would not harmonize with the rationalistic thought of to-day, and in their methods much that good taste would condemn; but by the use of their common sense, by the workings of their own minds, they came to conclusions in regard to the leading doctrines of theology, including the inspiration of the Bible, which, in the main, are confirmed by the best scholarship and most advanced thought of this generation,—conclusions to which such men as Rev. Dr. Ellis are beginning to admit they are *compelled* to assent, but which others, graduates of universities, with all the advantages that "learning" has given them, are "not yet prepared to adopt." This fact suggests to us that vigor of intellect and strength of character are greater than a *pseudo*-culture or a mere scholastic polish acquired by effeminate minds lacking native vigor and virility.

At Canton and Massillon, Ohio, among the leading citizens half a century ago, were a number of such free thinkers as are above described. Mr. Louis Scaefer, of the former place, read to us a few days ago the constitution and records of an "infidel" society that held meetings there forty years ago. Some of the strong men of that society stamped their influence upon the community so ineffaceably that it is very perceptible to-day.

Massillon was a sort of head-quarters for free thinkers. Kendall, now a part of Massillon, was settled by people from the East; and prominent among them were families of Quaker extraction from Nantucket, whose ancestors had been driven thither by persecution from the vicinity of Boston. Massachusetts Quakerism blossomed in the West into "infidelity." Among the leading men of Massillon forty years ago was Dr. B. Michener, who in some respects was a remarkable man. Brought up a Hicksite Quaker, in early life he became a free thinker. He was a man of strong intellect and extensive knowledge. His influence was enormous. The latter part of his life he lived at Adel, Iowa, and largely through his influence the community became so sceptical that the churches declined until its preachers found themselves without congregations and regarded as objects of charity.

Although a "self-made man," he was one of the best educated men in America. We knew and corresponded with him the last ten years of his life, and have always regarded him as the best informed free thinker in all matters relating to the issues between science and philosophy, on the one hand, and theology, on the other, whom we have ever met. Having retired from the practice of medicine, he devoted the last twenty years of his life to reading and study. He was not simply familiar with all the best works of the day,—Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and Lewes,—but his vigorous and fertile mind, even in old age, was ever making contributions to their theories, or furnishing illustrations of their thought derived from his own observation and reflection. It is a matter of regret among all who knew him that he did not reduce his thoughts to writing, and leave them as a legacy to his race. He died at Adel some five or six years ago, at the age of eighty. We were present at his death, and made a few inadequate remarks at his funeral. He was an atheist, believed in nothing supernatural, and looked "not for life where life may never be." He was a strong, brave man, one of nature's noblemen; and a heaven from which such a man should be excluded would be a heaven into which no self-respecting man would wish to enter.

Another man who lived at Massillon, worthy of mention, was Dr. Samuel Underhill. More than fifty years ago, he published a vigorous free-thought sheet, *The Liberalist*, at Cleveland, when that city numbered only a few thousand inhabitants. He once met in debate in Cleveland Alexander Campbell, who afterward had discussions with Archbishop Purcell, Dr. Alexander Rice, and Robert Owen. The Campbell-Owen debate occurred at Cincinnati; and, although Campbell was the superior controversialist, he declared that Mr. Owen was the fairest and the most gentlemanly opponent he had ever met in discussion. The debate was published, and has been extensively circulated by the Campbellites. Mr. Owen made some good points; but he was not the equal of Campbell in education or in experience as a debater, and some of the arguments of the ingenious theologian were left unanswered, which fact has increased the zeal of Campbell's disciples to circulate the work as a fair discussion of the issues between the Christian and the free thinker. The work is obsolete among themselves, as indeed is the later discussion between Robert Dale Owen and Origin Bachelor, which was more thorough and satisfactory.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

UNTIL further notice, make all cheques and drafts payable to the order of John C. Haynes.

MR. GLADSTONE recently stated in Parliament that "the cost of the war in Egypt was estimated at £3,000,000, including £1,000,000 for the expenses of the Indian contingent. The total cost, including the transportation of the troops home, was estimated at £3,500,000. This cost, he said, was down to the 1st of October. From that day, the charge would be borne, either wholly or in part, by Egypt."

THE article in the last number of *The Index* on prayer and an ethical view of life, by Mr. Salter, was read at a recent Unitarian Conference in Mr. Chadwick's church in Brooklyn, New York. A correspondent of the *Christian Register* calls it "a prayer against prayer." The discussion of which this paper formed a part was remarkably significant. It was opened by Rev. C. F. Dole, whose essay, a production of great force and fineness, will soon be published in the *Unitarian*. It was more positive than Mr. Salter's, but negative of much that goes by the name of prayer in Christian churches.

THE religious census of Victoria is a curious document. Of 862,346 persons, 299,346 are entered as members of the Church of England, 197,157 as Roman Catholics, over 100,000 as Presbyterians, and nearly the same number as Methodists. The highest number of the other Protestant sects is about 20,000. Eleven thousand are returned as Pagans. There is one Millerite, one Walkerite, one Borrowite, one Colensoite, one Theosophist, one "Silent Admirer," five of the "Church of Eli Sands," twenty of "No Church at present; no creed," three "Saved Sinners," two "Neutrals," one "Believer in parts of the Bible," and three who state their religion as "£ *s. d.*" The *Catholic Review* thinks that "a much greater number might have declared themselves adherents of these last creeds, had Victorian candor been as great as Victorian liberty."

IN a recent lecture by Dr. William Huggins, on the results of spectrum analysis as applied to the heavenly bodies, this striking statement was used to give some faint notion of the enormous distance of the stars. "The earth's orbit," said the lecturer, "which is more than 190,000,000 miles in diameter, at most of the stars dwindles to a mere point, and has no sensible size whatever. If you suppose a railway from the earth to the nearest fixed star, which is supposed to be twenty billions of miles from us; and if you suppose the price of the fare to be one penny for every hundred miles,—not, mind! a penny per mile,—then, if you take a mass of gold to the ticket office equal to the national debt ($3,800,000,000), it would not be sufficient to pay for a ticket to the nearest fixed star. And I think I should not be wrong in saying that there are stars so far off that, at the price of one penny for every hundred miles, the whole treasure of the earth would not be sufficient to pay for a ticket."

E. DE LAVELEYE, the well-known author of *Primitive Property*, in a critical article on George's *Progress and Poverty* in the November *Contemporary Review*, calls attention to other and earlier advocates of George's doctrine, that land is not rightfully private property. Herbert Spencer's views in his early volume on *Social Statics* (chapter ix.) are not unknown; but, besides him, De Laveleye refers to F. Huet (*Le Règne Social de Christianisme*," book iii., chap. 5) and to the eminent German professor, Zachariae, who said: "Property inland is a reduction of the wages which might belong entirely to the laborer, if the soil were not the object of an absolute monopoly. All the sufferings against which civilized nations have to struggle may be referred to the exclusive right of property in the soil as their source." Mr. George is also given an extended notice in the *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirthschaft* (first number of 1882) by the distinguished Berlin professor, Gustav Schmoller.

OUR esteemed contemporary lets pass no opportunity to expose the inconsistencies and weaknesses of the Protestant sect. It adduces the following as "an example of the result that follows a private interpretation of the Bible, which Protestants claim is the only safe way, and which they make in fact their rule of faith": "A troublesome case has arisen in a Presbyterian church in San Rafael, California, on the literal interpretation of the passage in the Epistle of James, which is in favor of anointing with oil with a view to the healing of disease. A sick man desired the elders to come and anoint him and pray over him, according to the Scripture. They had never been called on to do this, and so they hesitated until they should ask the Presbytery. The Presbytery discussed the matter at some length, and then handed it over to the Synod. The probability is that it may now go all the way to the General Assembly, and possibly be laid over there, as the dancing question was in May last. Meanwhile, the sick man is in great quandary as to what he shall do."

THE South Australian *Register* contains a report of a discourse by Rev. J. C. Woods, B.A., in which some of Rev. Joseph Cook's statements are reviewed in a manner of which the following extract will give an idea: "The Unitarian Church everywhere had difficulties to contend with greater than that of any other denomination, yet never were its prospects fairer than now; and to say that it was dead was an assertion that was only to be met by language brief but emphatic in the way of denial. One very gratifying fact in connection with their Church was that now and then it gained adherents among people eminent for their intellectual attainments, their moral worth, and their religious enthusiasm, as, for instance, the Rev. Stopford Brooke, the most popular Episcopalian preacher in London, who had lately joined their ranks. Many people who had not entered the Unitarian Church had been influenced by its thought, and many men—especially ministers in various denominations—acknowledged their indebtedness to Channing and Martineau, while in America the influence of Theodore Parker had been immense. The busy Americans had not many great names in their lit-

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erary world to be proud of, but among those few were the names of the philosopher Emerson, the Unitarian poets Bryant and Longfellow, and the divines, Channing and Parker; and any American theological pedler who vilified them was an ill bird indeed."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

KING DEATH'S SOLILOQUY.

BY OLD BIRCH.

In the home of the dead, my reign is supreme;
My subjects are ruled by forces unseen,
Are bound with my thongs invisible there,
But holding them fast in silent despair.

Protean my form, assuming at will
A thousand new shapes my victims to kill:
Securing my prey, my step never makes
A trail to the land where morn never wakes,

To welcome a sound where solitude reigns
Unbroken by all, eternity gains:
For over my realm a mystery deep
Forever will brood, my secrets to keep.

My banners are white, my colors prevail,
Reflecting their light all faces are pale;
For over the flesh my aureole shines,
Forecasting the end of fatal designs.

In silence I come, unheeding the prayer,
And reap harvest pale 'mid wailing despair:
With ebbing life-tide, my coming is planned,
They welcome at last my clammy cold hand.

With click of the clock my stepping you hear,
With passing of time my coming comes near.
With phantom-made hand I reach for the soul,
And hurry them on where Stygian waves roll.

The pulses of life my terrors appall.
A phantasy dread I brood over all;
And heart that is weak with terrors I fill
The fluttering thing till throbbing is still.

No pity I know, no mercy I give,
My presence will blast whatever will live.
The mother's lone wail, the soft baby cry,
Is music to me, when passing them by.

Of naught what is born to nothing returns,
And life is a play till candle outburns;
And quick is the blast the flaming to end,
And darkness is all when summons I send.

My city is seen where monuments rise,
And sunlight reflects what pride falsifies:
My palace is but a clod-covered cell,
No prison is known that holdeth so well.

The friends that you lost are paying my wage,
By lying at length 'neath marble-wrought page:
No whisper of love, no groaning or sigh,
No hope from above will ever come nigh.

Where soldiers arrayed for battle advance,
Where armies will fight, I lead in the dance;
And soldier who dares, defying my state,
Shall march at my side through wide-open gate.

And all who have passed allegiance have sworn,
And never go back to gather their own:
With shadowless arm, the battle I win;
I reach as they fall, and "gather them in."

Though nations in fear united may pray,
Yet cold in my arms their chieftain shall lay,
No skill can avail to rescue or save:
The chieftain I strike goes down to the grave.

With ghostly pale steed I call at the door,
And soul that is doomed goes riding before;
And, down to the vale where shadows lie deep,
I course on my way with charge that I keep,

And over the stream where mists lying low
Will hide from the sight the way that we go,
And gathering cloud like curtain will fall,
To make for the dead a funeral pall.

And silence shall reign o'er those in my power,
And their time is no more to pass by the hour;
And years gliding by are lost in the void,
Unmeasured by all the life I destroyed.

And legions unknown I've buried in earth,
And low in the dust sent backward their birth:
Nirvana's deep calm shall rest o'er their bed,
And cycles roll round unheeding the dead.

CRAFTSBURY, VT.

The Index.

BOSTON, DEC. 14, 1882.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

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Do the Ethics of Jesus satisfy the Needs of our Time?

BY W. M. SALTER.

It is a not uncommon opinion at the present day that the Ethics of Jesus may survive the fall of the theological system that has been called after his name. I have no wish to attack this theological system: it has already ceased to have any vital hold upon those whom I can hope to reach or interest. It is a more serious and fundamental question, whether the moral ideals of Christianity are to suffer any change. The moral interests of humanity are her chief interests. There is so ready a feeling of this sort in the public mind that the ablest defenders of Christianity or Judaism are bringing more and more into the foreground the moral inspiration and blessing which these venerable faiths have given to mankind. And it is impossible to forget or to wish to undervalue these moral services. To seek to relax the obligations which the old religions have made us feel, to lower or anywise abate from the loftiness of the ideals which they have given to the world, would not be to make progress, but retrogression. Who would forget or ignore the moral insight and the moral heroism of conviction and of action of an Amos or an Isaiah? Who would put out of his mind, or could if he would, the lessons of gentleness, of humility, of purity of mind, of charity, of brotherhood, which fell from the lips and shone out in the life of the Son of man?* Surely, not by forgetting, but by treasuring all the good the past has won, can we hope to advance in the future.

None the less must the advance be made; and in truth all prophecy, Jewish and Christian included, has a temporary as well as a permanent element. Jesus spoke to those of his time, and with the language and the thought and, we may add, with the limitations of his time. But the time and the language and the thought of men change, and wider horizons are opened to their minds. What is the voice of prophecy for to-day? that is the question. All in vain would it be for me to assume the prophetic attitude. The prophet does not raise questions: he answers them. He has none of that hesitating, tentative spirit and method which mark the thought of even the best men of this transition age, and which will only cease when the new age shall have come, and the fire of irresistible convictions shall once more burn in the human breast. I am but a questioner along with the rest. I but seek to turn the attention toward the needs and problems of the present, and to show that they at least call for distinct answers and solutions, such as we look for in vain in the teaching of Jesus. For though I am far from denying, but have rather asserted, that Jesus taught eternal principles, we want more than this: we want the application of the principles to the issues and questions of to-day, and in a form apprehensible to the thought of to-day. Else, as has been said, the principles may become as barren as they are old.* Nothing is so common in these days as seeming reverence for the great rules of righteousness, along with ignorance of or indifference to what they mean and exact in the conduct of life. We want to make this impossible, save with a distinct consciousness of hypocrisy. Yes, sometimes those who themselves most sincerely and impressively utter the great ideas are unconscious of the full sweep of their application. The personage in Terence's play who utters the famous sentiment, "*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*," has no horror at infanticide, and calls it irrational to keep a child alive who is in danger of growing up into a career of shame.† It is by no means a parallel case; but it is not to be forgotten that Jesus who utters the golden rule, which, adequately interpreted, would put an end perhaps to all the ills of society, makes no condemnation of slavery, and this, though a party existed in his day, which had reached a height of moral development from which they did condemn it,—the Essenes. Hence, "Christian Ethics" could be of slight service in the late anti-slavery struggles in our land. There is nothing in the New Testament inconsistent with the maintenance of slavery, if only masters are guilty of no wilful oppression or inhumanity. It was only by going back to principles of which Christian ethics themselves are but a partial statement, and which strangely enough have found modern expression in that philosophy of human rights to which the Christian Church has as often taken an attitude of hostility as of sympathy, that the way was prepared for the abolition of slavery in this country.

What then, let us ask generally, though without essaying any kind of formal completeness, are some of the moral needs of our time?

1. First, I will mention that of *intellectual scrupulousness and honesty*. It was an old Roman saying that "two augurs could never meet each other without laughing." I refer to nothing so flagrant or coarse as this. I have rather in mind what may seem to many light faults,—*e.g.*, putting interpretations on doctrines not in accordance with their natural meaning, conforming to usages after the ideas at their basis have ceased to be matters of conviction to us, staying in a church or denomination on sufferance and not because of a hearty common belief with them. Doubtless, this is often done with good intentions, and some good may be mingled with it as with all evil; but it strikes at what is of priceless value—I might say, rather, of absolute necessity—to the religious teacher,—namely, the full heart and the consciousness of entire veracity. Experience proves, too, that doctrines and institutions which require this kind of support are themselves on the downward road; and the process of decay can at the best be stayed, and may even at times, as if in irony of our equivocal intentions, be hastened, by the use of such means. Carlyle is said to have pointed out Dean Stanley to a friend, and remarked, "There goes our friend, the Dean, boring holes in the bottom of the good ship, Church of England,—and doesn't know it." ‡

Yet not of the uselessness of the compromising spirit, but of the fact that it is contrary to a true standard of intellectual honor, would I speak. Not a few have apparently yet to get the idea that the intellect as well as the will and outward life is under law,

* Cf. an attempt to do justice to some of the positive and permanent features of the Ethics of Jesus in *The Index*, Sept. 14, 1882.

* Prof. Felix Adler: "Conscience, righteousness, what is there new in these,—their maxims are as old as the hills? Truly, and as barren often as the rocks. The novelty of righteousness is not in itself, but in its novel application to the particular unrighteousness of a particular age." *Creed and Deed*, p. 164.

† Lecky, *History of Morals*, II. 30, n.

‡ The anecdote is related by G. W. S. in the New York *Tribune* (semi-weekly), Feb. 25, 1881. Instructive in another way is the remark of Emerson, in relation to severing his connection with the Unitarian Church (Second Church, Boston), to which he ministered during a few of the earlier years of his life: "I had hoped to carry them with me; but I failed." (Discourse by Rev. E. A. Horton, April 30, 1882.) Well will it be with young men with similar hopes at the present day, if they do not fail in a more decided sense than Emerson did; that is, if after a time their reforming purposes do not themselves lose their strength, and they remain in the Church, as Emerson did *not*, to signify not that they have won it over to the higher truth, but that they have lost the perception or appreciation of the truth. Did not Emerson write the following with his own ministerial experiences partly in mind? "The objection to conforming to usages that have become dead to you is that it scatters your force. It loses your time, and blurs the impression of your character. But do your own work, and you shall reinforce yourself." (Essay on "Self-reliance.")

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that they are not at liberty to believe what they like, that it is unworthy to try to believe, that conviction is only honorable as it is only possible in any strength, when formed in obedience to some kind of necessity. I do not wonder that with such notions men deem ethics too small a thing to become religion. It is, when so partially understood. But ethics really means whatever ought to be, and hence is not without bearing on every part of life: it holds up an idea for the intellect as well as the outward actions, and searches the most hidden motives and processes of the soul of man. Thou must believe the truth, it says, and thou darest not twist it to thy liking or anywise play with it; and the truth must be according to thine own reason, else thou art guilty of profaning the holiest within thee. And yet the evil is not one that can be met by any precept. It is a secret spirit, and can only be met by another spirit, which shall, as it were by magic, put health and soundness into the whole intellectual nature. It is the spirit of downrightness, of absolute and utter sincerity. If such a spirit should get abroad in the community, it would turn many a young man from the easy, compromising course he is now contemplating, and empty churches of not a few who listen as well as some who preach.

And a new seriousness is needed in all our thinking. Men play with phrases; think, if they can use the same words, differences of thought need not seriously concern them. They build enormous conclusions on the slenderest premises, assume to know, for example, on the ground of positive science what never was so learned, materialism being often as assumptive and headlong as the opposite way of thinking. Or perhaps the ground of rational thought is abandoned, and by will or arbitrary faith, or for some species of subjective interest, a settlement of philosophical problems is assumed to be reached.

And, now, what have we in the ethics of Jesus that can be distinctly felt by men to have a bearing upon this lack of straightforwardness, this arbitrariness, not to say dishonesty? It is hard to find anything. I do not mean that Jesus positively slights the intellectual virtues, and I do not agree with those who put the interpretation on the first beatitude.* It is simply that he does not take any account of them, that there is not a single passage, to my recollection, in which he makes any emphatic statement concerning them. And let it be remembered it is such distinct utterance that the moral haziness of the present time calls for. And the reason of the silence of Jesus is not far to seek. The duty of man was simpler in that day, because the occasions were fewer and the horizon of man narrower. Soon, it was conceived, the supernatural order would break in upon the natural; and only the primal duties of the heart and life were emphasized. Science and criticism were not breaking up an old view of the world as now; and, so far as the time was transitional, it was conceived to be simply toward the completion and practical realization of a view which had long had currency. Now, our views of nature and of man are being in many ways radically recast; and nothing less than a new philosophy, a new general view of the world, seems to be in process of development, and never was there such occasion for an exercise of severe intellectual virtue. And, as matter of fact, the ethics of the intellect, instead of being taught by the followers of Jesus, are most impressively displayed by those whom Christian teachers have generally thought it their duty to oppose or rebuke: I mean the students and investigators in science and history. I am no believer in the all-sufficingness of science or in the finality of the lessons of history; yet the researches of students in these departments have in many cases illustrated to us an open-mindedness, an eagerness and reverence for truth, and a simple faithfulness of utterance that make a model for the conduct of all thinking. A lesson in morals, in ideal scrupulousness, is conveyed by every genuine scientific investigation, and by none more notably than those of the revolutionizer of our views of nature, the foremost scientific figure of the century, Charles Darwin. Let the same openness, the same fearlessness of investigation, the same virility of thought, and the same exact correspondence of word to thought characterize our religious thinking, and a revolution of equal consequence in this department of human interest will be the result.

2. I turn now to other needs, to those of *higher political conceptions and morality*. The State is not altogether, as some would have it, a necessary evil, but has a sacred, I might almost say, a religious mission. It is, indeed, to prevent violence, to restrain passion. As the law of gravitation keeps the planets in their courses and binds every atom to every other, so outwardly, at least, the State is to maintain a similar order among men. But, more, the State is a commonwealth, and is to secure the ends needful for all. Each man has an individual sphere of action, where he is responsible only to himself; but, when his action touches the interest of another, he has another responsibility,—namely, to the State. The State must see that, in matters and affairs where the ends of the many are touched, those ends are not made impossible of realization. It cannot allow individuals or combinations of individuals to win advantages at the expense and to the loss of others. Particularly in our own country, where ideas of equality are at the basis of the political system, is such practical injustice out of place. We have dispossessed kings and priests of their rights over us, we have a government of the people. The question is, Shall it be a government for the people? I do not mean a class called by that name, but for all. Shall the common, the universal good be secured, and no individual freedom or rights be allowed, which tend to the destruction of the freedom and rights of others? These questions must be answered, one way or another, in the next century of our national existence. And, if the choice were between a religion of the old sort and a politics intent on giving them a righteous answer, I see not how any generous-minded young man could hesitate to choose the service of the State. There is a touch of religion in all unselfish devotion to public ends, and it is just such devotion that is the crying political need of our time. The question of better civil service is at bottom nothing else.

But what are the lessons which the Christian Gospels read us in political morality? The political ideas of Jesus are a strange contrast to anything we know of by experience. His land was a Roman province. There is no evidence that he did not love it, and every reason to believe that his feeling for it was strong and deep. But his method of political redemption was one of which we in these days can scarcely entertain the idea. It was not indeed political redemption, but rather deliverance at the hand of one from whom emperors and empires derive their powers, and who, though the Lord of the whole earth, was in a special sense the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Do we suppose that the nobler motive which leads men into the service of the State, the passion for justice and the common weal, was absent from the breast of the Son of man? Rather can our sense of justice be nowhere better refreshed than by drinking in his words, nowhere has the tenderness for the least been more strikingly shown than in the memorials left us of his sacred life. If justice was not to come from the State, it was to come from a Higher than the State; if not through blundering human instrumentalities, it was to come through the heaven-sent Son of man, before whom and his angel ministers all mankind would soon be gathered. Christian men and women lived on this faith in the early time, and nothing is more pathetic in history than the story of its gradually fading out of human souls. Now, you will indeed find it in the creeds; and a slight sense of the old awe and the old triumph may perchance come over you as you listen to the chanting of the *Te Deum*, that chiefest of Christian hymns, and hear the words, "We believe that thou shalt come to be our Judge," but they are on the lips rather than in the hearts of the worshippers.

Now, nothing is so lightly and even apologetically treated by liberal Christian critics and teachers as this primitive and always professed Christian belief. Yet it is no accident, no bit of Oriental coloring, however much of this there may be in filling out the details of the final scene, but the climax and consummation of the Christian view of the world, an answer to that deep question of man's heart, which is not merely what *are* the just and the good, but *how* are they to be accomplished, how is an actual end to be made of injustice and wrong. And religion will dawn anew on the world when the old problem again mightily engages us, and another and equally wide-reaching answer is won. The problem is justice, the bringing to every one the means and opportunity for the highest and best things. *To every one*, this is the very meaning of justice. The highest and best things are not for you or for me, or for any sort or class of men, but for all: they are the end, the right, the ideal destiny of every human being. But, if this is the problem, Jesus' method of solving it is no longer capable of belief. In simple honesty, it must be said to belong to the category of humanity's blighted hopes. The Son of man, who was to come so soon, has not come in all these centuries to bring the promised redemption: the very idea of his coming belongs to a way of thinking now outgrown.

And, since he believed in the impossible, he outlined for us no way of reaching the end that is really possible. He was not concerned with the State, indicating neither ideal nor practical course for it to follow. A similar indifference to and unbelief in what is to us practicable is shown in the writings of the Christian Fathers. Tertullian, early in the third century, says that "nothing is more remote from his interests than public affairs."* Lecky remarks of St. Cyprian (who belongs a little later in the same century) that "the conception of a converted empire never appears to have flashed across the mind of the saint: the only triumph he predicted for the Church was that of another world."† St. Augustine, a century later, pathetically asks, "What difference can it make to a man who is about to die whose government he lives under, if only there is no compulsion to impiety and injustice?"‡ His great work, from which this quotation is made, was intended to show, according to Lecky,§ that the "city of God" was not to be on earth, and that the downfall of the empire, under barbarian invasions, need not trouble his fellow Christians. If we wish a worthy conception of the mission of the State, we shall find it in the old heathen philosophers and emperors and lawyers rather than in Jesus or his followers. Marcus Aurelius, says Lecky, "made it his aim to realize the conception of a free State in which all citizens are equal, and of a royalty which makes it its first duty to respect the liberty of the citizens."‖ "Slavery," says the Roman lawyer Florentinus, is "a custom of the law of nations, by which one man, contrary to the law of nature, is subjected to the dominion of another." "As far as natural law is concerned," said another, Ulpian, "all men are equal." "By natural law," again, "all men are born free."

These conceptions, with all that they imply, were never taken up by the Church; and the work of giving them effect through the State is a far more difficult one than that of trusting and praying for the "kingdom of God," as the Church has done. We are now coming to feel that, if justice is to be done in this world (and perhaps equally in any other), it is we (*i.e.*, rational beings) who must do it, that praying for its accomplishment is but wasted energy, that its very sacredness commands that we cease all such trifling with it as prayer has now come to be, and give it a seat in our own hearts and an execution in our laws and institutions. Man is to inherit the sanctity and the glory that were to invest the Son of Man, sitting on his judgment-seat. For, I take it, the doing of justice is a sacred thing. There is a divinity hedging about every king or judge or magistrate or private citizen who takes this task into his hands. For, though justice as a reality in human conduct and government is a poor, shifting thing, the demand for it is eternal, and issues not from man, nor from the earth, nor the stars, but from somewhat older than they; and he who executes it acts in that moment as the delegate of God.

A new reverence for the State we want, then,—not a blind submission, not a passive obedience which has so often been the attitude enjoined upon Christians, but a reverence for the mission of the State, for its idea, a reverence which shall recognize the sanctity of the servants of the State, which shall demand that all legislation and administration shall in increasing measure fulfil the demands of the idea, which shall thus be the source of progress, and not the support of unreasoning conservatism. A new patriotism we want, not as an appendage, but as a part of ethics and religion. Here is not merely where we eat and sleep and work and travel, but this land is a field of duty. Here we are stationed, here we have a part: we are linked to a larger whole than

*I am compelled here to dissent from the published utterance of one to whom I cannot easily recount my obligations,—Prof. Adler (*Index*, July 8, 1880, p. 17).

*"Nec ulla res aliena magis quam publica" (Apol., ch. xxxviii.).

† *History of Morals*, I., 485.

‡ De Civitate, V. 17. "Quid interest sub cujus imperio vivat homo moriturus, si illi qui imperant, ad impia et iniquia non cogent."

§ *Morals*, I., 435.

‖ *Morals*, I., 264. Cf. M. Aurelius' *Meditations*, I., 14.

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our family or our business interests constitute. For public ends we are to live. The public service must come to have a dignity and honor in our eyes such as no work or private account can have; and we shall enter it, if to this we are called, as priests might enter a temple, and with thoughts as religious as theirs. And the more do we need a new patriotism, since, as men are now so largely studying the past, considering what has been rather than what may and ought to be, and learning that free institutions have so often failed, a kind of scholarly scepticism is arising as to the future of this land, if not, indeed, a kind of distrust of our fundamental doctrine of the rights of man. *It is* a great experiment, viewed from the stand-point of history, this giving of the sovereign power equally into the hands of all citizens; and those who will have certain proof of success before they act must halt and tremble, if not sigh, for other times. But those who have it in their blood to believe in the experiment will, by their very belief, help to carry it on to triumph. American patriotism is more than attachment to this land of ours: it is attachment to an idea, it is belief in a cause, the cause of liberty and human rights, and for the issue every one of us has a measure of responsibility.

And the State must itself advance. It must assume new duties,—new, that is, *not* to its mission, but to its past performance. Freedom is good, but it must be universal; and, if my freedom tends to the destruction of another's, mine must be limited. What makes the right of the State to interfere and prevent domestic slavery? What else than its very mission to secure and maintain the personal rights of every one within its borders? Are there then no other encroachments of the naturally stronger over the naturally weaker? I will not now undertake to answer this question specifically; but wherever there *is* a tendency of this sort, wherever one man or a set of men get property or power in land or means of transportation or instruments of production or the means of subsistence, placing others largely at their mercy, there the State should interfere, and, whether by legislation or actual administration in its own name, prevent the monopoly and act for the good of all. The State with us is not, as it often was in old time, the rule of the stronger over the weaker: if it were, it would have no sanctity or defence; if it should become so, then revolution would be commanded. The State is for justice, to see to it that the strong do not rule the weak, to break the force of the brute struggle for existence. And most ominons of all would be the future of that State, wherein freedom should be ostensibly honored, and yet in its very name the bonds of servitude be put on men, women, and children, wherein freedom would thus mean a freedom from law, from State examination and supervision, and be only a specious cloak behind which men might pursue their worst selfishness.

A very different spirit must animate the new religion from that which animated the old. The Stoic maxim and not that implied in the teaching of Jesus must furnish the rule for human life: "The wise man must take part in public life" (πολιτεύσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν). For through the State, and not through any mythical judgment in the clouds, the ends of justice and right are to be worked out.

3. But, if we have need of a new political morality, very closely related thereto is our need of *a new industrial ethics*. While the State should to my mind include economy to a certain extent, so that there might be some meaning in the phrase "*political* economy," and hence the true tendency is toward the assumption by the State of such properties and businesses as become large and public in their influences, the time is yet far distant when a perfect and detailed and particular justice can be prescribed or done by the State. In any case, industry may, relatively speaking, be treated as a separate topic. We live from day to day by our own industry or that of others; for I mean by industry not all kinds of pursuits, but those which aim to satisfy our physical needs and provide for our material comfort. Industrial concerns are those which touch us to the quick: a disorder here means so much less bread for some one to eat, so much of an increase in the death-rate. And society has always been partially, I may say largely, made up of those whose only means of commanding the necessaries, not to say the comforts, of life, lay in their hands and arms, either by way of labor or of threatening. I say always, yet I do not say necessarily; and here is the whole point. There are doubtless native inequalities between men, and there always will be. The ideal industrial order would be one in which the inequalities would mutually supplement one another, according to an ideal law of justice and humanity.

But this ideal order does not belong to history, but to the future: society did not fall from it, but is to rise to it; and the call to rise to it is felt to lie in the very nature and constitution of humanity, whenever it sees through its muddy vesture of brutality and selfishness, and becomes aware of the beatings of its own heart.

The ideal order is, in a word, co-operation: it means for those engaged in the production of any means of subsistence or comfort that they seek no more than a fair profit from the community which they serve, and that they divide the profit fairly among themselves. There is slight thought of fairness and justice in the present industrial arrangements. Services are doubtless done both to the community, and by the employer to the employed, as by the employed to the employer; but the simple fact that all is done for profit, or, as is said, with business motives, shows that fairness or equitableness, *not* to say humanity, are hardly determining motives.

The limit of the employer's prices is not justice, but what can or will be paid. And the wages he pays go as high not as any consideration of justice would suggest, but as the demands of the laborers can make them go, and sink as low as men or women or, perhaps, children can be found who will take them. "The very idea," says John Stuart Mill, "of distributive justice, or of any proportionality between success and merit, or between success and exertion, is, in the present state of society, so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the regions of romance." * The *Nation* newspaper, whose writers have generally, at least, the merit of clearness and incisiveness in thought and statement, says, "The attempt of writers like Bastiat to show an exact harmony between the rules of political economy and the demands of absolute justice involves, like the opposite error of Mr. Froude, a confusion between economical rules and moral precepts." † That is, in plain words, economy is one thing, and ethics quite another; and by the "opposite error of Mr. Froude" was probably meant a demand on his part that there be an infusion of ethics into economy, which is at least more honorable and, I believe, more really possible than the attempt of those economical charlatans—and we need not go to France to find them—who would defend and justify the present industrial arrangements on the ground not only that they are grounded "in the nature of things," but that they always mean "service for service." ‡ Service for service? In words, yes; but what not only of the intention, but of the equity of the exchange? Suppose that I succor a drowning man, and, before doing so, exact of him the greater part of his possessions. That is undoubtedly service for service, and his life he plainly values more than his possessions. But what should you say of my exaction? So there are those who take the wealth of men to-day, often the entire wealth, in their possession,—for myriads have hardly other than that stored up in their hands,—and in return give them but the bare means of subsistence. O precious equity!

A new ethics of industry must arise, or, I might almost say, ethics must be now applied for the first time in this department of human activity. What do the ethics of Jesus give us in this direction? In truth, if we turn from the habits of thought of our time to those in which the mind of Jesus worked, it is almost like going from one world into another. Did he not feel for poverty? Yes: his sympathies were boundless. But his remedy for it, aside from gifts of charity, indicates a notion of providence, of the relation between man and God, that may at times adorn a poem or a tale, but has lost all hold upon our sober belief. It was not so much even individual toil and labor as trust, belief that, as we are of more value than the sparrows, so we shall be no less provided for than they. Consider the birds, he said, that neither reap nor gather into barns, the lilies, that neither toil nor spin. Believe the less from seeing the greater. How strangely contrasted with this idyllic view of the world is that to which we in recent years have become accustomed! The language of the master is here better than any paraphrase: "We behold," says Darwin, "the face of nature bright with gladness, we often see superabundance of food: we do not see, or we forget, that the birds which are idly singing round us mostly live on insects or seeds, and are thus constantly destroying *life*; or we forget how largely these songsters, or their eggs, or their nestlings, are destroyed by birds and beasts of prey; we do not always bear in mind that, though food may now be superabundant, it is not so at all seasons of each year. . . . I estimated," he says again, "chiefly from the greatly reduced numbers of nests in the spring, that the winter of 1854–55 destroyed four-fifths of the birds in my own grounds." * The fact is that the "heavenly Father," of whom Jesus spoke, probably denies food and protection to more of his creatures than he actually provides for. If he did not, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of any single pair of them. Hence, there often arises a struggle for existence, which for severity and pitilessness can hardly be surpassed by anything our imagination can conceive. And has man not a part in this great process in which the universal nature is involved? And is he not often equally pressed with the struggle, and as unconcernedly left to his fate by the "heavenly Father"?

Darwin would console us, in reference to the lower orders of being, "with the belief that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt, and that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive." Ah! but man is not one of the lower orders of being, and the consolation nowise fits our grief for him. Man is an animal who thinks and does feel fear; his death is often miserably drawn out; he survives often long after he or others can see the use of living; and sometimes it is at last forgotten that he is a man, and he becomes to many but a mass of flesh or filth, cumbering the ground. Oh, if we have a view of human nature that causes us no shudder and no resentment when we think or know of this, if we do not say, O remorseless struggle, thou hast no right or place in the circle of human relations, there only the law of respect and help and pity should have sway!—I am at a loss to know how to proceed. I can only address myself at the outset to those who have a different estimate of human nature, who respond to the thought of Jesus' words, if not to the inference he draws from them,—"Ye are of more value than many sparrows,"—who believe that Hamlet's words, "How noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! *in form and moving* how express and admirable, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god!"—that these are none too good for man, since, though they flatter him as he often is, it is with the portrait of what he may be. I can only address those who see in man, in every man, a thing of measureless possibilities, of priceless worth. On us who think in this way, a new burden is laid. We can no longer, without hypocrisy, commend the poor and unfortunate to the care of the "heavenly Father"; nor can we assent to the cool indifference and practical materialism of *laissez-faire doctrinaires*, though the facts of the economist and the thoughts of man lying at the basis of the Christian confidence have equally our acknowledgment. We have, in a word, to cherish the thought and change the facts. For, though the facts of external nature—of rain and the soil and its fruits—are not in our power, the facts of human institution and custom and will *are*; and I believe there is no need that a single human being in the limits of civilization should suffer or want or live any but a nobly human life, if society would but awake and respond to the task laid upon it. There is no trouble in the nature of things. The nature of things ever points and commands, and in a single way. The trouble is with man, who will not accept ideal guidance, but prefers each one to take his own way, and to act without reference to the good of all.

Hence, if the old religion centred in prayer to God, the new must be an address to man, and yet not as if the word merely came from man, but in the name of the Highest, and with the aim of connecting human life once more with a supreme sanctity. This sanctity is that of justice. Jesus, it is true, taught the Golden Rule, which is a popular and apprehensible, if somewhat rude, statement of justice; but he left no distinct and binding impression that industrial life must be ordered thereby. With his peculiar view of providence and of the great change impending in human

* Chapters on Socialism.

† The *Nation*, Oct. 4, 1877, p. 216.

‡ Cf. article on the identity of "Private Wealth and Public Welfare," by Hon. Edward Atkinson, in *Unitarian Review*, December, 1881.

* *Origin of Species*, pp. 49, 54.

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affairs, the problem of life was hardly serious enough to call for such distinct inculcation. Hence, though for the little time his spirit was a fresh and powerful force in the minds of his followers, his high demands were matched in the order of their lives, and the earliest Christianity had some of the features of a genuine brotherhood: when discouragements came, there was felt to be no binding obligation to continue these features; and later on, and through the centuries of Christian history, very little was done to abolish the class separations into which human society always naturally falls. The practical working ideal of the Church has been, for the most part, that of charity and pity and consideration on the part of the higher classes in their treatment of the lower, and of deference and contentment from the lower to the higher. Justice would make charity, in great measure, unnecessary, and the airs of self-humiliation an offence. Instead of "Christian society," it would give us a high society of equals, wherein should be neither patronage nor obsequiousness, but only a noble, mutual courtesy and respect.

"One hour of justice," said an old Mohammedan precept, "is worth seventy years of prayer." Let us say the same of charity. All these hospitals and homes and asylums are, while in one way an honor, in another an indication of the disease of our civilization. We do not strike at the root by putting up more of these institutions, though, while the evils last, this must be done; and the Religion of the Future will only come with those who do strike at the root, and, whether at the command of the State or in obedience to the law in their own hearts, do no business and engage in no industry in which ample justice is not meted out to all who join them in it; who will use talents for leadership and initiatory enterprise, not to give them mastery over others, but, as Godin and Leclaire in France have done, for the elevation of others; and will feel in all they do and in their most material concerns as well, an o'er-mastering religious constraint. For, though religion by no means includes a system of theological dogmas or implies prayer or worship in the customary senses, I have no confidence that any great industrial reform will come, save as a product of religion. All man's natural self-regarding impulses are against any reform: those winning in the battle would rather have the battle go on as it is; and those who do not win it, and who may some time, instead of fighting for what they can only most scantily get, turn and fight their successful competitors who seem to be keeping them from getting more,—they, even if they should triumph, would only solve the problem for themselves and not for humanity, and would perhaps in turn have to give way to another inferior class who, stung by *their* oppression, should rise and overthrow them. The root of the matter, the solution of the industrial problem, is no more with the working classes than with their employers. Both are equally striving for the mastery, and I have heard it said by a manufacturer that no foreman was so self-assertive and tyrannical as one suddenly elevated from the rank of a common workman. The solution of the problem is only in an idea, a principle, and in persons only as they are permeated and actuated by the idea and principle. And the acceptance of the idea under the stress of no selfish desire or impulse, but simply because it is good and we ought to accept it, *is* religion, proving as it does man's link with what is higher and the Highest, and hinting to him as in a dream

> "The hills where his life rose,
> And the sea to which it goes." *

4. A fourth ethical need of our time is that of a new statement of *the end of human existence*. There is general dissatisfaction with the idea that this end is for each one in the saving of his own soul. The early Christian idea of the kingdom of heaven was much nobler, and indeed has a basic meaning of inestimable worth; but the form and expectation with which not only the early Church, but Jesus himself, connected it, have proved untrustworthy and delusive, the righteous ordering of human life, which was to come with the reappearance of the Son of man, and to come so soon, having failed to come in all these centuries. And the notions, which are the survival of that old conception, of a heaven beyond the skies, of a Deity who will be seen, a Son sitting on his right hand, and of angels who are their ministers,—these are all as much romance or myth to those whom I address as things which they believe. There is, hence, a wide-spread tendency to find the ends of existence in what is near, palpable, of present, even of material interest.

Now, though it is impossible not to sympathize with this tendency, so far as it contrasts with the old one of paying slight attention to human affairs and interests, it, too, has its limitations; and there are deeper moments in our experience in which we distinctly feel them. There is something within us which, at least in thought and purpose, rises above all limits and seeks a measureless good. As that something impels me to find a large share of my happiness in that of others, so it makes it impossible to find content in seeing others merely happy. I feel that the happy have but compassed the alphabet of existence, that the perfect includes the disposition of the heart, the desert of happiness, the enlargement of the mind, the ennobling of the moral life,—these all carried on to heights beyond our experience or even imagination, and that nothing less than the perfect, and this shared in by all, can be the end, the goal. It is characteristic of religion to start from the idea of this limitless good, to discern the worth of all minor or partial goods from their tendency to ultimate therein, to send our aspirations to the very stars, and put an infinite sanctity into each particular act. Jesus struck the note of religion, when he counselled his disciples to be content with no traditional rules of goodness, but only with perfection (Matt. v., 48). His impassioned apostle struck it when he wrote, "*Whatsoever* things are true or honorable or just or pure or lovely, think on them" (Phil. iv., 8). Religion is the passion of the soul for all good.

And as there are means and ends in the world, as matter is for form, and lower forms for higher, inorganic for organic, insentient for sentient, and the merely sentient for the rational, so the ends of rational existence are the ends of the world, and perfection is not merely a human, but a world problem. On every act of virtue, the stars shine; for every choice of the higher for the lower, for every immolation of the individual for a greater good than that of the individual, a mute sympathy runs through universal nature. And no act of ours born of that upward aim fails of its issue. There can be no destruction of good. There is something we mortal men can do that is not mortal, that

> "Will last and shine transfigured,
> In the final reign of Right,
> It will merge into the splendors
> Of the City of the Light." *

It is no mere earthly paradise that is here spoken of, though to strive for this as a proximate form of the perfect is necessary, but an end and outcome of human toil and struggle unaffected by earthly changes or earthly dissolution,—in truth, a world-city, wherein world-issues are to be gathered up and a world-purpose consummated, and the thought of which is once more to give dignity and the sense of permanence to life.

Do we survive with this good, shall we know in some other state of existence the good we have done in this, shall we meet those for whom we have done and recognize those whom we love? I know not; and I hold it to be at the best a curious question, albeit, one deeply touching these clinging affections that make up so much of the sweetness of human life. But the ends of moral perfection are not for our personal satisfaction, but we for them. He who loves not the true and the good better than himself, he who does not put them above all personal attachments, who does not find in the dearest object of his love a reflection of somewhat above and higher and not a mere private possession, who does not feel that no real human love is possible save as there is love for what is more than human,—he, however else fortunate or gifted, has never found himself in an act of religious veneration. For it is not man meeting with man, but man bowing before the unalterable, the eternal ideal nature of things; not God, in the ordinary sense of that term, but the God of gods,—something so secret and necessary that, were it to cease, the stars would vanish out of the sky, and, were it only to cease in human consciousness, human society would relapse into barbaric chaos. Emerson said not long ago: "I see that sensible men and conscientious men all over the world were of one religion,—the religion of well-doing and daring, men of sturdy truth, men of integrity and feeling for others. My inference is that there is a statement of religion possible which makes all scepticism absurd." * It is such a statement of religion that the time needs; and I have no idea that a personal immortality or a personal deity, as those phrases go, will make a part of it, for they are matters about which an honorable and philosophical scepticism may exist. Not that, it may be added, a license of personal belief may not exist as to them, but simply that on the ground of religion no belief can be exacted. The certainty and the sanctity of religion lie, to my mind, in man's moral nature. Here alone is, in addition to the may be or the can be, the must, the voice of command, the tone of authority, without which, and without assent to which, religion is but a playing with our opinions or our feelings. We are under orders: though we are free to obey or not, there is only honor in obedience; and religion will come to us afresh, when there is a new perception of this fact and a new recasting of life and thought and all our human relations in obedience to it.

"We have seen or heard of many extraordinary young men, who never ripened, or whose performance in actual life was not extraordinary. When we see their air and mien, when we hear them speak of society, of books, of religion, we admire their superiority, they seem to throw contempt on our entire polity and social state: theirs is the tone of a youthful giant, who is sent to work revolutions. But they enter an active profession, and the forming Colossus shrinks to the common size of man. . . . They found no example and no companion, and their heart fainted. What then? *The lesson they gave in their first aspirations is yet true; and a better valor and a purer truth shall one day organize their belief.*" Do these early words of him † who did not fail himself to hear at eve "the voice obeyed at prime," and whose recent death seemed in one way almost impossible and in another of slight moment, so fixed and central was his place in our thought and reverence,—do they come with no appeal—I might say, challenge—to the earnest young men of to-day?

CORRESPONDENCE.

A SPECTRE EXORCISED.

Editors of The Index:—

It is seldom that thoughtful minds are in such absolute antagonism as to find no single point of agreement; and it is pleasant to know that upon one topic, though a minor one, I am in hearty unison with my genial critic, Mr. William I. Gill. I perfectly agree with him that Idealism is "a gaunt and hollow spectre." My own purpose in writing the article which he criticises was none other than to exorcise this "hollow spectre," and recall men of mental ability, whose services might be invaluable in solving the practical and weighty problems of the day, from their pursuit and worship of this ghostly *ego*. For, thin and vacant though it may be, this spectre is one which yet dominates the thought of many able minds, keeping them, as ghosts always do, away from the light of day, and unfitting them for the most helpful and necessary human service.

It was not my purpose, however, to inaugurate a controversy; and it shall not be my act to prolong it. Since my critic has propounded to me, personally, some queries which may not be fully answered in my previous articles, I, however, crave a brief space for reply, and then I have done.

In the first place, permit me to correct one or two misapprehensions of my critic. If he had carefully read my original essay, he would hardly have classed me as a "material monist" or "objective evolutionist." Matter and mind were stated there to be "necessarily and mutually related manifestations of a common Substance or Being. Both are known to us *phenomenally*. To conceive of either as "a thing in itself," or as existing prior to the other, is unthinkable and illogical. Every act of consciousness is as truly objective as subjective. The external universe—the non-*ego*—is therefore known to us as directly and immediately as the workings of our own minds. I refrain from enlarging further upon these topics, having already presented what I conceive to be the substance of a rational philosophical system as clearly as possible in one or two brief essays. Certainly, the view therein set forth is no more exclusively "material" and "objective" than it is "ideal"

* Matthew Arnold.

* Prof. Felix Adler, "The City of Light."

* *Unitarian Review*, January, 1880.

† Emerson, Essay on "Heroism."

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and "subjective." It includes both, and, as I believe, presents a truer philosophy of man, the human mind and its relation to the universe, than that of Materialism on the one hand, or Idealism on the other.

Standing upon this philosophical platform, I believe therefore that I have a very clear idea of what I meant by "the æther vibrations which existed before any eye existed." I believe that "the nature, quality, and form of the previsional vibrations of æther," which to sensible beings are known as light, were then precisely what they are now, and that their action was in no wise different from what it is at present. Though no eye was present to perceive them, science assures me that they have left their ineffaceable impress upon the structure of the world; that they helped to start the mountain torrent which, by gradual erosion of its rocky bed, has produced the soil from which sprung the earliest forms of vegetable life, long ages before a conscious being perceived anything upon this little world of ours. It assures me that they are petrified in the beds of coal which supply us with genial warmth in this inclement season; that they have left their impress in the rocky strata on which our continents are builded, and in the remains of crustaceans who dwelt thereon centuries before eye of man or mammal could perceive anything of the grandeur and beauty of this long creative process.

If all this is an illusion,—if indeed none of these things existed before conscious beings trod the earth, then is the word of science no truth, but falsehood. Wherein is the conception of the Idealist one whit more rational than that of the theologian a century or two ago, who accounted for all these natural phenomena by saying that to God all things are possible, and that he produced all these appearances of age-long evolutionary labors instantaneously by the original act of creation? "There could have been no possible existence before there was an organism and a set of senses," says Mr. Gill, and thereby places himself in absolute contradiction to the entire testimony of science. "To assert the existence of any preorganic and presensible or previsual vibration is to assert. . . a mental vacuity—because a sensible blank," he reiterates, thereby placing himself squarely on the ground of that crude Idealism which conceives of the individual, organized *ego* as the creator of the universe. Elsewhere, however, he appears to condition the existence of the ideal universe not upon the *ego* as organized, but upon the unconditioned *ego*, which "is always one with and commensurate with the known universe." Thus, with an inconsistency which is wholly impersonal, because it inheres in the sophistical fallacy which underlies the whole theory of Idealism, he appears at once to identify the *ego* with "the known universe," and to assume that the "known universe" is a subjective creation of the *ego*. In other words, the *ego* creates itself, which is the logical *reductio ad absurdum* to which all idealism ultimately comes.

In a subsequent essay, "Evolution, Objective and Subjective," he says: "This *ego* is the subject of all known phenomena, *which is to say*, simply, that they are phenomena or modes of the *ego*." It certainly requires the utmost of simplicity to say any such thing, and remain innocent of the fact that this assertion or inference is purely a "begging of the question"; for the only point of dispute is whether the fact that "the *ego* is the *subject* of all known phenomena does not involve the existence of an *object*, distinct from the *ego*, of which these phenomena are manifestations. With equal *naïveté*, he subsequently expresses another truism: "It is a logical necessity that the *ego* exist as a condition of the existence of any phenomena, organic or extra-organic or super-organic, *because these in all cases are ego, and nothing else*." An argument based entirely on the assumption of the truth of the question to be discussed is a most difficult one to undertake, and perhaps the readers of *The Index* will pardon me for declining to pursue it farther. In my own consciousness, the *ego* does *not* "spread itself over all the known universe." It appears to me limited at almost every point. "Hence, I can only argue from known facts, and can assume no omniscient intuition of the nature of things in themselves." The expression last quoted, if my critic will permit me, reminds me, as President Lincoln would have said, of a little story. A certain *ante-bellum* ex-President of the United States, while in nomination for that distinguished office, was the subject of discussion, as candidates will be, between a citizen of his native State and a resident of a distant part of the Union. "What do you, his neighbors, think of Gen. ——?" asked the latter. "Well," responded the other, "up in New Hampshire he passes for a pretty big man; but, come to spread him over the whole United States, I think he will turn out to be *mighty thin*." Of course, the application of this story to the "*ego*" and "the known universe" I take entirely to myself.

LEWIS G. JANES.

PROF. CHADBOURNE AND THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

Editors of The Index:—

At the Evangelical Alliance Meeting, Boston, Sept. 10, 1882, President P. A. Chadbourne is reported to have said: "After a careful study of these subjects for thirty years, I have seen no facts in nature and no arguments from any of the great men to whom we are so much indebted for scientific labors that has shaken my faith in the Bible." None have shaken the writer's faith in the Bible more than Prof. Chadbourne, in his address at the above meeting, wherein he said the six days in which God created the universe means six great creative periods. Having been taught from a child up that the weekly Sabbath is, in fact, of divine origin, founded upon the very bed-rock of the Bible, of which the first chapter of Genesis is its first and main support, is by Prof. Chadbourne made to occupy, as its rightful place, a space of time at the end of six long periods, each Sabbath or period of Sabbaths, perhaps, millions of years apart.

A departure of such vast magnitude from the ordinary and accepted sense of the language is certainly calculated to shake one's faith in the inspiration of the Bible. Of course, we can have our secular Sabbaths and be greatly benefited. But who can imagine a people enjoying a divine Sabbath with such immense divisions of time. Is it possible that the writer of Genesis, in his day, had any such object in view? Very likely, the motive power of congregations then were pretty much the same as now. Churches are nothing without people to fill them; and, to keep up church life, fuel needs be plenty and often applied, or the fires go out. Hence, the necessity of fifty-two divine Sabbaths for each year, besides week-day gatherings, to guard against defects of duty toward the recurring day. The occupation of the priests is on a scale grander than any other ever devised. Taxes are levied and revenues exacted from their willing brethren in this world, while the doctrine is taught and practised that pay day comes after death and in another world.

Do not such grand, aspiring ideas demand many Sabbaths divine, in which to execute their work?

Dr. Chadbourne knows that to rob the present Sabbath of its divinity, and make it a secular Sabbath, means pay day during life and in this world.

GILBERT BILLINGS.

CHICOPEE, MASS., NOV. 29, 1882.

THE NAME OF THE LORD.

Editors of The Index:—

It is written of Jesus Christ, "His name shall be Immanuel." There lies hidden in this sentence a wonderful wealth of revelation, when we learn to understand its meaning. The name of a thing or of a person indicates the law and form of its manifestation. Immanuel, or In-manu-El, means literally the God in man.

In the first chapters of Genesis, when the word God is mentioned, it stands for the Hebrew word Elohim, which is the plural form of El, and signifies the creative powers. Later on, in the following chapters, when the text turns to the spiritual life of man or the development of the human soul, the word God changes for the expression the Lord God, or simply the Lord; that is put for the single Hebrew form El, and means the creative power, in German *die zeugende Kraft*.

The Hebrew people recognized this power only as outside of man, although in the covenant of Abraham we perceive already the shadow from the light that was to be revealed two thousand years later.

Jesus, the Christ, recognized it as the same with its manifestation in man, or with the generative power of man. The Son is one with the Father, he taught. Therefore, his name was Immanuel, or be manifested himself, and through him in every true disciple of him, through the generative life inside of man.

This gives us the key for understanding the true inwardness of Christianity, and the full bearing of the mission of Jesus Christ as the savior of the human race, and as the great healing physician for its sins and sufferings.

JULIUS ASHMAN.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., 1414 Lombard Street.
Nov. 30, 1882.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM "AGNOSTIC."

Editors of The Index:—

The following notes which may be found in the London *Notes and Queries* [6th Series, Vol. VI., Nov. 18, 1882, p. 418] may be of interest to you:—

"Agnosticism: Agnostic. If I remember rightly, when the introduction of these words was discussed, no example of their use was mentioned earlier than 1877. But, on the authority of the *Quarterly Review*, January, 1874, they can be dated three years earlier: 'Thus thinking, he repudiated all inquiry into the causation and origin of the world, all questions of the "whence" and "whither" as hopeless and inscrutable, accepting "agnosticism" (as we have heard it called) as his only possible creed.'—p. 160. 'He' is Mr. James Mill. A note on the same page speaks of 'the agnostic.' E. H. M."

"Dr. Murray states: I have now plenty of instances for 'agnosticism,' which was invented by Prof. Huxley in September, 1869, as I discovered after a considerable chase. J. R. Thorne. I have not been able to find the word in Huxley's volumes of lectures and addresses." H. E. ARMINGTON.

NEWPORT, R.I., December 2.

THE TITLE "REVEREND."

Editors of The Index:—

I have read your "editorial note" on the use of "Rev." with interest, if not with assent. I say with interest, because I remember that, soon after I was ordained, I cut out the offensive prefix from the address of the first letter which I received, and sent it back to my friend with huge exclamation points after it. But, as I grew older, I came to look at the matter from another and, I think, truer point of view. For is this word Reverend here used as an adjective? Is it not merely a professional title, like Dr., for instance? Would *The Index* refuse the latter title to a physician, because he was not literally a doctor, or teacher? So we use the prefix Hon. to mark a man who has reached a certain grade in political life, though we may more than suspect that his honor does not need a capital letter to emphasize its intensity. Shall we refuse to call any man Mr. who is not master of anything? Or should we hesitate to speak of Sir So-or-so or Lord This-or-that, because the literal meaning of those titles no longer applies? Or, again, ought the next Legislature, being largely hostile to Gov. Butler, to refuse to speak of him as "His Excellency"? Finally, however these questions may be answered, does *The Index* really think that clergymen are so insufferably conceited as to wear their title for any other reason than the one I have named, or at least because they consider themselves entitled to the reverence of their fellow-men? I fear your readers might infer this from your words. Moreover, why does *The Index* use the title, as I see it does, editorially several times in this very number?

W. H. L.

[It is true that the word "Reverend," although originally designed as an adjective, has come to be regarded by the more intelligent only as a title; but, as a word implying reverence is no longer thought to be especially applicable to the clergy as a class, it is well, we think, to discourage its use. The word "infidel," once a term of reproach when used in a religious sense, is now commonly understood to mean an unbeliever in the divine origin and authority of the Bible; but, on account of its old connotation as well as the continued use of the word to signify unfaithful, the word is disliked and disavowed by persons like our correspondent. It may be added that there are many to whom the word "infidel" conveys only its worst meaning, and they are generally those with whom the term "Reverend" means something more than a mere distinguishing title. Titles like "Honorable" and "His Excellency," in a republic like ours, have as little foundation in reason for their continuance as the "Reverend" prefixed to a preacher's name. The word "Doctor" as a physician's title is less objectionable; also "Mr." and "Sir," owing to the fact that they are not restricted to any class of men. In reply to the question whether clergymen "wear

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the title" for any other reason than the one indicated by "W. H. L.," we are compelled to say that some do and some do not. Many value the title, because among the ignorant it gives them a sort of distinction, and invests them with importance; others, because they imagine that, because of their calling, they are entitled to especial consideration. *The Index* uses the title for the same reason that it conforms to usage in spelling. It may at the same time consistently point out the folly of absurd titles and the unreasonable spelling of many words. We would like to see liberal ministers, like our respected correspondent, drop the prefix "Reverend." It helps them in no way among intelligent men and women.— ED.]

MR. INGLEBY having suggested that the late Mr. Darwin's letter to a Jena student, referring to his religious beliefs, was mispunctuated in the German translation first published in the *Rundschau*, Prof. Haeckel replies, in the *Academy* of November 4, that this is not the case. Mr. Darwin's own words were as follows:—

"Down, Beckenham, Kent, June 5, 1879.

"To Nicholas Baron Mengden:

"*Dear Sir*,—I am much engaged, an old man and out of health, and I cannot spare time to answer your question fully provided it can be answered. Science has nothing to do with Christ, except in so far as the habit of scientific research makes a man cautious in admitting evidence. For myself I do not believe that there ever has been any revelation. As for a future life, every man must judge for himself between conflicting vague probabilities. Wishing you happiness, I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully,

"CHARLES DARWIN."

This letter Prof. Haeckel had forwarded to the London *Nature*, together with his lecture on "Die Naturanschauung von Darwin, Goethe, und Lamarck"; but the latter only was printed. This peculiar proceeding reminds one of the first German edition of the *Origin of Species*, in which the translator suppressed the brief reference to the descent of man. The *Academy* also contains this note:—

"In the *National Reformer* for Oct. 29, 1882, is the account of a visit paid to Darwin in the autumn of last year by Dr. Ludwig Büchner and Mr. Aveling. Darwin is there reported as having said: 'I am with you in thought, but I should prefer the word "agnostic" to the word "atheist." . . . I never gave up Christianity until I was forty years of age'; and in reply to a question why he had given up Christianity, 'It is not supported by evidence.'"

BOOK NOTICES.

SELECTIONS FROM ROBERT HERRICK. With drawings by Edwin A. Abbey. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Comparisons are invidious, but they are unavoidable; and we venture to say that this is not only the most beautifully illustrated book of the season, but the most beautiful illustrated book America has yet produced. There is oftentimes a plentiful lack of sympathy between the author and the maker of his illustrations. The illustrations are not windows that permit us to look into his meaning, but doors that shut us out from it. But so it is not here. The sympathy of Mr. Abbey with Herrick's genius is complete. If the text and the illustrations had proceeded from one and the same mind, they could not have been in more complete accord. Many of these illustrations have appeared from time to time in *Harper's Magazine*; but they show much more beautiful on this sumptuous paper, with these generous margins. The engraver and the printer have seconded the genius of Mr. Abbey as delightfully as he has seconded the genius of the poet. It is a pity that Herrick himself should not see to what his verse has come after two centuries of fame-corroding time. Is it not allowable to hope that somehow he can manage to? Mr. Abbey's special forte is in *genre* work. He is strong where American art is generally weak. What an assemblage of dainty women we have here, and what companionship for them of gentlemen and rustic swains! The men and women of Fortuny's "Spanish Marriage" are not more alive than these. But the charm of Mr. Abbey's figures would be infinitely less, if the landscape settings were not as perfect in their way. Some of the landscape head-pieces call for special admiration. Of a piece with all the rest are the purely decorative parts of Mr. Abbey's work and Mr. Austin Dobson's preface. It should be noticed that the poems are "selections." This is as it should be. Herrick in his entirety is for the critic only. Some of his poems are salacious, and such are very properly omitted from a volume intended for the freest circulation.

RESPIRATORY CONTROL for Vocal Purposes. By John Howard, of 15 East 14th Street, New York city. Issued by Edgar S. Werner, Albany, N.Y. Price 60 cents.

Part 1st of this little book treats of INSPIRATION, Part 2d of EXPIRATION; and, in the latter, the author claims a new vocal discovery most important to every speaker and singer,—*the function of the diaphragm as an expiratory agent*. It is also proved in Part 1st, by plainly described experiments, which any reader may easily apply, with immediate personal benefit, that *clavicular inhalation*, as opposed to diaphragmatic, will give the fullest volume of the breath so indispensable to all singing or public speaking, and likewise that the diaphragm has no legitimate office to perform in this act of inspiration. The arguments are given in a style so lucid and familiar that even the reader who has no acquaintance with the scientific details upon which they are based cannot help grasping their cogent truth. The same characteristics pertain to Mr. Howard's written courses of instruction in the more advanced phases of vocal study, which have been tested by correspondence pupils in all portions of this country as well as in England, Canada, and the West Indies. The principles are grounded throughout upon exact and exhaustive scientific research, but presented to the practical student with such tact and common sense that absolute success in their application is inevitable. Perhaps no department of study has been involved in greater confusion and misapprehension than this alluring vocal art, but Mr. Howard's ingenious and patient investigation seems to have opened for it a field of rare promise.

REV. F. H. HEDGE'S article on "Steps of Beauty," in the December number of the *Unitarian Review*, is a very interesting study of the æsthetic. Albert N. Blodgett, M.D., gives his views as to "The Management of Chronic Inebriates and Insane Drunkards." Rev. John W. Chadwick reviews Bancroft's *Constitutional History*. Mary B. Carret makes an earnest appeal in behalf of purity in the family, in an article entitled "Does the Protestant Church uphold and strengthen Ties of Family?" Prof. D. Charruaud writes of "The Reformed Church of France." The Editors' Note-Book contains, among other things, a notice of Dr. Pusey's life and work; and Mrs. Lowe's department is, as usual, interesting.

AMONG the interesting topics in the December number of the *Herald of Health*, we note the following: "Deep Breathing as a Means of Health," by Sophia, Marquise A. Ciccolini; "Night Ventilation in Malarial Regions"; "Smoking and the Memory"; "Practical Means of Purifying the Air"; "Contagiousness of Consumption"; with various other timely notes on hygienic matters.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak at Milwaukee, Wis., Sunday evening, December 17.

ONE of the cleverest critics of the staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette* is said to be a Mrs. Otis of Boston, who has long resided abroad.

A YOUNG lady, lately banished to Siberia for complicity in the Nihilist conspiracy, has killed the governor of the Transbaikal territory.

REV. CHARLES E. STOWE, son of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and pastor of the Congregational church at Saco, Me., has handed in his resignation.

MR. THEODORE D. WELD, the veteran abolitionist and co-worker with William Lloyd Garrison, celebrated recently the eightieth anniversary of his birth at his residence in Hyde Park, Mass.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will deliver a course of lectures at Paxton, Ill., December 19 to 24, inclusive; at Danville, Iowa, December 26, 27, 28; at Quincy, Ill., December 30 and 31.

ANTHONY TROLLOPE, one of the best known of that literary family, the son of Frances Trollope, died in London, December 6, aged sixty-seven. He was a voluminous writer, mostly of novels, and had many admirers.

EDWIN ARNOLD, the author of *The Light of Asia*, has nearly ready for publication a work on Mohammedanism, which is to be entitled *Pearls of the Faith, or Islam's Rosary*, which will treat of the life and religion of Mohammed, the legends, records, and traditions of Islam being viewed from the stand-point of an Indian Mussulman, as, in Mr. Arnold's previous work, Gautama Buddha's life and doctrine were expounded from the stand-point of an Indian Buddhist.

LOUIS BLANC, well known in France and outside of it as a revolutionist and agitator, the friend of the down-trodden and oppressed, a man of fine abilities and social sympathies, died at Cannes in France on the 6th inst., aged sixty-nine. He was for many years the editor of *Revue du Progrès Politique, Social, et Littéraire*, and the author of several works on the social question. His will orders a strictly civil burial, with no religious ceremonies. His large library is bequeathed to the city of Paris.

NEW YORK has organized an "Authors' Club," which is, however, so far, quite a *manly* affair, as no lady writers' names are mentioned among its members or organizers. Some notable names, however, appear among its patrons, such as Richard Grant White, Prof. E. L. Youmans, Edmund C. Stedman, Allen Thorndike Rice, R. H. Stoddard, Fred. Law Olmsted, Clarence King, John Habberton, Parke Godwin, R. W. Gilder, Edward Eggleston, Geo. Wm. Curtis, H. H. Boyesen, and others equally as well known.

THE New York *World* says the Rev. Joseph Cook is, like Artemas Ward's kangaroo, "an amoosin' cuss," and goes on to assert that his Rev. "Lectureship" need not feel so delighted over the attentive hearing given to his lectures in Hindostan, for "the fact is, and Mr. Cook might have known this if he had been able to read Persian and Hindostanee, that he was advertised throughout the peninsula as the inspired lunatic who had shot the President of the United States, and his ravings about protoplasm and his old enemy, Bathybius, were listened to with mingled pity and religious awe, as the utterance of one mysteriously afflicted, and therefore near the throne of power."

A REMARKABLE realistic romance, "The Silver City," will be a leading serial in *Wide-Awake* for 1883. It is written by Fred A. Ober, the well-known Central American explorer for the Smithsonian Institution, and centres its interest about the exciting search for and discovery by the boy hero of the famous lost city Yucatan, of which tradition has whispered mysteriously ever since the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, and in which present interest is excited by the report of a traveller now in the region, that within a few months he has seen in the distance its white and shining walls. Many of the hundred striking illustrations, by W. Parker Bodfish, will have as backgrounds to the dramatic action marvellous sculptured ruins, from photographs taken by Mr. Ober himself.

THE "Jersey Lily," Mrs. Lillie Langtry, is being more than "damned with faint praise" in this country, judging from the tone of leading exchanges. A writer in the Boston *Transcript* makes the suggestion: "As there are a large number who do not care to see Mrs. Langtry disguised as an actress, but who would like to see the renowned beauty of London society; and, as both her object and that of Mr. Abbey is to make money out of her reputation *as a beauty*, I would suggest that she hold a reception in some hall or theatre, or at the Brunswick, under the direction of Mr. A., *at first-class theatrical prices*." The *Critic* is particularly severe upon the "professional beauty." It closes a criticism of her histrionic abilities in this savage fashion: "We admit it. She *is* a pretty woman. But just as certainly she is nothing more. As an actress, she can never rise higher than burlesque, comic opera, and 'leg-pieces' generally. As a woman, she has made herself a fair target for the scorn which all right-minded persons shot at that foolish fribble, Mr. Oscar Wilde. We would speak of her more kindly, were she exhibited less cynically, flattered less impudently. As matters stand, the criticism which is silent is dishonest. Let the professional beauties of England keep within their own domain. The American stage wants none of them."

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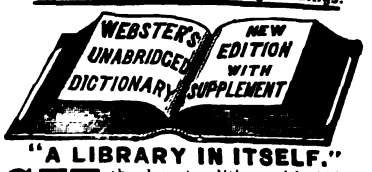

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	289
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Character not doomed by Heredity and Environment, Wm. J. Potter,	290
Lydia Maria Child, William P. Andrews,	291
Truth in Error, Robert C. Adams,	291
Notes from the Field, B. F. Underwood,	293
Progress in Reform, C. K. W.,	293
EDITORIAL NOTES,	294
POETRY.	
Giuseppe Garibaldi,	294
Teutonia—Roma, B. W. Ball,	294
ESSAYS.	
A Problem in Politics, H. L. Traubel,	295
The Prevalence of Atheism, Charles Ellis,	296
Emerson and Shelley,	297
CORRESPONDENCE.	
A Dynamical Fiction, Franklin Smith,	297
Is Prayer Outgrown? D. Rowen,	298
MISCELLANEOUS,	298
BOOK NOTICES.	
Travels in South Kensington, by Moncure D. Conway,	299
History of Ancient Art, by Franz von Reber,	299
Poems, by Minot J. Savage,	299
Harper's Young People,	299
Divorce, by Margaret Lee,	299
Revue de Belgique,	299
PERSONAL ITEMS,	299

CURRENT TOPICS.

JAPAN has a compulsory education law, which requires the attendance at school of all children over six years of age.

JUDGE CONNER, of Cincinnati, in an elaborate opinion pronounced in the Common Pleas Court held that public schools can be used only for secular education, and cannot be voted to Sunday-school purposes or religious teachings.

SAYS the *Unitarian Herald* (Eng.), "MAX MÜLLER, in a recent article in the *Contemporary Review*, speaks very highly of the moral character of the Hindus, and says he has been frequently told by English merchants that, commercial honor stands higher in India than in any other country, and that a dishonored bill is hardly ever known there."

THE faith cure establishment at Buffalo, carried on by Miss Carrie Judd, who claimed to have been cured of a chronic disease by faith and prayer, has closed under a financial cloud, owing in part to the failure to heal a cure of spinal complaint, after which the sufferer was turned out, although she had given proof of unbounded faith and had spent a large amount of money in the institution.

THE agent of a missionary society exultantly quotes, as worthy of emulation, the contribution of a poor widow of three hundred and fifty dollars, "all she possessed and the result of several years of careful economy," to help the cause of foreign missions. A few lessons in political economy would have taught this foolish widow that "charity begins at home," and that to save herself from possible pauperism she should have kept her money for her own future needs.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., is setting an example in methods of true justice. The city has a "Probation Officer," whose duty it is to attend the courts when petty offenders against the law appear; and, as the cases are called, he uses his good judgment, and asks the judge to suspend sentence in cases where he thinks "moral suasion" may reclaim the offender, and usually his request is granted. Good advice, help, and influence are brought to bear on the criminal, and very often with most excellent results.

THERE is a strong antichristian spirit aroused in India. In Lucknow and Cawnpore, forty five publishing houses are engaged in issuing books and tracts devoted to the undoing of Christian missionary work. One house recently received a donation of four thousand dollars to aid in printing Mohammedan works. A Hindu prince presented another house with enough money to issue a million Hindu tracts. More than one hundred papers are published in the interest of Paganism and Mohammedanism, and against Christianity. One Hindu-publishing-house at Lucknow recently sent to London an order for twenty-five thousand dollars worth of paper on which antichristian tracts and other works are to be printed.

THIS is the grandiloquent style in which that modern Don Quixote, Joseph Cook, of "Lectureship" fame, announces to the New York *Independent* the scope of his coming lectures in this city: "There will be discussions in the preludes of the most blazing and strategic topics in the political and religious world; and the Lectures will make much use of my recent studies of foreign lands, especially of the Orient, on which, just now, so many books of travel are being published. New Departures *in* and *from* Orthodoxy will be noticed both from the Boston and the Andover point of view." We cannot be too grateful to Mr. Cook for this note of "réveille." It is best to be prepared for the awe-inspiring things he threatens us with.

OF the letter recently sent by the Pope to Queen Victoria, thanking her for her interest in the welfare of the British Catholics, the New York *Observer* says it "is as splendid hypocrisy as the world ever saw. Will the Pope or any of his editorial satellites tell us when the Pope ever took any interest in the welfare of Protestants in his dominions? When did he ever grant religious freedom to the subjects of his government? We were in Rome when the Pope was king as (thank God) he is not now, and we were present when the order came directing a Protestant minister to desist from holding religious services 'in his own hired house.' Not a foot of land could be had within the city walls on which to build a Protestant church!"

WE find the following in the Chicago *Religio-Philosophical Journal:* "Lord Queensberry said on the occasion of his removal from his position as a Scotch representative peer in 1880: 'This is perhaps the last chance I shall have of making the statement before my peers. That any human creature, be he peer or peasant, man or woman, pauper or millionnaire, should be visited with pains and penalties because of his or her speculative opinion on a subject wheron but few, even among professed Christians, are agreed, is a bitter satire on your vaunted liberty. My lords, it is the spirit that lighted the martyr fires of Smithfield, and that led to the stake gallant and noble souls such as Bruno. It is noble company you are placing me in, my lords; and I shall thank you for it.'"

REV. DR. F. H. NEWHALL, in *Zion's Herald*, says: "A call from the Prince of Wales, or from the Czar of all the Russias, is a trifle compared with a visit from one of the kings of the world of thought. The great thinker makes and unmakes kings. Here is a man of whom the world's masses have not yet heard, holding no office in Church, State, or institution of any kind, having no public position whatever, whose influence upon the thinking, and so upon the actions, of men is greater than that of any official person that could be mentioned. Mr. Spencer's greatest, most permanent and beneficial influence is upon the educational forces of England and America.... Here, now, is Mr. Spencer's great work as a teacher. By a generation of persistent, incessant toil against all manner of opposition,—a thirty years' war against conservatism, mighty, ancient, and honorable,—this amateur educator has succeeded in planting this relentless "why," like an angel with a drawn sword, across all the macadamized highways of educational work. That angel has slain his thousands of stupid text-books; and thousands more are bound to follow, while hundreds of thousands of children are unconsciously crying, "O Lord! how long?"

THE famous Mormon Temple in Kirtland, Ohio, the historic landmark of the first settlement of the Church of Zion, a building which has stood empty since the failure of Joseph Smith's bank broke up the settlement there and the saints took their divided march farther West, the polygamists to settle in Salt Lake City, and the anti-polygamists at Plano, Ill., has been reopened, and is now undergoing repairs for the use of "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ," of the Latter Day Saints. Services have been held two Sundays. It is announced that three thousand dollars have been raised at Plano, Ill., for putting the old temple in order, and that April 6, 1883, there will be a conference and reunion of this branch of the Church, when over one thousand Mormons from the West will greet the struggling few who remained behind, steadfast to the faith, while their brethren sought new fields of conquest in the West. The event, as announced by the Kirtland Mormons, will be one of great importance, and will inaugurate the permanent establishment of the Mormon church at that place, where the Saints repudiate Brigham Young and his doings, together with the entire branch of the Church which he represented. The village of Kirtland is situated about twenty-five miles east of Cleveland, and three or four miles south of the road leading to Painesville.

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CHARACTER NOT DOOMED BY HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT.

The great facts of heredity, of environment, of inter-relation between the different branches and members of human society,—facts on which so much new light has been thrown by modern researches in anthropology,—make it necessary to restate some of the old ethical problems; and these natural facts are seen to have so much to do in determining human character and conduct that there is some danger of the appearance of a new philosophy of practical fatalism. But a broader and deeper consideration of the laws and principles involved in these facts of social science will show that they furnish also new grounds for moral motive and appeal, and offer new and important instrumentalities for furthering the moral progress of mankind.

Let it be admitted, at least for the argument, that in heredity and environment, considered in their physical, mental, and social aspects, are the great forces that determine character and conduct. What follows? Not that people should sit down and fold their hands and let things take their course, but rather an opened opportunity and a direct and strong appeal to use certain methods of moral reform and culture as presenting demonstrated assurance of success. What follows is really a larger obligation to do something. The fulcrum of reponsibility may be shifted, but it is not removed. The responsibility is put back of the environment and heredity, and those powerful agencies are brought within the domain of human volition. The field of responsibility, therefore, is enlarged, not diminished. Instead of the doctrine that facts pertaining to the social and moral condition of man are as they are by a law of necessity inhering unalterably in the nature of things, man is summoned to the task of creating for himself the conditions from which an improved social and moral humanity shall surely result. When people shall have learned thoroughly to observe the highest laws of life, then will the elements of human character and conduct be purified and enriched at their very fountains; and physical health, intellectual vigor, and moral impulse and order will alike go down in the blood for the service of generations to come. And what a motive is here added for virtuous behavior! One is to live not merely for his own happiness here or hereafter, and not merely for the greater happiness of his neighbors and contemporaries, but in such way that the life of his posterity may be purer, sweeter, nobler for what he is and does.

Yet, all-important as this point is, there is another point which specially needs at this day to be urged for the encouragement of all persons who are working on any of the practical lines of social and moral reform. Let us consider the sad fact that countless numbers of human beings are coming into existence with poor physical organism, and with defective and badly balanced mental or moral temperament, and hence, at the start, are weighted by ancestral errors toward some form of evil. And, along with this, let us consider the other fact that countless other human beings,—and very likely the majority, too, of the class just named,—are compelled by their lot in life to pass their earliest years amid such surroundings, or with such an environment, that vice, crime, degradation, and wretchedness seem only the natural consequence, and, unless in some way averted, a consequence that is inevitable. Are such people, then, fated to wickedness and woe? Is there no relief, no hope, for their condition, no deliverance from the body of death with which they are born, and to which their early years only serve to chain them the more indissolubly? Are they to be left to make their miserable struggle for existence unaided, as even some liberal thinkers openly argue, on the theory that the few who are fittest for improvement will struggle through to some good purpose, while the great multitude of them will finally felicitously perish through the imbecility that is the natural result of their fiery strife of passions and their wretched lot in life? For ourselves, we believe in no such irrevocable doom to a hell on earth. There is deliverance, there is hope; and it comes—to name now the one way which concerns our theme—through this very doctrine of environment by which, it is argued, the burdens are fastened. Change the environment, improve the surroundings, reform the circumstances, and at once new influences are set to work, new motives are inspired, new ambitions are excited, dormant elements of virtue are aroused, and finally character is regenerated.

Nor is this a mere theory of the possibilities of overcoming the evil power of bad surroundings and bad inheritance. It is a statement drawn from the solid facts of experience, and has been directly suggested, as has this entire article, by the recent annual report of the Children's Aid Society of the city of New York, wherein a brief summary is given of what that benevolent organization has been doing among the street children of that city in the last thirty years.

The Children's Aid Society for a number of years had to struggle against a strong current of utter unbelief among New York citizens as to its ability to do anything but waste money and sympathy on the so-called street Arabs. It has now, after thirty years, become one of the municipal institutions whose success is so marked that the citizens will not willingly let it die, and whose work is so systematized and registered that its statistics are becoming valuable material for social science. The report of its secretary at its recent thirtieth anniversary opens with the remark that the New York press has noted within the past year how entirely the old associations or gangs of criminal youth that existed in that city twenty years ago—gangs that were well known by sensational and sometimes ferocious names—have disappeared. These organizations were a terror to all good citizens, and almost as much so to the police. They are now wholly gone. And the police and the press both attribute their disappearance, and the great decrease of every kind of juvenile crime in the city, chiefly to the work of the Children's Aid Society. The report says, and thus indicates in few words the society's methods of action: "We have met organized crime by organized education; we have improved associated squalor and poverty by associated efforts for the teaching of cleanliness and industry; we have prevented vagrancy, not by the police and the prisons, but by affording shelter and work; we have diminished thieving and robbery by teaching honesty to the lad of the streets, and then putting him into a good home, where he had few temptations to stealing; we have lessened vagrancy and prostitution by bringing the begging and roving little girl under early influences of purity and industry, and then placing her with a kind-hearted family in the country." The report further says: "It is to our industrial schools and girls' lodging-house and emigration branch that may be attributed the remarkable decrease in our police reports of crime, and especially of vagrancy among young girls and women, during the past twenty and twenty-five years." It is estimated that in the lodging-houses of the society more than two hundred and fifty thousand different boys and girls have been sheltered and partly fed and instructed during twenty-nine years, and that in the industrial schools more than one hundred thousand poor little girls have been taught. And, of all these hundreds of thousands, though the society keeps account of them as far as possible, "it is not known that even a score have entered on criminal courses of life, or have become drunkards or beggars, though four-fifths were children of drunkards." There is a fact which shows that heredity, strong as it is, is, after all, not by any means the strongest power that helps to shape character.

With regard to the emigration branch of the society's work, or the removal of children from the city and placing them in good homes, particularly in the West, the report gives even still more remarkable facts. It says that another systematic inquiry has been made the past year concerning the after career of those children that were placed in Western homes twenty to twenty-five years ago. When we consider the birth and early breeding of these children, the result is certainly astonishing. "*Almost every one of the children* whose cases were thus investigated, and who have been in the West over twenty years, *occupies now a good position in society.*" The girls are generally well married, and are good wives and mothers. Of the boys, several have graduated from college and are in professional life. Many of them are leading citizens in their towns. Among them are prominent lawyers, physicians, teachers, artists, civil engineers, public officials, and representatives of other of the learned and skilled vocations. It is indeed noteworthy how many of them have risen out of the class of hand laborers to occupations requiring mental capacity and training. The reasoning seems valid that their early struggles for subsistence, being wisely and kindly turned to good ends, served to sharpen their intellects and awakened an honorable ambition and energy which have more than conquered the evil tendencies which beset them from bad birth and early vicious surroundings. In fine, by a change of environment, the great majority of these children have been literally saved from degradation, ignorance, idleness, vice, and crime, and converted into good and useful members of society.

And this, on a larger scale and with somewhat more of system perhaps, is only an illustration of what numerous similar societies and kindred efforts are accomplishing for ameliorating the evils and miseries of human existence, even in its most depressed conditions. With the results of such work before our eyes, let us not say that any evil inheritance or evil surroundings of early years seal the doom of character. Nature's processes of education and growth teach no such moral fatalism. Bring a new educational influence to bear through a change of environment, and the effects of disadvantageous heredity and of previous degrading circumstances may be thrown off and neutralized. Nature gives the great advantage, other things being equal, to a present force over any force acting from the past. It would indeed be a most discouraging fact for the moral reformer, if a dead ancestor's evil hand upon a living character could not be lifted. But there is a power that is more than a match for any law of heredity,—a power that can lift any dead man's evil hand, however heavy. *It is the power of the living hand of virtue.* One of the laws of moral influence is that, like the force of gravity, its strength increases with the nearness of the influencing power. The power of the dead, therefore, must yield to the power of the living. Keep the living hand of virtue applied to the disorders and pains of society,—to the spots where ancestral sins break out into foul disease or where human faculties have been maimed and starved by hard outward circumstance,—only keep it applied there patiently, wisely, warmly, lovingly, and its

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touch shall shape deformity into completeness, and woo at last even the scars of old wrongs to obliteration.

WM. J. POTTER.

LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

The life and work of this remarkable woman have again been brought to public notice by the collection of her letters,* recently published, with an introductory memoir by Mr. Whittier and appendix by Mr. Wendell Phillips.

The incidents of her life are briefly, but aptly, stated by the two distinguished friends who undertook that labor of love; and something of the nobility of her lofty character shows itself in the letters which follow; yet her grandest monument is builded unseen in the hearts which knew her countless benefactions, the material blessings she purchased with noble toil and lofty self-abnegation to strew along the weary pathways of the outcast and oppressed, the uplifting light of her deeply religious spirit suffused with the radiance of a singularly sweet and kindly nature, an encircling aureole, which ever brightened the world around her.

We hear much, from our conventially "religious" friends, of our strange blindness to the glory of the incarnation of "a Spirit revealed through a historic Church,"—a church, by the by, which for over a thousand years has persistently resisted every advance of the race, and which, as a body (though with notable individual exceptions), hurled impotent anathemas at the noblest undertaking of this noble woman, the enfranchisement of the slave. Here, before our face and eyes, not vaguely discerned in the mists of uncertain oral tradition, transcribed in varying similitudes by unknown hands, was an incarnation of the great religious principle, which we all, under differing forms and symbols, alike worship; yet our fashionable friends, who had publicly renounced "the vain pomp and glory of the world," closed the doors which had been swung wide open to hail the literary artist, and withdrew the proffered privileges of the Boston Athenæum because she had dared to SPEAK, instead of fruitlessly *praying* for "all those who were in any ways afflicted or distressed."

It is curious to observe how this subtle spirit of ecclesiasticism blinds the adherents of the "revealed historic Church" to the glory round them, unless it assumes conventional forms of piety. A striking instance of this is evident in a late review of this very book by a kindly, fair-minded writer, who evidently admires Mrs. Child in a way, and, in an impartial estimate of her work and life, speaks of the "charm of her character." He concludes, however, that Mrs. Child's "*Christianity*" may be summed up in the words that she bore other people's burdens, and had a warm religious nature, "but," he adds, "untrained and disposed to run off in eccentricities." Ah! one thinks, if she had only had the advantages of being trained in the Christianity of the historic Church that anathematized her fearless "Appeal in Behalf of that Class of Americans called Africans," which she put forth at the untutored prompting of a greater than any historic fabric,—a Power that makes for righteousness through *all* the ages!

"Hardly ever," says Mr. Phillips, in his eloquent eulogy, "was there a costlier sacrifice. Few of us can appreciate it to-day. Narrow means just changing to ease after a weary struggle, fame and social position in her grasp, every door opening before her, the sweetness of having her genius recognized. But," he says, "she never hesitated. One blow, and the spreading tree is dead. At the call of duty, the young woman struck it without repining, and saw the whole scene change at once. Obloquy and hard work ill-paid, almost every door shut against her, the name she had made a talisman turned to a reproach, and life henceforth a sacrifice."

Well may Mr. Phillips affirm that "her spirit was Spartan"! But though our reviewer finds in the somewhat unfortunate portrait preceding the volume only "a vigorous, resolute old lady, with a large head, . . . and aggressive spirit," the Spartan was not the predominating element in her character: albeit this may well stand for a likeness of one of those passing moods in which her calmly poised sarcasm would breathe a rebuke withering as a desert sirocco upon the

> "Official piety, locking fast the door
> Of hope against three million souls of men,—
> Brothers, God's children, Christ's redeemed,— and then,
> With uprolled eyeballs and on bended knee,
> Whining a prayer for help to hide the key!
>
> "The 'sleek oppression' dreaming on its velvet cushions
> That, in the scale Eternal Justice bears,
> The generous deed weighs less than selfish prayers,
> And words intoned with graceful unction move
> The Eternal Goodness more than lives of truth and love."

What wonder that "she found it easier to believe in planchette," unconsciously mirroring the living faith of her own devout and tender soul, than in "a Church without humanity," in whose Prayer Book appeared a mutilated reproduction of Ary Scheffer's "Cristus Consolator," adapted for its use by the omission of the *black* slave.

The letters in this collection show this side of her character in full relief, and no doubt, like the portrait, give even undue though unavoidable prominence to the aggressive virtues we denominate as Spartan; but, to those who were privileged to know her life in its fulness, the grander aspect was the quiet beauty of the waveless waters of her daily round of duty and self-sacrifice,—a self-renunciation yet loftier in its serene resignation of all luxuries and almost of the common comforts of life, that she might help to bear the heavy burdens of all who were in any ways distressed, "to comfort and relieve them according to their several necessities."

Among the papers of Mr. Emerson has been found an epistle by another sainted soul whom the authorized vicars of the vicarious sacrifice denounced, the late Jones Very. Written apparently in the height of that ecstasy which lifted him above the world and its judgments, in it he defines prayer as the denial of self. "Use what language you will," he says, "you can never say anything but what you are." "This is prayer,—in sincerity *ever* to love your neighbor as yourself." "And, as you rise and are lifted up, you shall draw all who are dead unto you into life." Such was the litany of her hourly existence, a hidden music whose harmonies re-echo in the hearts of all who came within the sphere of its beneficent influence.

Numberless are the lives which have gathered an onward impulse from her helping hand; and her simple neighbors, though they valued her literary attainment, lost sight of it in the far greater moral achievement, the unselfish, modest, noble womanhood, whose presence among them was a constant benison of peace and good will.

The beauty of her domestic life is apparent in these letters,—that perfectly harmonious union broken only by death, the great Divider. Each was truly a helpmate to the other, and fully shared the other's labors, whether manual or intellectual. In the latter part of the book there are very touching allusions to the closeness of this marriage relation and the aid she derived from her "dear old mate's" exceptionally complete intellectual equipment, though a somewhat unpractical turn of mind never permitted him to make his full stores of knowledge as generally available as they gave promise of being, and, so it seemed, should have been.

"In her old days," says our well-intentioned reviewer, "she grew mellow; and, after her husband's death, she seemed to centre her thoughts largely upon another world where she should rejoin her companion." The smoke of the great conflict to which she gave the best powers of her life hangs over all the earlier parts of the book; and no doubt, to a person not personally acquainted with Mrs. Child, it obscures the devout, sweet spirit which there is partly hidden beneath the panoply of the energetic reformer. But, to those who knew her, her whole life was like the tender beauty of an autumn whose later frosts, of sorrow and age, could only clarify and brighten.

Our friend is mistaken in thinking her "credulous" or in any just sense "superstitious." The "unutterable longing" which voices itself in her lines to the memory of Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, and in Mr. Whittier's response, that tenderest of all our dear Quaker poet's serious and manly verse, led her, too, to reach and grasp into the great darkness with ears quickened for voice or sign, and increased her interest in all manifestations for which there seemed to be no apparent explanation. But she placed, so she herself told the present writer, no reliance of any positive nature upon anything supernatural, however it might stagger her understanding. In that season of benign calm and patient waiting for what the great Future had in store for her, her soul seemed, like Wordsworth's, to "have sight of that immortal sea which brought us hither"; but she was not deluded into a belief that she more than heard the distant rolling of the mighty waters, the lost voices that softly whisper in all our hearts.

With her, the still, small voice was very near amid the Eternal Silence, of which her gayest and most entertaining mood (and few could be more entertaining) was never wholly unconscious. Yet, cheerfully, she walked the path of duty, led to that pleasant service which doubtless was its own abundant reward. Other reward here or hereafter she asked not; nor waited for the deep-voiced organ, nor swinging censer, nor painted radiance of pictured lights, to consecrate her prayer. Her life itself, part and parcel of the Greater Life around us, was a daily litany, and abides as a benediction in the souls of all who felt the power of its gentle and persuasive influence.

> O Power unknown! that work'st behind the veil,
> That makes for Good through all man's devious ways!
> Not in the Church alone dost thou abide,
> Though petty priests would bound thee with her pale:
> In lives like these, a Light shines o'er the haze,
> That draws us as the calm moon draws the tide.

WILLIAM P. ANDREWS.

*LETTERS OF LYDIA MARIA CHILD. With a Biographical Introduction by John G. Whittier, and an appendix by Wendell Phillips. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston.

TRUTH IN ERROR.

II. Atonement and Salvation.

The doctrine of atonement, which pervades the Bible and exists in some form in all religions, the necessity of the suffering of one as the condition for the forgiveness of another, must have a basis of truth, or it could never have gained such wide acceptance throughout the world as it has done.

The Calvinistic doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ is impossible to understand, and harder still to believe, except by those who adopt the motto, "I believe because it is impossible." Many different theories of the atonement are presented. The old school Calvinists believe in the sacrificial atonement, that Christ died in our stead, saving us by substitution, bearing the wrath of God that was due to us. A newer school, expounded by

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Dr. Bushnell, and fast growing in our theological seminaries, accepts the moral theory of the atonement, or various modifications of the idea of vicarious atonement approaching to the moral theory, which makes the life and death of Christ efficacious only as an example, and makes salvation the act of the grace of God, not purchased by Christ's suffering. We are told to believe in Christ in order to be saved, but what we are to believe about Christ is so variously stated that the seeker is bewildered.

This is a most unsatisfactory doctrine to attack, for, whatever phase of atonement is controverted, the assailant is told he has misconceived the theory; and, if he patiently demolishes every aspect in turn, it is said that our only concern is to have faith in the person of Christ, and how he saves us, and in what way God looks upon the atonement as accomplishing this, God only knows.

This doctrine teaches us that the penitent thief upon the cross, the believing murderer on the scaffold, the dying aged sinner converted in his last illness, do, upon their deaths, immediately pass into glory; but the rational philanthropist, the earnest laborious scientist, or good moralist, of sceptical minds, after long lives of devotion to the welfare and elevation of the human race, must perish eternally.

Belief is largely accidental: the children of believers are apt to believe, the children of sceptics doubt. Comparatively few leave the creed they were brought up to profess: therefore, the children are punished for the parents' sin to remote generations. This idea universal morality condemns.

Children are seldom converted until they are twelve or fifteen years of age. What becomes of those who die earlier, a large proportion of the human race? Baptismal regeneration provides for their safety. But Calvinists reject that dogma, and make no definite logical provision for their salvation. They rest in a vague idea that God gives the benefit of the atonement to those who are not responsible for the choice; but they have never decided at what age a child becomes responsible, and the sorrowing parents must wait till eternity to know whether their children have received a free pass into heaven on account of their youth or idiocy, or have been rejected as responsible beings.

Although, in practical morality, men condemn the imposition of suffering upon the innocent in order to spare the guilty, and declare that the righteousness of one cannot offset the sin of another, yet they become familiar with voluntary sacrifice for the temporal good of others. "Nothing without labor" is a natural law. Toil for money, study for learning, exercise for strength, self-denial for benevolence, are some of the labors endured for desired results. It is observed in all life that trial and suffering are the price of advancement, and that the joy of one is promoted by the calamity of another. Men die to save other men from drowning or burning, and to preserve the liberties of their race. In nature there is not only a struggle for existence and a survival of the fittest, but on every side we see self-sacrifice for the good of others, and benefits springing from misfortunes. The parent animals devote their lives to the rearing of their young. Each order of animals dies for the sustenance of a higher race. The falling leaf and decaying tree fertilize the ground for new growths. These may be the foundation facts which men have transferred to the sphere of morals.

If the theory of eternal salvation through another's sufferings be abandoned, the fact of the possibility of the present salvation of men through our own efforts remains. Perhaps laziness and selfishness have had something to do with putting salvation upon God instead of upon our own labors, just as Sydney Smith described English benevolence, saying, "When A sees B in distress, he has a strong desire to compel C to help him." It is easier to say "God help you" than to lend a hand to a suffering brother. We may all be saviors, offering up ourselves daily for the good of others; and, by another law of nature, we shall find that such offering blesses him who gives.

Each person who endures an ill may feel that he has borne it for some one else; for only a certain proportion of accidents happen, and each one who is a victim spares another from the affliction, and thus makes atonement for him.

III. The God of the Bible.

The Bible bears the marks of having been written by sincere men. They were sometimes credulous, superstitious, and ignorant, as judged by present standards, and their writings are therefore cumbered with legend, myth, and mistake; but back of all lies truth, and every dogma has some foundation principle which we do well to recognize.

The personal Jehovah, who wars, hates, and kills, sends famines and pestilences, and creates evil,—who also creates life, loves, blesses, and forgives,—is a human conception of the mind, soul, principle, law, force, or we may say God, that works in matter, and produces all things material and mental by orderly development. Our reverence for this principle is only increased by denuding it of its human attributes; and we only change Gods, as men in every age and clime have done as their knowledge of nature has altered.

We are nearer to the foundation truth by this change, but the mystery of eternal existence without beginning is unsolved. If we cannot define this God in human phrase, it yet calls out every attribute of wonder, reverence, and aspiration in our natures. It is a far greater marvel than the Hebrew Deity or Calvin's God, and more worthy of respect.

We can see its working in the blade of grass and the forest tree, in the summer breeze and the tornado, in the calm of evening twilight and the earthquake,—not by phenomenal and arbitrary acts, but through a procession of causes reaching back beyond mortal ken. Pain and destruction are not the deliberate acts of a wrathful or chastening God, who consciously sends them with reference to their immediate effects; but they are the necessary results of an eternal succession of causes. And we do not need to propitiate the Deity that he may not send such calamities, but we need to increase our knowledge of these operations of nature, that, by coming into harmony with their workings, we may avoid their evil results. Each disaster is a factor in man's education; and experience will, in future ages, lead to his triumph over evil. The loss of life in burning buildings, instead of leading us to implore God to avert such disasters in future, teaches us to use new precautions against fire, and make improved exits. It is a great relief to feel that we are not under the discipline of a ruler who is to be propitiated by our mental exercises, but to know that the forces that now control us are merely teaching us how to become their masters.

Our reverence is called forth by this tendency toward goodness which pervades nature, whatever its origin; and our aspiration is stimulated to let our lives come into harmony with nature's methods, and let both joy and sorrow promote our own good and that of others.

IV. Conversion.

The Calvinistic theory of conversion is only the exaggerated form of a vital truth. Conversion, on its natural side, is repentance and reform, the resolve to cease from violations of natural laws, and conform our lives to a standard of right-doing which is approved by reason and conscience. These turnings about and intense resolutions to follow goodness are manifested under all religions, and will both exist and increase when their naturalness is recognized. The emotional, frenzied, and "supernatural" side of conversion is also common to all religions and climes, and is a natural effect of the intense concentration of the mind upon a given subject. This form of orthodox conversion seldom occurs to persons who have reached the age of maturity. It is supposed they have become hardened in their sins, and cannot change. But they do all their best work then in every other branch of knowledge; and why should not their estimate of religion be equally valuable? The true explanation is that theology rests upon emotion and human authority, not upon reason. Suppose a teacher proclaimed a new law of physics, and nine-tenths of all his converts were under twenty-one years of age, would not this fact be deemed strong evidence against the value of his theory?

The sudden resolution to forsake evil and choose good, called conversion, will continue to be exercised, even if belief in the supernatural is abandoned.

V. Election.

The doctrine of election, that God of his own good pleasure, from all eternity, has elected some to everlasting life, produces a hurtful conceit in the elect and an uncharitable assumption in their conduct toward sinners. They imagine the existence of a supernatural difference between themselves and other men, and hold aloof from them or patronize them offensively. If God should neglect to save them, why should we trouble ourselves about it? If God can send numbers of men to hell every day, why, if he can stand it, we can! Does not this blunt sensibility paralyze effort and hinder the brotherhood of man? This arbitrary choice of men to be saved is irrational and immoral; and yet it is the perverted form of one of the most vital truths of nature,—the survival of the fittest,—the fact that fitness finds its sphere. If one is qualified for action or service, the opportunity is apt to come to him, the occasion seeks the man. Thus there is a natural selection, leading to the triumph of the best. The true "elect" are the discoverers, the searchers, the earnest laborers, who in science, morals, education, and benevolence, are quietly but surely redeeming the world. These are "the chosen ones," "the peculiar people zealous of good works." Every creed is on their lips; but their purpose is one, and their reward cometh.

VI. Christianity.

There is nothing in Christianity that is recognized generally as good, which is lost and weakened in any way by the renunciation of its encircling superstition. Jesus may still be to us an ideal of human goodness, an example of many virtues, though stripped of what scientific criticism shows to be the accretions of credulous tradition. He was divine in nature, as all men are,—the highest products of the inscrutable force that has moved in matter till it flowered into humanity.

The Holy Spirit dwells in every unbeliever in his personality, who does not grieve him away by an evil life that debases him too low to experience an enthusiasm for goodness; and who ever sinks to this depth? It is a false assumption that this divine influence only comes to believers in a certain theory. The true holy spirit is the impulse

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"to do justly, love mercy, and make other men happy," which dwells in some measure in the breast of every man, of every race, and every land, and which grows as it is exercised and as true knowledge increases.

All existence is a miracle. Revelation is continually given to the earnest student of nature. The inventor, the scholar, and the philanthropist are inspired. Rewards and punishments follow naturally upon causes. Heaven comes to bless the successful effort and lofty endeavor, bestowing as natural results present happiness on the striver and future good to his race. Hell curses the inefficient, immoral, and unnatural, bringing sorrow and pain to the evil or unwise doer and extending resulting miseries to the race. A persistent continuance in well-doing leads upward to sanctification and holiness; and habits of goodness become so confirmed that falling from grace becomes improbable, and the perseverance of saints is assured.

We are not undermining the building of goodness, or sapping the tree of virtue, by destroying Calvinism or Christianity or Judaism. We only tear down the decayed parts of the superstructure built by men upon the foundation of eternal truth, and shake off the dead leaves and prune the rotten twigs from the branches of the tree of knowledge, in order that new structures may be reared and fresh growths may be promoted.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

A few years ago, in many communities, Universalism was more hated and dreaded than "open infidelity," since it was regarded as "infidelity in disguise," and its ministers and adherents as "wolves in sheep's clothing." A single incident will illustrate the feeling that prevailed. An old lady who had known us in our boyhood, meeting us after an interval of several years, observed, in a tone and with an expression full of sadness, that she had heard we had adopted that "awful delusion, Universalianism." Assured that she had been misinformed, she appeared greatly relieved and gratified, remarking, "I never *could* think you would turn out to be so bad." "But," she inquired, "what *is* your belief?" We answered her that we were inclined somewhat to scientific materialism. She asked us to repeat the words, looked rather puzzled, but still pleased, and said: "Well, I don't know as I ever heered anything agin *that*. I am so glad you hain't got to be one of those wicked Universalists." In the community in which this incident occurred, it was common for Elder Jabez Swan, a powerful preacher and a noted revivalist, to denounce Universalism as "a damnable refuge of lies"; and on one occasion, it is said, he declared, "It is as impossible for a Universalist to get to heaven as it is for a shad from the Connecticut River to climb a greased pole with a tin pail tied to its tail." Once, during a revival, he called upon God to destroy a Universalist church by a thunderbolt from heaven. Soon afterward, the building was struck by lightning and burned to the ground. It was very generally believed among the orthodox that the event was in answer to Elder Swan's prayer, and that it was a manifestation of God's wrath toward the Universalists on account of their wicked belief in the salvation of the whole human race.

In those days, Universalists were advanced and progressive. They were above the average in intelligence, courageous and unsparing in their criticism of the orthodox theology. But a thousand causes, of which Universalism is one, have combined to soften the harsher features of "evangelical religion," and to put all the orthodox churches in the line of religious progress. In consequence, the aggressiveness of the Universalists and the bitterness of the orthodox sects have abated, indeed almost disappeared. But, while Orthodoxy has been advancing, Universalism has remained stationary, and is to-day in a condition of *arrested development*. With a broader scholarship than the representatives of Universalism could ever claim, orthodox ministers and writers are now advocating all that the Universalists have taught, while they are going far beyond them in all that relates to modern scientific and philosophic thought. The Universalists meanwhile remain stationary. The bold, radical thinkers are not attracted to them, nor do they wish to be classed with them. If brought up Universalists, they become Unitarians, if not agnostics, thus taking from the once progressive sect its intellectual vigor and activity, and leaving behind a conservative element which resists innovation and reform in the denomination.

Last week, we were in a public debate several evenings with Rev. S. P. Carleton, a Universalist minister, at Mechanicsburg, Ohio. Mr. Carleton has the *reputation* of being a very able and skilful debater. He is a gentleman of impressive appearance, fluent in speech, and about sixty-five years of age. He has been a Universalist preacher since he was a young man. He claims to have vanquished his orthodox opponents on the question of *eternal punishment* in half a hundred debates. He is well known in Ohio by his numerous discussions; and, before we met him, we had heard him spoken of in many places as "the champion of Universalism." In his own community, Woodstock, Ohio, his character commands the respect of all, orthodox and unorthodox alike.

But, as a debater on the issues between Christianity and modern free thought, he is certainly a failure; and, in saying this, we state only what is conceded by his own personal friends and supporters. In the debate with us, he affirmed the inspiration of the Bible; and, of all the weak attempts we have witnessed to establish this proposition, Mr. Carleton's was among the weakest. His incompetence was manifest to the entire audience every evening. His speeches contained no evidence that he was familiar with any recent work on science or philosophy, or that he possessed even a meagre acquaintance with the results of the study and research of the last quarter of a century in any field of thought. Of English and German Biblical criticism, of the theory of evolution, of Egyptology, philology, and archæology, he revealed not the slightest acquaintance. Indeed, he exhibited the most glaring ignorance of these and cognate subjects, an ignorance of which he seemed wholly unconscious. He claimed that the leading ideas of the Bible, including monotheism, were unknown before the time of Moses, and could have been obtained only by inspiration, ignoring the fact that the priests of Egypt believed in a Supreme Being, the generator of heaven and earth, ages before the date of Moses. He declared that Plato derived his ideas of Deity from the Jews, and in proof of this adduced the astounding fact that the Greek language was constructed from the Hebrew! His principal argument for the superhuman character of Christ was this: that illegitimate children, whose generation involves the violation of a moral law, are immoral; that from all the bastards of the world no reformer had ever come; that Jesus, being sinless, could not have been of illegitimate birth, and, since he was not illegitimate (as Joseph was not his father), he must have been begotten miraculously, as the Bible represents. His authority in history was Rollin, in theology Alexander Campbell, in geology Buckland. He referred to "the horrors of the French Revolution," and related anecdotes about "infidels" in the style of a third-rate Methodist exhorter. He declared that Col. Ingersoll was in favor of abolishing laws against obscene literature and of loosening the laws of marriage, and tried to make it appear that the free thinkers of the world are in favor of immorality and indecency. He tried to ridicule Darwinism, and affected indignation in almost every speech at the idea that man came from a monkey. He defended, or tried to defend, the Mosaic cosmogony, although in the most unskilful manner, and became lachrymose over Christ as the Saviour of men.

We need not indicate our replies to such stuff. We had expected to meet a man of ability and learning, one capable of discussing the Bible and Christianity in the light of modern knowledge; but we met instead a theological fossil, a man who was unacquainted with the subject, and wholly unqualified to discuss it. Those who had arranged for the debate in his behalf said that they were greatly disappointed, and tried to apologize for "the champion of Universalism" by saying that the debate opened up a field that was new to him. But no well-informed man, no man worthy to be regarded as a representative of an intelligent class of religious people, would or could have made such an exhibition of ignorance as Mr. Carleton made in this debate. This his own friends and neighbors admitted to the writer. Our advice to Mr. Carleton is that he stop debating with third and fourth rate preachers about hell long enough to enable him to acquaint himself with a few of the best orthodox works on subjects of current importance in the religious world, and he will never again permit himself to be subjected to the humiliation which he experienced last week. Personally, we can feel no pride in such a contest.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

PROGRESS IN REFORM.

At the next meeting of the National Reform Association, the object of which is to Christianize the United States Constitution, it is proposed still further to promote the purposes and policy of the Association by adopting the following preamble and resolution:—

WHEREAS the education as well as the government of this country ought, obviously, to be Christian; and,

WHEREAS the multiplication-table, as taught in our schools, is at present an unchristian and even godless document,—therefore,

Resolved, That, to every copy of the multiplication-table hereafter printed in the school-books of the United States, the following or some equivalent statement, should be prefixed:—

Multiplication is of two kinds, Sacred and Secular.

SACRED MULTIPLICATION.

Three ONES *make* ONE.

Note that One of these ones is the rightful Lord and Master of all the people of the United States.

SECULAR MULTIPLICATION.

Here may follow the table of figures as heretofore printed, which, after Christianization as above, may be learned and practised without harm.

C. K. W.

A SENSIBLE and needed work is being done by what is called the Ambulance Association in Glasgow, Scotland, in establishing courses of plain lectures for working men and women, in which the proper methods to be pursued by non-professionals in cases of bleeding arteries, burned limbs, half-drowned persons, and other frequent accidents, are clearly explained and described. Many lives are lost yearly from the lack of such practical knowledge.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

IN the number of *The Index* with which we shall begin the New Year we expect to be able to give the first of a series of articles from the pen of the able and brilliant writer, Dr. Felix L. Oswald, on "The secret of the East; or, the Origin of the Christian Religion, and the Significance of its Rise and Fall." The articles will appear in the following order:—

1. Introduction.
2. The Genesis of Pessimism.
3. Buddha and his Galilean Successor.
4. The Ethics of the Christian Religion.
5. The Corruption of Europe.
6. An Expensive Creed.
7. The Night of the Middle Ages.
8. Daybreak.
9. The Protestant Revolt.
10. Regenesis.

THE *Independent* says: "The value of church property in the United States, at the present time is estimated at $700,000,000; and if this property be exempted from all taxation, as is nearly the universal fact, a huge burden must be imposed upon other property to make up for this exemption, Is this just? We do not think so."

INGERSOLL is no orator, says Joseph Cook, "judged by the great standards of Greece and Rome, or of Parliament and of Congress, or the platforms of Edinburgh and — Boston." The Springfield *Republican*, quoting this, adds, "Let us remember that one of the renowned orators of modern Boston is Flavius Josephus Cook."

OF Walt Whitman's work, Mr. Emerson said to M. D. Conway: "There are parts of the book where I hold my nose as I read. One must not be too squeamish when a chemist brings him a mass of filth, and says, 'See, the great laws are at work here also'; but it is a fine art, if he can deodorize his illustration."

AFRICA, as a mine of wealth, with its gems, minerals, ivories, vegetables, and woods, is attracting the attention of all the powers of Europe. England, generally the first to see a commercial advantage, is industriously securing a foothold there; while Italy and Belgium are moving in the same direction, each intent on possessing such portions of its territory as can be secured for commercial purposes. Recent events show that the French Republic, too, is alive to the importance of extending its possessions in the Dark Continent. It looks as though there would soon be a stream of emigration toward that region.

THERE is a reminder of the story of Esau in a Jewish transaction, which recently occurred in Troy, N.Y., save that the birth-right bought (or attempted to be bought) by this modern Jacob was a heavenly instead of an earthly one. It seems that, by a sect of the Polish Jews, the doctrine (based on a Rabbinical saying that "good deeds buy the future world") is held that a good man may sell his claim upon heaven. Acting upon this belief, Harris Udovitch bargained to buy Louis Cohen's chances in the next world for the consideration of one hundred and fifty dollars; but Cohen, on sober second thought, concluded that he had sold his heavenly claims too cheap, and endeavored to back out of the bargain, the result of which was a very commonplace and worldly fracas which brought both parties into a very earthly police court, with resultant publicity and fines for breach of peace.

MR. EDWARD ATKINSON takes a hopeful view of "the people of this land." He says: "Presently, the people of this land will have ingrafted upon the narrow but versatile intellect of the Yankee the courage and endurance of the Englishman, without his pig-headedness; the cleanliness of the Dutchman, without his stolidity; the thrift of the French peasant, without his superstition; the artistic sense of the Italian, without his treachery; the wit of the Irishman, without his incapacity to trust his neighbor; the philosophy of the German, without his scepticism; the acquisitiveness of the Jew, without his selfishness; the manual dexterity of the Chinaman, without his idolatry; and the fun and music of the negro, without his shiftlessness. Will not such a polyglot race make something of this land more than we can yet conceive? What will its moral and material influence be a century hence?"

A CHICAGO paper states that Col. Ingersoll cleared $4,000 by his last three lectures in that city, and adds: "This shows that infidelity pays tolerably well in this world, however we may doubt its success in the next. Incidentally, it also shows that Chicago is a pretty ripe field for an able-bodied missionary or two." The fact that immense audiences listen to Ingersoll's anti-theological lectures is undoubtedly one of the indications of declining belief in the creeds of the churches; but it should be remembered that these audiences are composed largely of those who go to hear the witty and eloquent orator, and who would be attracted to his lectures, on whatever subject he should speak. He would have crowded houses if the same wit and eloquence were devoted to the defence of theology. The size of his audiences is more of a tribute to the individual as an orator than an index of the popularity of what he advocates or the unpopularity of what he assails.

IT is with deep regret that we learn through the columns of the Springfield *Republican* of the death of Samuel L. Hill, one of Northampton's most prominent business men, a practical philanthropist who did not wait until warned by death to begin his benefactions, and a firm and generous friend of *The Index* and the Free Religious Association from the beginning. He died last week at Citronville, Ala., where he had gone for his health. He was seventy-five years of age. His body will be brought to his home in the village of Florence, which in him has lost a noble benefactor. In 1862, he made a gift of a $37,000 school-house to the village, and when Cosmian Hall was built donated $30,000 toward its cost. His gifts for all charitable and educational purposes have been large and continuous. He was an active anti-slavery man, and of the most liberal religious opinions. The leading business enterprises of Florence, the silk industry and sewing-machine works, were built up mainly through his capital and energy. Generous as he was, he was ever modest in his benefactions. "His hospitable home," says the *Republican*, "was always open to the weak and struggling." He leaves three children, Mr. Arthur G. Hill and two married daughters. His charity was so bountiful that he is not thought to have left a large estate.

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, in reply to our inquiry why it had called us "a reviler of Christianity," says: "A reviler is defined by Webster as 'one who treats another with contemptuous language.' We did not hesitate to speak of Brother Underwood as an infidel and reviler of Christianity, because we presumed he gloried in being considered both. We have not time to hunt over the files for specimens of contemptuous langauge used by him against Christianity. It is enough for us that he is a leading, influential member of an association that is doing all in its power to undermine and destroy Christianity; that he is a leading writer in *The Index*, which is the organ of this association, and whose columns teem with articles directly and unequivocally designed to discredit, disparage, and totally exterminate Christianity. But we wish to treat all our brethren of the press with the utmost courtesy; and, if Brother Underwood objects to the term reviler, we cheerfully withdraw it, and would substitute what we presume he will not object to,—namely, one who is laboring earnestly to discredit, disparage, and totally exterminate Christianity." Doubtless, our esteemed contemporary desires to do us justice, and meant in the above paragraph to make the *amende honorable;* but our position is still misrepresented. We are not "laboring earnestly to discredit, disparage, and totally exterminate Christianity." To disparage is "to decry unduly"; "to undervalue, underrate, detract from." We, on the contrary, aim to be just to Christianity, to recognize the good which is in it, and to strengthen and perpetuate that good, while "laboring earnestly" to eliminate from the system and to replace with truth the error which it contains.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.

A Liberal Judgment from a Roman Catholic Source.

Could we enter through the portal where the souls that are immortal
Come before the Judge of all men to be told their final fate;
Could we stand among the angels, who announce or glad evangels
Or fell judgments of damnation on the creatures who await,—
Would it mercy be or censure that our ears would, peradventure,
Hear the Arbiter who ruleth there pronounce upon the man,
Who, though recluse at Caprera, was a hero of the era
In which his days were ended, in which his days began?

He was friend of pope and foemen, and his scarlet-shirted yeomen
Fought against the Church and for her, as their leader took the whim:
If, in later years, he hated what before he vindicated,
Will all his early fealty intercede noways for him?
Who can say? Divine compassion is not stinted in the fashion
That we mete our human pity to the recreants who fall:
It forgave the Jew and Roman, dying thief and sinful woman,
And condoned the bitter hatred of the persecuting Saul.

For his country's liberation, harassed long by degradation,
Under foreign despots groaning, sighed his patriotic breast:
If, to drive out these marauders, he had spared the papal borders,
Then would pontiff, priest, and people have forgiven him the rest?
But a truce to supposition: whether malice or ambition
Was the motive of his actions, he has reached at last a shore
Where no plots of kings and kaisers, or intrigues of their advisers,
Will disturb his restless spirit with their workings any more.

— *W. D. K., in the Boston Pilot.*

For *The Index.*

TEUTONIA — ROMA.

Teutonia.

E'en thy shadow now from earth is fading,
Roma, erewhile wielding world-wide sway:
Lo! thy Latin accents voice no longer
Thought or domination of to-day.

Roma.

Dwindled first my Cæsars and my Pontiffs,
Urbs et orbs obey no longer now,
Rust my sword of conquest long has eaten,
Priestly mitre leaves at length my brow.

B. W. BALL.

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The Index.

BOSTON, DEC. 21, 1882.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

A PROBLEM IN POLITICS.

BY H. L. TRAUBEL.

In this decade of rapid movement and growth, when the political as well as the more social accounts are being squared up, it is interesting to watch every change of existing things by the light of likeness and the promise of good end. There has come to men an onward-looking health in the mental structure. Questions have risen as to the legitimacy of old oaths. Something is prompting the wonder how long extorted assent to old methods or beliefs is to hold good. There is doubt concerning the extent to which parental fealties, in common with parental sins, descend to the children. Such indications, starting in the centre of the man, in the soul of the man, reach out in all directions to the throbbing activities of life. "I live in a larger world than you," I said cheerfully to a friend who approached me with a narrow belief which I could not answer. What man but has felt the future more sumptuous than the past? The time gone tells of tombs, and that coming of cradles. There is no freedom in the past, little in the present, and all there is of it, in the future. In the past there is no place for our dreams, because in death there is no dreaming: in the living days, the visions are thrust out at the point of facts we can touch, as if they were substance; but the ages ahead *invite* our dreams, feed on them, and depend upon them for the finer life they will sustain. For a few moments follow me to the political field, while I make a few observations, in the line of our general hopes, that the rushing American world has moved too quickly to have seen. Let us step into the larger world, and forget a few of the old prejudices that appeal so touchingly to us. It is not ill-fortune to stop now and then in our striding civilization, that we may rest and dream. Perhaps, when the command again comes to renew the journey, we may rise refreshed by the indulgence.

There probably is no one who has not at least a qualified sympathy with the public effort for governmental reform. Methods may engender differences, but ends provoke unity. Clear-headed Americans, who have no political interest at stake, are a unit in applauding the political disintegration now manifest. There is less of futurity given for tradition. Certain politicians, who should have been priests, are crying, "Negation!" at all proposed changes, but, happily, meet with derision, and that often, as if to add to the contradictions in the human make-up, from men who start the same call, with even less reason, after strange movements in religion. But the fact remains that the feeling exists. Religious thought passes onward, to all sight, ceaselessly. Political thought can do no less. For either to halt would be for both to belie the past and fail of their promise.

Now, while it is true we rather believe in a man's record than in his prospectus, it is true also that the former is as liable to deceive as the latter. While politicians and churchmen offer to *repeat* the past, we insist that they *use* and *surpass* it. The only portion of it they in any event could *repeat* would be its *dotage*, which is just what we do not wish. To put it in another way, we cannot, after its youth, rest faith in a body that, from the first moment of young vigor, is on its decline, subject to the demand of greater influences that oppose it. Feebleness sinks backward, strength treads the way of the sun. For a season, we accept the new power, from which, as time makes it aged, death again rescues us.

The past must not *lead*, but *follow* us, subserving ever our best use. In the civilizing application of experience, that which precedes in point of time must succeed in point of importance. In the fresh morning health of each creed, either of the political or religious nature, we believe; even its mid-day has our allegiance and our following; and night, as it comes on, will find us with smoothed pillow and tender and filial thoughts, ready to bid the dying one farewell. More could not be asked of us. To plead with us to make the tomb our home, and the ghost our ruler and guide, is to invite us to barbarism, and wipe the sun from heaven.

Such reflections are busy in American brains: they make the politician's world the worst possible one, adjustable to the theories of the gloomiest of German philosophers. In certain States there seems a death-struggle verging or verged. The natural, simple reason is in the weakened adhesion to party, and a willingness to accept the thing without regard to the *name* given it. To have reached this point guarantees the future.

Yet my conviction is—and here I enter upon my contrast—that the politician is not *exceptionally* wrong, and that his methods are not *exceptionally* vicious. Though no one seems willing to say this, the failure to believe or remark it does not remotely touch its truth. To be *below* your time in morality is your shame; to be *up to it*, your right of fellowship; to be *above* it, your glory. The general opinion discredits the political class with being the lowest in morals of all classes of citizens not absolutely among the degraded, the drunken, the acknowledged vicious or criminal. We are shown its schemes, its undoubted base practices, its selfishness; and, with these, our attention is directed to its bad influence extended to other walks of men by contact, sight, and emulation,—a tendency to consecrate particular ends by careless means. No one to whom the picture is known denies its life. Blasphemy, that fictitious crime, has no course to play here. Nevertheless, without in the least excusing the ill work of the political class, we can and, to be just, *should* indicate just where its vices are common vices, and its misdeeds but outcroppings in the one direction of family faults that, in their various degrees, pervade all institutions. If it is the sententious mandate of the street to "give the devil his due," it is particularly pressed upon us to take care not to make the devil a scapegoat or the one devil responsible for the wiles of all the devils. I think the principle works well.

Especially in Pennsylvania has the argument been used that the reform movement is sound, if for no other reason than that business men take such an active interest in it. The chief financial support of the Independent organization is given by men of the street and lawyers. Is this not to their credit? To say "Yes" requires no compromise of my position. We can grant the protesters absolute right in this protest, and as absolute wrong so far as the political methods are, fundamentally, business ways transported, or the reverse. But, to make our contrast, we must first establish a likeness; and this, we conceive, it demands no two glances to detect. Take but a few points suggested on the instant. The chicanery of politics levels with the schemes of business: the selfish purpose of the one accosts sympathetically the overreaching of the other; one buys men's votes, the other the independent arrangement of their lives; one rides into position over bribery and ignorance, the other by taking necessity as an ally and the employed as victim. The politician, true, pleads that fire must be fought by fire; but the business man shelters his frauds under the same cover. One is honest in society, a rascal in politics; the other keeping between society and business the same relation. These are broad facts picked up in a general way, and susceptible of a hundred illustrations from every thinking man. I grant that some business men shame this picture. It must be remembered, however, that political exceptions, and many of them, also exist. The politician is judged by the class. No *men* can except themselves from that standard, however an *individual* may outgrow or outlive the name he bears or the associations into which fate casts him. We deal with the generality, and not with exceptions, when we sketch the present. We consult the exceptions, when we wish to foretell the future.

Business men, who buy labor for the lowest figure at which necessity may compel its sale, and part with the product at the best it will bring, regardless of the regulating price of the workers, can have no consistent quarrel with the political rule of life. In whipping the political rascality, they lash their own sin. Self-conviction is followed swiftly by self-punishment. Every blow at the political chicanery, dealt even the most unconsciously, weakens the foundation of their own present power. The evils are so like each other that an indictment of one dooms both. No more can a system of trade last that depends for its acceptance upon principles or exactions of form rather than deserts than can a political domination continue that relies for its success upon similar dictations planted on different ground. To this the point is at last rounded finely.

No one who has watched carefully the course of business can fail to see the limitations of its nature. It is of an essentially Napoleonic disposition, contemptuous of moralities, and ready, pen in hand, to strike "Heart" from the qualities of the human brotherhood. There is something ghastly in so great an evil, planted treacherously in the broad bosom of our life. By whose weakness is it that the few are able to usurp the product of the many, or through what fatality is it that no worker's pay comes proportioned only to the ability to enforce it? Be the responsibility with him who profits or him who loses, the evil, corrupting to both, remains and destroys. Startling is it to feel that the present wage system of weak women makes prostitutes, and of weak men sneaks or thieves! What faces us multiformly brings with it ages of sorrow; enough, had it been joy, to have made our world celestial, and the best religion contemptible amid better surroundings. It is a sad story, not even yet finished, witnessed in the countless hordes of the cities. The weary faces on the street carry the unspoken tale to our very doors.

Resolving and examining essences, it is probable we should find the corruption in politics on no point nearly so far-reaching or demoralizing as the corruption in the business system. It is hard accurately to estimate and balance such a comparison; but few dispassionate men could pass the matter for themselves, and come to any conclusion not favorable to the politician. Of course, this excuses no one and no offence: it merely shows *degree* of wrong, and how "Stop thief!" is a cry not always uttered by the best men on the street.

There is an unctuous reasoning blooming through the crust of formalism, diffusing shame to the common business ways to which the approval of society is wedded. The system, it is well seen, under which the laborer now suffers, carries roots most widely of evil influence into the surrounding soil. The effects are various, and in certain quarters recognized. Labor that is not used as an independence—that is reimbursed not relatively to its worth, but to its misfortunes, bearing rich fruit only in proportion as these factors are avoided or destroyed—corrupts him who bargains for and him who sells it. It is impossible to compute how much of prostitution and crime come directly from the injustice of trade, or how much of heroically borne misery; how much hypocrisy develops in the diplomatic Jesuitism of monopolists that has, unlike the religious Jesuitism, not even a *professed* good end; how much of the moral decay of the Church results from the vain efforts of business men to hide by the fairness of the show the foulness of the substance; how much, in the most lamentable activity of all, this base system preys upon the native weakness of human nature, distorting pure tendencies, neutralizing manly motives, and exaggerating the power of the evil propensities to the point of domination. There are many facts in this universe the exact bearings of which, though far and clearly traceable, are not to be finally known or followed to their end.

We should consider the way the evils in the busi-

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ness and political classes manifest themselves, and the light in which they are regarded. While there is nothing more either of secrecy or openness in one case than in the other, there is a good deal more attention given to the governmental than to the social ill-adjustments; and it is possible that the evil itself, be it this or that, is considerably or entirely weighed in the popular mind according rather as it is *seen* than as it is innately wrong. The less subtly ill works upon man, the harder issues the hate of it. The more dangerous blows excite scarce remark. Indirect wrong, often the severest in ultimate effect, produces small repulsion. The quiet influence of the philosopher, which shapes the destiny of thought, goes unnoticed beside the clamor of to-day's success or some magnetic heroism of the street. Similarly, the deeper evils—the root, in fact, of the manifestations which catch the public eye—are unnoticed beneath the noise of its superficial results.

A further and a striking resemblance we find in *profession*. It is philosophically a truth that where some men live by what they *claim*, and nobler others by what they *do*, the self-righteous ones fare best in this world's material returns. To show us "the blessedness of poverty," which we *do not* admit, and the supreme value of a rich spirit, which we *do* admit, is rather to prove than answer what I have stated as a maxim. For their own purposes, business and political rulers would indorse all that could be said in favor of starvation. See how well, and in ways sufficiently alike to imply an understanding, politicians and monopolists raise themselves into fair appearances. When some mean-spirited or dirty-fingered office-seeker feels a particular public questioning in preparation, and wishes means of outward justification, he comes to his "fellow-citizens," sketches himself as a "friend of labor," and shows the awfulness of his respect for constitutions and patriotism. When a business man finds himself in a similar position, under the necessity of as graceful a profession, he joins a church, and becomes what he calls a "lover of the Lord," the "Lord" loved, as we read it in his life, doubtless being himself, but, for all that, an object of reverence which furnishes a convenient phrase for the exigency. Well applied here would be Hubert Bancroft's saying,—that the Spanish discoverers neither forgot to pray to God nor to serve the devil. These are the two ways the two classes we have been photographing have of giving vent to what they conceive to be a necessary hypocrisy. The cause, the motive, the circumstances, the means, the deception, are throughout the same.

The evils in politics are nearing universal acknowledgment. The street, the home, the literature, often the lowest rough on the street, recognize and condemn them. Even those who are contaminated yield to the condemnation by denying the infection. This wide detection of the abuses greatly neutralizes, while it does not, as we all know, extenuate them. Their consequences are not so intricate or penetrating as results of the business troubles, and we can therefore better follow to their meaning. It is possible the ill effects are larger in the general opinion than in fact. Aside from the direct spoiling of the politician and, when compared with the moral loss, the comparatively unimportant disappearance of money into never-known channels, the corrupting influence does not extend far. As I shall state, the political nature is probably more *influenced* than *influencing*. On this score, even what has come to be known as the *reform* theorizing needs readjustment.

The instant we turn our concern upon business, we are advised of the vastly greater spread of the wrong. To it, and in a thousand dangerously unsuspected traceries, can be laid all the dire tendencies of the politician. And here the greatest ill consists in the absence of any adequate conception of the ill. A weakness once seen bears in itself a promise of betterment, but a blindness that we are too blind to comprehend shuts off necessity from our sight, and leaves us a contented vacuity. It is this that makes industrial reform less imminent, though not less inevitable, than political reform, which, though the first likely to be supplied, is the less pressing of the two needs.

The conception of trade is the old robber conception, inforced by money and the threat of want. Beneath their quarrels, both bosses and workers count it as just. There could be no more mischievous or grievous misfortune. The populace in the mass express a discontent never to be satisfied, because too much founded on the very ideas that rule the capitalist. In the most unexpected fashion, the two classes meet. The poor and the rich hold a theory in common, and think that a difference in the expression of that theory divides it into two, and holds the parts estranged forever. My main sorrow is comprehended in a failure to see such a divergency. Workers or those, as I write of them here, who exchange labor for wages, a middleman throwing the product upon the markets, in most cases rather cheerfully yield to the present principles of trade as right, but regard their administration as in the wrong hands. Excuses for the wrongs come not alone from those who profit by them. The longing for money is more passionate than the desire to get it purely. Men *envy* instead of *questioning* the capitalist. They have not yet progressed to the remedy, or, to state it more strongly, to the *savoring* of it. The root of the wrong is not yet dug to. What they attribute to a *man* belongs to a *system*; what they gently call *business*, far-sight sternly names *robbery*; and, though they are being robbed every day of their natural lives, they never know it, but continue applauding the robber. Persistently is the system regarded as just, and its *manifestation* alone unfortunate and to be improved. The legalized lying and theft of trade, the readiness to steal or to be stolen from, attains almost universal approbation,—the assent not of a *conscience*, but of a *stomach* fed by custom. It is such serious misplacements of right as these which work undiscovered ruin in the life of men allured to the mad chase after small failings magnified into grave underminings of the world.

Nor does our observation end with this condition. There is at least one more aspect in which the contrast may be profitably outlined. While attachment of responsibilities for dark social tendencies, while arraignment of this or that man or class for their inhibition, may not affect the nature of the characteristic, it still is an aid to one who prefers to snap the heart rather than the covering of unrighteous things. Therefrom, this question: Who can tell to what extent politics, at which business so scornfully points its contempt, are not in their evil direction the inevitable development politically of the business maxims? After all, may we not have been striking at the limb rather than the root of the evil? The suggestion is inforced by startling corroborations. Likeness is indubitable; and relationship, even if not that of sire and offspring, is near. We can state the several conclusions possible. It may be that the business and political rules are partners in growth, or that business rules came of those political, or that the latter owe their origin to the former. Allow any one of the three probabilities, yet in each contingency business (and by the term I would include business methods as they have obtruded into law, clericalism, and other human industries and professions) suffers by the contrast. The proof is simple. If the first possibility is true, business has outstripped its fellow in baseness, or, as we refuse to look backward for the Golden Age, in the inability to overcome its weaknesses; if the second is correct, it has exceeded the perversity of the parent; if the third should be proven, it has produced a child worthier than itself. Bringing our parallel to bear superficially or deeply, or from all allowable sides, the close connection of the evils found in the two divisions of men's interests becomes more manifest, and indicates the more powerful inspiration, if there is any difference on that score, in the spirit of trade. It matters little whether they grew together or came down to our age independent of each other. If crime finds readier and wider shelter in business than in governmental mismanagements, then 'tis to it our heaviest denunciation is called. That the worst of passing institutions is the fabric of what is called "business" I hold to be undeniable. The curse of journalism and law, for instance, is on the *business* side of the callings. By what this includes it cannot be successfully said that I make business a scapegoat for foreign misdeeds. I have not sought to shift from the politician the burden of his crimes, but to take from him the unjust superfluities of punishment. Nothing so well shows my position as to relative corruption tenable as the fact that we seldom or never speak of political abuse save with the sense of easy correction; while an appalling largeness meets us immediately as we turn and face the industrial issue. Yet the things to be remedied are much the same in character, though one is the mere spray to the other's far-spreading ocean.

Such is my problem, and each can carry it out for himself. I have made strong statements, because the evils are precisely strong enough to call for them. Unhappily, mankind is not yet, and for long will not be, done with its physician: the hopeful fact is that the nature of the disease makes the race its own healer, having of necessity to take heed by the eternal admonition, and demonstrate again and again in the future, as it has in the past, a wondrous power to grasp truth from out the perversities of its own heart. Men need clearer sight to the graver issues, and must guard against the expenditure of too much effort on outside hangings, which will fall of their own inadequacy, once the centre, the supply, is cut from them. Not that any endeavored reform be *abandoned*, but that it be *proportioned*. To give labor a juster conception of its rights, and monopoly some nearer comprehension of the impudence of its existence, is most impassioned of duties, second to no commands to political duty. An arm may be lost, but the heart will pursue its purposes with a royal unswerving. Many a season beat its remorseless call against the noble tree opposite my window, leaf was scattered, twig was broken, limb was lost; but the great heart, each new spring, sent forth its shoots. One day, however, there came, in a supreme moment, that which blasted the soul of all this life. Thenceforth came no single leaf with its annual lesson. Somewhat in this light I regard the political questions now great with hopeful living. Only let us smite the heart of the wrong. The fruitage will but come again, if the source of it evades our vigilance. The iron now is hot. Is the arm ready to strike? In bringing earthward exaggerated worths and lifting skyward the downcast future of deserving are written twin commands, but perilously disobeyed.

THE PREVALENCE OF ATHEISM.

BY CHARLES ELLIS.

Tribes of savages have been known on both hemispheres among whom no idea of God could be found, and in whose language no term answering to the conception of God existed. Darwin says that the existence of the idea of God implies a good degree of intellectual development. It has been ably argued that in the lowest mental state of man the idea of God is absent, that in and during a medium stage of intellectual development the idea of God is predominant, and that in a high state of culture the idea is once more absent. That is to say, the human race at first knows no God; but, as the intellect becomes sufficiently developed to attempt to satisfy natural curiosity as to what and why phenomena are, the absence of knowledge, on the one hand, and the persistence of the intellect in requiring a cause of some sort for phenomena, on the other hand, force into undue prominence the idea of supernatural powers, which are in time crystallized into gods; and still later, as the intellect becomes competent to point out real causes, the idea of the supernatural wanes and dies. Hence, as long as the human race is represented by these three classes of people, there will be atheism at both ends of the line of development. At the bottom, there will be atheism, because people know nothing. At the top, there will be atheism, because people know that supernaturalism cannot be a cause. In the middle, there will be belief in Gods (I write it large and plural intentionally), because people do not know natural causes, and fear that the unknown may hold some conscious power or powers that may, here or hereafter, hold them answerable for their conduct and belief.

All over the world, for ages long, morality has been considered to be the measure of the deference paid by the human race, or any part of it, to the Gods. The prime duties have been believed to be due to these celestial Creators and Kings. The secondary duties have been those covering the relations of people to each other.

But intellectual development has been chiefly in the direction of trade, commerce, possession. Acquisitiveness has been the ruling motive in the growth of all civilization. The search for knowledge in the great region of the Unknown—that is, the almost Infinite that must have lain, as it does in nearly the same magnitude yet, beyond the narrow limits of scientific knowledge—has been conducted by men mainly outside of those whose special business has been the interpretation of what they were pleased to call the will of God. Practical, scientific knowledge has been harnessed to the industries as fast as acquired, not for moral effect, but as aid to acquisitiveness. Con-

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sequently, intellectual development has been, in the main, the development of "business" capacity; and business has fallen into the error of taking it for granted that morals really belong to man's relation to the Gods, instead of, as in fact they do and must, to man's relation to society. Therefore, while belief in Gods has been a powerful restraint upon evil tendencies in human nature, and has thus been moral in a negative sense, still the rapid spread of intellectual development among the masses has led them up through a gradual decay of their fears of supernatural powers and into a consequent indifference to their duties toward them. The consequence is that the "civilized" portions of the race have arrived at a condition of development and conduct in which practical atheism is coextensive with the civilization itself. It needs only a glance to assure one that, in modern civilized countries, the primitive atheism of savagery no longer exists; at least, it has no part in their civilization. The third class, as referred to above,—namely, that which has arrived at a stage of intellectual culture which takes causes out of the imaginary field of supernaturalism,—has become so large and powerful that it controls literature, art, and science. The intellectual influence of the developing power of business leads those of the second class whose lives are enmeshed in the continual "struggle for life," or wealth, into indifference to and forgetfulness of their fealty to the Gods, and so throws them practically into the third class above mentioned, and leaves as a residuum of the once large and controlling class representing the middle stage of intellectual development a comparatively small and continually smaller-growing class of people who have not work enough in life to keep their minds actively employed, and who have not sufficient intellectual stimulus to make them attractive advocates of the once widely extended and controlling belief in the Gods of the supernatural world. Therefore, I repeat that, practically, atheism is to-day universal in civilized countries.

Is there anything startling in the fact? No, it is merely a stage of growth which will gradually change and give place to another. Nature, in her process of evolution, produces savage atheism,—the timid, fearful, dim-seeing intellect that believes in Gods as naturally as modern boys take to trees and fish-ponds, under the old instinct of the hunter in search of game; and, still later, she produces the clear-sighted, brave, strong intellect that drops the belief in those Gods just as inevitably as these boys quit hunting and settle down to the more arduous and brilliant intellectual life of modern manhood. The only feature of this process of development that can be referred to as objectionable is the fact that the belief that morality was man's relation to God has made intellectual development one-sided. It has left out the idea of moral development, on the supposition that that was an affair of priesthoods and theologians. Business—that is, acquisitiveness—has grown on the plan of getting wealth honestly, if convenient, but of getting it at any rate. Business has made it the habit of the civilized portions of the race, generally speaking, to get money by hook or by crook for six days, and to leave the work of keeping things right with the Gods to priesthoods and Sabbath-day meetings. Many a man has "made a fortune" by questionable means, who has kept his account square with God by paying his minister well. The good deacon who sits by his dropping whiskey-still, and sings with gracious unction,—

"Come, thou fount of every blessing,"—

is true to the intellectual development of the age, when he interprets the "blessing" as the measure of his wealth; while a liberal hand to home and foreign missions makes all right with this world and the next also, if there is any, for, after all, the money-making business man has too much brain action now not to be extremely doubtful if there is anything to be afraid of, or even anything to be afraid, in the sweet by and by.

In this way, belief in Gods has been an obstacle to progress; and the civilization that would come to stay, that would make itself permanent, must commence by a realization of the idea that intellectual development must be full-sided, must be honest; that acquisitiveness is an unblest evil whenever and wherever it leads a people to pursue possession by any means that are not as thoroughly honest, true, and right toward one man or all men, as deeply binding in obligations to humanity, as ever were ancient ideas of duty to God. The business side of intellectual development must be elevated to a degree that will make it scorn a dishonest penny as much as people once feared an angry God. Then, the world will have discovered that atheism is not only a natural product of intellectual development, but that it is also better both to live and to die by, as the saying goes, than ever were ancient superstitions concerning the supernatural.

EMERSON AND SHELLEY.

Extract from a Paper on Emerson, read before a Social Club in this Vicinity, in 1881.

Carlyle, in his *Life of Schiller*, opens the second part with an eloquent apostrophe to a literary life, which, under favorable circumstances, he considers "the most enviable which the lot of this world affords." He claims that among this class "are to be found the brightest specimens and the chief benefactors of mankind." I think that Emerson may be put in this category of benefactors; for surely he, if any one, has kept awake the finest parts of our souls, and given us better aims than power or pleasure, and during a long life, now drawing to a peaceful close, "having travelled through it in calm and virtuous majesty," has been ever faithful to his highest ideal, the boldest, the most truthful, and the most original of all our American authors. Ever "lowly, faithful, he still obeys the voice at eve obeyed at prime"; and his voice at prime, as uttered in his Dartmouth oration, delivered in 1838, is singularly in accordance with Carlyle's high ideal of a literary life. He says: "I have reached the middle age of man, yet I believe I am not less glad or sanguine at the meeting of scholars than, when a boy, I first saw the graduates of my own college assembled at their anniversary. Neither years nor books have yet availed to extirpate a prejudice then rooted in me,—that a scholar is the favorite of heaven and earth, the excellency of his country, the happiest of men." Embosomed in the green hills of his rural home, surrounded by his books and friends, with happy family relations, in perpetual communion with that nature which he so utterly delights in and with an ever widening fame his does seem to have been the happiest lot which this world affords.

Emerson has written a great deal about the poet and poetry, but all on an ideal platform, almost too high for human attainment. Indeed, he says, "I look in vain for the poet whom I describe." In his definition of poetry, he is surpassed by Shelley in that rapturous inspiration, his "Defence of Poetry," wherein he declares poetry to be "the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds." In reading these two authors, of what they have to say on this topic, one might almost think that Shelley and Emerson were twin brothers; but Emerson repudiates him, and rather insinuates that he is only an English rhymester. He says, "When people tell me they do not relish poetry, and bring me Shelley or 'Aiken's Poets' to show that it has no charms, I am quite of their mind." This disparagement of Shelley is quite unaccountable, and must arise in part, I think, from Emerson's lack of the musical ear, which lack is lamentably betrayed in many of his poems. His allusions to music are few and faint throughout all his writings. I fear he did not enjoy the "Fifth Symphony" or "Don Giovanni" or the "Marriage of Figaro" or the "Messiah." And consider what a blank in a man's life this deficiency implies! A stranger in a world of ecstasy, an outcast from the Palace Beautiful, from the Chamber of Peace, from the Land of Beulah. But he turns to his essay on "Compensation," and says, "For everything you have missed, you have gained something else." And *his* compensation is a voice more melodious than Apollo's lute, and a discourse more enchanting than the harp of Orpheus.

Shelley, like Emerson, was a passionate worshipper of nature, pantheistic in his philosophy, as is Emerson, and like him an ardent disciple of Plato. He read Plato in the original Greek, and made one of the best translations of the "Banquet" ever rendered into English,—a feat far beyond Emerson's accomplishment. He was a daring and courageous advocate of freedom in thought, speech, and action. Original in his convictions, pure in his morals, liberal in his benefactions, unselfish, humane, a scholar, one would think after Emerson's own heart, and far surpassing him in classical learning and poetical inspiration, and then he died so young,—oh, the pity of it! And Emerson passes him by,—ignoring his magnificent "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty," the bare title of which should have caused him to bow his head in reverence,—and praises that cold, watery, bloodless egotist, Thoreau, who wrote a sonnet on "Mist," another on "Haze," and a third on "Smoke."

What was the secret of Emerson's disparagement? Perhaps it was his Puritanic "survival."

CORRESPONDENCE.

A DYNAMICAL FICTION.

Editors of The Index:—

In an article in *The Index* of September 28, criticising the so-called "Spencerian Metaphysics," by M. A. Hardaker, are some remarkable statements on the nature of mind and its scientific relations to matter. It is confidently asserted that all force is motion, and that all the relations between the sentience of a living organism and its external environment consist of nothing but transformation of motion. It will be seen that, if all force is resolvable into motion, then the substratum involved, without which motion itself is utterly inconceivable, becomes merely an *inert* vehicle for the same. Let us make a concrete application of the doctrine in question by a simple illustration, and we shall see what havoc it will play with the fundamental concepts upon which all our science is based. Suppose two equal inert atoms moving toward each other with equal velocity from opposite directions: on contact, their motions would exactly annihilate each other, and both would come to a dead rest; conclusively showing that, if force is mere motion in space, the scientific doctrine of the "persistence of force" is not true. It also demonstrates that, if force is nothing but motion, the fundamental axiom upon which all science is based (and in which the idea of the persistence of force is involved), that "action and reaction are equal and opposite," would also be false.

It would be no scientific explanation whatever of sentience or feeling, nor of its relations to anything external, to say that it is a mode of motion, or the transformation of any mode, because it is utterly inconceivable and forever impossible to identify the two. Motion is a mere change in location, and by itself can be conceived to possess no *qualities* but extension and configuration. How, then, can it possibly be conceived as possessing feeling or consciousness, within which are contained *all* qualities which ever can be realized or known?

In the same essay, it is stated that "the latest physiological researches are proving the human body to be but a medium for the transformation of energy, a wondrously sensitive and complex medium, but still only one in a series of material masses through which motion, or energy, passes in its ceaseless round." Also, that "there is no more difficulty in conceiving the transformation of molecular or molar motion into sensation and thought than in conceiving them as transformed into electricity or heat." But read what an eminent physiological writer says on this subject, Dr. Edmund Montgomery (than whom I believe no one has made a more profound and thorough observational investigation of the physiological beginnings of life), in the *Popular Science Monthly* for September, 1878:—

"Whether the forces be conceived as specific entities, as definite modes of motion, or as different affections of matter, the idea of their equivalence and convertibility is just as unwarranted, though not so palpably incongruous, as the idea of the equivalence and convertibility of air-vibrations and sound-perception, of ether-vibrations and light-perception. A certain, even quantitatively definite relation obtains between the intensity of stimulation and the stimulated effect; but that relation is neither one of equivalence nor of convertibility. This fact is universal in nature; but becomes the more obvious, the less the mutually affecting substances resemble each other. It is just as impossible that one kind of force can be converted into another kind of force as it is impossible for any kind of force to originate out of nothing, or to exist without substratum.

"A 'force-directing' machine or apparatus corresponds to a well-known intelligible fact. A 'force-transforming' machine or apparatus corresponds to something altogether unintelligible. If substances

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had really any such transforming effect on forces, even then they would themselves constitute specifically intervening powers. . . . We cannot make any considerable progress in the philosophy of reality, of which the understanding of our own life is the consummation, before we have first formally re-enthroned the sovereign energies, so strangely slighted during the long reign of visionary potentates,—the eras of anthropomorphism and metaphysics.

"Now that we are avowedly appealing to nature for knowledge, it behooves us to become natural in our mode of thinking. To fix our attention merely on changes and their relation to each other is to grasp at the shadow of reality. That which changes is in every respect the substance, the potentiality and actuality in the case; and it is essentially its specific molecular constitution which determines the nature of the change qualitatively and quantitatively. The scientifically ascertained, most specific behavior shown by the various substances, with regard to their manifestation of different modes of force, or even of one and the same mode of force, is in itself abundant proof that that which we call forces are merely specific modes of *reaction* on the part of the various substances. . . .

"The scientific conception of cause is a dynamical fiction made to suit a realm of phantasmal inertia, in which molecularly imperturbable masses pursue forever an unopposed course in a resistless medium. How can we gain an insight into reality by always mathematizing it away?

"In nature, all manifestations are the work of opposition and perturbation; agitation of pre existing states, and subversions of the same. It is in this intrinsic potentiality and mutual affectibility of so-called masses that nature has its being, its subsistence, and its perfectibility. The substrata of reality are not merely ponderable or imponderable vehicles of locomotion, but concentrations of actual and potential energies, thrilling through and through with consonant sensitiveness, reverberating with an accent of their own every commotion from the centre of the skies to the centre of the earth."

FRANKLIN SMITH.

DEDHAM, MASS., October 6, 1882.

IS PRAYER OUTGROWN?

Editors of The Index:—

The article in your last issue by Mr. W. M. Salter, entitled "Prayer and an Ethical View of Life," is so fine in spirit, so pure and lofty in tone, that one may get inspiration from it, while dissenting from the conclusion arrived at; namely, that the belief in the efficacy of prayer is not compatible with the scientific conception of the world.

Mr. Salter allows that prayer is not without its effect on man's life, that it may be followed even by elevation and tranquillity of mind, but regards it as "hardly more than intellectual trifling to say that the elevation and tranquillity of mind that may often follow prayer are the answer to it." But what if the burden of one's prayers is for just this elevation and tranquillity of mind, and oft-repeated experience convinces him that these states are induced by, that they come in response to prayer, to the earnest desire for them, whether uttered or unexpressed,—is it intellectual trifling to say so, to claim that prayer, as such, does win its end? Among those who take the ethical, the scientific view of life, as distinguished from the theological, there are those who are led by life's experience to the firmest conviction that in the great work of salvation, of spiritual attainment, of character-building, man may have, must have, help from a Power not himself.

"Thou must save thyself: . . . all other salvation is vain," will seem to them a less satisfactory, a less scientific statement of the matter than that older one: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." They *know* that in all their aspirations, in all their efforts to attain the higher life, they are but co-workers with a great current of moral influences that blows around them, that by prayer they are lifted into that upper region of our spiritual atmosphere, where, as Emerson says, "a breath of will blows eternally in the direction of the Right and Necessary," and that by it their lives are blown "into order and orbit." 'Tis not in vain, they are assured by the testimony of their own experience and that of others, to join with Whittier in his prayer,

> "Shed thy rich dews of quietness,
> Bid all our striving cease,
> Take from our souls the strain, the stress,
> And let our ordered lives confess
> The beauty of thy peace."

For they have found that such prayer is a blessed remedy for the unrest, the weariness, the irritations of life; that by it the spirit of trust is developed, the soul's apprehension of "a sublime other not itself" is strengthened; that the answer to it is a growing consciousness of relationship with something grand and awful and beneficent, some mysterious Power of Good that responds lovingly to the throbs of the human heart; and that with this consciousness comes a sense of peace and satisfaction, in which

> "All the jarring notes of life
> Are blended in a psalm,
> And all the angles of its strife
> Are rounded into calm."

And there are those who have learned to breathe that sublimest of all prayers, "Thy will, O God, not mine, be done," who know that by it the darkest experiences of life are robbed of their stings, that a mysterious strength to bear steals in upon the soul, that there is even an inflowing of peace and of joy such as no gratification of desire ever produced. It is not a matter of speculative belief, but of knowledge, that there is a great unseen Power of Good on which the soul may confidingly lean in its severest trials, and that from it is wafted the sweet and assuring whisper, "My grace is sufficient for thee."

That there will be great changes in men's theories of prayer, in their ideas as to how prayer is answered, and what can and what cannot be secured by it, there can be no doubt. That an ever-increasing number will cease to attempt to express in words the deepest desires of their souls is probable. But it does not seem to me probable or even possible that any earnest soul shall cease to pray. D. ROWEN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

IN the Boston *Transcript*, we find the following from Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, which is the opening part of an address he delivered some years ago at a Unitarian festival in Boston: "It has occurred to me, ladies and gentlemen, that, as many clergymen are expected to make speeches on this occasion, it would be a fair thing enough if one layman should take the opportunity it affords him of delivering a sermon. I have heard a great many, and never yet pronounced one. Will you kindly listen to my virgin effort? My text is from the Apocrypha, the Book of Ecclesiasticus, 20th chapter, 13th verse:—

"'An eloquent man is known far and near, but a man of understanding knoweth when he slippeth.'"

In closing he said: "May I, without committing any one but myself, mention a few of the stumbling-blocks which still stand in the way of some who have many sympathies with what is called the liberal school of thinkers? I believe they are quite as much anthropological as theological. Some of these doctrines might be at once repudiated by those who hold other beliefs, which in reality grew out of them.

"The notion that man is responsible for the fact of suffering and death, whereas both existed long before his appearance on our planet.

"The notion that there can be such a thing as *natural* moral evil; as if any one but the God of nature could be responsible for nature's effects.

"The notion that sin is a transferable object. As philanthropy has ridded us of chattel slavery, so philosophy must rid us of chattel sin and all its logical consequences.

"The notion that what we call sin is anything else than inevitable, unless the Deity has seen fit to give every human being a perfect nature and develop it by a perfect education.

"The oversight of the fact that all moral relations between man and his Maker are reciprocal, and must meet the approval of man's enlightened conscience before he can render true and heartfelt homage to the Power that called him into being. And is not the greatest obligation to all eternity on the side of the greatest wisdom and the greatest power?

"The notion that the Father of mankind is subject to the absolute control of a certain malignant entity known under the false name of justice, or subject to any law such as would have made the father of the prodigal son meet him with an account book and pack him off to jail instead of welcoming him back and treating him to the fatted calf.

"The notion that useless suffering is in any sense a satisfaction for sin, and not simply an evil added to a previous one.

"I believe many of you will agree with me in rejecting these notions, and that in due time these and all such stumbling-blocks will be removed from the path of any whom they prevent from marching side by side with you in the grand army of the soldiers of humanity and servants of God."

LORD QUEENSBERRY'S EXPLANATION.—The Marquis of Queensberry explains his peculiar conduct at the London Globe Theatre, which was reported here by telegraph, in a letter, in which he says: "As no doubt an incident that occurred to-night at the Globe Theatre will find its way into some of the daily papers, I trust that you will allow me to make a few remarks in explanation of what actually took place in reference to myself, as otherwise my motive may be utterly misconstrued, not only by those who were present in the theatre at the time, but by others of the public outside who may hear any report not quite correctly stated of what actually did occur. This evening, I went to hear the new piece by Mr. Tennyson, as represented at the Globe Theatre, 'The Promise of May.' Toward the close of the first act, when the gentleman representing the character of Edgar appeared on the stage, I instantly became deeply interested when I perceived the character he (Edgar) had come to represent, or rather, as I took it, most grossly to misrepresent. After listening a few minutes to the sentiments expressed by this gentleman free thinker and atheist of Mr. Tennyson's imagination, I became so horrified and indignant that, rising in my stall, I simply, in a loud voice, made the following remarks apropos of Edgar's comments upon 'marriage': 'These are the sentiments that a professing Christian [meaning Mr. Tennyson] has put into the mouth of his imaginary free thinker, and it is not the truth.' This is all I said, and I sat down. When the curtain fell at the end of the first act, there were several good-natured cries and calls upon myself, from different parts of the theatre, to explain myself. I rose and endeavored to do so, as I was naturally most anxious that the motives of my interruption should not be misconstrued either by those in the theatre or by the public who might hear of it outside. I was forcibly but kindly removed while endeavoring to explain myself, and protesting against Mr. Tennyson's misrepresentations of the sentiments of the secularists and free thinkers and so-called atheists of England. My statement of the facts, I presume, explains my motives. I am a secularist and a free thinker and, though I repudiate it, a so-called atheist; and, as President of the British Secular Union, I protest against Mr. Tennyson's abominable caricature of an individual whom, I presume, he would have us believe represents some body of people, which, thanks to the good of humanity, most certainly does not exist among free thinkers."

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BOOK NOTICES.

TRAVELS IN SOUTH KENSINGTON. With Notes on Decorative Art and Architecture in England. By Moncure Daniel Conway, author of *The Sacred Anthology*, *The Wandering Jew*, etc. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Conway does not need any introduction to readers of *The Index*. But the rôle in which he now appears is quite a different one from that in which he generally appears in our columns, albeit these have furnished many proofs of his surprising versatility. South Kensington suggests an order of ideas very different from that of Mr. Conway's *Sacred Anthology* and his *Rejected Stone*, which, it should never be forgotten, was, if not the most solid, the most brilliant contribution to the literature of emancipation during the Civil War. Equally foreign does it seem to the Transcendentalism of New England, with its inclination to "plain living and high thinking." South Kensington and Bedford Square are more suggestive of Thackeray's inversion of the Wordsworthian phrase, "Plain thinking and high living." But the talent of Mr. Conway seems to be hardly less at home in these æsthetic circles than in the Concord woods or the study of comparative religion or the storm and stress of a great political reform. Much, if not all, of the text of his *Travels in South Kensington* has been printed in *Harper's Magazine*, and there read with much instruction and delight. The book is made up of three parts. The first part is an account of the South Kensington Museum, of its origin and growth, of the treasures it contains, of the methods it adopts to foster decorative art. The second part, "Decorative Art and Architecture in England," details what may be properly regarded as, in good part, the results of the South Kensington instruction and its impulse to æsthetic life. In the third and briefest part, we have some account of Bedford Square, the new London suburb, where everything that is most unique in architecture and household decoration most abounds. Under the head of "Decorative Art and Architecture," Mr. Conway gives an elaborate account of the Albert Memorial, which is made much more intelligible and interesting than it could otherwise be by many illustrations. Indeed, the book abounds in illustrations. Among them are the faces of several of the more distinguished leaders of the æsthetic renaissance. The face of William Morris is disappointingly meagre in contour and expression, but that of Alma-Tadema is exactly the face of a man to paint the warm and sensuous life of ancient Rome. The book is handsomely made, and has a design upon the cover which might be called "A Symphony in Yellow Night-gowns"; and, O reader, let us live up to it!

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART. By Franz von Reber. Revised by the author. Translated and augmented by Joseph Thacher Clarke. With three hundred and ten illustrations and a Glossary of Technical Terms. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

A preface to this book, by Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, is a recommendation of it to the average student, than which a better could not be conceived. Herr Franz von Reber is Director of the Bavarian Royal and State Galleries of Paintings and Professor in the University and Polytechnic of Munich. His book is an application of the historic method to the study of the Fine Arts. "The subject has been confused," Prof. Norton says, "by the intrusion of metaphysics into its domain in the guise of a professed but spurious science of æsthetics." Samples of this abound *ad nauseam* in the pages of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* and in the lucubrations of the Concord school. It is high praise which Prof. Norton accords to Dr. Reber's work, when he says, "There is no compend of information on the subject in any language so trustworthy and judicious as this." Dr. Reber begins with Egypt as possessing, if not the oldest civilization, the most ancient monuments. Treating of architecture, he makes short work of the nonsense of Mr. Piazzi Smyth and others who have discovered systems of astronomy and even the doctrine of the Trinity in the *Great Pyramid*. Next after Egypt, we have such account as can be given of the art of Chaldæa, Babylonia, and Assyria. Persia is next considered, then Phœnicia, Palestine, and Asia Minor. The fullest section in the book is devoted to Greece; and this is right, for here we are in the sphere of real beauty. Other sections follow on Etruria and Rome. The illustrations are very numerous, and not one is given that does not help our understanding of the text. Last, but not least, there is an excellent glossary of technical terms and an index, making complete the student's apparatus.

POEMS. By Minot J. Savage. Boston: George H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street. 1882.

We cannot say that Mr. Savage writes poetry so well as he preaches. But that is not to say that he does not write poetry well worth printing. Among preachers, he stands in the front ranks. Among poets, he modestly claims, in his dedicatory page to this volume, no such place. And perhaps it is his very excellence as a preacher, and his praiseworthy absorption in his chosen vocation, that somewhat mars his poetical attempts. The preacher is a little too prominent in his poetry. Not only do the favorite topics of his preaching often appear in the poems, and church occasions and pastoral experiences evidently give the motive from which many of them were written,—all of which is natural and proper,—but sometimes he is so intent on making plain his thought that he forgets the necessities of poetic language, and lines of prose appear in his verses. But these are minor blemishes in a volume that is full of sweet, vigorous, and healthful sentiments, showing a very active mind and one that is not only at home in themes of theology and ethics, but equally so amid scenes of nature and the tender home experiences of human life; while, in the miscellaneous collection of short poems headed "Potpourri," there is not a little of homely wisdom and wit in true epigrammatic shape. The little book, of two hundred and fifty clearly printed pages, bound in pretty style, will find many welcoming friends.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE. 1882. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The single weekly issues of *Harper's Young People* are not particularly impressive; but the effect is quite different, when we have fifty-two numbers in a collective mass, handsomely bound together. Then, we are astonished at the amount and richness of the material. The illustrations are multitudinous, and they are capitally done. How different from the illlustrations in children's books a quarter of a century ago,—the little boys in frock-coats, very short-waisted, and plug hats, and the little girls to match! There is æsthetic education in such pictures as these. The child habituated to their beauty will go into a gallery of pictures, and intuitively discriminate between the better and the worse. There is a proper mixture in the *Young People* of fiction with agreeable information, and all the puzzles and enigmas that the most voracious can desire.

DIVORCE. By Margaret Lee. New York: John W. Lovell Company. Price 50 cts.

The evils, inconsistencies, and looseness of the present divorce laws of the United States are very cleverly shown in this novel, which purports to be and may well be founded upon fact. The story is interestingly told, and the moral a needed one. The publishers call attention to the cheapness of the work of over four hundred pages, nicely bound in cloth, the first of a series by American writers, declaring it to be their intention to test whether the increased sales will be great enough to make this form of publishing remunerative to our native authors.

THE most interesting article in the *Revue de Belgique* for November is on the higher education of women, of the success of which in the United States, Belgium, England, Switzerland, Russia, Italy, and Sweden, many illustrations are given. It is pleasant to hear that there are more than five hundred female physicians in this country, but the statement that some in the large cities earn $20,000 a year is almost incredible. Twenty-six ladies are practising medicine in England. Girton College is forced almost every year to enlarge its room on account of the number of applicants. Of the one hundred and thirty-seven girls thus far admitted, sixty-two have gained university honors; and the success of its graduates in gaining employment as teachers has been most gratifying. The only continental countries where women are now allowed to practise medicine appear to be Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, and Italy, Russia permitting them to study, but not to practise, and both France and Germany being decidedly behind their neighbors in this respect. One lady who had been the ablest student in history at Göttingen, but had been obliged to go to Berne for her degree, is now teaching at Berlin in the Victoria Lyceum, which is attended by more than a thousand girls. Other articles speak of the illusions of universal suffrage, the Catacombs at Rome, and recent German literature.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

LAST Sunday, the 17th of December, was the seventy-fifth birthday of the poet Whittier.

MRS. OLIPHANT is said to be the author of the beautiful little prose poem, *The Little Pilgrim*.

A COMPLIMENTARY banquet is to be given to Frederick Douglass in Washington on New Year's Day next, at which ex-Senator B. K. Bruce will preside.

CAPTAIN JOHN ERICSSON is still living in New York, a hale, hearty old man, in his eightieth year. It is twenty years since his little "Monitor" revolutionized the navies of the world by its attack on the "Merrimac."

REV. JAMES BEECHER, the hermit Beecher, who has lived in the backwoods of Ulster County, N.Y., since 1875, has become so eccentric that his brother, Thomas K., has persuaded him to enter the homœopathic insane asylum at Middletown, N.Y.

MR. ROBERT MORRIS, SEN., a well-known colored lawyer of this city, died at his home here on Tuesday, the 12th inst. He was the first colored man admitted to the bar in this State. He was highly respected as a citizen and a lawyer. "Warrington" used to say of him that his legal acumen and professional charges totally disproved the inequality of the races.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, although sixty-two years of age, has such a bright, unwrinkled face that she would pass for fifty. She has good teeth, brown hair, bright brown eyes, and a pleasant voice. Although she is unable to use her lower limbs, yet she does not complain by either word or look, and has an active interest in all that concerns the sufferings of others.

LOUIS KOSSUTH, the Hungarian exile and patriot, is still living and in good health in spite of his age; for he is now eighty. He resides in Turin, Italy. On the occasion of his eightieth birthday, many banquets were given in his honor, over seventy telegrams of congratulation were sent him from Hungary, and a costly album was sent him, containing more than thirty thousand Hungarian signatures.

THE latest "reliable" information we have in regard to the whereabouts of the once "Rev." W. H. H. Murray we glean from the columns of the *Presbyterian*, one of whose correspondents says that he (Murray) is living on a ranch just outside of San Antonia, Tex., where he is engaged in fine stock-breeding and managing a saw-mill, sawing timber by contract. He gives occasional lectures in the city, in which "he scolds the Church and sneers at Orthodoxy," and declares hell to be a superstition used by the clergy to *scare* the people into the Church.

EVERY one interested in the Woman's Suffrage Movement will find a very complete history of its rise and progress in this State, written in a brilliant and interesting style, in "Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement," by Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson (widow of "Warrington"), a book indorsed by the recommendation of Wendell Phillips, Col. Higginson, Louise Alcott, and others. This work is an essential part of the history of our State, and should be in the library of all Massachusetts men and women. It can be procured of the author at the reduced price of one dollar. Address Mrs. H. H. Robinson, Malden, Mass., P. O. Box 374.

AN English paper refers to the attentions bestowed on Herbert Spencer in this country, and says it is impossible to conceive of a foreign thinker, with no claim to honors beyond those of a thinker, having the same kind of a reception in England. A man's social position and the number and quality of his private introductions would determine the manner of his reception there. These considerations cause the paper in question to wonder whether Americans are naturally more given to lionizing than Englishmen, or whether "it is possible, after all, that there are sections of American society where rank in the world of light counts for more than even the possession of the almighty dollar."

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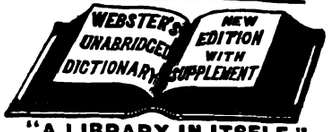

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 301

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Coming Church, Wm. J. Potter. 302
Socialism and Social Democracy, W. M. Salter, ... 302
Fact and Faith: Self and Sacrifice, Charlotte Porter, . 303
Wealth and Poverty, B. W. Ball, ... 304
Notes from the Field, B. F. Underwood, ... 305

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 305

POETRY.
The Building of the Temple, Walter L. Sawyer, . . . 306

ESSAYS.
No Supersensible Matter, Wm. I. Gill, ... 307
Curiosities of Music, Ivan Panin, ... 308

CORRESPONDENCE.
Liberal Religious Organization, J. W. Mackie, ... 309
Intuition, Eva A. H. Barnes, ... 310
Revision of Creeds, W. H. S., ... 310

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 310

BOOK NOTICES.
Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer, by Alexander Winchell, LL.D., ... 310
Art and Nature in Italy, by Eugene Benson, ... 311
Atlantic Monthly, Century Magazine, Popular Science Monthly North American Review, Catholic World, 311
Vick's Floral Guide, ... 311

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 311

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Episcopal Church reports for the last year the smallest increase of communicants recorded for many years previously.

TWO Roman Catholic priests, of Central America, have recently yielded to the tender passion, and broken the rules of their profession by marrying, and both have been promptly excommunicated therefor. Their example may prove contagious.

CHICAGO women take hold of humanitarian work with true Western go-a headativeness. As the city authorities failed to do so, an Association of women have provided matrons at the police stations to attend to the wants and needs of female prisoners.

IN the number of letters sent through the mails, according to the census, the State of Illinois ranks fourth, being exceeded only by New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. In 1880, Illinois sent through the mails 68,643,228 letters, exceeding by seven million the number sent by Ohio, which stands the fifth in order.

AT a Presbyterian Conference, held in Australia last April, a Rev. Mr. Hamilton, of Victoria, read a paper advocating the training and employment of native Australians as preachers, giving as one his reason that the ministers supplied "from the old country" (Scotland) were not sure to be "Scriptural and sound in the faith." Recounting this causes the *Presbyterian* to utter this moan: "We have reached strange and sad times, when it is said that ministers, sent out from that land to preach the gospel, cannot any longer be relied on as 'being sound in the faith.'"

"CLOSE COMMUNION," in the Baptist faith, seems in a fair way to be done away, since a Baptist clergyman consented to preach a Thanksgiving sermon in a Jewish synagogue in Philadelphia, being introduced by the rabbi, and this without any loss of his orthodox standing among his Baptist brethren. The rabbi, in introducing him to the Jewish congregation, sensibly remarked, in regard to his Christian *confrère*, "We agree to disagree on certain points; but there are many more on which we agree to agree for all time to come, and chief among them are our love of nation and love of humanity."

VENNER published a letter under date of December 11, in which he made the following prediction: "Now, you will find that there will be a very stormy ending to 1882 *everywhere*. Snow blockades will probably occur in Great Britain and France as well as at other quarters of the globe. Intensely cold weather will travel to remote southerly points, and in the far West and Northwest. Lower thermometer readings will yet be recorded for 1882 than for any previous year in a long period of time. But the winter, on the whole, will be short, being all condensed into its fore portion. There will be a great 'break up' in January before the middle of the month, and probably shortly after the first week of that month."

WE clip the following from the *Congregationalist:* "A correspondent sends us the following, cut from the 'Sunday Notices' in the daily press of a New England city: 'Rev. ——, of ——, will preach at the —— church to-morrow morning. On account of the absence of Mr. —— from the morning service, he will meet with the class in Herbert Spencer in the evening at 7.30 o'clock.' Our friend not unnaturally thinks that this 'Bible class in Herbert Spencer,' as he calls it, illustrates 'the fact that Sunday instruction among us has a wide range, quite co-extensive with the full breadth of liberty, to say nothing of its alliterative neighbors, laxity and license.' We hope it is hardly necessary to add that the said church and pastor are not of our own order."

A WRITER in the *Inquirer*, an English Unitarian paper, says that his sister, being interested in an attempt to improve the neighborhood of a Unitarian Chapel in Moreton Hampstead, wished to buy some ruinous cottages standing near it, for the purpose of pulling them down. She found the owner, a lady, after some trouble; and, the interview being pleasant and satisfactory, she felt quite sure of gaining her ends. But, soon after, the following letter was received, which shows how strong religious bigotry yet is, even among the cultivated classes in England: "Madam,—I am writing to you at once, before I return to Exeter, as I wish to tell you without delay that I cannot sell you the cottages you want for the purpose you require. I am sorry I did not think of it while you were here; but, after you left, I saw I could not, as a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ, sell you those cottages with the object of improving that which denies him."

OF the future of Chicago, which in half a century has grown from an insignificant village to a city of six hundred and fifty thousand, Emery A. Storrs said, in a recent address before the Chicago Historical Society: "We see in the future a great city stretching its arms across the prairie, with its streets thronged and populous, with its thousands and tens of thousands of contented homes, with its shops filled with busy and prosperous artisans, with its schools giving the benefit of a liberal and a free education to all who may desire it, its courts presided over by wise and just judges, its business centres inspired by the highest commercial probity, its manufacturers sending their products all around the globe, the white sails of its commerce glistening upon every sea, its patriotism as broad as the Republic. We see it the centre of sound political thought and action; and we shall, I am sure, see rising, in the presence and by the very side of warehouses and great business structures, fitting homes for music, the drama, and all the arts. We see it the resort not merely of men who would trade, but we see trade inspired with the loftiest purposes. The scholar, the poet, the actor, the painter, the sculptor,—all these we see in this future, and not so very far, seeking Chicago as a chosen home, because in the great city their music, their sculpture, their painting, all are welcomed, and all find ready and worthy appreciation."

CHRISTMAS day, which ten or fifteen years ago was scarcely observed at all in New England, has, since its adoption as a national holiday, developed into a sort of altruistic Saturnalia. Each succeeding year has seen the Christmas gift-giving mania increase and spread, until this season we feel as if it must have almost reached its utmost limit. Since the beginning of the month, the stores in this city, and doubtless in all other cities over the country, have been daily adding to their attractive displays, and have been thronged with eager and happy purchasers. Within the week, the sale of Christmas gifts must have been enormous; for at times, in many of the leading stores, entrance to late buyers was nearly impossible. Even the streets were thronged as if some great event had occurred. And all this for an unselfish purpose, to make some one else at least momentarily happy in knowing that he or she had been remembered and cared for by the giver. This Christmas craze is a very delightful and ennobling one, and much to be preferred to many other of the manias which have of late swept over the country; for we believe heartily in that scripture which declares it is "more blessed to give than to receive." Like mercy, unselfishness "is twice blessed. It blesseth him who gives and him who takes." It is true that there is much danger of indiscriminate, unthoughtful, and even of selfish giving, but there is no great good without some little accompanying evil; and as the gift season is so brief, and only of annual occurrence, we contend that its influence and its results are, in the main, good and elevating, whether those who indulge in it give in the name of the Christ-child, of Santa Claus, of Kriss Kringle, or believe that they are only celebrating the Roman Saturnalia or the winter solstice, the birthday of the sun.

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THE COMING CHURCH.

In the department of correspondence will be found a letter of thoughtful inquiry from Oakland, Cal., concerning the conditions of a local religious organization which shall perfectly respect intellectual liberty. The letter, which gives an interesting account of the formation and present position of the liberal society in Oakland, over which the late lamented Mr. Hamilton presided with courageous fidelity to his convictions, closes with putting to us a question which deserves a thoughtful reply. Our correspondent is right in the supposition that the topic is one which will have more than a local interest.

We must say at the outset, however, that we do not think that free or liberal religious societies, even such as are entirely separated from all existing ecclesiastical organizations, must necessarily be formed on one pattern, or aim to do precisely the same kind of practical work. In their methods, and even in their bases of organization, they may differ, and most likely will differ. They will differ because of their very freedom from the common bond of any traditional ecclesiasticism. Their methods and plans, including any common statement which they may make of their purpose in organization, will properly depend in large measure on local conditions; that is, on the special circumstances out of which in any place the new organization may spring, and on the special needs and opportunities of the community where it is to do its work.

But, though such societies may not have the same methods nor wholly agree in their verbal statements, there are certain principles in which they will be in essential agreement. They will, in the first place, admit nothing into their fundamental statements of organization and purpose which can in any way restrict the rights of individual free thought. They will not define their terms of fellowship by the lines of any theological creed, but recognize the obligation of the human mind to avail itself of all rational aids to the fullest research and inquiry as a condition of progress. And, in the second place, though it may be first in practical importance, they will lay even greater stress on making the objects of their organization to be improvement of individual character and the amelioration of human society. And to these ends, in accordance with the differences of local conditions above referred to, all their ways and means will be adjusted.

There is a large class of liberal thinkers—probably the majority of those who have already broken away from all ecclesiastical organizations—who think that liberal societies should stop with these two points; that to secure liberty of thought, and to provide for the ethical training which includes both philanthropy and the higher culture of personal character, cover all that is necessary or consistent for a liberal organization to aim at. And, if the phrase "culture of personal character" be interpreted largely enough, the position of this class of Liberals may be granted. And, in any case, it may be granted that there are sometimes conditions where it will be wisest to limit the statement of purpose and method to these two points; where, in fact, there could not be the requisite unity for any organization, if anything further of statement were attempted, but where there may be a very effective organization, if the statement of purpose be thus limited. Nor do we see why, under such conditions, there may not be "a central idea, clear and attractive enough to all, to excite a common enthusiasm," and so to supply the "lack" which our Oakland correspondent speaks of as felt in the society there. We have never been able to understand why a society that is organized to defend and promote a moral purpose should not have as much enthusiasm and as genuine and efficient impulse for work as one that is organized to defend and propagate an intellectual belief. And, if there be any such difference in practical experience, we do not believe the difference originates in any inherent quality of human nature, but rather in the fact that human nature on the religious side has so long been trained to regard a creed as having more saving efficacy than conduct.

But, from what our correspondent says of the origin of the Oakland Society, we suspect that the majority of it would not feel that its purposes were all covered by methods that should stop with freedom of intellectual inquiry and with ethical and philanthropic aims. We note that, in speaking of the "central idea" which the society seems to him to lack for unifying its "conflicting conditions" and arousing its "enthusiasm," he defines it as "something which will combine intellectual freedom and moral culture with spiritual enlargement and discernment." By this latter phrase, he doubtless means to indicate the religious element as having a quality distinct from mental freedom or moral activity. And there are many Liberals who would agree with him in this, though they might phrase it somewhat differently, and who would agree, too, that this element must be included in any liberal organization that professes to take the place of the Church, and to be a permanent institution for promoting the highest good both of individual character and of human society. This is the opinion of the present writer.

We can well understand how those liberal thinkers, who have been accustomed to identify religion with irrational theologies and absurd superstitions, and who are wont specially to remember the inhumanities which have been committed in its name, should be disposed to regard the abolition of all religion as a consummation devoutly to be wished. But, in our view, religion, rationally and philosophically considered, represents man's attitude of relation, as expressed in thought, feeling, and action, toward the whole universe of being; and this relation would continue of necessity to exist, even though the word "religion" were to become obsolete. In the past, instituted religion, or the Church, has, with all its errors, been an attempt by man to give expression to this relation; and we believe that, in the future, whatever institution continues to exist as the Church, or in place of the Church, must in some way recognize and satisfy the perception of this relation. Mental liberty becomes of vastly greater significance, when it is conceived as the emancipation of individual faculty, not merely for the serving of individual interests, but for the serving of universal truth; and morality is infinitely enhanced in the majesty of its office and purpose, if it be lifted above the narrow standard of mutual interests between two neighbors, and is recognized as that conduct which makes man a voluntarily helpful and organic part of the life and stability of the universe itself. And here, in this spirit of consecration of individual liberty and individual character and conduct to the service of something infinitely grander and higher than any life of the finite self, is where the religious element comes in; and, as it seems to us, it is a quality to be cherished and cultivated side by side with the activities of the free intellect and the sentiments of the moral nature.

Yet we would not attempt to define the methods by which in all cases this is to be done; nor do we think that the methods in all cases would be the same. Certain we are that the religious sentiment, as thus rationally understood, is not always best fed and cherished where there are the most formalities, either of stated words or of ceremonies, for preserving it. Music, if of the right kind, is one of the best instrumentalities for expressing it. Spoken words of aspiration, if pressed glowing and burning from the heart, may kindle it to a flame of vital warmth. And, again, it may be awakened and abundantly satisfied by the spirit and passion of a speaker's discourse, even though he does not expressly aim at such an effect. Indeed, a society may be organized nominally only for ethical culture, and yet may really do more for the genuine culture of the religious sentiment than is done in many a church where the preacher's inadequate words are helped out by all the accompaniments of music, prayer and praise and liturgy and architecture. On the whole, we incline to think that, in liberal societies especially, though music if good will be a great addition, the religious element can be best expressed, so far as the Sunday service is concerned, through the spirit and utterance of the man who addresses the congregation. If he has the spirit of reverence, consecration, and devotion, *i.e.*, the religious sentiment, in his nature, it will appear in his service, even though there be no formal place for it. If he does not have it, no formalities of prayer or of Scripture reading can make up for the defect. If the Oakland Society has the good fortune to be led by a minister with such a spirit as well as with a passion for mental liberty and a faculty for setting people to work in moral and philanthropic ways, he will probably succeed in welding the "conflicting elements" together into harmony of purpose and action, even though they cannot agree on any statement of faith, and have not yet put their corporate objects in any written constitution. WILLIAM J. POTTER.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The late Prof. Adolf Held, of Bonn University, drew a line of distinction between socialism and social democracy.* The former he explained to be (and in this he may be regarded as representing the opinion of the younger school of German economists) not so much a definite system as a tendency of thought, according to which the interests of the individual should be subordinated to those of society. Its proper antithesis is individualism, according to which no restrictions are to be placed upon each one in the following of his own interests, since, in serving himself,—so the individualistic doctrine runs,—he cannot help serving others. But social democracy, the precursors of which were Marx, Lassalle, and Engel, with their keen though one-sided analysis and criticism of existing institutions, combines an *extreme form* of socialism with a tendency to political revolution. It would indeed allow private property in the necessaries of life, food, clothing, and shelter; but the land, buildings, machines, tools, and raw material used for productive purposes, it would have become not indeed common property, as many understand that phrase (that is, distributed among or owned by the laborers), but the property of the State. It is by no means that capital should be abolished, but simply that capital should be no longer

*In 1878 Prof. Held published a little volume under the title *Sozialismus, Sozialdemokratie, und Sozialpolitik*, from which the present writer's information is, for the most part, gained. He had earlier written on *Carey's Sozialwissenschaft und das Merkantilsystem*, Würzburg, 1865, and in 1876 published a *Grundriss für Vorlesungen über Nationalökonomie* for the use of his students at Bonn. In 1879, he was called to Berlin, but in the following summer met with his death by drowning in Lake Thun, Switzerland. From his literary remains has been gathered another volume of considerable interest, *Zwei Bücher aus der Sozialen Geschichte Englands*, Leipzig, 1881, tracing the economical history of England from 1760 to 1832. It is and must remain a fragment, though containing 778 pages.

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owned by private individuals or corporations; that is, that capitalists should have their function absorbed by the State.

The idea of the social democrats is, of course, that a juster distribution of the product of labor would be obtained thereby than is possible under a *régime* like the present, in which each one gets not what he needs or ought to have, but what he *can*. They even push the doctrine that labor is the source of value to the extreme conclusion, that the entire product should be divided among the laborers, each one receiving what he reasonably needs. To accomplish such a reorganization of industry, nothing less than a revolution is necessary, though it need not be a violent revolution, since the laborers may form themselves into a political party and by means of the power which their ballots give them accomplish their ends. Such a party exists in Germany, and among its demands are the following: direct legislation by the people, decision on war and peace by the people, the arming of the people in opposition to a standing army, a progressive income tax, the fixing of a normal day's labor, government watchmen of mines and factories chosen by the laborers, the forbidding of the employment of children and women, regulation of prison labor. The social democrats do *not* propose to abolish marriage; and, according to Prof. Held, their newspapers take pains to exclude from their columns all accounts of sexual immorality.

Prof. Held, however, rejects the doctrine that labor is the sole cause of value, and regards the scheme of distributing the product to each according to his needs as impractical and visionary. Still, as a socialist,—for he was the first, he tells us, to accept the designation "Catheder-Socialist," or socialist of the chair, which had previously been given derisively,—he advocates the express abandoning of the ideal of the classical English economy; namely, of perfectly free competition and *laissez-faire*, as far as the State is concerned, and urges the policy which "radical toryism" adopted under Disraeli in England, of regarding it as one of the very functions of the State to protect and guard its weaker members. He would have factory laws adopted in favor of women and children, government care of the public health and inspection of buildings, and a government police to look after those industries in which employment is attended with danger. Thus, in certain respects, though from a less radical stand-point, he would agree with the demands of the social democrats. Further, in special branches of industry, where private capital poorly satisfies the needs of society, or perhaps wins a power which threatens the rightful sovereignty of the State, he would have the control taken out of private hands and assumed by the State. That is, there should not only be restrictions on the use of property, but limitations of the sphere in which private property may exist. Prof. Held mentions in this connection the railroads and the forests of a nation. And, thirdly, the State should encourage voluntary associations among laborers, such as trades-unions (*Gewerkvereine*) and co-operative organizations, endowing them with certain rights, and securing them in their possession. A proper apprentice-system should be instituted, contracts should be held binding, boards of arbitration and conciliation should be encouraged, a gradual elevation of the laboring classes, not by abolishing property, but by enabling a larger number to win property; and thus a continuous reducing of the proportions of the proletariat, that is become so threatening an element in the cities, should be the ends sought.

Prof. Held acknowledges that the German labor associations incline to strike hands with the social democratic party, and his only hope is in the elaboration of a genuine rational socialism among the aristocratic and middle classes. He asks, "Will the Reichstag, representing so largely as it does the middle class, allow itself to be surpassed in courage and unselfishness by the landed aristocracy of England, that is still so prominent in the English Parliament, and has made the whole series of reforms from 1832 down?" Prof. Held has much admiration for English institutions and the cautious yet sure manner in which in England changes are made to suit the needs of the changing times. Whether he is optimistic in his hopes for an ideal unselfishness among the ruling classes in Germany, I will not undertake to say; but it is impossible not to sympathize with the fervor and almost pleading tone in which his hopes are expressed. Not a radical, either in politics or economy, he yet represents that spirit and method which, if persistently followed, would come near to making radicalism unnecessary.

W. M. SALTER.

FACT AND FAITH: SELF AND SACRIFICE.

I.

Richter says of the joyous Greek hero in whom he delights, the Dian of *Titan*, that he had the rare and beautiful gift of being cheerful upon journeys ("Er hatte der schöne seltene Gabe auf Reisen froh zu sein").

One cannot help wishing that the citizen of the modern world, in some way, either by means of more scrutiny of his course, or less, could school his mind above dismalness as he journeys through this trying stage of civilization to the stage beyond. Those intellectual epicures whose culture and delight it is "to travel in the past" have their joy turned to bitterness when their consciousness recurs to their actual pilgrimage in the present. Too many of the rest of us also—we who do not take it for granted that we are necessarily the supreme flower of all civilization merely because we employ the service of steam and electricity and germ theories—are now jogging along with the unseeing majority, "von Stazion zu Stazion, mit der Schlafmütze unter dem Hute," yawning and grumbling as we go.

We find little help, if we are honest with ourselves, in the superannuated props and obsolete guides of the earlier traveller; and we face with apprehension that future which is dimly shaping itself in the midst of the present. In a moment of leisure and sympathetic study of other times, we may repeat the old charms, and receive in reverence the old tales of gods and men; but we mutter our shibboleths over and over with a nervous emphasis that forebodes the loosening grip of the mind upon them,—in spite of ourselves, we twist the empty words with new inflections and round the old stories with fresh morals. In vain we journey through the world with heads turned back over our shoulders. Only the outlook of the present belongs of right to those of the present. Human adaptation to the past is lost, it is gone with the shifting years; yet the last act of despair is still left us to perform,—to drop the straws which are not ours to cling to.

> "'Tis man's perdition to be safe
> When for the truth he ought to die."

We, who are the children of the present, must be loyal to her. We cannot shirk with impunity the responsibility of our birth nor disown our citizenship in this day and generation. Until we resolve to look forward through the stages of our advance, and take, meanwhile, some interest in our passage thither, we are losing all hold of reality, all chance of healthy development.

"I remember," says our revered Emerson, "an answer which, when quite young, I was prompted to make to a valued adviser who was wont to importune me with the dear old doctrines of the Church. On my saying, 'What have I to do with the sacredness of tradition, if I live wholly from within?' My friend suggested, 'But these impulses may be from below, not from above.' I replied, 'They do not seem to me to be such; but, if I am the Devil's child, I will live then from the Devil.'"

Scientific concern for bodily well-being, growing on still from the primal necessities of the animal-man, waxing constantly more intricate in its working, more important in its results, has, in our day, attained immense proportions. Its huge bulk, made up of all sciences, trades, and labors, as members of one colossal body, looms before us like a new Hercules, muscular, heroic, holding the world upon its shoulders. Though this monster be indeed as black as it is sometimes painted, still it holds control of our civilization; and we cannot escape its influence nor refuse it our practical allegiance. We know we do not. The most doleful mediæval pessimist or the strictest adherent of the early Church among us, while he mourns the inadequacy of modern civilization to inspire an art capable of naïve and masterly anachronisms, or to foster a faith that dares be reckless of the morrow, must at the same time avail himself of the inevitable fruits of this civilization,—fruits which are born of the human wants peculiar to this side of the grave, and careless of anything beyond it, and whose use and culture are more valuable and important to us, as the appropriate growth of our own prosaic garden, than any impossible fossil variety, however luscious to the eye of the restoring imagination.

Yet, though we may acknowledge that it is useless to cast reproach upon the methods or results of that contriving ingenuity whose direct unshamefaced aim is a manifold physical comfort, we must, most of us, confess how cravenly we fear the effect of this vigorous luxury on the mental and spiritual nature of man.

We call civilization, at its present pitch of development, materialistic; and most of us consider this a bad name. It implies, as we generally take it, that matter has not only grown important in the nineteenth century, but unduly important, and absolutely opposed to the spiritual. It is this definition of the word "materialism" which appalls us, this idea of the blighting influence of materialistic civilization on the subtle, bodiless powers that "make for righteousness," and inspire the beautiful, which benumbs our aspirations, kills our joy, and puts us in the position of homesick travellers in a land of tombs and ruins. Yet, in this position, we must acknowledge ourselves not altogether wretched; for even our discontent may serve to assure us that high desire is still warm within us, that our search in life is not for an inn which another age has built for our temporary shelter and comfort, but for that sure mental abiding-place which consists in an impelling faith and a work in which we can put our strength. Nothing short of this makes life worth living. From this, no fool's paradise can long distract our attention. Let us see, then, how this, our restless, uncheated desire, meets the circumstances of modern life.

The growth and spread of knowledge and the complexity of its applications, the increase of wealth and the functions of wealth, their effects on man, and through him on his religion, his literature, his art, at first sight seem to make any high simplicity or singleness of aim in mental or moral life impossible. For the simpler citizen of the earlier age, whose own country was the world, whose own language and literature was the only

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source of education, whose past was unexplored and lovely in the mist of a half-guessed mythology,—for him, it might be easy to believe as a little child, to grasp the condition of his time, to understand its needs and work for their attainment with the freshness of a sturdy body ignorant of modern comfort, and the fervor of an honest mind untrammelled by the weight of past experience and scientific conclusions. For the cosmopolitan scholar of to-day, who stretches out his hesitating hands toward the rich stores of knowledge that all the times and minds that have been have amassed, the only chance of mental health and useful labor as well as of personal thrift and social prosperity is to choose from the bulk of knowledge some specialty of work adapted to his powers, and elaborate it to the last technical detail. Nor only this: he must test his labor by the touchstone of practicality, he must translate his supreme thought into the common language and receive his compensation in the common coin. But progress in mental life has not become impossible, because its scope is wider. It has become more difficult. Thoughts are taken, like vegetables, to market; but the money they earn is, after all, only the symbol of success. The spiritual effects for which success stands cannot be readily measured. It is true the abstract idea loses its ideal perfection in the process of being adapted to common use and made manifest to the multitude. The power of alchemy is more precious than its results. Still, these outward materializations must ever be the aim of the subtler inward potency, their market value the evident measure of its worth.

The treasures of knowledge are unfolded by the scientific methods of special study, technical work, and practical application. In the same way must the development of the moral idea be attained,—by the action of the separate divination powers of the individual. Each one must do his own work: he must also see his own visions. Of what avail would it be for him to do or to see anything else? So, also, the sanction of his faith must lie in its every-day value, in its fitness for his own condition and circumstances. The mystic's life, spent in poverty and seclusion, in caring nothing for the things of the morrow, in receiving injustice without a protest, in giving to the robber of a cloak the coat also, if through any inadvertence he had before neglected to take it,—picturesque and beautiful as this life seems, it has become in every particular irreconcilable with the modern idea of insistence on the sacredness of individual rights, the sterility of any success but that proceeding from self, inconsistent with the demands of personal progress which render the receipt of alms worse than useless, and poverty of purse or spirit to the last degree undesirable. Yet as all kinds of special investigation must tend to help each other, must, in their very nature, be partial, temporary, and subsidiary to unconjectured future results, so all the separate and different manifestations of the divine must find essential points in common, must continue to supply finer inspiration and strength for new and different needs. The union of the radical points of faith among men may constitute a growing, illimitable religion, fettered by no past, though issuant from it, on a level with the highest yearnings or capable of pettiest service to the lowest personality.

There have been frequent and striking examples during recent times that the complex divisions of labor, now necessary, have been counterbalanced by a sequent union of interests, by the common support and brotherly interdependence of all the branches of knowledge. Agriculture, manufacture, and the applied sciences,—geology and chemistry, for instance,—commerce and trade, and certain speculative sciences, as political economy and sociology, have had much to say to each other that has been of surprising mutual benefit. Literature has discovered new topics, and treated them in novel ways. Music and art have found unusual but not unfitting themes in alien fields. In this way, a certain balance has been struck between the necessity of personal and special development on the one hand and social progress on the other, between the breaking up of human life into countless labors and the gathering into one pattern of every thread of the vast web of work. A like balance between the separate spiritual needs of the individual and the higher destiny of his race may determine with absolute justice the relation which the organized bodies of belief and the disorganizing influences of criticism and doubt bear to the yet irrepressible and restless search after the unknown good.

Thought, though diverging in a thousand wide directions, must be still richer and fuller at the point of focus. Religion, though it take cognizance under modern definitions of more phases of faith and unfaith than may be summed up in all the old creeds put together, cannot in essence vanish from the world.

CHARLOTTE PORTER.

WEALTH AND POVERTY.

In view of current social phenomena, observers are anxiously asking the question, Must the growth of a community in wealth, population, and mechanical contrivances for saving labor, in science, art, and literature, and in material power and splendor of all kinds, always be accompanied by the dark shadow of a correspondingly increasing poverty and crime? Must a multiplying wealthy class always be offset by a multiplying poor and dangerous class? Once we had no gigantic cities with long streets and avenues of palatial residences, the abodes of business prosperity. But neither had we at the period in question any need of gigantic and costly prisons and almshouses and reformatories such as now cast their gloomy shadows over our soil. Once there were few millionnaires among us, but at the same time there was no squalid poverty; but there was a comfortably situated average population, tilling their own acres and engaged in mechanical employments on their own private account. But we have changed all that. With increase of wealth and knowledge and mechanical power has come increase of poverty and crime. In the language of the author of *Progress and Poverty*, "the 'tramp' comes with the locomotive; and almshouses and prisons are as surely the marks of 'material progress' as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches. Upon streets lighted with gas and patrolled by uniformed policemen, beggars wait for the passer-by; and in the shadow of college and library and museum are gathering the more hideous Huns and fiercer Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied." It is now seen and felt that political equality, from which so much was expected at the close of the eighteenth century, cannot prevent the growth of a social inequality as glaring and dangerous as ever was known under the most despotic personal sway. In point of fact, unless the citizen of a republic or popular government is both intelligent and moderately well-to-do, he can have no personal independence. He is ready to sell his vote to any wealthy candidate for office who offers to purchase it. The French Republic to-day, with its boasted "liberty, fraternity, and equality," is ruined by a multitudinous poverty, by legions of self-styled anarchists, who are eager to "wipe out" the classes above them, and to make a *tabula rasa* of society. A fiercer struggle between the rich and the poor seems to be impending in modern Europe than that which constantly raged in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, until they were finally destroyed.

The great imperative social problem of the day is how to attain to an equitable distribution of property and of the constantly increasing product of human labor. The production of wealth now is on such a gigantic scale as renders the product of any past age trivial and of no account in comparison. Why should not this enormous and constantly augmenting production inure to the mass of the people, so as to place all in good circumstances instead of outrageously enriching the few? Why have we Vanderbilts and other personal financial monstrosities of that sort? Christianity, if it is anything definite, is at its very core a communistic religion, which always has bidden its wealthy adherents to divide their goods with their poor or poorer fellow religionists. In fact, genuine, unecclesiastical Christianity has always taught the necessity of an equitable distribution and sharing of what in Christian parlance are called "worldly goods." But the Christianity of the various Churches has been perverted into an aristocratic faith, promotive of social and political inequality as well as of theological hatred and bitterness. Pauline Christianity was, down to the middle of this century, a bulwark of slavery, and used as a shield by the slaveholders of our own Southern States. Meantime, the communisms and socialisms and Nihilisms which are menacing most of the European governments are undoubtedly latent in the *logia*, or genuine utterances and teachings, of the founder of Christianity. So that the revolution and the revolutionary classes in Europe are more Christian in reality than are the established Churches and priesthoods. Meantime, in the world of to-day, it is useless to eulogize poverty or to preach a religion of poverty, such as primitive Christianity was, which originated in a soft climate that required little or no provision for the morrow. Modern science and invention have subjected nature and the forces and riches of nature to the will of man to such an extent as to make it possible to eradicate poverty, and inaugurate an era of intelligence and comfort and material well-being for all men. There is no doubt of that. How much longer, then, shall we have the spectacle of a pampered, needlessly rich class on the one hand and an outrageously poor, brutal, and criminal class on the other, marring the social aspect even of the foremost countries in the area of civilization? The endless feuds of patricians and plebeians in the ancient democracies, which were really no democracies at all in the modern sense of the word, finally wrought their ruin. But the democracies of to-day, particularly our own American democracy, has no business to be the nursery of such glaring, social inequalities as are even now cropping out everywhere within our borders. To be truly self-governing, a people must be both intelligent and well-to-do. Populations who have never known any other condition than one of poverty and ignorance need to pass a long novitiate to be fitted for institutions like ours. It is Europe which embarrasses us, and keeps us from rapidly reaching an ideal democratic condition.

B. W. BALL.

IT must have given "the Pope of Rome" a little salutary start on being served recently with a legal summons to pay taxes on one of his estates, the summons commencing thus: "'To Citizen Joachim Pecci, by trade or profession, Pope; conducting business (also residing) at the Vatican Palace, Rome.' His Holiness paid the taxes; and in due time a receipt was returned, beginning, 'Received of Citizen Joachim Pecci.'"

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NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

During the debate at Mechanicsburg, Ohio, mentioned in a previous letter, evolution was referred to frequently; but, since there was no time to advance evidence in its support or even to state the theory with fulness, there was a strong desire to hear a lecture or two on the subject. And by the request of several prominent citizens, among whom were gentlemen who had arranged for the debate in behalf of our opponent, we spoke two evenings in exposition and defence of Evolution. There was marked interest in the subject; and, at the close of the lectures, a number of persons inquired about books to which we had referred, and said arrangements would be made next season for a full course of lectures on the subject. More than a dozen in attendance, including some of the most intelligent ladies of the community, became subscribers to *The Index*. This was gratifying, since Mechanicsville, which is situated on a part of the Virginia Military Reservation, settled largely by Virginians to whom claims were sold, is an extremely orthodox town, and since arrangements for the debate had been made by Mr. Carleton's request (no pronounced free thinkers having been consulted), with the expectation that Universalism would have the prestige and advantage of a great controversial triumph. He had given his friends and the people of the community generally to understand that he anticipated easy work in disposing of "infidel" arguments and objections. Had he not been a debater nearly half a century, and had he not vanquished scores of orthodox opponents! He did not realize that he was entirely unacquainted with the results of the study and research of the last twenty-five years, and that his main positions had been utterly abandoned by the representative thinkers of the religious world. But few orthodox ministers we have met in discussion the past fifteen years have done worse in debate than Mr. Carleton, who, although personally a pleasant gentleman, is a theological fossil, of no possible use now in the world of thought, further than to show what once satisfied a liberal sect of Christians, who did good and brave work in past generations.

On our way West, we stopped at Indianapolis. In that city, a large number of the leading men are free thinkers; but they are without organization or general desire for any, the opinion prevailing that such organization is liable at the present time to result in more harm than good. The press of Indianapolis is rather liberal. Two distinctively free-thought papers are published there now,—the *Age* (formerly the *Seymour Times*), edited by Dr. J. R. Monroe, and the *Iconoclast*, started about a year ago by Mr. W. H. Lamaster, and now under the joint editorship of himself and Mr. W. F. Jamieson. The *Age* is well established, and has quite a large circulation. With the *Iconoclast*, existence is yet a struggle, as it necessarily is with all young liberal journals. Dr. Monroe is a poet and a wit; and his paper is unique in its criticism of theology, and its statements of the editor's views on current events, which show independence of thought and sprightliness of style. On questions involving great social and moral interests he takes high ground, and is pretty sure to say the right word in the right place and at the right time.

In Chicago, we learned that the Philosophical Society is in a prosperous condition, and is having a course of interesting lectures this season. "The Society for Ethical Culture of Chicago," of which Hon. Henry Booth is President, and Dr. A. B. Hosmer is Secretary, at a recent meeting decided to arrange a series of six to eight lectures, to be delivered under the auspices of the society on Sunday afternoons between January 7 and June 10, 1883. We have invitations to address both the societies above named, and hope to be able to do so before we return East.

Mr. Schumm, one of the editors of the *Alliance*, is working hard to make that paper a success. He is a young man of ability and promise. For a short time, he was proprietor and editor of a journal published at Madison, Wis., the *Radical Review*, which was one of the best little free-thought sheets that have appeared in the West. Col. Bundy, of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, is in improved health, and making it hot for those who attempt to practise fraud in the name of Spiritualism, and to advocate all sorts of vagaries as a part of its philosophy.

Milwaukee is rather a cosmopolitan and liberal city. The German element, as is well known, is large; and its leading representatives are broad, progressive men. The English and German dailies keep in advance of the popular sentiment. Their reports of our lecture in that city last Sunday were fair and quite full. The subject of church taxation has been fully discussed in the papers, and is a question of considerable interest among the people. The opposition of the Catholics to church taxation is strong and bitter. Some of the Protestant churches are in favor of the reform. Mr. Bate, who has been a member of the Legislature of Wisconsin, has done gallant service in the cause of State secularization; while Mr. R. C. Spencer, as a private citizen, has done more to bring this subject before the people than any other man or dozen men in the State.

Milwaukee has two or three liberal societies; but they are not strong, and the Liberals of the city generally do not appear to feel much interest in them. The German Free Thought Society is probably the largest and best sustained. The *Freidenker*, the leading German free-thought paper of this country, is published there; and it has a circulation in every State of the Union. The lecture we gave in that city was well attended. By invitation, Mr. J. L. Dudley, who spoke a year or two in Boston for the Parker Memorial Society, and Mr. McAllister, the Superintendent of Schools, made interesting remarks at the close of the discourse. This letter is written hurriedly at Paxton, Ill., where we are giving a course of lectures. To all the readers of *The Index*, a *Happy New Year!*

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE *Presbyterian* deplores the fact that thirteen new theatres and only two churches have been built in Berlin the past ten years.

THERE is a wood-cut in a Roman Catholic weekly already referred to in these columns, *Le Pèlerin*, representing a young lady coming to the gates of hell, and saying that she is a high-school girl, *fille des lycées*. The devil bows her in, exclaiming, "Oh, yes! a reserved seat."

COMMENTING on a remark of Joseph Cook, that the world is "coming back" to scientific naturalism, the Cincinnati *Commercial* asks, "In what age of the world did scientific naturalism prevail, and what does he mean by it, anyhow?" It is doubtful whether the meaning of some of Mr. Cook's incontrovertible propositions is entirely clear to himself.

THE observance of a Sabbath is not enjoined in the New Testament, nor did the early Christians consider it necessary. Justin Martyr, in discussing the Sabbath question with a learned Jew, wrote, "For as circumcision began from Abraham, and *Sabbaths and sacrifices and oblations from* Moses, it has been shown, were ordered on account of the hardness of heart of your people, so it was necessary these should end, according to the counsel of the Father, in Jesus Christ, the Son of God."

YOUNG men are apt to become enthusiastic when they have taken in some great truth which is soon to become concrete in the every-day life of the world; and they sometimes think that the truth must fail if they withhold active efforts in its support, which they imagine they can give or not as they choose. This delusion has a generous and noble side; but, to use an old Greek phrase, "the gods play with loaded dice," or, in the language of to-day, "the nature of things" is always a success. Our efforts are determined by antecedents, and are but one of Nature's factors, a part of her machinery.

THE Cincinnati *Commercial*, mentioning the fact that a century has passed since the first English Bible, printed in America, was sent out from the printing-house of Robert Aiken, in Philadelphia, and the first vessel of war built by the government of the United States was launched from the Portsmouth Navy Yard, remarks that the Bible "has multiplied more than the navy since then, possibly without costing as much; but whether it has been more potent in preserving peace and good-will among men is, considering the numerous and bloody wars which have affrighted the nations, a question at least open to discussion."

THIS from the *Independent* is a specimen of the manner in which so-called orthodox journals now accept the theory of evolution: ... "If the old notion that the world is but six thousand years old found any defenders in these days, it would find itself confronted by the floral evolutionists in many ways. These believe that the bright colors of flowers are of comparatively modern origin,—that flowers were originally yellow or green. Flowers in gardens, preserved in Egyptian tombs, dating from 1100 or 1200 B.C., are found to have been in every way as bright as the flowers of our time; and this would involve a very rapid advance in the first, and a standstill during the last half of the period."

THE following is from a revised edition of McGuffey's *Eclectic Second Reader*, published by Smith & Co., Cincinnati, 1853:—

> Six thousand years ago there was no pleasant earth, and then the bright sun was not made. But the Great God lived then, and there never was a time when he did not live. When the time came that the Creator was pleased to make this world, he made it all out of nothing. When our world was first created, it had nothing beautiful upon it, but it was all dark and empty. When God wanted light, he said, "Let there be light"; and there was light. God made the air that spreads all around our earth. He made the grass to grow, the lovely flowers, the useful herbs, and all the trees that bear delicious fruit. After all these things were made, the earth was silent as the grave. There were no cattle to eat the grass, or birds or the smallest insects to fly through the air. When the fourth came, he made the glorious sun to shine by day, and the moon and stars to shine by night.

IN the preface to the seventh American edition of her *Duties of Women*, Frances Power Cobbe says, apropos of the new English "Married Women's Bill": "I believe that, as the conditions of freedom are secured, so will marriage become to the bulk of mankind the blessed thing which the Orderer of nature assuredly meant it to be. The possession of unrighteous power has hitherto been the demoralization of husbands, and submission to injustice the demoralization of wives. Only because men are better than their laws, and public opinion far in advance of the statute-book, have

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there existed so many affectionate and worthy marriages as we behold. The whole influence of law has been against them. Every step toward equality in marriage is a step toward the mutual honor of husband and wife, and on no other foundation save the 'broad stone of honor' can conjugal love ever erect his time-defying towers."

HERE is Mr. Ruskin's picture of civilization: "A 'civilized nation' in modern Europe consists, in broad terms, of a mass of half-taught, discontented, and mostly penniless populace, calling itself the people; of a thing which it calls a government, meaning an apparatus for collecting and spending money; and a small number of capitalists, many of them rogues, and most of them stupid persons who have no idea of any object of human existence other than money-making, gambling, or champagne-bibbing; a certain quantity of literary men, saying anything they can get paid to say; of clergymen, saying anything they have been taught to say; of natural philosophers, saying anything that comes into their heads; and of nobility, saying nothing at all,—combine in disguising the action and perfecting the disorganization of the mass. But, with respect to practical business, the civilized nation consists broadly of a mob, money-collecting machine, and capitalist."

IT is not perhaps too late to call the attention of our readers to an unusually sensible treatment of the causes and remedies of the social evil, by Mrs. K. Gannett Wells, in the July *Unitarian Review*, under the title "Personal Influence a Preventive." The article has been reprinted by G. H Ellis, at the suggestion of the Moral Education Society of Boston. Mrs. Wells remarks that "there are thousands of women, in and around New York, who do not receive over two dollars a week; and the temptations induced by such wages are tremendous." And she does not omit to draw the moral as to the duty of employers to pay better wages. Instruction as to the relations of the sexes should be given at *home*, and not left altogether with the mothers, who cannot speak with the plainness nor with the weight of authority which fathers can have. Moreover, "gentlemen," on whom however slight a suspicion rests, should not be received into society. The article is replete with sound sense and practical suggestion.

THE *Catholic Review* has the following: "During the past two or three years, vast sums of money have been sent from this country to Ireland, much of it for pure charity to save a starving people whom the government that brought starvation upon them allowed to starve; much, also, to support an agitation among the Irish people for the removal of their political disabilities. As far as the money that was sent in charity went, it seems to have reached its destination, and to have done the work for which it was intended. Not a little good was effected also by the political agitation; but, from all accounts, it is to be feared that much of the money collected and sent to Ireland for this purpose found its way into the pockets of worthless and shameless adventurers. We say, in all good faith and on our conscience, it is time to stop contributions for purely political purposes in Ireland until at least the atmosphere clears a little, and it is seen what has been done, item by item, with the vast sums contributed to and for Irish political agencies."

THE late Francis G. Shaw was early attracted to the writings of Fourier, and translated in 1848 Pellerin's *Life of Fourier*. Notwithstanding the failure of the Fourieristic experiments in this country, he did not lose his conviction of the real existence of a social problem or of the possibility of its solution; and when, but a few years before his death, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* appeared, he gave it a hearty and substantial welcome. Some thousand copies were distributed by him among the libraries of the villages and smaller towns of the United States; and a brief and popular statement (in the form of a dialogue) of Mr. George's views, made by him, has been scattered broadcast over Great Britain by the publishers of the book and other agencies. His daughter, Mrs. Gen. Charles R. Lowell, is well known as a member of the New York State Board of Charities, and is a prime mover in the Charity Organization Society now being formed in New York city. Another daughter married Gen. Francis C. Barlow; another, Geo. William Curtis; and still another, Robert B. Minturn.

"IS IT not almost time," asks the *Christian Register*, "to leave off quoting Napoleon in proof of the Deity of Christ? We observe that Dr. Storrs has referred to Napoleon as authority for that doctrine: 'Napoleon, on the Island of St. Helena, said, "Jesus was God!"' But Jesus himself said, 'My Father is greater than I'; and Paul said, 'To us there is but one God, the Father.' On the other hand, Napoleon and Charles H. Dana, those two eminent theologians, hold to the opposite opinion. Perhaps it is best to go to head-quarters for our belief. Such repeated appeals to Napoleon on such a subject might suggest that our friends do not find much evidence in the Bible to support the doctrine in question. Napoleon's opinion in regard to a point of military strategy would have great weight; but how much had he searched the Scriptures in regard to theological matters?" This is well said; but, going further, we will add that the doctrine of "the Deity of Christ" is so great an absurdity that the enlightened and untrammelled reason of man would reject it, even though it were taught by Jesus himself and defended by every writer of the New Testament.

Roman Catholicism, when it triumphed in Spain, drove from Spanish soil the most valuable part of the population,—the Moriscoes, a remnant of the people that had made Spain illustrious in preceding centuries. This monstrous wrong, the expulsion of about a million people from their native land, was urged on and compelled by Spanish priests. "When they were thrust out of Spain," says Buckle, "there was no one to fill their places; arts and manufactures either degenerated or were entirely lost, and immense regions of arable land were left uncultivated; . . . whole districts were suddenly deserted, and down to the present day have never been repeopled. These solitudes gave refuge to smugglers and brigands, who succeeded the industrious inhabitants formerly occupying them; and it is said that from the expulsion of the Moriscoes is to be dated the existence of those organized bands of robbers, which after this period became the scourge of Spain, and which no subsequent government has been able entirely to extirpate." (*Hist. Civilization*, vol. ii., p. 53.) The expulsion of the Jews from Spain, who next to the Moriscoes were the best part of the population, still further contributed to the downfall of that priest-ridden country.

AMERICAN freedom tends to make its subjects intelligent, self-helpful, energetic, and full of initiative; and it lifts the "average man" to a plane of comfort and luxury even. It makes him a sovereign, and thus places him in strong contrast with the "average man" of the Old World as he appears on his arrival at Castle Garden with the marks on his person of ages of social and political inferiority. Whatever may be the fortunes of the human race, the outlook for the "average man" is brightest here on this continent. But there is no prosperity without toil, self denial, and a wise foresight. "Let mankind last as long as it will," says Goethe, "it will never lack obstacles to give it trouble, and never lack the presence of necessity to develop its powers." It is the growing struggle of personal will with "fate" which develops sterling character and ability. We need not expect in this country in the future uninterrupted fair weather. Indeed, this republic has had from the start an almost continuous struggle for existence. At times, this struggle has taken on dimensions of a terrible life-and-death conflict raging with unsurpassed fury. But the republic has always emerged triumphant and with added vigor and glory. Freedom is no "fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs."

"A bearded man,
Armed to the teeth, art thou: one mailèd hand
Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword; thy brow,
Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
With tokens of old wars; thy massive limbs
Are strong with struggling."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

A Hope and a Prophecy.

Lay we foundations wide and deep;
Build we our Temple strong and sure;
Gaze far adown the ages' steep;
Think how its beauties will endure!

Glad mark we, through earth's shadow cast,
The Temple planned in grief and tears;
Long looked for, in the darkened past;
The hope of all the coming years!

How build we through these toilful days?
What noble purpose urges on?
Here picture we our own rough ways:
Here paint what comes when we have gone.

Hope, Reason, Charity, and Faith,
Our Temple's basic stones shall serve:
Nor shall they shield the bigot's wraith,
Nor may they from Truth's centre swerve.

Reason, to point the straighter way;
Faith, to believe its ending bright;
Reason, to guide us through the day;
Faith, to illume the darkest night;

Hope, for the future of our race;
And Charity for those who fall,—
These guard our Temple's every place;
With these, its weakness is its wall!

We build upon foundations deep,
We raise our altars, firm in trust
That they will still their stations keep
When we have mouldered into dust!

Or ever, at the inmost shrine,
Some worshippers are fain to pray,
While others humbly grope and pine
For an unmarked, secluded way,—

Still hold they, though they differ much,
To these great truths which shape all creeds:
"E'en man the ark of God may touch:
Professions win not more than deeds.

"Who wills may hold within his breast
The essence of the Life Divine;
Not future hours—*to-day* is blest:
God's heaven even now is thine!

"Scorn not the man who walks apart:
Take, if thou wilt, the broader way.
He may be one with thee in heart,
May soonest reach the perfect day!"

Laid we foundations wide and deep,
Built we our Temple strong and sure,—
Gaze far adown the ages' steep—
See how its beauties yet endure!

No doubtful purpose does it own;
No humbling creed its friends profess;
It is not swayed by earthly throne:
Its only mission is to bless!

Its harmonies, all nature's tones;
Its incense, raptures of the mind;
Its votive offerings, bread, not stones;
Its worshippers, all human kind!

WALTER L. SAWYER.

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The Index.

BOSTON, DEC. 28, 1882.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

II.

For *The Index.*

NO SUPERSENSIBLE MATTER.

BY WILLIAM I. GILL.

Experience our Base, and All Postulates discarded.

Perhaps it will prevent some misapprehension if I pause here to say that I make no assumptions or postulates, only that science has already clearly and abundantly proved that all sensible phenomena are subjective states. If this has not been done, my foundation is imperfect; but I can make it good, if necessary. I resort to no transcendental metaphysical principles to start with or to cover my track anywhere. Experience, and the logical implications of experience, are the beginning, middle, and end of my philosophy; and the experience must be scientifically sifted and rectified. We are told that "it is the favorite *postulate* of the idealist that matter—the external universe—is an *illusion*, a subjective creation of the mind: it possesses no *objective reality*." As a description of my method, this would be very erroneous. I hold that the material universe is egoistic; but I do not *postulate* that, but verify it scientifically as an experience, or assume that it has been done by others. I do not, however, affirm that this universe is an *illusion*, without *objective reality*,—just the contrary. *I know it as real, because I know it as an experienced fact*, and an objective reality, because external to my organism and an object of knowledge or experience; and, if ever we are the subjects of illusion, that is only through a false inference from a real experience.

The World known to Different Men is a Different World.

As a subjective state, however real and objective as well as subjective, the same thing, whether it be a mouse or a world, can never be known to more than one person,—its affected or experiencing subject. Hence there must be as many worlds of the same kind as there are world-sensations and subjects thereof of the same kind, and it is utterly erroneous to say that "the appearance is essentially identical to different persons." That is one of the certain impossibilities, because it is self-contradictory. The appearances to different persons may be alike or similar, but even that we can never directly know. We can only infer it, as we do on the basis of a natural and spontaneous system of symbolism, which I propose hereafter to explain.

Self-consciousness no Proof of non-Ego.

I call attention to an important distinction often overlooked, that between conception and experience. On this confusion, we are often told that self implies a not-self, and that neither can be known without the other. I allow that neither can be *conceived* without the other, because they are logical counterparts. But that proves nothing concerning experience and non-egoistic reality. That we can or must conceive a thing is no proof of experience or reality. Such a supposition would prove too much by involving us in endless absurdities. Therefore, self-consciousness and the conception of a *non-ego* are no proof of the existence of the *non-ego*. We must find some other proof than this.

If Matter is Supersensible, our Real Organism is Unknown.

As all sensible things are egoistic, it follows, of course, that, if there is any non-egoistic matter, it must be supersensible. Some objections to the unrecognized yet tacitly prevailing theory, that matter and all the material universe are supersensible, I propose now to mention. In stating the theory, I am impressed with its intellectual repulsiveness as a whole; but this impression will become deeper and more distinct in proportion as it is contemplated in detail. If we look at it relative, for instance, to our organism, it becomes ludicrous. It implies that my own body is always entirely unknown to me. As there is a sensible world external to my organism and its supersensible counterpart, so there is a sensible object called my body, which is not my body, but my mind; and it has its supersensible counterpart, which is my real body, and which is unknown and inconceivable, except as a thing conjectured or inferred as being someway the cause of the sensations which constitute my phantom body. Here, as everywhere, the theory makes the experiential to be the unreal and the metempirical to be the real, and makes the material to be supersensible and the immaterial to be sensible, contrary to all the wonted judgments of mankind, popular or philosophical.

That makes our Real Bodies non-Ego and Dual.

As the sensible world is *ego* and the supersensible world *non-ego*, so my sensible organism is *ego*, and the real organism which it represents is *non-ego*.

Every man not blind has two sensible organisms,—the visible and the tangible,—which have no unity except in the conscious subject, of which they are simply two complex sensations utterly unlike each other. According to the theory in question, each of these organisms must be the representative of a distinct supersensible, non-egoistic organism. There may be dualists who may be pleased with even this, as there never was an unfortunate intellectual waif found adrift upon the world but some one was ready to give it a hospitable reception.

It gives a Double twice over to All Things.

It follows that every sensible object is of two sensible forms to all men who are not blind; and that, corresponding to each of these, there is a supersensible body. This pen, this paper, this flowing ink, *as seen and as felt*, are each dual; and each has two supersensible counterparts, which are the real pens, the real papers, and the real inks. Thus, all things are quadruple,—double as sensible, and again double as supersensible. Such a philosophy reminds us of Tam O'Shanter's vain attempt to count the horns of the moon, as he could not be sure whether they were six or seven.

Its False Hetiology.

Such a theory refutes itself as soon as it is stated with any degree of clearness and fulness, so that an adequate conception of its import is proximately attained. And, as it is constructed of opposing elements, it can make but a poor showing in the formation and support of its outward defences. When we demand the evidence of the existence of this supersensible matter, and inquire as to what necessary purpose it serves, it gives us a verbal answer which is a mental blank. To the apparently intelligible plea that it must be inferred as the necessary cause and explanation of sensible phenomena, there are several answers.

In the first place, the plea is based on a method which is not justified by what in these days has received the name of "science." All strict science of modern times treats only of phenomenal causes and effects, antecedent and subsequent phenomena lexically related to each other. It is purely by this method that all the sciences, from physics to psychics, have made all their conquests. And it will be so forever. We can never investigate and discuss the unphenomenal, because it is without any qualitative marks, and all our terms are void of meaning; and the alleged supersensible world in question is of this class.

If we attempt to rise from science to philosophy, and seek an explanation of phenomena in a cause which lies back of them, the right to this may be conceded; but we must see to it that it accord with science and that the mental process be a real one, and not merely verbal, which is the character of the process in question. According to all objective evolutionists, sensible experience is the source of all real mental forms, and all are traceable back to sensible experience. But that is clearly impossible concerning supersensible matter. It is not only unsupported by experience, but it is opposed to experience, since all experience is phenomenal, conscious; while that is neither, and never can be. The final reply of the objective evolutionist is that this inference is an intellectual necessity, that all experience leads up through a narrow gateway to a transcendent reality which is knowable and conceivable only as cause and fount of the known. This example, of course, is not that which alone is recognized in science, an experiential antecedent. It is a cause which was precedent of all experience, and is now concomitant with all. Thus, it is always the same infinite causation, without change even in mode; for it has no modes, modes belonging only to its effects. And so there is no conceivable reason for the variety of its causal action, that reason being found in its effects in the uniform antecedent of other phenomena. It ultimates in self-contradiction and the abdication of ultimate philosophy in the attempt to establish such a philosophy. Its agnosticism is here sufficiently obvious.

But that is not all. The theory cannot be permitted the poor privilege of creeping mortally wounded within the veil of ultimate mystery, the last refuge of all craft and mental impotence. This ultimate refuge of the unknowable is absolutely one and unvarious, without any possible distinctions of mode or form or condition. But this is utterly inapplicable to the question at issue. Here, we are criticising a theory of supersensible matter, matter which is alleged to exist in countless various forms or modes answering to the infinitely multifarious forms of the sensible world; and these supersensible material forms are supposed to be temporal, and their duration commensurate with their sensible representatives. These are not therefore to be identified with the great only One, the absolute undifferentiated unknowable; and from this they can find no countenance or explanation. They have no support from either science or philosophy. They are metempirical, intrinsically inconceivable, and utterly incapable of explaining the phenomena of sense; while their alleged existence and action furnish new elements and a new complication (verbally, at least), which demand further explanation as to whence they came and what is the law of their operation, and their relation to the One unknown and the known many or sensible things, and they can explain nothing.

Its Various Inconsistency.

By way of carrying this theory still nearer to an ultimate and all-sided analysis, I would now ask its abettors whether they consider their supersensible matter to be spacial or non-spacial. I see not how it can be spacial or extended, since it has no points of difference or distinction, being unphenomenal; yet it were a singular matter that were unextended, since extension has always been considered its most characteristic quality. On the other hand, since it is supposed to be specially related in its parts and forms to the parts and forms of the sensible world, it must be supposed to be extended. Hence, we have two classes of extended things or matter (besides pure space itself), the sensible and supersensible; and they are supposed to be coextensive. The theory affirms that, wherever there is an external or sensible phenomenon "*there*," there is a supersensible material thing as its cause and explanation, and of which it is the representation. But this again is nullified by the doctrine in which all parties agree, though blindly, that all phenomena are *ego*. For, according to that doctrine, "here" and "there" and all local or spacial designations in the known universe are of the *ego* and within the *ego*. Hence, it makes all the forms of this same supersensible matter, though non-egoistic, to be entirely within the bounds of the *ego*, so that it is conceived of as existing only where the *ego* is, and it is indiscriminable from the *ego*, and we are logically compelled to identify it with the *ego*; and, as all spacial discriminations are of the *ego*, to apply these discrimi-

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nations to it is to make it sensible and *to identify* it with the sensible. Thus, the theory is again self-destroyed, and its verbal dualism is metamorphosed into a pure senseism, or *into* Philosophical Realism which makes the permanent cause and substantive base and background of all phenomena to be the known *ego*, which is known in consciousness as both sensible and supersensible. This subjective ground and cause is complete, consistent, and self-sufficient. It leaves no unexplored or unexplained remainder, no relation which it does not so far find in itself in the comparative forces and distinctions of its own qualities.

This leads me to observe that, if force is demanded as the correlate of these phenomena, that force need not be non-egoistic force, and ought not to be. As all being is force, the *ego* is force. It is this force which evolves all the phenomena of consciousness, and it constitutes their ultimate and all-sufficient explanation. On this score, therefore, we are prohibited from passing beyond self. Thus far, we have come by clear logical necessity; and here at the same time ends the possibility of further progress and the intellectual motive to attempt it, because here all logical avenues are now closed up and every logical question is logically answered.

Its Intrinsic Improbability.

Another aspect of the doctrine of supersensible matter impresses us with a sense of its intrinsic improbability, if not absurdity. In affirming that the sensible world is only a seeming world and that the real material world is supersensible, it implies that the real light and colors are dark and invisible, that the real heat and cold are neither one nor the other, that the real odors are odorless, that all real tastes are tasteless, that all the real hardness and softness and other allied qualities are utterly other and different from what they are described and designated, and that even the real extension is unextended. Thus, all our language, with all the thinking it implies, is entirely false. We have a system of simulacra which are the opposite of the things they simulate. The lamp and its light, so called, it is allowed are simply sensations; but it is said there are a real lamp and light, which are dark and invisible, and the cause of the phenomenal lamp and light. Of this, science knows nothing; for its causes of the known light and lamp are other phenomenal antecedents, all of which are modes of the *ego* or sensations, and philosophy can find a possibly sufficient cause of phenomena in their subject, so that to go further is inadmissible, because so much is necessary and no more.

Supposed Possibility as an Argument.

'Tis said a drowning man will catch at straws; and the baffled dualist, persistent in his faith, catches at a supposed possibility, and on this he suspends his material worlds. He asks, as if that were enough for his faith, whether it is not possible for the sensible and supersensible to coexist in such relation to each other, and yet be numerically different. Allowing the possibility, that is no proof whatever to a logical or scientific mind. It is possible for the story of Bluebeard to be true, and no one can prove the abstract impossibility of the existence of centaurs, hippogriffs, and flying dragons; and, on this ground, these fantasies and the old dualism are worthy of equal credit with the theory in question.

But the possibility of the truth of such a theory cannot be allowed, because of its intrinsic inconsistencies. On the theory of a non-egoistic matter and space, sensible or supersensible, there can never be a notion of motion or rest, or here or there, a whole or part or division which does not involve insoluble contradictions. It is impossible for any theory to be true which does not reconcile all facts in a logical unity of conception. This unity, the simplest possible, is found in Philosophical Realism, which drops the supersensible matter as unsupported by experience and contradicted by logic, and explains known phenomena by referring them solely to the known *ego* as their subject, substance, and cause. This is a logical possibility and necessity, and neither can be said of any form of dualism yet invented.

Dualistic Vacillation.

Philosophical progress is not to be effected by denying or evading well-ascertained facts, the results of long and laborious research and reflection. One of these facts is the egoism of all the known. By this and on this, we must stand and advance. All our thinking must be made to square with it, because it is indubitably true; and, therefore, whatever conflicts with it must be false. Here is the great failure of objective evolution. While it affirms or admits the subjectivity of all phenomena, and makes them at most to be symbols of an unknown force, it perpetually confounds the symbol with the thing symbolized, and talks as if the sensible kosmos were something more than a complexus of subjective states, as if the known external worlds of the heavens and earth were *non-ego* and the preorganic source whence our conscious individuality was evolved. Then, with a vague, uneasy consciousness, its advocates endeavor to cover their track by saying that, when they speak of kosmic evolution and the evolution of the senses, they mean those unknown events or processes which are symbolized by the known. According to this, the real evolution is unknown; and the evolution, so called, which is known to us, is only apparent, phantasmic, symbolical of the unknown real. They have now entered a tenebrious region, which they do not much enjoy and which to the unmetaphysical minds to which they chiefly appeal appears unreal and ghostly; and so they hie away again with unphilosophical haste, and they refer to this region again only with the dubious and solemn brevity with which the ancients spoke of their visit to the shades of Proserpine. They ought now to tell us what is the mutual relation of these two sets of evolution, and how they know the unknown, and on what ground they affirm that the known is symbolic of the unknown.

Sundry Logical Points.

Allowing that there is an unknown which is manifested by the known, we ought, not without special reasons of insuperable force to affirm that it is *non-ego*. And no such reason has ever been assigned or is assignable, as far as I can see; while there are very cogent reasons for referring it to the *ego*. It ought to be considered as egoistic, because the *ego* we know as a conscious subject; and we know nothing else, so that any other reference of it is a blind action. It ought to be so considered, because we ought not to multiply entities without necessity; and here there is no necessity, either logical or experiential, for more than one. It ought to be so referred, because there is, it is assumed, a lexical connection of natural cause and effect between it and the known *ego*; and, as this causal connection is one of evolution (not creation), the known and unknown are but different modes in which exists the same one being. We thus reach the conclusion that all evolution and evolving force and being known or unknown is purely subjective or egoistic, and all evolution is limited in its operation to the one subject. We are as yet, therefore, absolutely confined within the bounds of self; and no avenue of egress opens up to us. On the other hand, against the theory of supersensible matter, in addition to what has been already said, we are obliged to make the following points:—

1. We have no proof of its existence.

2. We have no conception of it. It answers to nothing that has ever come within the range of experience.

3. We can explain all material phenomena without having recourse to this hypothesis, and by an infinitely simpler hypothesis,—that they are all the necessary product of the inherent force (created or not) of the *ego*; and the *ego* is known in consciousness.

4. This hypothesis is therefore also utterly useless as well as proofless. Neither logic nor practical life makes any demand for it.

5. None but theorists care anything about it. It is only the sensible world men care for, or that they contend for, when they affirm the existence of matter.

6. The vacillation of philosophers between the known and unknown is the cause of all the trouble. It is under the illusion of the known that they fight for the unknown. Their zeal would rapidly abate and their following would rapidly diminish, were it always clearly and distinctly kept in view that it is not the known world they contend for, but a world which is unknown, unknowable, indescribable, and inconceivable.

7. Therefore, I think it is equal philosophy and modesty not to assert, and to deny the right of any one to assert, its existence.

Dualists often tell us that the idealist must "show that the affirmation of things, in the common sense of the term, is not only not necessary, but is inconsistent, or *that the so-called world* is seen, upon reflection and analysis, to be incapable of existence apart from thought." This has already been abundantly shown concerning "the affirmation of *things, in the common sense of the term*"; for all these things are *nothing else than thought* (and feeling), and it is therefore a contradiction to suppose *these* can exist except as thought and feeling. This has indeed been long settled among the first thinkers; and the only point of controversy now remaining concerns the existence of a transphenomenal world.

Since an able contributor to *The Index* has already shown that I am very likely to be misapprehended, I must endeavor to be perspicuous, though at the expense of terseness. I will therefore adopt the language of my critic: "Every act of consciousness is as truly objective as subjective. The external universe . . . is therefore known to us as directly and immediately as the workings of our own minds." In this passage, the author inserts the phrase "the *non-ego*," as in opposition with "the external universe." That is his mistake, the head and front of his offending; and, in that, he differs from Spencer, Lewes, Huxley, Hamilton, and Mansel, and all the great host of modern psychologists, beginning with Descartes. The known external universe, all the *ensemble* of sensible things, is known as directly and immediately as the working of our own minds, because they are known as being the working of our minds solely and simply. If this is true, it is surely very important that it be fully understood and its logical implications traced out, as that would form the true and philosophical realism.

Because I thus identify the known universe with the *ego*, and yet make it evolve from the *ego*, I am charged with the self-contradiction of creating myself. If so, I only logically follow out the modern psychological doctrine affirming the egoistic nature of all phenomena. But my position involves no such absurdity. Evolution is not creation. Every one knows or believes that thoughts are evolved from the *ego* and are modes of the *ego*. What is thus unquestioned concerning our inner modes or phenomena I affirm concerning all the phenomena of the external world, that they are modes of the mind involuntarily and lexically evolved from the mind.

I wish my readers to remember that, when I call any party materialist, I use the word in a meaning worthy of the modern conception of matter. This I indicated seven years ago in my *Evolution and Progress*. By "material monist," I mean those who hold that there is, in the last analysis, no evidence of more than one substance, which through the external, material world generates all forms of conscious beings.

For *The Index*.

CURIOSITIES OF MUSIC.

BY IVAN PANIN.

I.

1. Johann Sebastian Bach, who, I know not with how much justice, is called the father of modern music, was the descendant of a race of musicians which was so numerous that, even in his day, large musical family reunions took place yearly. He himself, however, contributed not a little, perhaps as much as the rest of the family, to the number of musicians in his country. For by two marriages, in which he was singularly happy, he became the father of no less than twenty children, and the direct ancestor of some sixty of the best known organists and church composers of Germany.

2. Händel, at the age of nineteen, received the offer of the Lübeck organ, if he should marry the retiring organist's daughter. He was not averse to the proposal, and went to Lübeck with his friend Mattheson, to get at least a glance at his spouse *in spe*. As his friend, however, had been offered the same matrimonial terms, they both returned in single blessedness to Hamburg. As for this affair he may be charged by some with a lack of common sense, I will add that subsequently he showed its presence most strikingly. When present in Oxford at the triumphant performance of his "Athaliah," his university admirers urged him to accept the degree of Doctor of Music, which universities everywhere seem to be willing to bestow most liberally where it is no longer needed. Händel, however, would have had to pay a small fee for the distinction. The characteristic reply came: "Vat te tevil I trow my money away for dat vitch the blockhead vish? I no vant!"

The "Messiah" was produced for the first time April

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13, 1742. The performance was for the benefit of poor and distressed prisoners for debt in the Marshalsea in Dublin. Thus, by a strange coincidence, the first performance of the "Messiah" literally meant deliverance to the captives.

Händel was a bachelor, and a cynical bachelor at that. The irony of fate would have it, however, that at the performance of his "Messiah" the hall was so crowded that the fine ladies actually consented to leave their hoops at home for the next performance, to gain thus room for a few hundred more listeners. He died at the age of seventy-five, in 1759, on Good Friday. He had often wished "he might breathe his last on Good Friday, in hope of meeting his good God, his sweet Lord and Saviour, on the day of his resurrection." And his prayer was fulfilled. Both he and Bach lost their sight shortly before death, a loss not so tragic as that of Beethoven, who lost the sense of hearing in his old age, so that he could not hear even his own compositions.

3. Gluck's favorite saying was: "My purpose was to restrict music to its true office, that of ministering to the expression of poetry without interrupting the action." His "Alceste" was first produced in Paris, and disappointed a good part of the audience, who were led to expect something different. "The piece has fallen," was the murmur quite audible in the hall. Abbé Arnaud, Gluck's devoted admirer, arose in his box, and quickly replied, "Yes, fallen from heaven!" The party favoring a rival of Gluck was well represented that night; and, while Miss Levasseur was singing one of the airs, a voice was heard to say, "Ah! you tear out my ears." Instantly, the caustic reply came, "How fortunate, if it is to give you others!" The same Abbé Arnaud, who seems to have been very quick-witted, said after the performance of Gluck's "Iphigenia in Tauris," "There was but one beautiful part in it," adding after awhile, "and that was the whole of it."

Gluck was a composer that should have pleased Carlyle, the apostle of unconsciousness in genius. I know not whether Carlyle disliked music as much as another great literary grumbler, whom he much resembled. Johnson was not fond of music. "Of all noises," said he, "music is the least disagreeable." In all the writings of Carlyle, my memory fails to recall a reference to music worthy of it. Had he known much of Gluck, he might have been glad to summon him as a witness to his theory expounded with such great force in his essay called "Characteristics." Gluck ever maintained that in composing he always tried to forget that he was a musician.

4. Haydn was always called by Mozart Papa Haydn. As Bach was the father of twenty children, so Haydn was the eldest of twenty. He had a brown complexion and small stature. The first earned him the appellation of "the little blackamoor" from his patron, Prince Esterhazy; and the second necessitated his wearing high heels, for his patron insisted that his stature should correspond with his merit. Homely, like Socrates, he was like him blessed with a Xantippe. She was a hair-dresser's daughter, with a dismal, mischievous, sullen nature, venomous tongue, and savage temper. He at last had to separate from her.

Haydn had the homely sense of true genius. When Mozart was pleading with him, begging him not to go to London, he said, "O Papa, you had no training for the wide world, and you speak so few languages." "Oh, my language is understood all over the world," said Papa, with a smile. In his later years, he fell in love with Mrs. Bellington, a famous beauty of that time. She was the most noted singer in England, and Sir Joshua Reynolds was painting her picture for the enamoured composer. She was represented as St. Cecilia listening to celestial music. "You have painted her listening to the angels, when you ought to have painted the angels listening to her," said Haydn to the painter. There are few compliments recorded so genuine and so delicate as this of the unpolished master.

The friendship between Mozart and Haydn is paralleled only in that of Goethe and Schiller. The one was as free from rivalry and jealousy as the other. Of Mozart, Haydn said, "O Mozart! If I could instill into the soul of every lover of music the admiration I have for his matchless works, all countries would seek to be possessed of so great a treasure." Mozart's admiration for Haydn was unmistakable. A professor in Vienna, of some renown, amused himself in discovering "faults" in Haydn's compositions. (It is well known that such an insignificant creature as a mosquito can try the patience of the strongest man.) He frequently came to Mozart with his discoveries of Haydn's weakness. Mozart endeavored to divert his attention and to turn the conversation; but the professor insisted. "Sir," was at last the scathing rebuke, "if you and I were both melted down together, we should not furnish materials for one Haydn."

This, together with the following two incidents, gives a tone of sublimity to his life which is rarely found in men of genius. In 1808, Haydn was present for the last time at the performance of his own "Creation." The presence of the old master, broken down by age, wheeled in as he was on a chair, roused intense enthusiasm in the audience, which could no longer be suppressed when the chorus and orchestra burst in full power upon the grand passage, "And there was light." Amid the tumult of the enraptured audience Haydn was seen striving to raise himself. Once on his feet, he mustered up all his strength; and, in reply to the applause of the audience, he cried out, "No, no, not from us, but thence, from heaven above, cometh all!" He fell back in his chair, and had to be carried out of the room. His last days were a veritable song of the swan. He was led to the piano, and played thrice the "Hymn to the Emperor," as well he might; for a shot of French cannon had just fallen into his garden. Five days after, he was dead. He could not survive his country's degradation.

5. Mozart was an extraordinary example of precocity of genius. At six, he was taken to Vienna to play before the court. Marie Antoinette, afterward queen of France, was particularly pleased with him; and little Mozart said that she was so good to him that he would like to marry her. Poor Marie! Did she think of that when she breathed her last on the guillotine? Madame Pompadour, whom Mozart might have well called Madame Pompous, refused to kiss him, which caused the little great artist to exclaim: "Who is she that she will not kiss me? Have I not been kissed by the queen?" France could not have impressed him favorably. For he would say that the French "are and always will be downright donkeys." This does not increase our respect for his common sense; for, whether the French of that time were downright or upright donkeys or not, Mozart was unwise to risk his reputation of a prophet in saying that they always will remain such. Frenchmen, he said, cannot sing. They scream,—which is not quite true nowadays. They now indeed do not sing,—but neither do they scream: they shake their voices out of their throats. Even poor Voltaire did not escape the composer's wrath. "Voltaire has just died like a dog!" One would almost be tempted to believe that, by a backward transmigration of souls, the youthful Mozart was possessed of the spirit of that master-scold, Mr. H. N. Hudson.

Mozart's musical memory was equalled only by that of Magliabecchi, who retained books after first reading. At Rome, Mozart attended the Sistine Chapel, and heard Allegri's Mass, which the pope had forbidden to be copied, for the same reason that Joan the Terrible had the eyes of the architect put out who built the St. Basil Church in the Kremlin, at Moscow. Mozart copied the entire score from the memory of a single performance. His pictures show a singularly beautiful face. Aloysa Weber, his wife's sister, to whom he first proposed marriage, refused him, however, on account of his being merely "a thin, pale young man, with a long nose, great eyes, and little head." I own I don't blame the maiden for refusing *such* a looking youth. Perhaps the matter was more serious; for his reasons for marrying, in his own words, were that he had no one to take care of his linen. He would not live dissolutely like other youths; and—*mirabile dictu!*—he loved Constance Weber, *maugre* her pretty sister, to whom he had first proposed. But he really did love his wife. Frequently, he would rise long before her to take horseback exercise. He would then kiss her asleep, and leave the following note on her forehead: "Good morning, dear little wife! I hope you had a good sleep and pleasant dreams. I shall be back in two hours, behave yourself like a good little girl, and don't run away from your husband!" Such playfulness of temperament would sometimes take the shape of true humor. Speaking of a little child, he would say, "That boy will be a true Mozart, for he always cries in the very key I am playing." The following is from one of his letters, which reminds me strongly of an anecdote of Shakspere which is recorded in something like the following language by his biographers: "This anecdote was told by Dr. Johnson, who got it from X., who got it in his turn from Addison, who said that he got it from Dryden, who got it from Pope, to whom Rowe told it." "My great-grandfather," Mozart says, "used to say to his wife, my great-grandmother, who in turn told it to her daughter, my mother, who repeated it to her daughter, my sister, that it was a very great art to talk eloquently and well, but an equally great one to know the right moment to stop. I, therefore, shall follow the advice of my sister, thanks to our mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, and thus end not only my moral ebullition, but my letter."

I, too, am reminded by this that it is time to close this sketch. I will only add that Mozart's grave, like that of Voltaire of whom he speaks so disrespectfully, is unknown. He was buried in the pauper's lot, no one being present but the grave-digger and his wife. When Mozart's friends came some time after to erect a stone, the grave could no longer be pointed out.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LIBERAL RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ESQ.:

Dear Sir,—I have been reading your "Why we do not go to the National Unitarian Conference," in a late number of *The Index*, with interest, as it involves questions only half-answered by many free thinkers and liberals dwelling on the boundary line between Rome and Reason, and also because we have in Oakland a movement presenting many of the characteristics of the Unitarian Conference as reported in *The Index*.

About twelve years ago, Rev. L. Hamilton was excommunicated from the Presbyterian Church for hinting that even the impenitent might after death become penitent, and might possibly be forgiven. A large portion of his congregation sympathized with him in his views and position; and, believing that they still needed his ministry, the Independent Presbyterian Church was incorporated, with Mr. Hamilton as pastor. In due time, the word "Presbyterian" fell into disuse; and liberal religious people became more and more attracted to the Church and to Mr. Hamilton. But at the time of their seemingly greatest prosperity, when men of high social standing and men who stood very high in literary and scientific attainments, were its members, the society contracted a debt and obligations which proved to be more than they could meet. The mortgaged building at last went into Mr. Hamilton's hands as the only way in which he could be paid for arrears by the few who still remained.

The Unitarians tried very hard to purchase the building, but failed for want of means. It seemed then that a liberal church in Oakland was doomed. But even after Mr. Hamilton had concluded his pastoral service, when the church was closed after the Unitarian failure, the Sunday-school continued, and the ladies of the late church still met and bravely looked disaster in the face, and bade failure defiance. In the mean time, Mr. Hamilton—a constant reader and admirer of *The Index*—by untiring study, and a determined earnestness to know the truth, had reached a position regarding the inspiration of the Bible which he wished to make known to his people,—the people of Oakland. He acknowledged his indebtedness to a very large extent to Dr. Kuenen's *Religion of Israel*. He began preaching again, not as a pastor, but as one having a message. His rational views of religion went home to many hearts, and a new era in rational and religious life was inaugurated among his people. On the Sunday evenings also, he presided over his disciples, inviting free speech, the freest criticism of his own position, and the earnest co-operation of all who loved their fellow-men.

Those evenings will long be remembered as being indeed a feast of reason and flow of soul, only marred by those who could not follow on account of their dragging anchor, or those whose impetuous souls and iconoclastic tendencies needed a stronger pressure of steam. But the movement met with an unexpected blow. In the midst of his most earnest, thoughtful discourse,—a copy of which is mailed to you,—on the 9th of April last, Mr. Hamilton fell dead in his pulpit, his last words being, "Bear in mind there are three things we do not know. We do not know what matter is"—

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This was indeed a heavy blow, though it served as a cruel stimulant to those who had shared in his labors to keep alive the movement so dear to his heart.

A meeting was held, and the old society was reorganized on a new basis of more liberal range of thought and action. Rev. Clarence Fowler, a Unitarian clergyman, was elected pastor, not only as the most available, but on account of his experience as president over a similar society in San José. At the death of Mr. Hamilton, he was under engagement to exchange pulpits with him. And he has labored with acceptance and earnestness.

We are still laboring under the difficulties which must accompany all transition movements, looking backward, while moving forward. Those of us who claim to be in the vanguard dislike to be named "Christians" or "Unitarians" or any name which refers us back to conditions in which we have little or no sympathy. There are others of us who are not prepared to cast aside names, but who believe in them as serving at least a transitional useful purpose; and others again who yet retain a lingering faith in the special divinity of historic Christianity and its symbolic ordinances.

In the midst of these conflicting conditions, we painfully realize the lack of a central idea, clear and attractive enough to all to excite a common enthusiasm,—something which will combine intellectual freedom and moral culture with spiritual enlargement and discernment. You will perceive that we recognize the utility of a church system, and as plainly see the existing errors and futilities of such systems.

I have thus presented to you a bird's-eye view of the liberal movement here, in as brief and comprehensive manner as possible, to serve as a preface to a request. Will you please address yourself in *The Index* to such a society, and give us the benefit of your experience and advice?

I believe that a correspondence at the present time between all societies in our position, recognizing the religious nature of man and the absolute necessity of mental freedom, would result in much good. Hoping my request will receive due attention, I am

Yours for truth and progress, J. W. MACKIE.

OAKLAND, CAL., Nov. 5, 1882.

INTUITION.

Editors of The Index:—

We hide our best selves, lest we be not understood. Had we more faith and less distrust of our fellows, we might often find a comrade in spirit, where now we only gaze askance and disconsolate, cherishing our dumbness in an agony of selfishness.

Each natural soul is cognizant of a feeling of attraction or repulsion as it comes in contact with others. Could we but realize that this subtile yet powerful influence that speaks to our inner consciousness is the witness which interprets the soul's true measurement of its environments, we would lean upon its counsel in all trustfulness, rather than upon the admonition that comes from the intellect alone. Excessive worldly wisdom, founded upon a narrow circle of so-called facts, tends to warn us continually against our better selves. Our intuition is, I apprehend, our reason blossomed out. Too long has the higher power been subservient to the lower, too long has our ideal been snubbed by the so-called real. The coming age is one of intuition. Therein will woman assume her natural prerogative, and reign queen among those who have styled themselves her lords. Our poets, philosophers, seers, and sages have each in their turn been counted fools and maniacs, because, forsooth, their mental processes were less cumbersome and laborious than that of their fellows. Mankind will ever cultivate and cherish whatsoever is held in high esteem, and valued most among their fellow-men. In feudal times, the force of muscle was the test of power. Anon, men proved themselves athletes in intellectual achievements; and, at this tournament, full many strove, both long and well, to gain the prize, and, winning this, have rested in self-satisfaction on their laurels, holding all things subservient to the intellect. Yet, now, behold! new worlds appear unconquered; and Intuition, like the blooded steed, scents from afar the battle's din, and seeks amid the fields of moral consciousness her right and title to a royal crown. Lewes says, "Intuition is the clear vision of relations"; and, again, "All great discoveries were seen intuitively, long before it was possible to exhibit the correctness of their ground or disentangle the involved data." When, therefore, these truths shall be fully accepted in the lives of men, when the intuitive faculties, so long ignored, shall be trusted and honored and valued for their utility not less than for their beauty, then will they be coveted and cultivated; and mothers will feel honored in transmitting to their sons an inheritance heretofore despised. For, "Like father, like son," is not half so true as "Like *mother*, like son"; and although women, from time immemorial, have been sneered at as illogical because of the superiority of their intuitive faculties, the time is near at hand when the foregoing item in the category of heredity will be considered of paramount importance, at least to the cultivation of a certain variety of fan-tailed pigeons!

CLARA, PA. EVA A. H. BARNES.

REVISION OF CREEDS.

Editors of The Index:—

If we are to go back to the apostles for our religion, why not go back to the same ancient times for everything that needs revision? Has there been no improvement made on the Apostles' Creed—if they had one—(and that is a question which will probably be settled between Rev. M. J. Savage and the Boston *Herald*, as it is debatable ground between them) during all these eighteen hundred years? Is it possible the Church, especially the orthodox part of it, has been going from bad to worse ever since the last apostle departed? *If so*, religion to-day must be in a bad plight. But is such the case? I think not. It is a well-known fact that mankind, the world over, is far better to-day than in the days of the apostles; and, if so, religion must be better. These protests of to-day are but repetitions of the past; and good will come from the present stirring up, as it always has in the past, and that good will be the result of an *advance* in thought, and not of a backward movement. Why not go back to Noah's time, and revise our shipbuilding (it might benefit our navy perhaps)? Why not go back, "down the ages," and revise our *materia medica*? But why go back at all? Begin with the "eternal verities" of to-day, and build ahead, or at least keep pace with the times. The religion that people *feel* to-day—not *all* that is preached—is far ahead of that of the apostles' time. I think the ideas advanced by Rev. M. J. Savage, and his conception of God, are infinitely superior to those of years ago. As a remedy for all this trouble in religious circles, it is suggested that all the different Protestant bodies take a back track over the divergent branches to the main road, and form a Christian unity on the great Catholic creeds of historical Christianity. Won't there be a rattling of the dry bones when that event happens? It will be a bitter pill to swallow,—*i.e.*, that all the suffering, lunacy, bloodshed, and death since the Reformation has been in vain, that the mother Church has always been right, and they have been in error all these years. You gentlemen who "deal in futures" must suggest something better than that. Better "hitch your wagon to a star." W. H. S.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DR. SAVAGE says of Christmas: "In ancient Egypt, the birthday of Horus, the virgin-born son of Isis, was celebrated at the time and in the manner in which we celebrate Christmas. In Greece, the birthday of Hercules, and in Rome the Saturnalia and the birthday of the sun, were celebrated at the time of the winter solstice; and the ancient Germans celebrated their Yule feast at the same time. Among the Celtic Druids, the day was celebrated with the light of balefires. They are all the same festival under different forms. Christmas, then, always fresh to the childhood of our homes and the childhood of our hearts, is as old as the dawn of history or the life of man. (To this festival, except the names, we have added nothing.) Our trees, decorated temples, services, presents, happy children, etc., are far older than Christianity. It is a human festival far more than a Christian one. . . . They have always been regarded by the dogmatic as pagan remnants, unworthy of the day. The Puritans hoped they had left Christmas behind. . . . The truth is that the Church found Christmas so firmly fixed that they could not eradicate it; and so they kept it, only changing the names and meanings of its rites. It is a human festival which the Church was forced to keep against its will."

REV. T. MOZLEY, in his *Reminiscences*, tells a rather significant story of William Sewell, a prominent Oxford man, founder of Radley College, and a Professor of Moral Philosophy. He established a Moral Philosophy Club, where most of the talking was done by himself; and this is Mozley's story: "On one occasion, when all were assembled at Sewell's own rooms, and nobody had anything to read or to say, Sewell rose to the rescue. He had been reading a very learned work on the interior history of Mohammedanism. It presented in all respects the most marvellous correspondence to the history of the Christian Church,—exactly corresponding schools, sects, divisions, controversies, tendencies, shades of thought, and varieties of practice. Point at anything in the Christian Church, and Sewell could put his finger on the Mohammedan equivalent. *Mutato nomine*, the two things were the same; that is, the same morally and intellectually, and in what most people hold to be the substance of religion. Sewell gave illustrations, and named the fathers, the reformers, the leaders of thought, and the founders of schools in Mohammedanism, the very counterpart of our own. In truth, Cæsar was very like Pompey; and, as to be like is a feminine and dependent quality, it followed that Mohammedanism was the likest of the two. Sewell was still dilating in this strain, and seemingly on the eve of still more startling disclosures, when the clock told us time was up. The club looked like a club: it said nothing, asked no questions, and parted, sadder perhaps, but not very much wiser. There was not much gained by having it made out so satisfactorily that Turk is only another name for Christian; that is, for the Christian corresponding to the Turkish variety."

BOOK NOTICES.

SPARKS FROM A GEOLOGIST'S HAMMER. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. Second edition. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Company. $2.00.

The title of Prof. Winchell's *Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer* covers a part only of the very interesting contents of the volume. The opening chapters are devoted to "Mont Blanc and the Mer de Glace" and the "Ascent of Mont Blanc," and these are followed by a short essay on "The Beautiful." Then come three important papers on "The Old Age of Continents," on "Obliterated Continents," and on "A Grasp of Geologic Time." These are put under the general head of "Chronological," and under the head of "Climatic" are next given papers on "Geological Seasons," "The Climate of the Lake Region," and "Mammoths and Mastodons." Under "Historical" follow two papers on "Salt Enterprise in Michigan," and a subject, the interest of which we fail to see, which was treated with labored irony in an account of "A Remarkable Maori Manuscript." The first of the four essays given as "Philosophical" is of like doubtful interest. It deals ironically with "The Genealogy of Ships." An able attempt to state the points implied in it would have been much more to the purpose. The three concluding papers treat the following topics from a somewhat conservative point of view: "Huxley and Evolution," "Grounds and Consequences of Evolution," and "The Metaphysics of Science." These are able papers and thoroughly interesting. Their hesitation toward Darwinism will furnish a useful antidote to the feverish enthusiasm of Darwinian discipleship, which too hastily takes for granted that the last word of evolution has been spoken. Prof. Tyndall said in the Belfast address that he deemed it certain that the Darwinian views would "undergo modification"; and Prof. Huxley has expressed the fear that the new generation "will accept the main doctrines of *The Origin of Species* with as little reflection and, it may be, with as little justification as so many of our contemporaries twenty years ago rejected them." Prof. Winchell very well states what it is that we have accomplished, when we get at so much as Mr. Darwin has clearly made out:—

"We have thus come to a knowledge of certain *facts*. We have only reached the determination of a certain order of succession and a certain derivative relation. We have not yet discovered the *agencies* through which the derivation is effected, and the *conditions* under which those agencies are operative. Nor have we discovered the *efficiency* which operates the agencies, nor the mode of its activity, nor the reason why all these things are brought to pass as they are. In brief, after we have discovered *what*

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takes place, it remains to learn *through* what it takes place, and *by* what it takes place, and *for* what it takes place. These are the ulterior questions which were not touched by Prof. Huxley in his lectures. He did not completely ignore them, but he waived them."

The varied contents of Prof. Winchell's volume can be heartily commended to studious readers for the interest which they will excite and the instruction which they will give. Several of the essays, nearly all of them in fact, are a good deal more than sparks from the hammer. They are thoroughly good pieces of finished work, popular in style, and full of such information as the general reader will be glad to get in so pleasant a form. The publishers of the volume, it is a pleasure to say, show by their part of the work that Chicago is not behind New York and Boston in book-making.

ART AND NATURE IN ITALY. By Eugene Benson. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882.

This is a delightful book,—the book of a man of generous education on the side of art, dealing with the art of Italy, its local associations, and the characteristics of its representative men. But we have here no stupid generalizations, and the concrete particulars are set in a charming framework of natural beauty. We have first a chapter on "Giorgione's Country," the broad, rich plain surrounded by the Apennines, the Alps, and the Adriatic; then, a chapter on "Titian's Country," the dolomite region of the Tyrol Mountains; then, chapters on Urbino, the birthplace of Raphael, and Perugia, and Assisi, and so on. There is a very interesting chapter on Tintoretto's conception of Satan in his picture of "The Temptation," and others on St. Peter's and Italian majolica, and Ferrara and San Gemignano, where can be seen the most famous pictures of Gozzoli, the continuator of Fra Angelico, but with original genius. Somewhat aside from the general purpose of the book is a chapter on Fortuny, "the painter of character, luxury, and blood"; but we are glad to have it with the rest. The book is throughout the book of a man entirely at home in the region of which he essays to speak.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for January is a remarkable number; though, when we glance over the list of names of the contributors, it gives us a sort of start, as if summoned to attend a genuine "materialization" of departed spirits. And if our Spiritualist friends could at their *séances* summon spirits who could talk so like their own earthly selves as these "manifestations" of Longfellow and Hawthorne given us by the *Atlantic* read, the Spiritualistic belief would have a stronger hold on the sensible part of the community than it now has. There is a little thrill of pleasurable reminiscence given to the earlier readers of the *Atlantic* in meeting in this one number the names of Longfellow, Whittier, Hawthorne, and Holmes, with original matter from each; and in Whittier's new poem and the Autocrat's new departure in "An After-breakfast Talk" there is no trace of any loss of vigorous intellect, in spite of their more than "threescore years and ten." Thirty-five pages are given of Longfellow's "Michael Angelo," which will run through two more numbers of the *Atlantic*. And there is an instalment of seventeen pages of Hawthorne's "Outlines of an English Romance." Whittier's poem is entitled "A Summer Pilgrimage." The other contents of the magazine are equally brilliant. Charles Dudley Warner discusses "Wagner's Parsifal"; "H. H." gives an article on "Chance Days in Oregon"; Mrs. Wyman, who has hitherto written under the initials S. A. L. E. M., contributes over her own signature one of her charming and unique short stories, "A Stranger, yet at Home"; Harriet W. Preston writes of "An Apennine Valley"; there is a short poem from Edith M. Thomas, and one from Maurice Thompson on "Wild Honey." The "Studies in the South" continue with unabated interest.

AMONG the many attractions with which the *Century Magazine* for January begins the new year is an appreciative article on Darwin, written by Alfred R. Wallace, entitled "The Debt of Science to Darwin," embellished by views of his home, his study, the greenhouse in which many of his experiments and observations were made, and his favorite retired walk. The frontispiece of this number is a life-like portrait of the great naturalist, taken in a sitting position, copied from a photograph by one of Darwin's sons. The *Century* has also been smitten with the recent popular revival, or *survival*, of Hawthorne's literature, and gives us "A Look into Hawthorne's Workshop," being the preliminary notes for *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*, which Julian Hawthorne has just had published. "Hydraulic Mining in California," by Taliesin Evans; "The Planting of New England," by Edward Eggleston; and "Who are the Creoles?" an historical sketch by Geo. W. Cable, are the most profusely illustrated articles. Frederic H. W. Myers gives an excellent sketch of "Arthur Penrhyn Stanley," late Dean of Westminster. There are interesting chapters given of the three serial stories, "The Christian League of Connecticut," by Washington Gladden, "The Led Horse Claim," Mary Hallock Foote's unique story, and "Through One Administration," by Frances Hodgson Burnett. The poetry of the number is contributed by Edith Thomas, H. C. Bunner, Henry Ames Blood, Mrs. Burnett, E. C. White, Maria W. Jones, Paul Hamilton Hayne, with others in the "Bric-à-Brac" department.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for January opens with a timely article on "The Great Comet of 1882," by Prof. C. A. Young, of Princeton College, one of the very few American writers who are capable at once of discussing the subject fully from the scientific point of view and of answering the questions the public asks in the way it wants them answered. M. Alfred Fouillee discusses "Scientific Philanthropy" in a thoroughly scientific spirit. Among the many noteworthy articles which this number contains, we have space to mention only the following, whose titles sufficiently indicate their scope: "Traces of a Pre-Indian People," by Charles C. Abbott; "Bodily Deformities in Girlhood," by Dr. Charles Roberts; "Curiosities of Superstition," by that brilliant writer, Felix L. Oswald, M.D., who is soon to give a series of articles in *The Index*; "The Influence of Education on Observation"; "Speculative Zoölogy," by Prof. W. K. Brooks; "Playa and Playa-lakes," by Israel C. Russell, an article which treats of the different sorts of infertile basins or flat lands, like the Desert of Sahara, salt marshes, etc. Herbert Spencer's words and works while here in America are given considerable space in this number; and there is a spirited portrait of the late Prof. Henry Draper, with an interesting sketch of his life and scientific labor.

THE *North American Review* for January opens the year brilliantly. This magazine of late seems to have taken upon itself the task of, if not settling, at least of awakening interest in unsettled theological questions; and this number is no exception, as it opens with a symposium on "The Revision of Creeds," in which Dr. Newman Smyth, Dr. Lyman Abbott, and Henry Ward Beecher take part. Prof. LeConte Stevens discusses the question of "University Education for Women" in a fair-minded manner. Prof. Isaac Rice gives "A Definition of Liberty," deduced from a philosophical study of the different phases of political evolution. Gilbert M. Tucker defends "American English," and Rev. H. W. Thomas writes a thoughtful article on "The Responsibilities of Progressive Thinkers." Dr. David Hunt gives his opinion in regard to "Bigotry in the Medical Profession," and Charles T. Congdon treats of "The Adulteration of Intelligence."

THE *Catholic World* is a magazine which is always well worth perusal by non-Catholics, of whatever shade of belief or of scepticism, as one of the most cultured as well as the most decided expressions given of the Catholic faith of to-day. The January number is no exception to this general rule. Among the most vigorous papers in this number, we count those on "Mozley's *Reminiscences*," by Oswald Keatinge, D.C.L.; "A New Theory of Æsthetics," by Dr. C. M. O'Leary; and "The Fact of Home Rule," by Margaret F. Sullivan. The fourth and last part of the "Comedy of Conference" is given; and the number is more than usually rich in poetry and fiction, a fact due probably to its being a sort of holiday number.

VICK'S FLORAL GUIDE comes to us this year with no abatement of its many excellences, in spite of the death of its generous and energetic originator, the senior Mr. Vick. To all customers of this great florist and seed firm, their beautiful *Guide* is presented *free*, and to all others at the nominal price of ten cents. Although in a manner an advertisement of their business, every page of the one hundred and thirty it contains is replete with interest to all flower-lovers and gardeners of every sort. The covers for this year are after an æsthetic design; and, in addition to the many engravings of different flowers, vegetables, etc., there are two beautiful full-page colored illustrations of groups of flowers and vegetables.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. JOHN G. SAXE, the poet, still resides in Albany, at the home of his son, and is an invalid. The disease from which he suffers is neuralgia, affecting the great nerve-centres, and accompanied by chronic dyspepia. He has suffered no impairment of mental strength.

MR. BRONSON ALCOTT continues to improve, and can now speak quite distinctly. His right side, which was paralyzed, begins to have some feeling; and hopes are entertained that he may recover from the shock. He is not, however, allowed to have many callers yet.

IT is stated that the Sultan of Turkey is becoming deranged. He has had built for himself an armored carriage, bullet and grenade proof. He is in constant fear of assassination; and the palace is practically in a state of siege, no one being allowed to enter unless summoned.

WEDNESDAY, the 13th inst., was the fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Gladstone's entrance into public life. Many of the English papers commemorated the day by publishing sketches and reviews of his political career. The Khedive of Egypt, the Greek government, and various home political organizations sent messages of congratulation to him on that day. The day following, he resigned the chancellorship of the exchequer.

HENRY JAMES, Sr., who died at his home on Mt. Vernon Street, in this city, on Monday, the 18th inst., was a man of considerable literary ability and fine culture. He was the author of various works on religious and philosophical subjects, among which we may mention *Moralism and Christianity*, *Christianity the Logic of Creation*, *The Secret of Swedenborg*, *The Nature of Evil*, and *Society the Redeemed Form of Man*. He was an independent thinker on religious subjects, but inclined to Swedenborgianism. He was the intimate friend of many of America's best thinkers. He was seventy-one years of age. The popular novelist, Henry James, Jr., is one of his four sons. He leaves also one daughter, who is well known in literary circles in this city.

THE poet Whittier would have received on his recent seventy-fifth birthday many heartfelt ovations from his multitude of admirers, but his health would not admit of his accepting any of the invitations to hold a public reception. As it was, many floral and other tributes of affection found their way to his quiet home. He said to a reporter that it was "rather a queer thing to congratulate a man upon, that he was seventy-five years old," smilingly adding that perhaps it was something to live so long in this wicked world. In answer to a question as to the amount of literary work he was doing this winter, he replied: "Not much. Nothing to speak of. I have done too much already, such as it is. There is no man who ought to write much after he is seventy, unless perhaps it may be Dr. Holmes."

A WRITER in the *Christian Register* who heard Mr. W. M. Salter give his address on prayer, since published in *The Index*, says of it that it "was exceedingly fine. Were it not paradoxical to say so, one might call it a prayer against prayer. The spirit in which it was given certainly seemed prayerful. It had all the solemn beauty of a prophetic utterance, and was made affecting from an undertone of sadness which seemed to indicate that a nature deeply religious had struggled to convince itself that prayer belongs to the early stages of man's development, and is irrational, if not immoral. Some certainly who listened to that remarkable address will watch the career of Mr. Salter with great interest. Faith would seem to be as essential to his soul as breath to his nostrils. Nature does not, let us hope, create religious genius (the rarest of all) to cast it into the gulf of materialism."

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 313

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Where the Coming Church is to come from, Wm. J. Potter, ... 314
By-ways of Science in Colorado, W. D. Gunning, . . . 315
Fact and Faith: Self and Sacrifice, II., Charlotte Porter, 315
William Tell, Fred. May Holland, ... 316

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 317

POETRY.
"It Moves," George Martin, ... 318

ESSAYS.
A Rationalist's Estimate of the Bible, Wm. J. Potter, . 318
Industrial Co-operation, reported by A. L. Leubuscher, 321

BOOK NOTICES.
John Greenleaf Whittier, by W. Sloane Kennedy, . . 322
Some Children's Books, ... 323
How to be Weather-wise, by Isaac P. Noyes, ... 323

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 323

CURRENT TOPICS.

A RECENT telegraphic despatch from Yokohama, Japan, states that there is a large convention of Buddhist priests this month at the famous temple of Kovasan, in the province of Kii, for the purpose of abolishing the ancient rules against marriage and eating flesh by the clergy.

THE "signs of the times" are improving decidedly, when scientists and thinkers are beginning to be accorded as much attention in the surface world as fops and beauties. As one indication of this new tendency, we observe that amusement notes in some newspapers are now headed "Gospel of Relaxation," after Spencer.

BIGOTRY in so-called Liberalism is as much to be deplored and guarded against as in religion. The possible dangers of such over-zealousness is shown by instances like the one we cite: "A religion censor in France struck *Robinson Crusoe* from the list of reading-books which could be used in the public schools, on the ground that it was too religious."

THERE are still some portions of this globe where science has not yet robbed our celestial visitors of divine honors. It is reported that in Abeokuta, on the west coast of Africa, the natives are so much disturbed over the appearance of the comet, considering it a presage of evil, that human sacrifices have been made to exorcise the comet, and appease the supposed anger of their gods.

THE Australians do not seem to take kindly to religious instruction in the public schools, for a late New Zealand paper reports that the president of the Public Teachers' Association at Adelaide recently stated that "he had given notice three times in the West Adelaide school, to the effect that he would read the Bible half an hour before school hours, but not a single child attended. He had also tried the experiment in the evening, with the same result."

THE clerical party in Germany, supported by not a few of the Protestant clergy, have been working hard to secure the repeal of the law which makes the celebration of marriage by a civil magistrate compulsory, but their efforts have thus far failed, the German Bundesrath having just rejected a motion favoring the abolition of compulsory civil marriage. This action, which has not been taken probably without the consent of Bismarck, it is thought is an indication of the limit of the Chancellor's policy of conciliation and concession to the Vatican.

CATHOLICISM has gained what seems to many like a great victory in the "conversion" to the Romish faith of Sir Tatton Sykes, whose only claims to consideration, so far as we can find out, are his many ancestral acres, immense inherited wealth, and personal proclivities as a sporting man. It is said that no sooner had he made up his mind to abandon the Anglican Church and the turf than he formed the "munificent intention of building at his own cost a cathedral for the Catholic Arch-Diocese of Westminster." This conversion, it will be perceived, is not so much a matter of intellectual triumph as of love of Romish display.

HERR JOHANN MOST, the German socialist, who has recently come to this country, seems not to have very carefully studied our republican form of government. If his advice, reported as given at a recent public meeting in Chicago, were to be followed, a republic would be the most disastrous form of government imaginable. "The only thing to be done," he said, "was when the people got the upper hand, they stopped killing: they should have kept on. The people here must kill; must open banks and stores and help themselves to whatever they wanted. Bankers and capitalists must be set to work on the streets." And this arrant nonsense and bluster is said to have been received by the large audience present "with the most uproarious applause."

REV. DR. H. M. SCUDDER, a prominent Congregational preacher lately installed as pastor of a leading church in Chicago, says he believes "that Christ went down into hades, and preached to those who 'sometimes were disobedient in the days of Noah.' This is," he affirms, "the only case of future probation that I can find in the Scriptures"; and the extent of his liberal opinion is "to hope that, if there are similar cases, there may be a similar exhibition of mercy." Even in this very mild and rather incomprehensible statement, the *Christian Union* scents heresy, and throws down the gauntlet to one of its less liberal contemporaries by remarking: "The *Congregationalist*, in a circular printed, but not published, declares that the term 'evangelical' does not apply to those 'who under its mantle would advocate probation after death.' Does the *Congregationalist* deny the title of evangelical to Dr. Scudder?"

THE *Catholic Review* says: "It should be remembered that there are Irish rascals and thieves just as there are thieves and rascals all the world over, and the fact of a man or a body of men posing as patriots does not at all insure their being such. We have a painful and scandalous instance under our very eyes of the expenditure of over a hundred thousand dollars contributed to what was supposed to be the Irish cause in the shape of the 'skirmishing fund.' A 'skirmishing fund,' indeed, it is said to be. Ten thousand dollars, it is charged, went to one skirmisher to skirmish him into Parliament. Fifty thousand dollars went to another skirmisher to provide a 'ram' wherewith to destroy England. The rest went in like manner,—a thousand dollars here, a couple of thousand dollars there. *Not one cent of all this money thus contributed went to Ireland or to the Irish people!* Gentlemen, it is time to cry halt."

WE have glanced over the list of subjects suggested by the Evangelical Alliance for "the Week of Prayer," which begins January 7 and ends January 14, and feel a little sense of satisfaction that we are not "evangelical" or orthodox in belief. Otherwise, in view of the great tidal wave of doubt and denial which is submerging, even in the most orthodox circles, all former religious "high-water marks," we should feel a little out of patience at such a time in being called upon to make a special subject of prayer of such commonplace topics only as "prayer for families," "prayer for the Church universal," "prayer for the nations," "prayer for missions," etc., without taking into account prayers for the conscientious doubter, prayers for the vindication of God's written word, prayers for the substantiation of Biblical prophecies, prayers for the salvation of high thinkers and pure living people, and kindred topics.

"CLOSED to take account of stock" is inscribed over the doorway of many business firms "about this time," as the old Almanacs used to say. These words would not be out of place inscribed over the doorways to our "inner selves" "about this time." A great deal of weak wit is brought into play just now to make fun of New Year's reflections and New Year's good resolutions. But, nevertheless, the incoming of another year is just the proper time to make good resolutions to "turn over a new leaf"; and, whether these resolutions are carried into effect or not, the fact that they can be made speaks well for the moral sensitiveness of the resolvee, to coin a new word. It would be a great pity if we were no longer able or desirous of making new and good resolutions. We may not always be able to carry them out, but let us not sink so low that we are incapable of making them. We have lost many of our best teachers during the year now closed. Let us hope that this new year will disclose to us, or develop, new thinkers capable of taking the places of such men as Emerson, Darwin, the Drapers, father and son, Bellows, Bruno Bauer, Louis and Charles Blanc, Balfour, Jevons, Garibaldi, and other distinguished thinkers and actors who have passed on during the year just ended. *The Index*, sharing in the general season of combined retrospection and hope which the beginning of a new year induces, makes its best bow to its patrons, and, without making any promises, gives utterance to its earnest intention to make its columns for the coming year more than ever the exponent of the purest living, the highest thinking, and the most advanced thought of the age. We close by wishing our readers, one and all, a very "Happy New Year!"

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WHERE THE COMING CHURCH IS TO COME FROM.

In reply to a correspondent, we made some remarks last week, under the title of "The Coming Church," on certain conditions of the organization of liberal societies. This subject of the coming Church is a quite favorite topic among liberal and rationalistic thinkers. But one point of the topic has not been generally touched. We do not remember to have seen or heard the question much discussed, where the coming Church is to come from; and we return to the subject for the sake of considering this point.

We very strongly doubt whether the Liberals as a class, though most interested in speculating concerning the Church of the Future, are themselves to build that Church. They will have much to do with the shaping of it, but will not be its direct creators. And we more strongly doubt whether the coming liberal Church is to be built on absolutely new foundations entirely outside of all existing ecclesiastical grounds. This subject has been one of special interest to us for many years, from both a philosophical and a practical point of view. We have carefully watched the tendencies of Liberalism inside of Churches and outside of Churches. Circumstances have brought us into pretty direct contact with both the ecclesiastical and the anti-ecclesiastical phases of liberal thought, so that we have had opportunities for feeling the sentiment and motive power of each side. And, while we do not for this reason set up for a prophet, our observations and reflections have tended toward certain conclusions that may be of interest to others. This, then, is the way in which the probabilities appear to us, looking at the sky signs from our religious weather signal-office.

Liberalism has done and is still doing a most important and necessary work. Its mission is to abolish the irrational doctrines and ceremonies which keep the churches behind the best intelligence of the times, and to set them to work for the practical welfare of humanity. And, in order to accomplish this mission, it was necessary for it in large measure to go outside of all existing ecclesiastical bounds. If it remained inside of them, it would help to nourish the very errors and superstitions which it opposed; and its position would thus be compromised, and the force of its protest greatly weakened. But, when the churches saw some of their brightest and most vigorous minds going outside of them in behalf of the interests of reason and humanity, they took the alarm, and the protest reacted upon them with greater power. There are signs, however, that Liberalism is not wholly content with this office of criticism and protest. A good many Liberals who have thus gone outside of the churches miss something that the churches gave them, even if it be only the delight of human association and fellowship; or they see that any philosophy of life, to be complete, must be positive and constructive as well as critical and negative. And these have been putting their wits to work and have been looking about them, to see if they cannot found some institution that shall take for them and their families the place of the Church. Various attempts of this sort have been made in different places and under different conditions, but generally with no permanent success or with no success at all beyond what came temporarily through the personal power of some leader. And, even if all these organizations had succeeded and remained to this day, the aggregate power of them all together would have been but small. Those Liberals who have felt the need of organization and been most eager for it have not found that Liberals in general possess the organizing faculty or care much yet for organization, beyond the better opportunities it may give for attacking the false theologies and moral shortcomings of the churches.

Nor need we seek very far to find the cause of this weakness of Liberalism on the side of organization, even though there are signs among Liberals of a growing desire for organization. The dominant power of Liberalism is reason. There is its strength. In the activity of reason, it had its origin; and this was the special faculty it needed for the office it had to fill,—the faculty which determined its office. But reason is not the founder of churches. We do not believe that reason alone, or the thought side of the human mind, ever created the Church, or that alone it ever will create any institution corresponding to the Church. And yet we believe that the Church, or some institution corresponding to it, will continue to exist, because human nature, as a whole, will continue to demand it.

As we regard the matter, the Church, considered as the sum of religious institutions, was never made: it grew. And when, in primitive times, it first originated, its root was in sentiments rather than in ideas. The primary impulse came from certain mental emotions, as man found himself in the presence of nature's powers. The mental perceptions accompanying the sentiments helped to suggest and shape the forms that were adopted to express or embody the sentiments, but the sentiments gave the impelling, vitalizing motive. And all through the history of religious institutions, under whatever form of faith, their vitalizing and sustaining force has consisted primarily in sentiment. What thought or reason has done, as the intelligence of man has improved, has been to reform and adapt the old institutions to the new uses demanded by clearer mental and moral perceptions. But, amid all changes of belief and faith, there has been a certain continuity of institutions which has remained unbroken. Even when a new religion has come, with a new name, a new creed, and new objects and modes of worship, it has not created absolutely new institutions, but made over and enlarged the old ones to serve its new occasions. Christianity not only retained many of the institutions of Judaism which came to it by direct inheritance, but, as it spread, it adopted pagan institutions also, christening them with its own names, and spread the faster for so doing. Christendom has many practices to-day which it fondly thinks originated at the time of Jesus, but which really are of pagan ancestry and have a pagan antiquity. As there are certain sentiments inherent in human nature which persist through all intellectual, moral, and social changes in the condition of mankind, so the institutions growing out of these sentiments, in their core and substance persist, however multifariously changing their form and aspect and even their significance. The Church is an institution of this nature. We may say the same of the marriage institution; and also, to a certain extent, of the institutions of government. All these great institutions of society are founded in sentiments which naturally and permanently inhere in the human mind. And these sentiments are absolutely necessary to their continued maintenance. But, left to the care of sentiment alone, they would be soon outgrown, and become entirely disproportioned to human needs. Advancing thought must keep transforming and shaping them anew, so as to adjust and justify them to man's ever-advancing requirements.

Now apply this statement of the relation between sentiment, thought, and institutions to the religious problem of our time. The Church, by too obstinate adherence to the creeds and ceremonies of a former age, has fallen behind and consequently out of harmony with the enlightened thought of the present day. Hence the conflict and the problem. The minds in which the faculty of rational inquiry and thought largely predominates have either gone outside of the Church or are just on its verge, making their protest against its errors. But the minds in which sentiment largely predominates still remain, to great extent, in the Church; sentiment, by its very nature, clinging for association's sake to the institutions it once created, until led by reason to a better support. Yet the sentiment alone is not able to reform the institutions, to make them harmonize with advancing thoughts. Thought itself must supply thought's need. Nor is the liberated rational thought outside of the Church able, to any great extent, to create new religious institutions of its own, because inadequately supplied with the sentiment which is their originating vital impulse. How shall the two separated elements be brought together to do the creative work required? By the natural process which is already in operation, and which at previous historical epochs has accomplished a similar end. The enlightened critical thought outside is being reflected within the Church, and is there transforming old beliefs, liberalizing creeds, investing symbols with new meanings, humanizing ecclesiastical practices and work, and is thus providing for the religious sentiment new instrumentalities and methods of expression within the heart of the old institutions. And in this way it is that the coming Church is being formed. It is being created, by the process of evolution, within the existing Church. The enlarging, shaping thought which has been doing its work outside is entering the old enclosure, and preparing it for new and higher uses.

Old errors of dogma and ceremony will linger, indeed, for many a day yet, and outside criticism and protest for many a day yet will be needed. There are multitudes of Liberals now living who will never feel at home within the walls of any church that will come in their time, and who will still have a mission outside. Let them organize, wherever they have the power, in their own independent way, if for no other purpose than to emphasize those things which they think the churches neglect, but ought to do. So will they help on the process of educating the churches by holding before them a model as well as a protest. But Liberalism is under no obligation to feel that the Herculean task of utterly demolishing the churches and then of building new institutions upon their ruins is put upon its hands. Nature has a more economical way than that. Corresponding to the changed ideas of mankind, the institutions of religion will change. Already the work has begun; and, if we may judge the future by the past, it will go on. The Church of the past, dogmatic, sectarian, and often cruel, enslaver of the mind and torturer of the body under the delusion of saving the soul, is being transformed into the broad, liberal, enlightened, and humanitarian Church of the Future. Its costly and elegant edifices, its vast endowments of wealth, its magnificent equipments of organized power, its fine resources of moral consecration and spiritual sentiment, are to be set free from bondage to dogma and superstition, and converted to the noblest human uses: the education of man, through appeals to his reason, imagination, conscience, and heart, as a conscious integral part of a universe which he is to help onward towards perfection; of a universe whose boundless truth he may ever aspire to know, though his knowledge can never exhaust it, but whose law of preservation and life he has discovered to be identical with the law of righteousness, which he owns as binding his conduct.

WILLIAM J. POTTER.

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BY-WAYS OF SCIENCE IN COLORADO.

"In God I trusted,
In Pitkin I busted."

This farewell to Colorado I read on a little flag carried over an emigrant wagon, moving eastward toward the Plains.

My flag is up. From Pitkin, I, too, am facing eastward; and, in the columns of *The Index*, I say my farewell to Colorado. I am leaving a land rich to a naturalist in untranslated lore.

Very long ago, in times called archæan, a continent stood where America stands to-day. That archæan land went down, and on its grave *our* America rose. In Rome, you may sweep away the dust of two thousand years, and stand on the streets of pagan Rome. In Colorado, the rivers have swept away the rock of as many million years, and on the floor of their mighty cañons laid bare the face of archæan America. That America had essentially the same features as the sea-built America which overlies it.

The growth of our continent was from two centres, a long island foreshadowing the Alleghanies, and another foreshadowing the Sierras. From the first, the growth was westward; from the second, it was eastward. At the close of the carboniferous age, eastern America was land to the longitude of the Missouri, western America was land and lake to the Wasatch Mountains of Utah. The Rocky Mountains were islands in a Mediterranean which cut the growing America in twain.

The mesozoic age passed: the floor of the sea was rising; and, at the close of the cretaceous period, the twain Americas became one. The signet of the marriage ring is Pike's Dome, and Long's and Gray's, and the Mount of the Holy Cross.

From her geologic history, we should look in Colorado for a union of the floras and faunas of the Atlantic slope and Pacific slope. Such floras and faunas we find, but often under great modifications.

My first study of Colorado was a study of her minerals. I found that minerals with a feldspathic or alkaline base predominate, while phosphatic minerals are almost absent. I inferred that the soil, which is simply the abrasion of the rocks, must be replete with the alkalis and deficient in the phosphates. See, now, what modification this alkaline soil has wrought on sensitive organisms. Fix your attention on the most gorgeous of our butterflies, and note the species as you pass westward. In Michigan, you will find it in highest perfection. In Illinois and Iowa, the colors are less brilliant. On the alkaline plains of Colorado, the colors have faded out, and the wing is an ashen gray. The struggle for life on the mountains has been sharp, and the most striking result appears in "protective resemblance." Each species of butterfly has its favorite flower, to whose color it is thoroughly assimilated.

The "stream of tendency," which in man "makes for righteousness," and in nature for safety, has overdone this thing of protective resemblance, and carried certain species to the verge of idiocy. The plumage of the mountain quail changes with the changing seasons, assimilating the color of the bird to that of its habitat. The snowy plumage of winter makes the quail so completely one with the snow that discovery is almost impossible. Protected so well by nature, the bird has had but little need to employ its own wits for protection; and the result is that the wits have aborted. The stupid bird has hardly sense enough left to get out of the way of a club.

Another silly thing in these mountains is the coney, so named in Colorado. It is not the coney of Job, although "a feeble folk" living "in the rocks." It lives only above timber-line, and its only fare is the stunted lichen incrusting the rocks. Its color is so assimilated to that of the rocks that you may hear the sharp "squeak" of a dozen all around you, and see not one. It is a rodent, having certain characters of the rabbit, others of the rat, others of the squirrel, and others—especially in the structure of the bones—peculiar to itself.

It is a problem in geographical distribution as well as structure. It is found only above timber-line in Colorado and on the shores of the Black Sea. How came it here, or how came it there? To answer this question is to hypothecate a land connection, in some earlier stage of the globe's history, between the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Black Sea. And it is to assume a vast antiquity for the Coney-Lagomys, *rabbit mouse*.

Time and change,—what stretches of time and what revolutions are recorded here! I explored one of the foothills of the chain of Rockies. It was the wreck of a Jurassic continent. Here and there grew a cactus, and here and there a piñon pine. Other sign of life there was none, almost none. The world seemed dead or dying. What was nature here in times called Jurassic? The shales were ripple-marked, showing me that I stood on the shore of a dried ocean. In these shales, I found entombed the ruins of a fauna as remote from any living fauna of earth as if they had been held in the crust of the dead moon. Here was a thigh bone six feet long, and here a rib ten feet long, agatized into a gem. These with a few vertebræ and foot-bones were all the ruins I could find. The caudal vertebræ are biconcave, telling us that in the tail of this colossal saurian lingered the structure of the fish. The astragalus and calcaneum were united into one bone, telling us that in the foot of the saurian was a foreshadowing of the bird.

This immense, lizard-like, bird-like *dinosaur* prowled along the shores of a sea that covered the plains of Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado. This shore was tropical. We have the evidence in fossil palms agatized here and there as the saurian bones were agatized.

"Clasp, Angel of the backward look
And folded wings of ashen gray,
And voice of echoes far away,
The *stony* covers of thy book,
The weird palimpsest old and vast,
Wherein thou hid'st the spectral past."

From out that past comes a faint voice of cheer. The insect-world has no greater pest than the cockroach. Now, we have seen fossil cockroaches in triassic shales of Colorado. These ancient cockroaches differed from the living species in having one more vein in the wing. We see how nature is moving. She is moving for the abolition of the cockroach. But the mills grind slowly. From the triassic age till now, say ten million years, one wing-vein abolished; from now till the millennium, the entire cockroach abolished. How far off is the millennium?

And is Colorado a gateway to the millennium? "*Atrugetos*," unfruitful, is the word which the blind Homer wrote against the sea. It is the word which I write against Colorado. These billows and troughs of granite have no gift for man save the illusive gift of silver.

I explored a gulch misnamed "O-be-Joyful." The last gulch I explored was fittingly named "Poverty Gulch."

Farewell now to Colorado! And, O thou Poverty Gulch, fare thee well or fare thee ill, I leave thee. Within thy dismal walls, I dined with Coyote Bill from a pewter plate on "hi hos." ("What are 'hi hos'?" Question me no question, thou man with tender feet.) Thou, O Poverty Gulch, wert the primal curse of humanity. The myriads who have trod the face of the globe have defiled through Poverty Gulch. Countless generations passed before one man got so far out of this gulch as to have even a pewter plate and hi-hos. And the millions are still defiling through Poverty Gulch. And what, O Colorado, what art thou doing to help the world out of Poverty Gulch? Poor, miserable men are torturing thy mountains for silver wherewith to measure the fruitful labors of other men. Thou silver-giving Colorado, a better civilization will leave thee to thy coneys and quails, and on her retreating flag will write a travesty of this Pitkin motto,—

"In silver they trusted,
In Colorado they busted."

W. D. GUNNING.

FACT AND FAITH: SELF AND SACRIFICE.

II.

Schumann once said of reason that it was "but analyzed faith." In truth, is an inexhaustible mine, in which honest doubt may work day after day, the mine and the miner each enriching the other the while. When reason fails, faith may. Belief is still the best substitute for perfect knowledge. But perfect knowledge, however impossible to gain, is ever most desirable and always more attainable. And so long as knowledge is incomplete, so long must there be unceasing effort to attain it. Movement, physical or mental, is a necessity of life, and the proof of it. If so long as there is action there is life, then, so long as there is anything done, it is done because there is an end in view, in whose existence we believe enough to induce us to make an exertion for its sake. We may fear that the fund of spiritual truth is not inexhaustible, we may stand before its latest manifestations in the attitude of the agnostic, acknowledging to ourselves the possibility of its limitless worth and might, and the possibility of its utter emptiness; and still we have the courage of our desire, the impulsion of our hope or our despair, and venture our lives on the glorious chance.

A foreshadowed and crowning type of life or thought may breathe in many ineffectual forms during a world-epoch, while its immanent principle lasts firmly over, and animates the new age with irresistible impulse. So certain more or less gross bodies that were said to belong of necessity to the being of faith may die daily; but the life which gave the symbols grace remains unconquerably pure, unceasingly potent. "The kingdom of the Father has passed, the kingdom of the Son is passing, the kingdom of the Spirit is to be." Unite the perishable with the essence of Truth, and the perishable must await the inevitable deadly stroke of the advancing years: that which remains more powerful for each refinement from coarser elements is alone fine enough to meet the demands of the future. If this sublimated principle is good for anything, it can cope with the material and practical affairs of the world,—never before so important in their bearings, so pervading in their influence,—and make itself and them the richer for the contact.

The business of faring comfortably has not only absorbed the physical and purely intellectual energies, it is true,—we may take the word of the malcontents for it,—it has diverted spiritual interests from their wonted channels. It has struck its influence through the surface of human living, and held intimate communion with the deep indwelling power that suggests artistic visions and prompts holy sacrifices,—a lonely, isolated power in earlier days, dreaming, unpractical, and mildly disdainful of earthly conditions. Now, grown

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more genial and compliant through this kindly acquaintance with the substantial elements of daily bodily existence, it blesses and is blessed in the intercourse, it confers without losing dignity. A good-natured disregard of asceticism, a matter-of-course approval of worldly prosperity, a wide-spread recognition of "the new doctrine which declares that the world can only be conquered by accepting its conditions as unalterable," have grown out of this interdependence and close communion of the material and spiritual interests. It is no longer a thought "full of wormwood"

> ..."that just at altar-service,
> The rapt hymn rising with the rolling smoke,
> When glory dawns, and all is at the best,
> The sacred fire may flicker and grow faint,
> And die for want of a wood-piler's help."

The wood-piler, who undertands the nature of this necessary service which he renders, fitly belongs to the sacred priesthood, and may not be undervalued.

Christ himself was author of the elevation of ignoble callings and humble estates, and modern civilization has done more than accept his idea in this regard: it has enlarged it, and enlarged it in a manner peculiarly its own. It has ennobled not only the worker, but the substance of his work. It has revealed matter as worthy of mind. The way in which this has been done is connected with that which is new, iconoclastic, mercenary, scientific, material; yet the result, strange as it may seem, incompletely as it may appear, can be recognized as the fulfilment and consequence of Christ's law of charity.

The idea of the human brotherhood is passing through seemingly contradictory phases. Strenuous and uncompromising as is the modern declaration of the isolation of each man's spiritual and mental centre of development, it is coupled with a growing recognition of the solidarity and interdependence of the labors, the wealth, the ideas, and destinies of man. The use of one life to another is found to lie not in the self-immolation of either, but in the intrinsic worth and distinct development of each. The high-wrought fervor and condescension of the Christian mind, in giving to that which most needed its gifts and was most ungrateful, in loving that which most craved its compassion and was most unappreciative, lavished its generous force only to obtain its own salvation. If it is "more blessed to give than to receive," he who receives must realize that it is cursed to receive and receive merely. In mutual action and reaction is impartial benefit reached. And these reciprocal relations of human spiritual lives, as those of men's intellectual advances or material welfares, are, at root, dependent on the hard, absolute law of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest,—the law which decrees it to be the supreme duty of the individual life to develop itself independently from its own potential germ, or perish in the attempt. Whether the individual life stands or falls in its encounter with outside forces and facts the main thing for the world and it is this sincere attempt to discover itself. Whether its strength or weakness is revealed thereby, consciously or unconsciously, willing or unwilling it must follow this law. In either case of success or failure it lends itself to a larger effect, it yields itself as a sacrificial offering to that spiritual advancement of the world which every living being in his very nature is made in order to believe, so closely knit is the struggle for the individual life with the grand collective struggle for the life of humanity.

> "Give me no life, great Heaven, but such as turns
> To energy of human fellowship,
> No strength beyond the growing heritage
> That makes c mpleter manhood."

No life but that? No strength but that? In truth there can be no other life or strength than that. No rare and exquisite manifestation of spiritual truth, whether of Christ or Socrates or Buddha, but asserts this, no sordid blindness or miserable failure can hide it. There is that inherent in us, whether we understand its operations or not, which makes our selfish lives at their worst or best subserve the general good.

If we find traces of such a bond of love working in life,—turning special studies into wider knowledge, nourishing each labor with another labor's fruit, blending independent insight with a purer truth, joining selfish interests with the general welfare,—those of us who have taken the trouble to inquire concerning it, and are convinced only of the probability of its existence, have little cause to distrust the present, none whatever to await the future with apathy. For the uniting force whose spirit dwells in love and faith must find its complement in the separating influences, we mistakenly deplore, whose issue is the development of self-interest and the persistent questioning of fact. Together,—as the like opposing planetary influences make our earth compact,—these counterbalancing life forces make our advance firm. And any comprehension of their necessary relations to each other must put us in the mood to estimate better the present outlook. Truly, our only fear and cause for mourning should be lest we ourselves prove incompetent to enjoy that prospect toward which we journey, lest we detain our progress thither by our own physical weakness, or mar our appreciation of its finer joys by our own feebleness of mind.

CHARLOTTE PORTER.

WILLIAM TELL.

There are few men about whom school-boys know more, and ripe scholars less. The scorn of the hat on the pole, the arrow cleaving the apple, the leap from the boat, the oath on the Rütli, the slaying of the tyrant, and the pulling down of the castles are precious illustrations of the truth that liberty dwells with the fearless. But is all this clearly history? Popular writers and lecturers seem confident; but it would be more like Gessler than Tell for us to shut our eyes to some grave objections.

In the first place, the accounts differ suspiciously, not only as to whether the tyrant was assassinated in the boat or on horseback, but as to the month and even the year in which this took place. The date most in favor, Monday, Nov. 19, 1307, is plainly fictitious; for that Monday would have been the 20th. It is further to be noticed that Gessler was in the service of the Emperor Albert, who was not the man to overlook the murder of his bailiff; and certainly would not have done so, if another of his officials had been killed but just before, and his castles captured shortly afterward. But no writer represents the Emperor as even threatening the rebels; and it is certain that he was preparing to lead an army against another part of Switzerland, when he was murdered by his nephew, May 1, 1308. For this crime, his children took such wholesale vengeance as to cause a thousand innocent people to be executed. But it was not before 1315 that any hostility was shown against Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden; and, by that time, provocation had unquestionably been given in the sack of the monastery of Einsiedeln in 1314. Meantime, in 1311, we find the Emperor Henry VII. acknowledging that Austria had been up to that time in peaceable possession of the very Cantons which Tell is said to have stirred up into a successful insurrection more than three years before. Similar statements about this time from Uri herself are also on record. The difficulty of Albert's neglect to avenge Gessler is so great that Schiller gives up the commonly received order of events, and represents governor and monarch as falling almost simultaneously. Even this arbitrary procedure leaves a strange delay of seven years before the invasion of 1315; and this difficulty is increased by putting Tell's exploits earlier than 1307.

Some narrators preferred 1314; but taking this date would intensify a new difficulty, which, on any supposition, is more formidable than either of those just stated. We have a long account of the invasion of 1315 from a chronicler who saw his countrymen returning from the battle of Morgarten, in which the expedition closed, and who spent his life at Winterthur, but thirty miles from Tell's residence. Yet this writer does not mention our hero or the conspirators on the Rütli; nor does he say anything about the capture of the castles, though he does speak of the causes of the invasion. His silence about the events in question is peculiarly hard to explain, if we suppose them to have taken place but just before Morgarten. Whenever they took place, we might reasonably expect to find them mentioned. Nor is it easy to see why they were omitted by another contemporary chronicler who wrote at Strasburg and had much to say about Switzerland, as well as by Justinger, who compiled a full account of this war and its causes, under the direction of the city of Berne in 1420. In fact, one hundred and fifty years passed by before any notice was taken of Tell by the chroniclers, though they were hard at work in Switzerland and also in Germany, where Austria had many enemies. Could we understand a neglect, until after the present time, of writers who know all about Bunker Hill, to refer to the destruction of the tea or the battle at Concord? As early as 1607, we find an historian named Willimam, after duly glorifying his country's hero, avowing in a Latin letter to his friend Goldast: "In reply to your questions about Tell, let me say that, though I have followed the common opinion in what I have published about Swiss antiquities, yet, if I may give my own serious and deliberate judgment, I think it merely a fable, especially because I have not been able to find any chronicler or other writer within a hundred years from his time who mentions him." More than this could not then be safely said.

That we find nothing said of Tell's archery until about 1470 is all the more suspicious, because a Danish story of the twelfth century—whose hero shoots an apple from his son's head, leaps ashore from the boat in which he is a prisoner, and then slays the tyrant—had been translated fifty years before from Latin into German, so that it had had plenty of time to make its way to Uri, where something may also have been known of similar English, Saxon, Icelandic, Norwegian, Grecian, and Persian legends. At all events, it was not long before 1500 that the famous archer migrated into Switzerland; but he was speedily naturalized. The brief and contradictory accounts of the poets and chroniclers of that time grew gradually into so called histories, where we find the very words spoken by Tell, Gessler, and their associates, the exact dates and even the state of the weather at the time when Tell, after escaping from the boat, is said to have made an almost impossible journey across the mountains, apparently in order to shoot Gessler where the people of Küssnacht might be able to show the spot. Of course, the importance of this act in the liberation of Switzerland was made to seem ever greater, until early in this century the assassin was immortalized by Schiller. Thus, the probability that the story was first imported from Denmark, and then much enlarged, must be added to such facts as the

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silence of contemporaries, the inaction of Austria, and the discrepancies in dates and circumstances. Only the grandeur of the story has enabled it to stand against these and other objections, which have been urged again and again ever since 1760, when Freudenberger's *Guillaume Tell, Fable Danoise*, was publicly burnt by the Altorf executioner, as ordered by the magistrates of Uri. Even now, such criticisms find little favor in the eyes of people who worship William Tell, but hate those who imitate him in Russia.

These builders of the tombs of the prophets may be glad to know that there is some reason to believe their hero not entirely mythical. Apparently, we have an official record made in 1460 in Uri, to the effect that Tell's chapel at the place of his leap was built and dedicated according to a decree passed in 1388, by a provincial assembly at which more than one hundred and fourteen men who had known him were present. Was either the enumeration or the record made to meet a doubt? At all events, it is to be noticed that this document says nothing about the shot at the apple or the slaying of Gessler, so that, even if such a decree was really passed, it proves only Tell's existence and his springing from the boat. His having also refused to bow to the hat is not at all improbable in itself; and it is all the more likely that something of the sort really happened in Switzerland, because we find nothing like it in the Scandinavian, Saxon, English, Grecian, or Oriental legends of wonderful archers. If, as has been supposed by recent critics, Tell did nothing more than make this protest, and then deliver himself by springing from the storm-tossed boat, we can easily understand the silence of the early chroniclers, the erection of the chapel shortly after the victory won by Arnold Winkelried at Sempach in 1386, and the subsequent revival of the story, amid the excitement of the glorious resistance to Charles the Bold, when the shot at the apple was added from the old legend of the Danish archer, who made a similar leap, and then shot his tyrant. The neglect, not only of the contemporary chroniclers, but of the Austrian sovereigns, to notice the murder of Gessler, makes it very unlikely that this took place, especially as there is some reason to think that there never was a governor of that name in Uri. Tell's share in a conspiracy on the Rütli, in 1307, is all the more doubtful from the fact that we have no contemporary evidence of such an event at that time, and may therefore suppose this story to have arisen from the fact that a league of the three Cantons was really formed in 1291, but purely for mutual defence, and without leading to any undoubted act of rebellion before 1314, when that provocation was given at Einsiedeln, which led next year to the battle of Morgarten, an event about which we know altogether too much to be able to suppose that our hero had anything to do with it.

Thus, Tell's place among the liberators of Switzerland can be, at best, only subordinate. It was the whole people, rather than any single man, that achieved independence; and this is all the more likely because their freedom was won so gloriously and permanently. What one man does another may undo: it is only the deeds of nations that are eternal.

FRED. MAY HOLLAND.

GREAT must be the faith of the Russian who forsakes the Greek Church for any other religious belief; for a Russian subject who abandons the orthodox faith for any other whatever is deprived of his children, his estate is handed over to guardians appointed by the state, and he himself is liable to prosecution by the Holy Synod until he abjures.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WE are sending out bills this week to all our subscribers who are in arrears; and we will thank those who receive them to send to this office, at once, the amounts due on their subscriptions.

JOSEPH COOK says that the dearth of the churches in this country is enough to make the "statues of the fathers leap from their pedestals, and precipitate the judgment day."

THE hymn "I'm glad Salvation's Free" isn't applicable to the Catholic religion. The Bishop of Montreal has "issued a mandate that parishioners of the three canonical parishes in Montreal shall immediately proceed to pay off the debt of $300,000 due on the Fabrique of Notre-Dame. Married men are to subscribe $2 and those unmarried $1 per annum, until the amount is discharged."

A DECIDED sensation was made last week in Yankton, Dakota, by the marriage of Sister Mary Paul, a prominent member of the Convent of the Sacred Heart in that place, to Dr. Sebiakin Ross, a Russian refugee. The bride is thirty, beautiful, accomplished, and talented; and her exertions have been the means of building the convent to which she belongs. Nevertheless, she will be excommunicated.

SEVERAL weeks have elapsed since the reception given in New York to George Jacob Holyoake just before his return for England. Yet we are sure our readers will be glad to see the two principal speeches made on that occasion,—those by Parke Godwin, Esq., who presided on the occasion, and by Mr. Holyoake in response,—which we print in this week's *Index*. Letters of sympathy were received from Messrs. O. B. Frothingham, J. H. Rylance, J. M. Pullman, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, and others.

THE *Religio Philosophical Journal* speaks from experience when it says: "To admit that everything within a party or sect is not all it should be is in the eyes of zealous partisans a sin; but to proclaim these defects and evils, and attempt a reformation within the party or sect, is rank heresy, subjecting those guilty of it to the direst penalties within the power of fanatics and those who feed and grow fat upon the folly and weakness of mankind, and often, too, to the animosity of the poor dupes upon whom the vampires feed."

DOERFLINGER'S *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender* for 1883 contains the tables usually given in Almanacs, and more than one hundred pages of closely printed reading matter, including spirited translations in metre of the "Star-spangled Banner" and "People will Talk," select sentences from Heinzen, and many articles of special interest to lovers of gymnastics. We are glad to see that the Turner-bund of North America has more than 16,000 members, besides the 13,000 children in its schools, and 37,296 volumes in its libraries. This volume shows its influence to be as conducive to mental as to physical activity.

AN excellent method taken by many of our most progressive speakers to enlarge their congregations and widen their sphere of usefulness is that of publishing in pamphlet form the weekly discourses which they deliver from their pulpits or platforms. We receive at *The Index* office a number of these publications of liberal utterances,—among them, those of Rev. John W. Chadwick, Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. M. J. Savage, and very recently Mr. Fred. A. Hinckley's, which is published fortnightly at ten cents per copy, by J. A. & R. A. Reid, Providence, R.I.

IT would be a graceful recognition of the dignity and worth of her own sex, for some wealthy lady who is looking about in search of a fitting object for her benevolence to invest part of her surplus means in needed books of reference for the shelves of the Harvard "Annex." A number of the inadequate supply of those now on hand were presented from the fund left by Lydia Maria Child for the education of women. Women should consider at this time the educational needs of their own sex, instead, as many have done, of willing or contributing vast sums toward colleges designed for men alone, and from whose privileges women are debarred.

A RECENT despatch from Concord, N.H., states that the "board of assessors has abated the taxes levied against the following churches in that city, in conformity with the law requiring their payment on such property in excess of $10,000 in value: South Congregational, $2,200; First Baptist, $1,600; Unitarian, $1,800; Episcopal, $1,100; North Congregational, $3,000; Universalist, $1,100; Catholic, $1,200; First Methodist, $500." And yet the supposed founder of all these churches had "not where to lay his head"; and the constant tenor of his instructions to his followers was to "lay not up treasures upon earth," to take with them on their preaching tours "neither purse nor scrip," to "take no thought for to-morrow," and to sell all their possessions and "give to the poor."

"LESSONS FOR THE DAY" is the appropriate title of Moncure D. Conway's weekly publication containing his Sunday discourses, delivered before the South Place Religious Society, South Place, Finsbury, Eng. These "Lessons," which all those who know Mr. Conway through his writings or otherwise will feel assured are of the highest tone morally and intellectually, are sold by the publisher, E. W. Allen, Ave Maria Lane, London, at the nominal price of one penny each, or sent by mail at the rate of 6*s*. 6*d*. per annum. They are in convenient pamphlet form, and printed in excellent type. We notice that Mr. Conway very generously advertises *The Index* on the covers of his "Lessons," for which courtesy, which has already gained for us several new English subscribers, we tender him our sincere thanks.

DR. T. W. WILLIAMS, who is president of a Liberal League in Milwaukee, in a recent address before that body thus referred to the National Liberal League: "Its vitality is certainly at as low an ebb as it can be short of actual dissolution. If those who attended its last Congress at St. Louis did not return home disheartened, discouraged, and heart-broken at the poor attendance, the want of enthusiasm, and lack of earnest, hearty material support which such a gathering of Liberals *should* receive, they are greater optimists than I am. But we must admit that the League never has represented, and now less than ever represents, the larger as well as more respectable and intelligent class of the Liberals of the country. Thousands of good Liberals of the better and more conservative element do not belong to the League, and will not affiliate with the local Leagues. This is the case in this and every other city." Dr. Williams admits that the failure "is not owing to any lack of popularity of the fundamental principles of the League,"—the principles of State secularization which the organization was formed to promote,—but rather to a departure from "first principles" which drove from the body "men of talent and influence; and, when they objected to overloading the League with matters foreign to its purpose, their views were entitled to respect. They were the bone and sinew of the old League; and, when they left it, it sustained a loss which has never

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been repaired." "But this movement," continues the author of the address, "like all reforms, had the misfortune, as previously remarked, to be eagerly espoused and championed by a class of people who are calculated to bring anything with which they are associated into disrepute. Though really forming scarcely a respectable minority of the Liberals of the country, by their audacity and noisy bravado, they have managed to push themselves forward as the representatives of the League, and make it responsible for their vagaries and peculiar theories. It is this class of pseudo-reformers who have wrecked the League, by making it appear as the exponent and defender of lust obscenity, and a variety of unpopular issues 'too numerous to mention; while the earnest, honest, and true men and women who are engaged in the work have either been overlooked or considered as contaminated by evil associations. Attached to it like vampires, they have drawn its life-blood until it is in the last stages of inanition." Dr. Williams wants the League to "set itself right before the world," and get back "the truer conservative liberal element that has been alienated from it." This address cannot be pleasant reading for the leaders of the National Liberal League who have roundly abused individuals outside of that organization for stating only a fraction of the truth, which is now admitted by one of its members and the president of one of its auxiliaries.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

"IT MOVES."

A Poem read before the Montreal Pioneer Freethought Club.
WRITTEN BY GEORGE MARTIN.

"I know it moves": so said the man
Whose genius read the astral scroll
From east to west, from pole to pole,
Yet, under a terrific ban,

Denied his thought, the truth denied,
And, crushed in soul betwixt the strife
Of love of truth and love of life,
In silent bondage slowly died.

Since that dark hour, 'tis joy to know,
The thoughts of fearless men have moved
As move the stars; the years have proved
Thy deathless worth, Galileo!

What marvel if he shrank with dread
Beneath the lifted iron hand
Whose marks were seen on every land,
Red marks where truest seers had bled.

The glare of Bruno's fiery shroud
Still seemed to haunt the midnight skies;
And, falling on his menaced eyes,
His head the noble Pisan bowed.

And who the number may compute
Of kindred souls whose secret fears
Have held them captive all their years,
And kept their lips forever mute?

Grim Persecution's baffled rage
Has many guises, all the same
In essence, differing but in name,
O'er all the earth, from age to age.

And if less potent now for harm,
Let Freedom's watchmen guard her towers;
Happy to cry the all well hours,
Ready to ring the prompt alarm.

Low sinks the race where thought and speech
Are helpless slaves to crown and cross;
Where heresy brings blame and loss;
And each is set a spy on each.

Blest is the soil where men can stand
And say, It is a crime to hide
The light of reason, to deride
The one sure Deity's command,

The voice of Conscience: here to-night
This heritage of centuries, old
And new, in sacred trust we hold:
Our watchword, "Freedom and the Right!"

—*Montreal Star.*

The Index.

BOSTON, JAN. 4, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

A Rationalist's Estimate of the Bible.

BY WILLIAM J. POTTER.

A few years ago, just after the Moody and Sankey revival meetings in Boston, in a discourse specially addressed to young converts, at Park Street Church, Joseph Cook was reported to have said: "The Bible is the only book which will bear perfect translation into life. Shakspere drips with inculcations that would not be fit for any one to immerse himself in. The same may be said of Milton, Plato, and others. We may take the whole inculcation of the Bible and find it healthful. It came from men whom the world would not be likely to honor, and yet here it is the triumphant book of the ages. There is no other book that you would be willing to have for your pillow when dying. The whole inculcation of the Bible, if absorbed into civilization, would work well." On the same day that I read this statement there came to me a printed prospectus of a new free-thought journal (that did not go, I believe, beyond the prospectus), in which the prospective editor, describing his views and motives, said: "I have long been of the opinion that the Bible is the one great obstacle to human happiness. To this book, I attribute nine-tenths of the evil, the ignorance, and the wide-spread misery among the nations of the earth at the present day. I look upon it as a work of fiction emanating from selfish, designing brains, and with none but selfish and evil intentions. It has also long been my belief that a combined effort on the part of honest and earnest, independent, reasoning men and women might do much to stem the tide of ignorance, superstition, and 'irreligion,' which emanates from the modern teachings of this book, the Bible."

Here, certainly, are very decided pronunciamentos of opinion. More thoroughly antagonistic utterances on the same subject could hardly be found. They are the two extremes from each other,—the opposite poles of American popular belief concerning the Bible. Nor have we any reason to doubt the sincerity of either of the speakers,—certainly not of the latter, who had borne much persecution, even to the point of imprisonment, on account of his views. Nor, though at such extreme distance from each other, do these men stand alone. They are representative speakers; and for that reason, and that only, it may be added, they are worthy of attention. One represents the extreme view of the so-called orthodox believer in the special inspiration and authority of the Bible. The other represents the extreme view of the so-called infidel, who denies and rejects the Bible. Both of them have a large comradeship in opinion, though not all of the so-called orthodox class nor of the so-called infidel class would assent to such extravagance of expression. The first speaks for those who declare for the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, as the infallibly revealed and authoritative will of God, and the fountain of all that is good and enduring in human civilization and happiness. The second declares the Bible an imposture, the work of evil men, and the chief obstacle in the way of human progress and happiness. He finds it as completely bad from beginning to end as the other finds it completely good. With him it is the one book to be shunned and destroyed, as with the first it is the one book to be studied, preserved, and everywhere multiplied.

Now, it may be an instructive study to subject these contrary views to consideration side by side, and then to subject both of them to the light of modern rational and scientific criticism. Perhaps from such a survey it will be seen that, at the hands of both of these extremists, the Bible is a much abused book, but that, if used rationally, it is a book of immense value.

And the first thing which it seems to me ought to be said is this: these two men have an equal natural right, and in our country an equal constitutional right, to speak and publish their opinions,—an equal constitutional right, so far as the federal Constitution is concerned, though not as yet an equal constitutional right in all of the States; nor should we prejudge the moral character of either of the men by their utterances on the Bible. The question on which they thus pronounce their convictions with such positiveness is a question of intellect, not of heart, nor of morals. They may both be mistaken in their opinions; both may be narrow and dogmatic; they may have equally some grains of bigotry in their mental composition, and yet both may be honest, upright, moral men,—good citizens, good neighbors. Were the Bible an unknown book to us, and we were to hear for the first time, from men unknown to us, such contradictory views of its character, the views of one of them would be worth to us precisely as much as the views of the other, until we had subjected the book to our own rational judgment; nor would we, in such case, prejudge the moral character of the men from such expression of their views. Yet there are thousands of people in Christendom to whom the words of this man against the Bible are a shocking blasphemy, and who would think it a perfectly proper and just thing that he should be restrained from saying them by force of the civil law, and who at once leap to the conclusion that a man who can say such things of the Bible must be a man of depraved heart and evil life; and all this, not because they have themselves given any rational thought or adequate study to the question, but because the Bible is their traditional sacred book. The reason why Christian people generally are shocked if the Bible is put under criticism does not depend at all upon the question whether the criticism is true or not,—that question they do not even consider,—but it is because they regard the Bible as a specially divine book, like no other book in the world, and not amenable to any standard of judgment by which any other books are judged. It is to them the one articulated word of God,—his only spoken word in all the ages. It stands to them for God. And so long as this, the previous question, is not allowed to be debatable, it is impossible for believers in the Bible to do mental or moral justice to the Bible's critics. The man, they say, who is against the Bible is necessarily against God; and hence he is a bad man, whose utterances are blasphemy, to be silenced by law. To this falsity of logic and injustice of action does the glamour of a so-called sacred belief bring the Bible devotee.

The next thing to be said is that, though these views about the Bible which I have quoted are so far apart, they are related to each other as cause and effect: one is the product of the other,—if not by the genesis of direct descent, at least by force of repulsion and reaction. That is, this extreme infidel view of the Bible, which sees in it only a book of evil to be avoided and rejected, would never have had existence, would never have found any lodgement or suggestion in the human mind, had it not been for the extreme orthodox claim that it is an exceptionally inspired book, and from beginning to end reveals infallibly the perfect will of God. Had the Bible been left in the position of other books, as a natural and human composition, as a religious literature, extending through a long period of time and having various authorship, we certainly should never have

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heard the opinion put forth in this nineteenth century, that it is an imposture emanating from designing brains with evil intent, and that, as the cause of nine-tenths of the ills of humanity, it is the one chief obstacle to human happiness. This extreme view, which seems to all devout believers in the Bible so shocking, is the natural and historical reaction against the equally extreme view that the Bible throughout is a mentally and morally perfect book, the perfect transcript of a perfect God. And, to those who read the Bible as students and not as worshippers, this latter view is not less irrational than the former. And I venture to say that it ought also to be quite as shocking to all natural genuine reverence; and doubtless it would be, if the natural reverence of people were not so often warped from nature's line by the force of traditional faith.

It will be a useful illustration, perhaps, in respect to the sources and formation of opinion, if we briefly trace the pathway by which one of these extreme views came from the other. A book of which it is alleged that it was written by supernatural communication from Almighty God; that it contains for man an infallible rule of faith and practice; that it teaches a scheme of salvation without the knowledge and acceptance of which man would go to perdition; that its whole inculcation, in every sentence and word and illustration, is true and pure and healthful; and that it is the one book of books which will bear entire translation into life,—a book with such a claim as this made for it certainly challenges attention. It cannot be expected that the human mind will admit such a claim blindly. The book itself somewhere says, "Let us reason together, saith the Lord." The claim is a challenge to reason. It is a challenge to investigation, search, study. And so the Bible began to be read critically, with the use of reason as well as with the exercise of devout feeling. And, as a result of this closer attention and inquiry, a good many people began to doubt whether the high claim made for the book could be vindicated. They found discrepancies in the statement of historical facts which ought not to exist in an infallible record. They pointed out certain errors of opinion, proved to be such by subsequent scientific knowledge, in both the Old and New Testaments. And, more than all, they discovered that the God of the Bible was not always represented as acting according to their own highest conceptions of human morality. They saw that he was often vindictive, jealous, angry, bloodthirsty, conniving at deceit, stirring up cruel wars of extermination, even when his own people pleaded with him for mercy and forgiveness toward their enemies; in fine, that he was a very human monarch, with human frailties and ambitions and crimes. And so they said the Bible could be no revelation of a perfect God, but was a fallible human book. And then the Bible-worshippers, who loved it emotionally more than rationally, and the ecclesiastics, to whom the Bible seemed the very foundation of the Church, were put on the defensive; and they began to study and investigate too, though too often with the bias to find things as they wanted to find them, and with the disposition to use all the external powers of the Church, and all its spiritual appliances of hope and fear, to uphold the claim that the Bible is the one complete Word of God. If science disputed the claim, science was to be silenced by the rack and the dungeon. If philosophy questioned it, the audacious philosopher was to be convinced of his error by the fire of the stake. If common sense doubted it, common sense was threatened with excommunication from the people of God on earth, and with eternal torments in the world to come. Hence, naturally, when the doubters and deniers of the claim again ventured to utter their opinions, they, too, began to breathe back defiance, ill-will, and scorn. In their zeal to unmask a false claim made for the Bible, they were not careful to distinguish that the book made no such claim for itself; but, as if its defenders asserted truly that it did so claim, they declared it an *imposture*,—appearing to think that its writers were somehow in league with the ecclesiastics who defended it for selfish ends of ecclesiastical ambition and power,—the whole thing, through all the centuries, being to their eyes a priestly conspiracy and fraud. Their hatred of the means used to keep the Bible in its position of authority they transferred to the book itself, as if that were responsible for all the guilty instrumentalities which bloody bigotry had brought to its defence; and, seeing how its defenders used it to check the progress of science and to keep the people in the baleful shadows of ignorance and superstition, they began to regard it as a book fraught with more evils for mankind than blessings. And this is the cry which the writer of the prospectus of the free-thought paper and others of his fellow-thinkers are reiterating to-day. They are the legitimate inheritors of a type of unbelief with regard to the Bible that was especially in vogue a century ago. And that type of unbelief was itself the legitimate reaction against, as it was historically the balance and partial cure for, the excessive claims that had previously been made for the Bible, enforced by torture and blood. The criticism was crude, the treatment often rough, but the times needed it; and it was all that the scholarship of the times afforded. Thus, we see how naturally and directly, out of the exaggerated belief in the Bible as the one all-perfect book,—perfect as a whole and perfect in every particular,—has grown the exaggerated disbelief in it, and rejection of it as a book evil in intent and evil in its effect upon the world.

But a third point to be noted is that both of these extreme and exaggerated views concerning the Bible have been set aside as wholly unfounded by the improved scholarship of later years. The attacks made upon the Bible and the necessities of the Church to come to its defence have centred upon it an amount of critical study such as no other book or collection of books in the world ever received. Its history has been investigated, its origins inquired into, its several parts collated and compared, its contents judicially considered, its language analyzed, its grammar and rhetoric minutely studied, its philosophy and theology and morality all thoroughly examined. And, as the result of all this research, it may be claimed, and claimed with perfect confidence, that it is *proved* by scientific criticism that the Bible, on the one hand, is not a book of infallible divine revelation, nor, on the other hand, a book of human imposture.

First, it is proved, and proved beyond a question to all people who will judge such a matter by reason and not by sentiment, that it is not a book of infallible divine revelation. The fallibility of the book, to eyes not blinded by tradition, is as plain as a school-boy's mistake in the multiplication table to a man of common understanding. Could an infallible God, for instance (to cull only a few illustrations from a great multitude), have directed two penmen to have reported the same census of the tribes of Israel at different numbers, the one putting it at 1,100,000, the other at only 800,000? Such a discrepancy is natural and of frequent occurrence in human chronicles, but we should not expect it in a history inspired by an omniscient Being. Or, if it could occur in a divine book, then what advantage would there be in a divinely inspired Scripture over a human? Or could an all-wise God have given such an account of creation as we find in the Book of Genesis, or have imputed physical diseases to possession by demons, as is done in the New Testament? Or could the God to whom we accord the attributes of eternal unchangeableness and perfect benevolence have ever commanded Joshua, as his special servant and minister, to put to slaughter all the inhabitants of the land he was bid to possess, so that, as the story says, not one soul was left there alive? Or could he ever have inspired this prayer, which we read in one of the Psalms, invoking curses upon an enemy? "Set thou a wicked man over him; and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned; and let his prayer become sin. Let his days be few; and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg.... Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the stranger despoil his labor. Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children. Let his posterity be cut off, ... and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out." Shall we say that this is a "healthful inculcation," that it will "bear perfect translation into life," that, "if absorbed into civilization, it will work well"? One trouble with our civilization is that altogether too much of this spirit has been absorbed into it. And, if this be "healthful," what shall we say of that other inculcation, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you"? Did these antagonistic inculcations have the same source, and will they work equally well?

But enough of this detail. Suffice it to say that, if scholarly research into any part of human history has proved and settled anything anywhere, it has proved and settled that the Bible is not an all-perfect book, not an infallible record either as to matters of historical fact or matters of intellectual truth or matters of moral precept; that it is a book which has to be read not blindly, not worshipfully, but, like any other book, with rational discrimination,—that is, with critical eye and with reason and conscience alert to sift its errors from its truths. And it may be said, probably with truth, that the old theory of plenary inspiration of the Bible is no longer held in strictness by any thoroughly equipped scholars. The theory has been variously modified, so as to allow for some errors in form while preserving truth in substance; or so as to admit of allegorical and ideal interpretations, as in the attempts of orthodox theologians to square the first chapter of Genesis with geology; or so as to account for certain other teachings in opposition to natural science, and for an apparent progress shown in the book in respect to theological and moral perceptions. The general proposition assumed by those who make these modifications in the old theory of Biblical revelation is that the inspiring Deity was under the necessity of conforming to the imperfections of human thought and language, in order to make himself understood at all, and made therefore a progressive revelation of himself in accordance with the advancing conditions of human intelligence. In short, the old theory of plenary infallibility has been so variously modified by the different grades of orthodox theologians, ranging all the way from Dr. Lightfoot to Dean Stanley, that the attenuated doctrine of Biblical inspiration, which is now well received in good orthodox circles, has so many liabilities to human error attached to it that, if it were not for the more reputable name and ancestry of the thing, it would have little advantage over that vulgar infidelity outside, which is charged with denying all inspiration and with having no Bible at all! And for any one to-day, especially one who professes acquaintance with the position of Biblical criticism, to say that the Bible is the one perfect book, that its every inculcation is true and healthful, that it is a book fit to be read in every part and particular at all times and places, as Shakspere and Plato and Milton cannot be, is to commit an affront against the scholarship of the age.

But, on the other hand, the same research that has proved the Bible to be no book of infallible authority has settled also that it is no imposture, and not at all the evil book, either in purpose or substance of contents, which zealous unbelievers have accused it of being. This research has shown that the Bible is not one book, but a collection of many books, of various contents, by numerous authors, in different languages and dialects, and extending through a period of probably twenty centuries or more. The authors of some of the books are known, of others unknown. Some portions of them go back to an antiquity that is very obscure and to a condition of human society that was very primitive: others were written so late as to show clearly the influence of Greek philosophy and culture. The authors exhibit as wide a difference in respect to topic and mode of thought and moral insight and mental ability as they are far apart in time. To suppose that the writers of these various books, living in so many successive centuries and under such variety of conditions, were in collusion to impose upon the world a gigantic literary fraud, is an hypothesis too absurd to call for refutation. Not less absurd would be the hypothesis that each of the books was a distinct and separate fraud. The books of the Old Testament together make the whole body of Hebrew literature that was extant at a certain epoch a few centuries before Christ. To suppose all these writings fraudulent is no more rational than it would be to suppose the whole body of English literature an imposture from the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But, in fact, the imposture theory of the Bible falls as soon as the supports of the theory of infallible inspiration are knocked away. It never had any foundation of its own, and was only held in place as a kind of conjectured antipodes to the claim for an infallible book. The believer said, "Here is a book that is heaven-born!" The sceptically inclined man looked at it, thought he saw very distinct trail-marks of earthiness in it, and replied, "No; and, if it comes with that claim on its brow, then it is not merely earth-born, but hell-born." And hell-born it would be, if it came

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with that conscious lie in its bosom. But the book does not claim infallible authority for itself. And modern scholarship has shown that it is neither heaven-born nor hell-born, neither wholly good nor wholly evil, but an earth-born book,—a book born of humanity, and sharing humanity's infirmities and aspirations, born of the human soul, and bearing a faithful record of the struggles of the human soul out of its earthiness toward moral and celestial good.

And when modern critical scholarship has put the Bible into its true position as a human book, inspired with good as man is inspired with good, but liable to error as man is liable to error, as a book originating like other ancient books and to be rationally read and judged like other books, then has scholarship really lifted the Bible into a place of new value, and endowed it with fresh power for benefiting mankind. That the book, on the old theory of its infallible authority, has done some evil in the world, though not to the extent that the extreme sceptic claims, is to be admitted. But the evil has not come so much from the book itself as from the false idea that everything in it was of divine authority and good for humanity to-day. Leave the book free to be judged and sifted by enlightened reason and conscience, and the human mind will inevitably see that there are some things in it which mankind in its mental and moral progress has already outgrown, and which it would not be at all well for civilization to reabsorb. But, on the other hand, when the Bible is placed in this, its natural and human position, the human mind will as inevitably see that there are great truths in the book,—truths which have been wrought into the human consciousness through fiery struggles of man's experience with error and with error's bitter consequences, and which it is good for man to read and ponder to-day; truths which are eternal, confined to no time or place or race, and which man will not easily let die out of his memory nor out of his most cherished literatures. Here is the literary record of a people with a special genius for religion,—a record of their experiences with the great problems of life and destiny; their poetry, their prose; their attempts at historical narrative when the materials of history were scanty and obscure; their songs of the heart's human loves; their aspirations toward an Infinite Love; their ideas of right and duty; their efforts to solve the question of creation; their struggles with the philosophy of divine providence and human freedom; their theology, often falling into mythology; their national prophecies and patriotic appeals; their codes of civil law and their declarations of the rewards and retributions of moral law: here, in fact, is a transcript of the civil, moral, religious life of a whole people, for many centuries, as they struggled out of barbarism and fetichism toward civilization and a purer worship, under the leadership of valiant and heroic souls, and with a mighty faith in their own national destiny and in the overshadowing, protecting leadership of Almighty Power above them.

We are now prepared to note the chief points in an estimate of the value of the Bible, when it is thus read and interpreted as a human production, or as a collection rather of human literary productions, according to modern methods of rational criticism. Considered thus, as the natural records of human thought and experience, what is the actual, inherent worth of these Hebrew and Christian scriptures? their worth to history, to literature, to ethics, to religion? That their value from this point of view is great will be readily admitted; but we shall better appreciate, perhaps, how great it is, when we reflect how precious in the sight of scholars, as bearing upon our knowledge of the human race, is every scrap of parchment or of papyrus, and every fragment of ancient inscription that is exhumed from Oriental dust and ruins, and at what enormous cost of labor and money the search for these fragmentary relics of the records of ancient nations has been in modern times conducted. When, a few years ago, the canonical books of the old religion of Persia were discovered, and when Champollion and his disciples, through their infinite patience and research, deciphered the hieroglyphics of the inscriptions on Egyptian pyramids and temples, the whole world of European scholarship welcomed the new treasures of knowledge with enthusiastic admiration and gratitude. What would be said, then, of the value of this treasure-house of Hebrew and Christian writings, if they had been lost and recovered in the same way?

And, first, let us consider their value to history. The value of these books *as* history may be slight, but their value *to* history is very great. Some of them that profess to be historic, as those relating to the earliest times, have little or no claim to that name; and even those that refer to the latest times must be read with the most careful study and discrimination. Just as Livy's *History of Rome* was shown, under the critical analysis of Niebuhr, to be in parts wholly unreliable as a narrative of actual facts, so has scientific study shown the same even of the historic parts of the Bible. And, like Livy, it must now be read, if one is seeking its historical worth, with the most cautious investigation. Yet just as Livy still remained, after Niebuhr's accepted analysis, an invaluable treasury *to* the historian of Rome, so does the Bible remain, though we question every part of its contents *as* history, an invaluable help to the historian of the ancient world. Even if no part of it purported to be a narrative of historical events, it would still be a rich treasure of knowledge to the historian. Its sketches of life, its record of laws, customs, usages, its deposit of traditions, its pictures of domestic and social habits, its ethical and religious teachings,—all these are of vast advantage in any attempt to construct the primitive history of the human race. But there are parts of these records, which, with the careful study and discrimination of which I have spoken, and by comparison with other records, may be safely taken as a guide, or as a skeleton plan, in the construction of the history of the Hebrew race for a long series of centuries. And though the Hebrew nation was small, and occupied but a narrow strip of earth, yet it happened that this strip of earth was central amid the migrations and activities of the ancient world,—midway between its east and its west,—and that thus the small nation that occupied it came into contact at different times with the more extensive and powerful nations around them. And, hence, the Hebrews, exclusive though they tried to be, could not live apart; but their history constantly penetrates, and is in turn penetrated by, the history of these surrounding nations, and through them is again connected with faiths and races still farther off and with movements that reach back to the most primeval times.

To the archæologist, therefore, to the ethnologist, to every one who attempts to trace civilization, religion, ethics, race, back to their primal roots,—that is, to the student of human history in any one of its great departments,—the whole collection of Biblical books, though shown to be full of errors, is replete with the most vital interest and worth.

Yet the Bible is in the main a book that has to do with the history of religion, and hence it has a special value in the construction of religious history. Persons of thought and reading are now coming to see that religion has developed naturally among mankind, just as everything else has; that the religions have a natural and logical connection with each other; that, as the sacred scriptures of each religion are generally composed of the productions of various authors and eras, so the sacred scriptures of the whole race of mankind will include the special books of all the religions. For the same historical investigation has shown that the world has more Bibles than one. There are now preserved and known the canonical sacred books of the Chinese, of the Buddhists, of Brahmanism, of the ancient Persian faith, of the Hebrew, Christian, and Mohammedan religions, besides very much that is known, though not recorded in specifically sacred writings, of the old beliefs of Greece and Rome and Egypt and Scandinavia. And it is by placing these writings, with their several faiths and traditions, alongside of each other, and comparing them together, that there has grown up a new science,—the Science of Comparative Theology (the Science of Religion Max Müller calls it),—from which we may expect great results affecting the future faith of mankind, both in its speculative aspects and in its practical issues. It is not too much to say, indeed, that this scientific study of the various religious literatures is destined to revolutionize the religious faith and attitude of mankind. Now, suppose that the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures were lost out of this chain of literatures,—the two links that are most central in it, and that more than any others connect the modern religious world with the ancient,—the loss would be irreparable; the loss, I mean, simply to this new science of religious development. I am not now speaking of the loss to ethics or practical religion, but simply from a scientific point of view of the defect in the chain of evidence that now proves the common genesis and natural brotherhood of all the religions. It would be a loss equivalent to that which would exist in the science of language, were all vestiges of the Greek and Latin tongues to have been destroyed: for somewhat in the position of those languages in the historic development of language stand the Hebrew and Christian religions in the natural historic development of religion.

And not only is the Bible valuable for its historical evidence of the natural development of religious ideas on account of its relation to the sacred books of other religions, but because it presents evidence of the same natural development and growth in the religious consciousness of the Hebrew race itself. The Old Testament exhibits this progressive development in the Hebrew religion. And then, with the help of the apocryphal Hebrew books as introductory to the New Testament, we see how, under Hellenic influence and the Messianic idea and the oracular preaching of a great prophet, a new religion grew out of the old: so that at the Christian era this *national* religious consciousness of the Hebrews opened out into the broader *Christian* consciousness, which overflowed the old boundaries both of race and creed, and brought Jew and Gentile into the fellowship of a common faith. And the Bible has a special value not only for its exhibit of the development of the Hebrew religion, but for thus disclosing the natural processes of birth and growth by which was produced the most powerful of the religions now on the earth.

And, from this point of view, the value of the several parts of the Bible is little affected by questions of the genuineness of their reputed authorship or of the historical authenticity of the contents. Their worth lies in what they are in themselves. Take, for illustration, the Fourth Gospel. The great question in Biblical investigation at the present day is the authorship of this remarkable book. Is it the production of John the disciple, or of some later John, or of some write unknown? The weight of critical judgment seems now plainly to point to a later origin than the lifetime of John the apostle. I have little or no question myself that it is a production belonging to the latter part of the first half of the second century, and that it is not so much a history or biography of Jesus as a transcript of the Christian consciousness a century after Jesus' death. Yet the book loses none of its moral value, none of its fine tenderness of sentiment, none of the broad catholicity of some of its chapters, none of its mystic beauty, none of the transcendental spirituality that pervades it, though this late authorship should be proved for it. On the contrary, it becomes specially valuable as indicating the *impress* and *development* of the ideas which had gathered about Jesus' name, and the growth of the spiritual side of the religion which organized itself upon his life. The great worth of the Fourth Gospel lies in the fact that it represents the best contents of the Christian consciousness, with regard to the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, one hundred years after the crucifixion of Jesus, when the Church, disappointed in its early hope of a speedy return of the Messiah to earth and of his assumption of temporal royalty, had risen to a more universal and transcendental conception of him and of the religion he had inaugurated. The Messiah of the Fourth Gospel is not so much the actual, historical Jesus as the Eternal Word, to illustrate whose career on earth the facts and legends that had come down from the life of Jesus were used by the author with no critical discrimination. But behind this illustrative biographical dress are certain deep *spiritual* truths which are independent of any one being's career. Though the biographer may continually offend us by his gross exaggeration of the personality of Jesus, he is also continually suggesting to our thought, and touching our hearts with, a view of a divine humanity not limited to the prophet of Nazareth, the idea that the life of finite man may be a veritable incarnation of the spirit and power of all life, the Life of Ages. Hence do we find in this book so much of universal truth. Divest the biography of its specific form, and it becomes the biography of every human soul.

And what I have here said of the value of the Fourth Gospel, though we do not accept its historic authenticity, by way of illustrating the worth of the Bible as a record of the historical development of religious ideas, leads me to speak of a similar value that lies even in the legendary and mythical parts. Suppose that rational criticism proves, as it does

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a considerable portion of the Bible to be legendary, mythical, incapable of credit as a literal narrative of fact: that does not empty even those parts of significance and worth. The mythology of Greece and Egypt are not barren of meaning. The legends of the Norsemen are not mere empty tales that carry no significance. In these stories, frivolous or monstrous as they may often seem, are preserved the primitive faiths of peoples to whom faith was as vital an experience as it is to us to-day. There is probably no form of fable or myth, however grotesque, which did not originate in some real human experience, and represent some thought or sentiment that was once a very living reality. Break through the shell of the legend, wherever we find it, and we strike that which was once a palpitating conviction, an actual brain-throb or heart-throb in the life of our distant ancestors. And the Bible legends are no exception to this rule. Stories of miracles and wonders, of resurrections and transfigurations, of supernatural births and angelic voices, of the burning bush and the unwasted oil and meal,—they are all forms in which to the popular imagination was crystallized some vital moral or spiritual truth, too subtle to be carried at the time in any other way. When we give them up as facts, then we begin to see their truth as poetry and drama. We do not believe the Greek mythology: in its literalness, we utterly reject it; yet we linger with rapture over its profound significance, when some skilful analytic mind throws aside the mythologic veil, and discloses the panorama of the vital movement of human thoughts and emotions which it conceals. So, in the myths of the Bible, there is something of the same crystallized truth. Bunsen points out how the story of Cain and Abel represents no petty quarrel between two individual men (which it seems hardly likely history would register), but a long and severe conflict between two classes of men in the primeval age, the husbandmen and the herdsmen; between the agriculturists, who wanted to till the soil and have fixed property in the soil secure against intrusion, and the shepherds, who wanted to subsist simply upon their flocks and herds, and to have liberty for them to graze where they pleased. It was a conflict, therefore, marking the dawn of civilization. And the story, when thus interpreted, becomes much richer in meaning and much worthier to stand in history than the story of a mere personal quarrel between two brothers. Or go back still further, to the Biblical story of creation. Science will not admit it, and even the common sense of the unscientific rejects it. If we try to think of it as actual fact, it becomes puerile. But when considered, not as if written by an omniscient pen, but as the struggle of the primitive thought of mankind to account for the origin of themselves and the world, clothed in the poetic dress of legend, conceive of the creative spirit as brooding over chaotic matter, and as slowly penetrating it with orderly vital process, and evolving one after another the various forms of being and life, and the story becomes sublime. But, to make it sublime, it must be read as poetical legend, not as science.

Again, the Bible has inherent valu · from a purely literary point of view. There is a good deal of it, it is trde, that has no literary merit whatever, and that, except for its antiquity and for some historic value it may have on this account, would not be worthy of preservation. But, on the other hand, there are parts of it which fair and scholarly criticism would place among the literary classics of mankind. The Book of Job deserves to stand side by side with, nay, above, the great poem of the Roman Lucretius, *De Natura Rerum*, or with Goethe's *Faust*. Could we separate it from its accustomed religious setting, and have it printed without the artificial and entirely arbitrary division into chapters and verses, just as any modern poem would be printed, and with the rhythm of the original preserved, we should much better appreciate than we now do both its subtle philosophy and its majestic poetry. There are, too, parts of the Psalms, Proverbs, and Prophets, portions of Paul's letters, and some speeches recorded of him, and discourses and parables by Jesus, which, aside from the sacredness with which piety and dogma have invested them, for their purely literary worth the world would not suffer to die.

But I must pass to the final point to be considered,—the inherent value of the Biblical writings for their moral and religious teachings. And here, again, we are to regard them not as specifically sacred books with an origin peculiarly their own, but alongside of other writings of moral and spiritual import,—alongside of writings of similar character in other religions. And, to this end, it is not necessary that we should go into any invidious comparisons, not necessary to say that they stand above and beyond any other religious writings in the world, in order to indicate their actual worth. It is better with unprejudiced opinion to look for the gold that is in them all. It is enough to say that, as Plutarch, and Epictetus, and Socrates, and Plato, and Confucius, and Marcus Aurelius are reckoned as of inestimable value for their testimony to the teachings of the moral sense, so are these records of the words and deeds of Hebrew saint and sage beyond price. Some sacred books excel in one point, others in another point. If I were to look for the doctrine of the pure spirituality of Deity freed from anthropomorphic conceptions, I should go to the earlier Hindus. That passage from a Chinese Buddhist litany, wherein the worshipper pledges himself "not to enter heaven to accept private salvation for himself, but to remain in the world of sin, sorrow, and struggle till all other souls are redeemed," is a higher utterance of the sentiment of perfect consecration and self-sacrifice than anything I recall in the Christian Bible; while there are certainly parts of all sacred books, the Bible as well as others, that no judicious teacher would think of reading to-day, for moral example and stimulus, either in the pulpit or in the family circle. On the other hand, it may be justly claimed, perhaps, that nowhere shall we find all the essential elements of ethical and religious truth combined in such fair proportion, and stated so vividly and livingly, as in the moral and spiritual parts of the Gospels. There is a remarkable richness in the character and utterances of Jesus, a rare combination of the heroic and tender. Ethically, his teaching may not be purer than that of Zoroaster, which it much resembles. He is not more self-sacrificing than Gautama Boudha, not more devoted to the interests of the poor and the miserable. Yet there seems to be more of warmth, more of spontaneous sympathy, more of real human vitality in his work. I think it is because he had less of philosophy than these other reformers, and more of the enthusiasm of humanity: he came to his work through the heart rather than through the head; and that fact has left its impress upon the records of him.

But this is not the question we are primarily to consider,—whether or not we may get more from these books of the Bible, ethically and spiritually, than from the sacred books of other faiths. Of course, in Christendom people *have got* vastly more from them than from all the others combined, and will continue to do so for a long time to come.

But the main question is, *What* is it that may be obtained from the Bible of moral and spiritual aid? Let me answer generally by saying that, using these books rationally, discriminating their teachings, not accepting a proposition as necessarily true because it is there, not making them an authority to override reason and conscience, we should find in them fine moral and spiritual nutriment. The moral sense of men, however it first originates, is confirmed, strengthened, and stimulated by outward testimony and example. These consenting voices (for in the fundamentals of ethics, when rationally discriminated, they are consenting) prove that the voice that speaks through our mental and moral intelligence to-day is no personal caprice of our own, no accents of an individual private deity that we have enthroned in our own bosoms, but that this revelation which comes through our personal consciousness is a chapter of a universal book of human experience, and that beneath our intuitions, so far from their beginning with us or having no past behind them, rests a solid bed of granite, reaching down to the very centre of the universe and back to the beginning of creation. The great value of these books, morally and spiritually, is that they show the human race to be of one stock all through. They testify that men, in the far ages and under the most opposite conditions of life, have perceived the line that separates good from evil, have felt the obligations of justice and mercy, have honored virtue, have aspired after right, have struggled against wrong, have reverenced truth and bended in worship before One who seemed the sum of all power and excellence, and have thus felt themselves invigorated and helped to meet the temptations, trials, and sorrows that befell their lot,—the same temptations and trials and sorrows that come to us to-day. Using the Bible thus, its miraculous character disappears indeed; but, for this very reason, it becomes to us a real picture of common human life, and stays much closer to our every-day sympathies and needs. Something may be found in it for every condition in life, for prosperity and adversity, for joy and for sorrow, for birth and marriage and death, for hours of remorse and for hours of happiness, because this was one and the same life which we are living now and here. These are real men and women that start up out of its pages, where they have been so long fossilized by our petrifying theologies, and they live again. Abraham and Moses, Jacob and Rebecca, Samuel, Deborah, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jesus, Paul, John, the Marys and Martha,—these are our human brothers and sisters. Not all of them "after God's own heart" by any means, some of them very far from it, but all of them workers, more or less earnest and successful, at the hard problems of existence; and thus we join hands with them in the world's great life.

But, with these alone, the circle is not complete. Vanish all sectarian walls, all ecclesiastic bounds, all separating partitions between the religions! The family of man is not all here; and therefore the family of God is not all here. There, in old Greece and Rome and Egypt, in Persia and India and China, have lived others of His offspring, who have proved themselves to be possessors of the life that outlasts the ages. These, too, we must count within our circle. We clasp hands with them also, sharers of the same experiences, heirs of the same aspirations and hopes,—

> "In one immortal throng, we view
> Pagan and Christian, Greek and Jew";

and by and by, perhaps, we shall have a Bible that will select and combine for us the best voices from them all, the Bible of Universal Humanity.

For *The Index*.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

Addresses by Mr. Parke Godwin and Mr. George Jacob Holyoake at the Reception given to the Latter in New York just before his Return to England.

Address of Mr. Godwin, Chairman.

(Stenographically reported by A. L. Leubuscher.)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The social question or, as it is sometimes called, the social problem, of which we hear so much, is, after all, only the question of labor. It is needless to say to this company how important that question is, or even to say that it is the most important of all questions, transcending all in the variety of its relation and in the depth of its bearing upon human interest; for it concerns the whole human race,—not only the many millions who labor themselves, whom it concerns directly, but the other millions, dependent on that labor, whom it concerns indirectly.

It is a peculiarity of our natural economy that man, of all animal creatures, is nearly the only one for the satisfaction of whose wants nature has not made a gratuitous supply. *He* has to avail himself, beyond a few productions of nature, for all that he gets by his own toil. He must work with his body, with his mind, and with his soul for the nutriment and the wealth and the health of his body, his mind, and his soul. It is another peculiarity of this economy in which we live that man, of all the animals, cannot work alone. When his work is performed in solitude, it is utterly inadequate and inefficient. The labor of his fellows is as needful to him as his own labor. Alone, he is merely the hunter, and scarcely removed from the savage. And, in that condition, his faculty, his intellectual faculty, is intercepted by a barbarism which prevents him from rising much beyond the savage state. It is only by a combination with his fellows that he emancipates himself from this early and degraded condition, from being a mere brute, imperfect, a denizen of the fields, into higher states,—that he rises through barbarism in its various degrees. It is only through his co-operation with his fellowmen that he is turned from the slave of nature into her master, appropriating her materials, directing her forces, making indeed the very sun to shine and the waters to flow for him, chaining the winds and harnessing the lightnings, which so often rend the heavens with great fissures of fire, into obedient and gentle messengers of social intercourse.

Such being the function of associated labor, I say that the question of labor is the most important of all questions,—the question as to *who* shall labor, the *conditions* on which that labor shall be performed, and the *methods* in which its results shall be equitably

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distributed. Not only now, but in all times, it has been the foremost question, or the question lying at the bottom of all political and social agitations. In the ancient world, you remember, they managed this question in this way, by reducing the great body of laborers to a single class called slaves; while the others enjoyed the fruits of their labor. In the Middle Ages there was a perceptible grade of improvement in the condition of serfhood, when the mechanics and agriculturists performed the work, and the lords and barons on the sides of the hills took it by force. In these modern times, the wages system prevails, or salary on voluntary contract. It is an improvement upon former methods: it has given a wider scope to industry; it has imparted a higher dignity to work; it has given us greater freedom of development, greater refinement of culture, and greater and more equitable division of wealth, and more earnest, heartfelt respect for each other. But, my friends, is it perfect? Can any one say it is perfect, when he sees in every society still this large fringe and border of poverty, of squalor, and of crime? Can any one say it is perfect, when he knows of the continuous uneasiness that pervades all our civilized societies, and pervades the most civilized, perhaps, with the greatest intensity? Can any one say it is perfect, when he sees the perpetual battle of capital and labor between employer and employed, seemingly without solution, and for which the laboring men themselves have found but one solution, which is the suicide, the industrial hari-kari of the "strike," whereby a man runs the knife into his own vitals lest somebody else should do it for him? Can any one say it is perfect, when in nearly all of our cities we are constantly trembling upon the verge of some great cataclysm of revolution? Can any one say it is perfect, when wild, incoherent chimeras of social theories—Nihilism and government socialisms and anarchisms—are received by wide classes of people as a possible improvement upon the state that is? No, my friends, it is not perfect,—this system of ours, with all its advantages. It is not perfect, because it has these two capital defects: first, that it is, after all, no system, no regulated order, no organized condition of things, but a loose, helter-skelter, chaotic state, founded simply upon the notion of struggle, in which the strongest survives; secondly, so far as it does attain to any semblance of regularity or organism, it is only a chance product: the harmonies of it, which are few, are accidental, while the defects of it, which are many, are inevitable.

Now, it is not surprising, in this condition of human experience, that the thought should have come to many men that human ingenuity and human wisdom and human love should find a better mode and order of social relations. It is not surprising that men should have said that, instead of this no-system, let us have something that is organic; instead of this antagonism of interests, let us have something that is co-operative and harmonic. Now, for many years, this notion of a better order of human society has been simmering in the minds of men, in the minds of speculative men first, in the minds of men full of heart and sympathy for the human race, and finally in the minds of scientific men. We see that the outcome, the upshot, the flower, the glory of all previous sciences, is, or will be, a social science, a science of society, a science which shall dispose men in relations of absolute justice, brotherhood, and love.

It will be impossible for me on this occasion to dwell upon the many modes in which this idea has taken form in the world, many of which have been utter failures, many of which are destined still to be failures. But the idea is born in the world: it is the one fermenting idea of these times; it is the one hopeful idea; it is the only alternative that I see to a continued state of revolution and distress. I am thoroughly convinced that association, that organized industry, that united labor, is the grand key of future development. I am convinced of it for this reason, if no other: that, if there be one fact which science has made clear to us, it is that the perfection of being—the perfection of the vegetable and the animal tribes, the perfection of man himself, the perfection of man in society—depends wholly upon the degree in which he is organized. Why do we count the animal higher in the scale of creation than the vegetable? Why is the lordly oak, that breathes the thousand years, greater than the fungus or the wayside weed? Why are your Shaksperes and Goethes greater than your simpletons and your idiots? Simply in the degree of their organization. Why is your present state in New York better than that of our red Indians in the West? Simply because it has attained to a higher grade of organization. And its future progress will depend upon the degree of its increasing organization. The future depends upon these efforts toward organized labor. That is the first element of progress in all stages of life.

Many years ago, now forty, I think, I uttered sentiments like these in this city; and I uttered them in the zeal and enthusiasm of youth, and people said they were dreams. Well, at the time, they were dreams. But I remember Schiller's beautiful lines, in which he says that we must reverence the dreams of our youth. I reverenced the dreams of my youth; and now, when the snows have begun to sift their white flakes through my hair, I find that I have learned nothing, absolutely nothing, in this long interval, but a firmer and clearer, a more immovable confidence in this principle of associated and co-operated labor.

I said that I could not dwell upon the forms which this great inspiration had taken practically; but, fortunately, we have with us to-night a gentleman whom we have come to honor, who, in England, has been long connected by thought and practical service with the realization of these ideas. I am very happy, gentlemen, to express your salutation and mine, your welcome and mine, to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, of England.

Summary of Mr. Holyoake's Address.

Co-operation is the new force of industry which attains competency without reducing any to mendicancy, and effaces inequality by equalizing fortunes. Co-operation is not a philanthropy merely, nor a new scheme of benevolence. It is not a contrivance for helping others, but a manly contrivance for enabling others to help themselves. Its idea is to have a fairer distribution of the labor and to make capital for the laboring classes. Co-operation is not, as defined by a New York newspaper recently, the marriage of a doctor's daughter with an undertaker's son. That might be co-operation for an increase of business, as illustrated by an Englishman's definition, who said that if two greyhounds hunt together they will bring their master more hares than four days' hunting separately. But industrial co-operation has for its object the catching of hares, not for the master, but for the greyhound himself. It is the association of any number of persons together, whose object is to attain, by concert, prudence, common sense, and good will, certain advantages to be divided among themselves. There are three methods of industrial co-operation,—by store, by workshops, and by bank. In France, co-operation is by the workshop, in Germany by bank, and in England by stores. No country yet has been able to extend co-operation so as to include two branches of industry. One only seems to succeed in each. America as yet has not succeeded in any. The reason of this is perhaps that Americans generally easily get too rich to think of the humble gains of co-operation, are too busy with individual work to spare any time for work that will benefit others, and too well informed to be instructed in anything looking to an improved method of living. The process by which a co-operative store is established in England is for a meeting to be called, and the fact explained that it would be advantageous, for the sake of purity of food, fairness of measure, and the attainment and creation of new capital, to combine for these ends. Then, it is proposed that each person save up until he is able to subscribe a small stipulated sum, such as $5, or even as high as $25, but never any more, for the purpose of getting the thing under way. When one hundred subscribers at $5 each are found, the store is started, a very small, obscure room being used for the purpose; and the service at first is voluntary. These one hundred persons, finding that the more people come to the store the greater their profits would be, will tell their neighbors of the venture, thus saving the expense of advertising. The purest goods are sold, fair weight given, nothing misrepresented, and market prices are charged. It is a spot cash business. From the profits, rent, help, and five per cent. interest on the capital are paid, and a reserve fund established. Then, two and one-half per cent. of what remains is devoted to educating the patrons of the store. Every patron saves ten per cent. of what he spends at the store; so that, if a householder spends $5 a week at the store, he effects a saving of fifty cents. Thus, the man with a large family grows rich faster than a man with a small one. No more than five per cent. is ever paid to the subscriber, and the balance is used for a surplus fund. The sums saved for the patrons draw interest, and the workingmen become capitalists without effort. It is simply foresight, prudence, and economy.

The membership of some of the stores in England exceeds by thousands what their original promoters hoped for them. In the Leeds store there are eighteen thousand members, and in the Halifax store twelve thousand, and the Rochdale is higher than either of these. In this last-named store, which was started just at the time when La Salle was preaching his communistic doctrine to the workingmen of Germany, £50,000 or $250,000 were divided last year in profits. This money was created out of nothing but the "custom" of workingmen, and it was given back to them. If La Salle had lived, he would have seen that it is indeed possible for workingmen to create capital for themselves. Co-operation means that many persons contribute to one end, and that end is the creation of capital. It is a scheme of industrial concert, where no one is indifferent and all work alike. The advantages the stores have over ordinary tradesmen in competitive trade are these: they ask no credit, they give no credit; they have no advertising to do; they need not pay high rents on fashionable streets; and, giving and asking no credit, they have no elaborate scheme of book-keeping that requires an army of clerks. The purchasing agents of English co-operative stores in America last year spent $2,000,000. Those in Ireland, where eggs, butter, and other produce are purchased, spend $5,000,000 annually.

Of the moral features of co-operation, the selling of the purest food by just measure, at a fair price, is itself a lesson in morality. The education derived is increased morality. With increased prosperity comes increased self-respect. Mill is the sole philosopher who knew that progress must have such conditions as not to depend upon charity. Morality depends on similar conditions, as does also a vigorous individual conscience.

The first co-operative society was formed to supply its members with wheat bread and butcher's meat. That was sixty-five years ago, the year in which the speaker was born. Under the system called "protection to home industry," the preceding generation of English workingmen had neither wheat bread nor meat to eat. When the principles of this society can be extended to other industries, so that workingmen, instead of being hired for the lowest price and giving the least return, will have their hearts as well as hands engaged, then all the irritation between capital and labor will disappear. It will be as easy for all to live in palaces as it is now for the many to live in hovels, while the few live at ease. The time will come when in every country no man will sell himself to another, but receive a share of the wealth which he helped to make. Co-operation is only popular among sober and industrious people, and only among such could it be made a success.

As for Herbert Spencer's criticism that the people in this country are in too great a hurry, Mr. Spencer himself would be in a hurry if he were to stay here six months. The great resources of this country, its opportunities and competition, are enough to make an angel hurry. In closing, Mr. Holyoake spoke favorably of this country, and hoped that the government would encourage intelligent immigration and publish trustworthy information to let the world at large know what the conditions and necessities of various parts of the country were.

BOOK NOTICES.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. His Life, Genius, and Writings. By W. Sloane Kennedy, author of a *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, etc. Boston: S. E. Cassino. 1882.

This volume, as the only published biography of the beloved and genial Quaker poet, would be interesting from that fact alone; but, in addition to this, we can assure all who read the work of an additional treat in the original genius of him who writes it. Let us frankly say, however, in the first place, that we do not consider biography to be Mr. Kennedy's specialty as a writer. As a "gatherer up of the unconsidered trifles," which are so necessary a part of biography, he is not wholly a success. While having made of this *Life of Whittier* an extremely readable and interesting book by reason of his own vigorous originality of thought and expression, the sketchiness of it as a whole, the lack of continuity of narrative, leave in

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the mind of those readers intent only upon understanding all the varying sinuosities of circumstance and thought which have had any effect on the mental make-up and outward action of their hero a sense of something lacking and unexplained. The ideal biography is one in which the biographer is completely forgotten in the interest in his subject. In this *Life of Whittier*, one grows as interested in Mr. Kennedy as in the poet himself, the more so that Mr. Kennedy writes so evidently *con amore*. We feel quite sure as we read that this writer could never school himself to attempt to write the life of a man he did not admire. We find all through the work strong expressions of Mr. Kennedy's personal opinions in regard to men and things. The work is divided into two parts, part first comprising the biography proper, the second part being devoted to an "Analysis of Whittier's Genius and Writings." In this second part, Mr. Kennedy's own genius is seen to best advantage; but traces of that peculiar genius irradiate even what would otherwise be the dryest pages of the Life: as, for instance, in the opening chapter devoted to the genealogy of Whittier occur frequently such fine sentences as these: "A poet, no less than a solar system or a loaf of bread, is the logical resultant of a line of antecedent forces and circumstances. The fine but infrangible threads of our destiny are spun and woven out of atom-fibres indelibly stamped with the previous owners' names. Their characters immingle in our own,—the affluence or the indigence of their intellects, the sugar or the nitre of their wit, the shifting sand or the unwedgeable iron of their moral natures. ... What more appropriate emblazonment for the escutcheon of our Martial Quaker poet than a warrior's helmet, and a dove holding in its mouth the emblem of peace!" In his descriptions of places, the natural scenery by which Whittier was surrounded, Mr. Kennedy excels; and we wish we had space here to quote some of his beautiful word-pictures, which are thoroughly poetic in tone and strong in outline. From the second part of his work, the analysis of Whittier's genius, we quote this definition of one of the leading doctrines of the Quaker sect: "Philosophically, its theory of the Inner Light is identical with the doctrine of idealism or innate ideas held by Descartes, Fichte, Schelling, Cousin. It means individualism, a return to the primal sanities of the soul. ... 'I think: therefore, I am.' My thinking soul is the ultimate source of ideas and truth. In that serene holy of holies, full-grown ideas leap into being, subjective, *a priori*, needing no sense-perception for their genesis." On the whole, this is a very charming volume, and an inspiring one; for the writer is evidently a sturdy defender of the most radical opinions of the day, as well as an enthusiastic believer in the good and true wherever he thinks he has found goodness or truth. The book is nicely bound, with clear type, is illustrated with a good frontispiece portrait of Mr. Whittier, and with views of his birthplace, the old school-house at Haverhill which he attended as a boy, his home at Amesbury, his study, and a view from his home at Danvers. There is also an excellent index to the leading incidents mentioned in the work.

SOME CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

NORSE STORIES RETOLD FROM THE EDDAS. By Hamilton Wright Mabie. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882.

HESTER STANLEY AT ST. MARK'S. By Harriet Prescott Spofford, author of the *Marquis of Carabas*, *The Amber Gods*, etc. With illustrations. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882.

RED CLOUD, THE SOLITARY SIOUX. A Story of the Great Prairie. By Lieut.-Col. Butler, C.B., author of *The Great, Lone Land*, *The Wild North Land*, etc. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882.

THEOPHILE GAUTIER. My Household of Pets. Translated by Susan Coolidge. With illustrations. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1822.

POSIES FOR CHILDREN. A book of verse selected by Mrs. Anna C. Lowell. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882.

NONSENSE SONGS, STORIES, BOTANY AND ALPHABETS. By Edward Lear. With one hundred and fifty illustrations. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882.

Norse Stories retold from the Eddas, by Hamilton Wright Mabie, is a delightful book. The Norse mythology has never before been presented in a form so intelligible and agreeable to the average mind. It is a book for children of fourteen and upward, of twelve, perhaps, if they are very bright; but it is equally a book for grown men and women. And it is a book that should be read not only for its pleasure, but for its instruction. The Norse religion was the religion of our forefathers; and we should do well to spend a little more time upon it, if we had to spend a little less upon the religion of the ancient Jews, whose mythology did not begin to be so varied, rich, and beautiful. Indeed, it may be doubted if any other mythology has a myth so beautiful as that which enshrines the death of Balder, or one so awful as that which depicts the Twilight of the Gods.

Mrs. Spofford's *Hester Stanley at St. Mark's* is her first venture in the field of juvenile fiction. Let us hope it will not be the last. The book is remarkably free from the overrichness of upholstery and furniture which is generally characteristic of her books. Hester Stanley is a girl born in the South Sea Islands, where she has contracted something of the wildness of the indigenous inhabitants. But she has a good mind and heart; and, as the story proceeds, these steadily assert themselves and she wins her way to the affection and esteem of all, or nearly all, her teachers and companions. Girls who have been to boarding-school will, we imagine, find many of the pictures here true to the life; and those who have not will want to try it for at least a single year.

Red Cloud, the Solitary Siouz, has certainly a little of the dime-novel sound; but it is very far from the dime-novel style of book. It may be taken for granted that boys will read books of adventure, good or bad, and by fair means or foul. It is highly important, therefore, that there should be good books of adventure. There are such, and this is one of them. It is admirably written. The author, Lieut.-Col. Butler, is evidently acquainted with the region haunted by his muse of tragedy. The motto on his title-page is certainly assuring:—

> "Like a wind that shrills
> All night in a waste land, where no one comes,
> Or hath come since the making of the world."

There is a promise here of something noble in the general conduct of the book,—a promise which is kept throughout. The author has a lively sense of natural beauty, and his pen is quick to indicate what he has seen and heard. We have tried the book on our own boy and girl, and found it a success.

Théophile Gautier's *Household Pets*, translated by Susan Coolidge, is a very bright and interesting book, but with a little care the translator could have made it much better than it is. It contains many allusions to matters purely French and Parisian, interesting only to adult French readers, which to the young American will be less than nought. A judicious parent, reading the book aloud, will omit all of these allusions. But, evidently, Gautier was an honest lover of dogs and cats, a nice observer of their ways; and he has chronicled their doings in a brilliant and engaging manner.

Mrs. Anna C. Lowell's *Posies for Children* is a collection of rhymes and poems for children all the way from three to ten; and there is plenty here that men and women of the ripest age, who still have the heart of youth in them, will read with laughter or with tears. The book will be a treasure in any nursery, a blessing on the children's hour, and as likely to wear out with constant reading as any book upon the children's shelves.

Mr. Lear's *Nonsense Songs* needs little recommendation; and the one hundred and fifty colored illustrations are like Herbert's "lovely rose," they "bid the rash gazer wipe his eye" they are so brilliant in their chromatic effects. They are more brilliant in their conception. Mr. Lear has written two immortal classics, "The Owl and the Pussy Cat" and "The Jumblies." These are still his best, but he has many others that will bring young and old together on a common ground of irrepressible laughter.

HOW TO BE WEATHER-WISE: A New View of Our Weather System. With illustrations. By Isaac P. Noyes. 12mo, pp. 51. Price 25 cts. New York: Fowler & Wells, 753 Broadway.

This is an explanation, brief and plainly written, of the causes of changes in the weather, based upon the system of the United States Signal Service. The value of the Weather Bureau is but little understood and therefore but little appreciated by those who read merely the "indications." In this little work, the author shows how the data are obtained for these indications; and the reader is made to see how simple a matter it is to observe the signs of the weather, when the principle involved is understood. Everybody, he claims, can observe the weather himself and be his own weather prophet; and Mr. Noyes presents what he has to say in good, plain English.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. C. D. B. MILLS is to lecture in Brooklyn, N.Y., on January 11, and at Longwood, Pa., January 14.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE is to give a series of week-day evening lectures on "The Anti-Slavery Conflict in the United States" in this city during the winter.

GEN. STONE PACHA, late chief of staff of the Egyptian army, has resigned his commission, and intends to return forthwith to America.

OSCAR WILDE has gone home. So has Mrs. Henrietta Pigeon Labouchere. Mrs. Langtry still remains, finding the gleanings of the rich harvest-field left by Oscar quite profitable.

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD, of Boston, has just delivered a course of four lectures on Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Emerson, to full houses in Cleveland. He gives the same course by invitation in Erie, Pa., the first week in January.

MR. CHARLES BRIGHT, of Australia, is lecturing on liberal topics to full houses in Salt Lake City, Utah. He expects to be able to finish his engagements in this country in time to leave San Francisco for Australia in the early part of February.

ROBERT MORRIS, Jr., only child of the colored lawyer, Robert Morris, whose death was recently noted in these columns, and himself a promising member of the Suffolk Bar, died last week at his home on West Newton Street, this city, of pneumonia, aged thirty-five. The elder Morris died on the 12th ult.

REV. E. C. TOWNE has recently received a call to become pastor of a prominent Unitarian church in Westboro, Mass. His course of evening lectures on "Electricity" in Mr. Savage's West Newton Street Church was eminently successful, and awakened much thought and comment on the subject.

A CABLEGRAM announces the sudden death from heart disease of artist C. C. Burleigh in Germany, where he has been studying for some years. Mr. Burleigh was a son of the late C. C. Burleigh, the well-known anti-slavery advocate, and was an artist of considerable repute and promise of growth.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S reception on New Year's day came to a sad termination by the sudden death from heart disease of Judge E. H. Allen, minister to this country from Hawaii, who was attending the reception. He was a native of New Salem, Mass., but had lived in Hawaii since 1849, and was at one time regent of the government there. He died in the White House about noon, and the President at once gave orders that the reception was at a close.

THE *Sower* of Philadelphia says of an occasional contributor to *The Index*: "Rev. John H. Clifford, of North Andover, Mass., has been invited to the pastorate of the Unitarian Society of Germantown by a unanimous vote, and will probably accept, and begin his labors with the new year. Mr. Clifford is a man of modest manner, but with an earnest spirit and a mind of uncommon clearness and vigor. He is about thirty-four years old and in fine health. His welcome is ready and waiting."

M. LEON GAMBETTA, one of the foremost figures in French politics, and a statesman whose influence was felt in all those countries with which France had any political relations, died at midnight of Dec. 31, 1882, his life passing away with the going out of the old year. He had been ailing ever since he accidentally wounded himself, some weeks ago; but no danger was apprehended until within a few hours of his death. Pyæmia was the immediate cause. Although he had gained such eminence as a public leader, he was comparatively young in years. He was but forty-five at the time of his death. The *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England) says of him: "Liberals all over Europe will deplore the loss of the great and remarkable figure of a statesman who used his truly virile mind for a noble cause, and who will live in French history among the most courageous, acute, and effective founders of the republic. The measure of his loss is the secret or avowed satisfaction with which it will be hailed by reactionists and the enemies of free government all over Europe." As he was an avowed free thinker, his funeral will be a civil one, with no religious services whatever.

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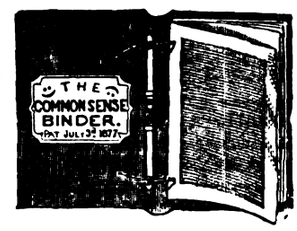

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	325
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Great Men, Wm. J. Potter,	326
Human Religion, Robert C. Adams,	326
Reformation from Within, W. I. Gill,	327
Counteracting Inherited Vices, E. D. C.,	328
Nirvana, A. O. C.,	328
EDITORIAL NOTES,	329
POETRY.	
The Marvel of Life, B. W. Ball,	330
ESSAYS.	
Conflicts of Philosophy, Van Buren Denslow, LL.D.,	330
Funeral Services of Samuel L. Hill, of Florence, Mass.,	332
CORRESPONDENCE.	
Did not Jesus teach Orthodoxy? T.,	334
"What constitutes an Agnostic?" Leander Wetherell,	334
The Deity of Christ,	334
BOOK NOTICES.	
Our Liberal Movement in Theology, by Joseph Henry Allen,	334
Mr. Isaacs, by F. Marion Crawford,	335
Magnhild, by Björnstjerne Björnson,	335
Stories of Discovery, by Edward Everett Hale,	335
Journal of Speculative Philosophy, Sanitarian,	335
PERSONAL ITEMS,	335

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Chicago *Times* says that "no race of people coming to this country become so soon thoroughly Americanized, and are so free from the narrow political clannishness that characterizes immigrants of some nationalities, as the Jews."

JOHANN MOST, in this country where he can rave without danger of interruption, is a less important personage than when, in Europe, the police were watching him and listening to his foolish talk, lest he might commit high treason with his tongue. Let such fellows have rope enough, and they are sure to entangle themselves so.

REV. DR. PAXTON, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, in a speech at a recent New England dinner in New York, made the following true and witty remark: "When the Puritan first came to these shores, he made the way to heaven so narrow that only a tight-rope performer could walk it. Now, what with his Concord philosophies, transcendentalisms, and every heresy, he has made it so wide that you could drive all of Barnum's abreast upon it, and through the strait gate."

"OBSERVER," writing from New York to the *Presbyterian*, says: "The excitement growing out of the *injudicious* enforcement of the new penal code has perceptibly abated. 'A very quiet day,' remarked a policeman to me last evening. Some of the theatres and concert saloons are coining money in performing burlesques on the code. Of course, they are simply caricatures and monstrous exaggerations. But the people laugh (I presume); and that's the main thing, you know,—if you can get their money."

A DECISION has been rendered by the Supreme Court of Iowa on the appeal of a case in which the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad was sued for the loss of a cow which had been killed on its track on a Sunday, the owner claiming that the road was doing an unlawful act in running on that day, and consequently liable for damages. The decision of the court is that the unlawful running is not sufficient to make the company responsible for injury done to persons or property. There must be contributory negligence on the part of the company or its employés, on Sunday as well as on a week day, to make it liable for damages.

THE pass to which office-seeking in an old country like China has come ought to serve as a warning to our American office-seekers, who are fast treading in the path sure to lead to a like state of affairs in this "free and enlightened" land. At the recent triennial examination of candidates for public offices at Peking, where only about three hundred offices were open to competition, over fifteen thousand applicants appeared; and the office-getting spirit has there become so fierce a fever that many defeated candidates commit suicide from disappointment. Others attend the examinations year after year, from youth to extreme old age, in hopes of success.

SPANISH Catholicism still retains a trace of the old inquisitorial spirit, as witness this curse invoked by Bishop Santander, one of Spain's leading ecclesiastics, on certain newspapers advocating liberalism in religion: "May the earth swallow them up alive! Let them be cursed day and night, sleeping and waking, in eating, in drinking, and in playing, when they speak and when they keep silence! May their eyes be blinded, their ears deaf, their tongue dumb! Cursed be every member of their body! Let them be cursed from to-day and forever! May their sepulchre be that of dogs and asses! May famished wolves prey upon their corpses, and may their eternal company be that of the devil and his angels."

THE death of Gambetta, the great statesman and republican leader of France, is a sudden shock and a sad bereavement to the people whom he served so faithfully, and a loss that is keenly felt by the friends of liberal principles throughout the world. He was a man of wonderful energy, of unsurpassed courage, of great sagacity, and wonderful powers of oratory; and these qualities, combined with love of liberty and patriotic devotion to France, made him a great intellectual force and a powerful political leader. The London *Times* remarks: "The world itself is poorer for the untimely loss of so potent a force. France is bereft of one statesman who taught her to be true to herself, even in the hour of despair." The press of Europe, while generally deploring the death of Gambetta, differ in opinion as to the effect of the event at this particular juncture in European affairs. In the German mind, his name was, as *Figaro*, the Parisian paper, says, "associated with the sound of the war trumpet"; but Gambetta was too great and wise a statesman to go into a crusade merely for revenge and retaliation against the conquering Deutschmen. The prosperity, growth, and grandeur of the French Republic will continue, we believe, uninterrupted by Gambetta's death.

REFERRING to the recent decision of Judge Briggs, of Pennsylvania, ruling out the testimony of a witness because of his unbelief in a personal God and inability to accept the common notion of divine punishment, the Chicago *Evening Journal* says: "This would rule out two-thirds of the intelligent men and women of the State of Pennsylvania. The inconsistency of this ruling is all the more manifest, when we consider that the law does not neglect to punish a man for false swearing, nor turn him over to the 'divine punishment' which is in store for him after he shuffles off this mortal coil. The human laws are humane enough not to punish a man twice for the same offence, and some of them are merciful enough to provide that his life or liberty shall not be twice placed in jeopardy for the same offence. Then why punish him here with severe pains and penalties, when he cannot 'flee from the wrath to come' at last? The safest way to proceed with witnesses is to let their theological notions alone, and receive the testimony of every candid man who is willing to take the usual oath, with the customary 'so help me God' added. Evidence in the courts rests upon its consistency with reason and the facts, and not upon the abstract religious belief of the witnesses." Even "the customary 'so help me God'" should be abolished, and for the oath should be substituted affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury as provided by the State.

THE great religious question of the hour seems to be whether orthodox Christianity agrees with Vanderbilt in his much quoted saying or not,—in other words, whether the Church teaches the eternal "doom of the majority" or contrariwise. Dr. Withrow, of Park Street Church in this city, in articles in the *Advance* and *Christian Register*, declares that "no evangelical creed in Christendom contains such a doom for the vast majority of the human race." But Joseph Cook, an acknowledged representative of the orthodox church, in his last Monday's lecture in Tremont Temple, said, "Probation, in its strict sense, ends at death"; and Dr. S. J. Barrows, of the *Christian Register*, in an elaborate editorial in the last number of his paper, proves pretty conclusively, by extracts from the writings of those who have been accepted by the Church as her accredited representatives, that Protestant Christianity *does* teach the doctrine of eternal damnation. Of Dr. Withrow's defence of the Church from this charge, Mr. Barrows says: "We have great respect for the motive of that defence. It is an attempt to relieve Orthodoxy from the charge of having believed and taught that 'the vast majority of the human race are to be the victims of endless woe.' Dr. Withrow cannot feel more keenly than we do the reproach of such a doctrine. We welcome any argument or any confession which shall remove its stigma from the name of Christianity. But such argument or confession must be true to the facts, and the line of defence adopted by Dr. Withrow seems to us utterly untenable. Orthodoxy cannot be relieved from its responsibility for this doctrine by the plea that it has never authoritatively taught it."

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GREAT MEN.

With the going out of the old year, Gambetta died, adding another to the roll of famous men whom the year 1882 has carried to their graves. There may be those who will question Gambetta's right to be classed among men genuinely great. He was, it is said, a mercurial man with a special genius for oratory; and the mercurial French people were thus led by him without his possessing the solid elements of greatness. But, whatever part of his remarkable power in France—a power which none will dispute—Gambetta owed to his gift of impassioned eloquence, no man could have done what he did in the last months of the struggle with Germany and for the establishment of the republic, and, later, to defeat the reactionary schemes which well-nigh wrecked the republic under the presidency of MacMahon, unless he had been endowed with an intellect of exceptional grasp and vigor. Even his failure as premier was due more than to anything else to the fact that the Assembly of Deputies began to be afraid lest his personal ascendency with the French people was becoming too great for the safety of the republic. He was a born leader of men. Yet he had shown no sign that he had any designs against the republic, which he was one of the chief actors in inaugurating, nor any ambition for himself beyond doing the best thing for the liberties of his country. And though, because of the sudden collapse of his brief administration, the last months of his life were passed under a political cloud, and though he has died at forty-five, before the age at which public men usually find their greatest opportunities, we believe that the judgment of history will nevertheless place him with the group of remarkable European statesmen who have intellectually adorned our own time.

It is sometimes complained that the world no longer produces great men, that this is the era of mediocrity, and that the conditions of human society do not now nourish and favor that kind of leadership which once naturally devolved on the exceptional intellectual lights of their times. This complaint rests, we believe, on a popular fallacy. We have not time nor space here to expose the fallacy wholly, but some facts may be pointed out which bear against it.

Doubtless the changed conditions of human society have affected the methods by which the exceptionally great intellects may exercise their power; and yet the exceptional intellects may come as frequently and be as great as their predecessors. In the world of thought, the leaders may now be seldom seen of men. They may be quietly at work in their libraries or in their laboratories, or in delving into nature's secrets among the glaciers, or on dredging voyages over the seas, and then laboriously putting their thoughts into books. The books to-day take the place of the living presence and the living voice. Anciently, the teachers of philosophy, who corresponded to this class of men, were *talkers*. That was the only way they had to reach the people. They talked in the market-places and in the public squares and in groves, and had their little coteries of disciples who passed on to larger circles what they had learned of their masters. Continually before the eye of their own public, they impressed their teachings by the force of their own personality to a greater degree than there may be opportunity for among the leading thinkers of our time. And yet these leading thinkers to-day may be none the less real leaders. It is safe to say that Darwin has led the thoughts of people in our own time as much as ever Socrates did in his time, and that he has changed the thoughts and beliefs of a vastly greater number of people than the wise Greek did. It is safe to say that Herbert Spencer is as effective an intellectual force in the world to-day as was Aristotle in the world of his day. Emerson was of the type of men who were hailed in ancient times as founders of religions. And, in truth, a religious founder he has been among us. His thought, more than that of any other one person of our time, has been percolating through the churches, through the creeds; and two hundred years hence it will be seen that, quietly as he lived and did his work, he was chief among the forces that revolutionized the beliefs of Christendom in this age and transformed Christianity into an essentially new religion.

The world has had, it is true, not many such minds as Emerson's and Darwin's in modern times. But it has had them. And they belong to a class of minds that do not come in flocks. In all the ages there are but few of them. They come but one or two in a century perhaps, and whole centuries have passed without one.

In the world of action, too, we venture to say that there are as great men as there ever were,—as great minds, for instance, directing their energies to the control of States as at any former period of history; though here, too, the way in which the leadership is shown is happily different. Formerly, great rulers ruled mainly by physical force. They convinced by the strength of their armies more than by the strength of their logic. Might made their right. We are not wholly away from this period yet, but we are getting away from it. The greatest statesmen, to-day, are not the greatest soldiers, but the men of greatest brains practically applied to national administration and to international diplomacy. They have powerful armies at their beck, but the armies are chiefly used as a police force against each other to guard frontiers, and are not the builders of States. Empires to-day do not exist by the sharpest sword, but by the keenest sagacity. It was not the Emperor William nor the great commander Von Moltke, nor the fine army they had trained, that transformed the divided and jealous German States into an empire: it was Bismarck. His brains have been the power behind throne and army. Nor was it Victor Emanuel, brave as he was, nor the old hero Garibaldi, romantic and valuable as was his aid, who made a united Italy: it was the far-seeing statesmanship of Cavour. No nation, no age, has ever had greater political rulers than these; nor than Gladstone, who is the real sovereign of England to-day. No king of England, in the times when kings were actual rulers, with hordes of soldiers to back their demands, ever had the power which is wielded by Gladstone. It is none the less his power, though he embodies it as chosen representative of the power of the people. Cabinet, Commons, Peers, and Queen follow his lead. Now, all these men, Gladstone, Bismarck, Cavour, have risen to their places, and kept them simply and solely through their superior intellectual strength. Not a soldier could they summon to seat them in the places of authority and leadership. They have been sovereigns by the divine right of ideas and the ability to impress their ideas upon others. They have become a necessity to thrones and kings and nations by the imperial majesty of their brains. It all had to be done by the skilful presentation of knowledge and thought; by the force of persuasion and logic; by convincing people's minds and consciences; by kindling enthusiasm in hearts and arousing imagination: in fine, by all the intellectual wit, and play of mind upon mind, and moral force, and insight into causes and consequences and into the ways of moving people both singly and in mass, which make the accomplished statesman. And, with such examples of statesmanship in our own day, let us not think either that the occasions for great statesmen are past or that the world produces them no longer.

We have been considering great men chiefly from an intellectual point of view. But, were we to look for moral greatness, we might make even a better showing for the productive capacity of the modern world. WM. J. POTTER.

HUMAN RELIGION.

Wherever we travel, we find that religious beliefs are as varying as the conditions of men, and that there is a correspondence in quality between the faith of the heart and the intelligence of the mind. Men's religious beliefs are elevated and rational in proportion to their enlightenment upon general topics. This fact has sometimes been interpreted as a proof that a man's religion determines his complete state, and that nations are high or low in the scale of civilization in accordance with the elevation of their needs. Observation, however, convinces one that religion is not the cause, but the effect, of the education of the mental faculties. The Bushman of South Africa comprehends all of God that his untutored mind is capable of receiving, while the educated modern philosopher soars into the transcendental theories that are incomprehensible to the ordinary intellects of civilized lands. The proof of this lies in the fact that the improvement of the intellect always precedes an advance in the religious creed among races of men, though the stimulus given to the mind by the statement of a nobler faith quickens the faculties, and sometimes makes both advances appear coincident. Polytheism, or idolatry, is abandoned for monotheism, or the worship of one God, when the savage learns enough of science to know that the sun is not a fiery dragon, and that all the forces of nature are not so many demons. If the higher religion is given him by authority before the facts of nature, upon which it is based, are made known, he soon degrades it to the level of his former creed. Thus, Roman Catholicism gains many followers in heathen lands simply by a change of idols and the superior sensuousness of its rites. The Chinaman worships the statue of the Virgin Mary instead of that of Joss or Buddha, and experiences no mental alteration, whereas the effort of Protestant Christianity to overthrow idolatry is based upon reason, and its progress is therefore toilsome and slow. That religious belief depends upon the intellect is evidenced by the different interpretations given to the same faith by its followers. The ignorant Persian worships fire as his God, and firmly believes it to be the supreme power. But an intelligent Parsee in Bombay once said to me, "Me no worship fire, me worship mighty God, but me worship him through fire." The ignorant Romanist is on a level with the idolater in his reverence for the objects adored in his faith, but the educated man knows they are only symbols of spiritual truths: each makes his religion to suit his capacity. The chicken-stealing member of the African Church of the Southern States has a conception of Christianity as widely different from that of the graduate from a theological seminary as is the range in the capacity of their brains and the difference in their culture. One of these devout negroes thus related his conversion to my brother, who was for a time his pastor. I will not attempt to imitate the negro dialect.

"I had been thinking a good deal about religion, and at last I had a dream one night. I thought I was on board of a ship, and a big monkey came and chased me all around the deck. I got into the rigging and climbed up the mast just as fast as I could go, but the monkey came after me; and, when I got away up to the top of the mast, he was just

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going to put his paw on me, when I fell off and tumbled away down to the deck. Then, I woke up, and found out that I'd got religion." His escape from the monkey gave him "joy and peace in believing."

A sailor, who was converted under my influence at sea, told me that, while in great distress on account of his sins, he turned into his bunk, and, falling asleep, dreamed that he had a pet animal in his arms. He was pursued by the devil; and, just as he was going to fall into his clutches, he tossed the animal to him, and made his escape. He awoke feeling happy, and at once told all the ship's company he had become a Christian. Another sailor, of more education, dreamed the end of the world had come and he was wading knee-deep in a fiery river: this so impressed him that he soon after "gave his heart to God," in order to secure his eternal safety. I recall the conversion of another person of superior attainments, who for some years had been repelled from embracing religion by the representation of God as a consuming fire. When led to realize that God loved her, she said, "Then, I will love him." She became a Christian. When asked for a statement of her belief, she wrote out the following: "God loves me, and therefore I love him. Loving us, he wishes our greatest and eternal happiness; therefore bids us keep his commandments. Because we love him, we try to keep his commandments and bring forth the fruits of the spirit, so that, becoming like him, we may be fitted to enjoy his company, which is heaven." She knew nothing of conviction of sin or atonement. Others "experience religion" by feeling guilty, dreading the wrath of God, and accepting Jesus as the Saviour, through faith in his blood shed for them. Thus, Christianity is a different religion to different believers in it. Each adapts it to his own bent of mind.

The Bible statement, "God made man in his own image," is therefore rightly reversed, and we say, "Man makes God in his own image," and it is true that "an honest God is the noblest work of man"; for, as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he, and the conception each forms of the Deity shows the highest capacity and aspiration of his own nature. Many will admit that religions owe their origin to the fears and hopes of men, if we except their own religion. All are of human invention except their own, which came direct from heaven. God spoke to Confucius, Zoroaster, Gautama, Moses, Paul, Mohammed, Swedenborg, and Joe Smith,—so the follower of each claims, but denies that he spoke to any of the others. Among the followers of Moses and Paul, called "Christians," a difference exists about the interpretation of these words of God, each claiming to be the custodian of the truth. The Roman Church, the Greek Church, the one hundred and sixty sects of Christians in the United States and one hundred and forty-six in England, each believes itself to have the mind of the Spirit, that Christ promised, should lead his followers into all truth. A leading light among the "Brethren" in England seriously told me that he never knew any one to study the Bible prayerfully without accepting his views as to the order and standing of the Church: others studied, but not prayerfully. Yet this good man had quarrelled with the other leaders of his sect, and set up a separate meeting of his own. Each believed he had the infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost and possessed a knowledge of *the truth*. But their bitter expressions of disapproval of each other's divinely received views almost brought their quarrels into the civil courts. When asked, "Why, if the Brethren have the real truth of God, do they not give the divine evidence of unity?" his answer was: "When Saul and Barnabas were set apart for the work of the ministry by the Holy Ghost, Satan at once proceeded to sow dissension between them. He doesn't trouble himself to annoy professors of false creeds; but as he saw Saul and Barnabas about to engage in spreading the true faith, and therefore attacked them, so he now sees the true Church of God in the Brethren, and uses every effort to disperse them. The fact that there is more dissension among the Brethren than among almost any of the sects of Christendom is only a proof that they hold the truth whose destruction Satan deems most vital to his cause." This came from no common man, but from one noted for his learning, skill, piety, and self-sacrifice. But no utterance has done more to convince me that his religion is from man, not from God. God is not the author of confusion. Men sincerely pray for the Spirit to lead them into the right view of the written word of God, and each gets a different result. Each is equally sure of his own sincerity and conscientious search, and denounces the views of all others as error. Who shall decide what is right? No one is fitted to be judge in his own cause. No Christian can be accepted as an infallible arbiter, when he tells us all religions are human conceptions except Christianity; and no member of a Christian sect is good enough authority for the assertion that his sect only reads the Bible aright. He is assuming the infallibility which he denounces the Pope and the Romish Church for claiming. The only fair tribunal, to which can be referred the claim of Christianity to be the one divinely revealed religion, is the great and increasing body of men, who, in all civilized lands, are devoting their lives to the study of the facts of nature and society and the critical research of the records of each in past ages. Christianity, as God's sole truth, must stand or fall by its accord with the facts which are scientifically established.

The records of nature have now been found to reveal an orderly and progressive system of the development of matter and mind into its present forms extending through vast ages, proving the Mosaic story of creation to be untrue, and placing it among the myths of earlier days of the human race, which are found to abound in the traditions or literature of all people. This orderly progress of nature reveals an unvarying method, which makes every effect the result of preceding natural causes; and the violations of its methods, called "miracles," are unsupported by sufficient evidence to warrant their belief. Every miracle of which circumstances have permitted a scientific examination has been disproved, and shown either to be a fraud or to be the result of a law of nature known or fairly supposed. The miracles of our days are now on the eve of solution by the discovery of the laws of psychology and animal magnetism, which many learned men believe will in time solve all that is not fraudulent in the phenomena of Spiritualism. Historical study shows the Bible wonders to be of the same character as those recorded in the religious books of all other nations; and literary criticism proves it to abound in errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions, showing it to be the word of man. The Christian scheme of theology must therefore take its place in the order of the development of human thought, and in time give place to the next system which the advancing mind of man evolves; that, in turn, to be improved upon as knowledge of nature and the control of her forces increases.

A study of the theories of evolution leads most people to accept them, and the only certain way in which one can maintain his belief in the religious faith he has adopted by the accident of birth is never to question it. One who attempts to submit his creed to rational tests, as he treats everything else in life, must either become an entire sceptic of the supernatural, or else fall into the arms of an authoritative Church and accept all its dogmas without question. The churchman who reasons for himself is lost to his religion. This is well illustrated by the careers of the Newman brothers, who, in the search for truth, have become, one a cardinal in the Romish Church, the other an ultra-rationalist.

While firmly believing that all religious ideas proceed from men's minds, and not from direct external revelations from God, we may recognize the law of evolution in the development of religious thought as the same which produces all variation and progress in nature. Religion as well as science is the result of the working of the infinite power which inspires matter. These, and all things, in this sense, are "of God." *All* religions are therefore "of God." "God" has developed erroneous ideas in science and false notions in religion; but they were steps in progress, and the infinite force is slowly evolving newer and truer conceptions from men's minds. Religion is as truly of human origin as astronomy and mechanics, and as truly divine as geology and meteorology. "God" has revealed religion as truly and in the same manner as he has revealed ship-building.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

REFORMATION FROM WITHIN.

Both from culture and original endowment, some men will always be in advance of others; and it is their mission to help on the rest, and raise the general average and standard. How shall they accomplish this? Shall they always separate themselves from all who have not attained their advanced position? Then, they would have to do it often in the course of a single life; and each succeeding individualistic life would have to follow in the same track, and there could be no cohesion or collective utterance and unity, nor any organized action. It is impossible for many men to think alike in much detail. Even where they assent to the same formula, it will be a really different formula to each,—the personal equation which operates everywhere, and always makes a large allowable diversity a necessary element in every large collective unity.

It is also unjust and injurious to the progressive force to be always obliged to leave the old established bodies; that is, to surrender all social and economic advantages to the inferior and decadent party, which it is supposed will grow beautifully less and fossilize, while yet it retains all the material heritage of the ages. It is still more injurious to the inferior part to be abandoned by the better part, its head of wisdom and knowledge. It is bereft of the power which should be its instructor and guide and its vital animation and stimulus.

Therefore, reformation should always be from within, as far as possible. Indeed, it must be so, and, in the main, has always been so. It is in and through the older bodies with which they have been connected that the advanced thinkers, who ultimately become leaders in new movements, were educated and developed, and of which they are the offspring; in regard to which, therefore, they have sacred rights and solemn obligations, and therefore, as long as they possibly can, they are bound to retain their old connections. I think there has always been too great a readiness to divide, partly from a mistaken conscience, and partly from a desire to be removed from organic contact and association with those whom they have outgrown, which may spring from a lack of self-conquest and self-discipline. Teachers should stay as long as they have freedom to speak accord-

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ing to their convictions, and so be faithful to themselves as well as to others. And I think this will generally now be somewhat largely allowed, as long as they do not deem it their duty to denounce and needlessly irritate others. I think this practical error was the sole or chief cause of the expulsion of Dr. Thomas, of Chicago, from the Methodist Episcopal Church. I doubt not there are not a few in that Church as honest as he, and holding substantially the same doctrines, and who preach them, too, without molestatio), because they do it charitably and wisely. Private members, especially, should retain their old connections, because they can do it without difficulty; and they form a leaven for the rest, and an incipient congregation for the support of a more intelligent ministry when it comes.

In short, honest, earnest men, who are in advance of their fellows, and who believe that they are working in the line and spirit of recognized precedent reformers of their day, should never go out till they are "thrust out," and they should not wantonly provoke this expulsion. This has been the course of the most eminent reformers,—of Jesus and his disciples relative to the Jewish Church, of Luther relative to the Papal Church, of Wesley relative to the Church of England. National reform has necessarily followed the same course. The progressives, if not too ultra and disintegrating, have a right to remain in the old homestead, enjoy its advantages, and improve its condition with the aid and comfort of all the old heirlooms of the past. The division of sects is good, only so far as it promotes freedom and independence. It is *honest minds* whose rights and duty we have been describing, and who therefore will not be false to themselves and faithless to their trust in order to retain a desirable birth, but will readily sacrifice anything to moral honor and intellectual freedom; and all are not to be stigmatized, therefore, as time-servers who are broader than certain formulæ to which they have subscribed. W. I. GILL.

COUNTERACTING INHERITED VICES.

Like many others, I heartily indorse Mr. Potter's editorial in *The Index*, in which he speaks of the possibility and of the duty of counteracting hereditary evils by the stronger influences of education and good surroundings, and the living forces of human care and fellowship.

The stress that has been laid upon the laws of heredity of late is very salutary in impressing upon us the solemn responsibility of our own lives, which affect not only ourselves and our contemporaries, but may work for good or evil to coming generations. But we may lay so much stress upon this law — beneficent and necessary, but often severe and seemingly cruel—as to make it appear like a relentless fate against which it is impossible to contend. Many a victim sinks into insanity, intemperance, consumption, or other fatal evils, because he and his friends believe that the inherited tendency to these diseases is too strong to be overcome. There is no hereditary tendency that may not be counteracted by individual vitality, aided by proper conditions.

There is a danger, also, in laying too much stress upon outside circumstances; for the strengthening of the individual will is even more important, and, to accomplish this, we must have the direct action of one human being on another, in connection with all the benefits of institutions or laws. This is seen even in medicine, where in many cases nothing but the will power of the physician or nurse is able to brace up the nerves of the patient so as to restore the power of independent action.

There is a class of persons in our city who especially need help of the kind which Mr. Potter suggests, and which I think must be given them mainly by individual friendliness and care. I allude to what are called "probationers," or those criminals who, having behaved well under the restraints of the prison, are allowed to go at large before the expiration of their sentence, but still kept under the surveillance of the police. Sometimes, young offenders are not sent to prison in the first instance, but are allowed thus to make one more trial of their powers to restrain themselves.

This seems to me a work peculiarly fitted for liberal and philanthropic minds. The sectarian missionary tries it in his own way; but he too often is antagonistic to the original religious training of the probationer, and arouses a feeling of opposition. The ethical enthusiast will care little to meddle with forms of worship, if he can arouse new feelings of self-respect, of love of truth and honesty, an ambition for excellence in a useful calling, and the desire to live in just and friendly relations with his fellow-beings.

These young men are generally the heirs to weakness, if not vice, and have had few helps to strength and goodness. The temptations of the saloon are ever open to them, and it is no wonder that a love of companionship and craving for amusement lead them to smoking, drinking, and gambling. There are several places in the city where comfort and pleasure may now be found without these baleful accompaniments; but a kindly voice is needed to invite the young wanderer thither, and sometimes a friendly hand gently to constrain him into the way of virtue rather than of vice. Sundays and holidays are times of especial temptation. The last Christmas day was marked by the drunkenness and rowdyism which characterized it in many places. One man thought himself quite justified in saying "he only got drunk on Christmas day." Of course, it was not true; for the man who drinks on holidays soon has a great many in his calendar, but it shows the feeling in regard to them. Would it not be a good way of keeping one's birthday, or any other cherished anniversary, to seek out one of these wandering sheep, and try, like a good shepherd, to keep it in the fold? E. D. C.

NIRVANA.

The Buddhist idea that, at death, all individual consciousness is lost, and each identity is merged into Nirvana, is well expressed in one stanza of Edwin Arnold's work, in Buddha's speech before the king. Speaking of one dying, he says:—

"He goes
Unto Nirvana. He is one with Life,
Yet lives not. He is blest, ceasing to be,
* * * * * * * * *
The dew-drop slips into the shining sea."

This view of the state after death seems, in one way, to have its prototype in this life. The human family is a chain composed of many links, each one distinct in itself, yet, after all, so closely connected and intermingled that no one link is entirely independent of and complete without the others. Each human being is possessed of tendencies to good and evil, dependent in their development on many circumstances, and none seeming to be endowed with the former to the total exclusion of the latter, and few, if any, with the latter to the total exclusion of the former. With one set of virtues, we see certain accompanying defects; and just as certainly as we find other defects do we find other virtues. In this respect, how different are the characters in real life to the ones in the old romances, where all the lovers were compounded of bad qualities, until the real hero came upon the scene, endowed with every virtue, so that the heroine had no difficulty in recognizing her true mate, and could by no possibility make a mistake such as Isabel made in the modern *Portrait of a Lady*. Each individual character seems to possess certain possibilities and certain limitations, so that no one is able to acquire all there is of good. We glow with enthusiasm when we read of Raleigh's brave and manly character, and feel in each line of his "Soul's Errand" how he detected what was false, and saw below the surface of things, and dared to speak his thoughts in manly words. But do we not all love the gentle and scholarly Sir Philip Sidney, who crowned his life with one transcendent act of unselfishness?

Not only do we find goodness and beauty in divers forms and shapes, but in the very family itself we see links joined together, yet far apart. The very child of our affection may have inherited physique from some long deceased ancestor on one side, and mental traits from one equally removed on the other, so that in truth he may be but a link in the chain, with little physical or mental nearness to either parent, and influenced only by their training and companionship. The great Lincoln, noblest figure in American history by natural powers and what he made himself, had only the slightest resemblance to his immediate ancestry. George Eliot, in describing the winning beauty of Hetty Sorrel, shows that she possessed a character totally at variance with it. So that it might seem that the "good diffused" appears now here, now there, now in this form, and anon in that, perhaps, as the Buddhists affirm, to be in the end absorbed in the All-Good.

Yet, as opposed to this idea, how truly isolated, too, is each human soul! No man knows the heights and depths of another's nature. None can penetrate into the most sacred precincts of another's being, its hopes and fears and longings, its sources of strength and weakness. And what thoughtful soul is there who has not his innermost "holy of holies," where few, or none, can enter? This divine spark in each, if given its noblest development, may seem, and often does, too individual, too complete, too beautiful, too nearly perfect, to be lost by absorption, even in Nirvana; nor is the idea a pleasing one. Far better is George Eliot's Nirvana,—a Nirvana of this life, a life wrought up to its highest and best achievements, enriching others with its blessed influence, and winning immortality in their undying remembrance.

"This is life to come.
May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony:
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible,
Whose music is the gladness of the world."

A. O. C.

A WRITER in *Macmillan's Magazine* referring to the great efforts which have been made in England to suppress drunkenness, says that last year temperance reformers in large numbers traversed the country, whole armies of teetotallers were formed, thousands of people signed the pledge, and numerous organizations were formed to promote the movement. Yet the results are far from encouraging. The number of persons charged with drunkenness in 1881 exceeded by 1,622 the number thus charged in 1880, the former being 174,481, the latter 172,859. There was also a proportionate increase in the consumption of liquors. Many years of education—education that appeals to reason to subdue inherited and acquired appetite for strong drink, and that develops firmness and strength of character—will be required to overcome the terrible evils of intemperance.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

WE are sending out bills this week to all our subscribers who are in arrears; and we will thank those who receive them to send to this office, at once, the amounts due on their subscriptions.

A CHICAGO paper says that Henry Ward Beecher "opposes enforced prohibition, because it contravenes personal liberty," and adds, "Beecher requires more liberty than any other clergyman we know of, and, if he ever succeeds in getting into heaven,—a rather hypothetical case,—he would want the privilege of digging out and going to the other place."

J. W. BOUTON, publisher, New York, has just issued a book which will doubtless attract a good deal of attention, *Bible Myths and their Parallels in other Religions*. The author chooses to be anonymous, but the name of the publisher is a good guarantee of the merit of the work. It will be noticed in due course in our book-review department. Meantime, see advertisement on last page.

THE excellent address by John Fiske, at the Herbert Spencer banquet in New York, on "Evolution and Religion,"—which has been called the gem of all the brilliant addresses on that brilliant occasion,—has been reprinted by the Free Religious Association in a neat tract form, and is for sale at this office. Five cents for single copy, or six cents, if sent by mail; ten copies for thirty-five cents.

A SWEDISH translation of Samuel Longfellow's "Unity and Universality of the Religious Ideas," originally delivered before the Free Religious Association, and published in their volume called *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*, has been made by Victor Pfeiff, under the title of *De Religiösa Idéernas Likformighet och Allmänlighet*, and printed in a handsome little pamphlet by Karl Gustafson, Stockholm, 1882.

IN Ohio, in this enlightened age, it is unsafe to remain unenlightened. The interest of teachers in education in that great State is unprecedented, if we may judge from the despatch that a schoolteacher lately killed one pupil and seriously cut another, because they refused to study grammar. That teacher is evidently a "stalwart," who believes in heroic treatment to prevent the murder of the English language by the next generation.

REV. REUBEN JEFFERY, an eloquent Baptist clergyman of Denver, had been invited by Rev. Martin Hart, a Dean of the Episcopal cathedral of that city, to occupy the cathedral pulpit on Thanksgiving day. Announcements had been given through the press, and a large congregation had gathered to listen to him. But, just before the hour for service, two Episcopal clergymen of Denver served a notice on Dean Hart, that, if he allowed Dr. Jeffery to preach in the cathedral, they should proceed against him ecclesiastically. In consequence, the services for that day were held in another less conservative church.

THE *Presbyterian* gives the following testimony from an orthodox source to the possibility of pure and holy living apart from any religious belief, and with no higher foundation than morality: "A Methodist Doctor of Divinity gives this opinion through a Southern religious paper: 'I have known hundreds of men and women, who made no pretensions to holiness, who had experienced no "second blessing," who had found no "new light," who sought no "higher life," who, in fact, were just as pure, true, and holy in life and conversation as the best so-called "holiness people" I ever saw, and not half so troublesome in the Church.'"

THE *Catholic Review* says: "She [the Catholic Church] teaches that angels, innumerable as motes in the rays of the sun, are watching round us; and that, as the rivals of these, appear the ministers of Satan; and that a perpetual struggle goes on between these for the erring souls of men; and that dim intimations of this strife are passingly borne in on us. And, the Church being denied in her teaching, the Protestant puts aside the help of the good angels, and at the same time her strong and majestic forms for the defeat of the bad. As a consequence, he falls under the influence of diabolical agencies, whether as exhibited in elementary shape in little signs and fortune-telling, or in the more refined and cunning developments of mesmerism and spiritism,—those abortions of Cagliostroical art."

Religious persecution, which has been fostered especially by the Catholic Church, is undeniably one of the greatest foes to intellectual advancement as well as to the general happiness of man. The best men usually are its victims. "Who can pretend to say," says Darwin, "why the Spanish nation, so dominant at one time, has been distanced in the race. The awakening of the nations of Europe from the Dark Ages is a still more perplexing problem. At this early period, as Mr. Galton has remarked, almost all the men of gentle nature, those given to meditation or culture of the mind, had no refuge except in the bosom of the Church, which demanded celibacy; and this could hardly have failed to have a deteriorating influence on each successive generation. During this same period, the Holy Inquisition selected with extreme care the freest and boldest men in order to burn and imprison them. In Spain alone, some of the best men, those who doubted and questioned—and without doubting and questioning there can be no progress—were eliminated during three centuries at the rate of a thousand a year." (*Descent of Man*, vol. i., pp. 171, 172.)

THE following is Rev. Robert Collyer's ideal of Sunday-keeping, as given by a newspaper reporter: "The law should give every man the right to such a day of rest, and leave the question of wages to be settled between the employers and the employed. We wanted for our worship simply quietness. He pleaded for recreation. He would open all the libraries and museums on the Sabbath. He would say to the boys: 'If you want to take a swim in the river on Sunday, here are the free baths. If you want to play ball or go to Sunday-school, do so.' He would open the music halls on Sunday. Clean music never hurt anybody, and there was no unclean music. It was only when wedded to unclean words that music did harm. He would have lectures on Sunday, that the masses might learn from science. Sunday in itself, Mr. Collyer declared, was no better than Saturday or Monday. He had no right to interfere with others who did not observe it as he did, as long as they did not interfere with him. He had no more right to prevent one from going to the theatre on the Sabbath than the theatre-goer had to prevent him from going to church. We must not allow ourselves to be put in such bondage as the Sunday law."

MR. JAMES MACALISTER, superintendent of the Milwaukee schools, in an admirable address before the Wisconsin Humane Society, said: "All the great leaders and thinkers in the philosophy of education have proclaimed the supremacy of reason and love in the moral training of children. Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbert Spencer, have all insisted that physical force can never make a true man or woman out of a boy or girl. But all of these great reformers have published this truth to an unbelieving world. Not that I would intimate that there has been no progress in this respect in educational methods. Every one of you can testify to the diminution in the kind and quantity of corporal punishment in schools which has taken place within your own experience. But the teacher has a most difficult task to perform. He is charged with the training of children who have never known any kind of discipline but the rod or something worse, and he is surrounded by a public which has not yet become accustomed to judge of the schoolmaster's modes of discipline by ethical standards. The barbarism which still exists in society invades the school-room, and paralyzes the efforts of the progressive teacher who seeks to govern his pupils by love. For myself, I have no hesitation in saying that brute force has no right in any school-room. I do not think that corporal punishment is the proper way to enforce moral duties upon any child. What I want to call attention to is the difficulty of governing a school on moral principles, while the public sentiment lags so far behind in the duties which it is the business of this society to enforce."

THE *Religio-Philosophical Journal* received a notice in the Chicago *Daily Times* for New Year's day, from which the following is an extract: "Mr. Bundy, in his annual address to the news trade and the public, makes a very lucid statement of the editorial relations of the *Journal* to church dogma, to modern philosophical topics, and to the science and phenomena of Spiritualism, the treatment of those subjects being strictly and in all instances from a rational, scientific, and non-sectarian standpoint, the names attached to the address, with varied expressions of co-operation and fellowship, being those of H. W. Thomas, D.D., Hon. W. K. McAllister, B. F. Underwood, Samuel Watson, D.D., and others, the expression of Rev. Robert Collyer being characteristic: 'Good for you! Never man in your ranks did half so well. Brave it is and right.' It is but fair to say the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* is now not only recognized as standard authority—the highest living and contemporary authority—in the philosophy and phenomena of Spiritualism, by the rational and conservative Spiritualists of the United States and of England, but is held in the thinking circles of the world as the sanest, broadest, ablest, strongest of all the journals published in the interest of philosophic truth, the tone of the spiritualistic press of England indicating the practical conversion of the faith in that country to the doctrine so long maintained with almost austere conservatism by the *Journal* that scientific proof is the only proper attestation of spiritualistic phenomena."

IN a report of a lecture on the origin of species, by Mr. E. C. Towne, occurs the following:—

> Thus, if a living creature without the sense of sight were thrown from its natural habitat of darkness into light, nature would begin at once the process of organizing an eye or eyes. But the process would not take effect upon the individual which had thus become subject to a change of environment, but upon the embryo or the germ of the succeeding generation. Nor would the effect be produced in one generation, but the individuals of each generation would manifest an advance upon the preceding generation in respect to the development of organs of sight. It might take seven generations to reach the result; but there is no need of supposing millions of generations, as Mr. Darwin does, to bring it about. The principle thus illustrated applies equally well to any differentiations which result in new species.

It is not probable that in a creature of any considerable complexity of structure, devoid of the sense of sight, "thrown from its natural habitat," "would begin at once the process of organizing an eye or eyes." The adjustments of the parts and the functions of the animal having become coordinated, such a change as would be involved in

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the formation of eyes and the development of a new sense would be extremely improbable. Such a creature "thrown from its natural habitat" would be more likely to become extinct than to acquire the sense of sight. But such a process, should it occur at all, would have to commence in the individual before the embryo could be affected. The statement that such a change might be effected in "seven generations" is certainly a very rash statement. Such criticisms of Darwin's views as these will carry no weight whatever among scientific men or those who are familiar with the works of Darwin.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

THE MARVEL OF LIFE.

(Carlyle freely versified.)

I.

Brother, who deem'st thy life but commonplace,
An iteration dull of days on days,
Uplift for once thine earthward bending gaze.
Behold the eternal Deep above thee gleaming
With Night's sidereal fires all silent-beaming;
Orion, Pleiades, in revolution grand,
Hurled forth from God's own hand.

II.

See wonderfullest earth around, below,
Where winter's storms and summer's spice-airs blow.
Behold, thou standest in the lapse sublime
Of limitless, eternal Time,
In endless vista evermore
Behind thee stretching, and before.

III.

Encircles thee, on every side
Of Force, the never-resting tide
Mysterious, thousandfold,
Upon whose shoreless current rolled,
Thyself, thine earth-like bubbles, seem
The rushing foam-flakes of a swollen stream.

IV.

Up from its depths, like night-mists from a river,
Arising, vanishing forever
In endless interplay of life and death,
A many-hued, phantasmagorial show,
Where generations come and go,
Some just inhaling, some surrendering vital breath,
Forever fluctuates Being's restless dream,
Real, though shadowlike, its pageants seem.

V.

In Time's wild-roaring loom
Fly to and fro the shuttles swift of doom,
Weaving the mystic web of human life,—
Texture of dark and bright, of woe and strife,
Rustles the woof, as if in storm-wind dread,
All spirit-wove, of many-glancing thread.

VI.

With many a sylvan century hoar,
The oak-tree falls with far-heard roar;
Meantime, another oak has sprung
Airward from bursting acorn young.

VII.

Arriving hither from the dread Unknown,
New men to virile stature quick have grown,
To strength of sinew, passionate fire;
While other men o'erweighed with years expire,
Sink motionless to ashes cold,
Waving the mute farewells,—no more
Thine eyes their long familiar forms behold,
In vain to find them parting-spot explore.

VIII.

Across life's stage, the generations pour,
Stormful with torrent-like uproar;
Forever swallowed is the eager press
In silence and forgetfulness,
But, still uprising in the rear,
Fresh generations evermore appear,
Buoyant and strong with youthful breath,
The foremost crowding over the verge of death.

IX.

And thou, O Brother, o'er the gulf of doom
Hangest—like dewdrop morning's rays illume—
Hangest but with an evanescent gleam,
Soon to be quenched in dull oblivion's stream.

—*B. W. Ball, in Boston Herald.*

The Index.

BOSTON, JAN. 11, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

CONFLICTS OF PHILOSOPHY.

A Lecture delivered before the Philosophical Society of Chicago, Oct. 14, 1882.

BY VAN BUREN DENSLOW, LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Part I.—Relation of Philosophy to Other Modes of Thought.

Philosophy may be regarded either as a mental process or as the historical and perfected result of that process. In the latter sense, it is the goal toward which the highest class of minds ever reach out in vain. In the former sense, philosophy is one of the passions,—to wit, the passion for knowing things by their kinds, for classifying them so as to draw principles of unity from heterogeneous facts. As such passion, it pervades the simplest human minds, and probably has germs in the intelligence of the higher animals and of the more developed insects. It is the faculty of separating the like from the unlike, for all reasoning begins by inferring from analogy. This looks like that: therefore, in some sort of sense, it must be that.

Philosophy in its Germ.

When the Greek painter painted a twig so that a bird tried to alight on it, he assumed that the bird reasoned from analogy, thus: "All other objects which I have seen which looked like that were twigs upon which I could alight: therefore, this is." So, according to a bird's experience, everything that he can see through he can fly through. Hence, if you let him out in a room with glass windows, he flies directly against the panes three or four times only. By that time, perhaps in half an hour, he learns fully that that is a new object which he can see through, but cannot fly through. You may then take him into any number of new rooms, but he will not again during his whole life fly at the windows unaware of the glass. His flying against them the first time, therefore, was not due to defect of sight, but to the fact that he had not learned to philosophize or reason about window-panes. But now, without any change in his sight, he says mentally: "I flew against a glass pane once, thinking that, because I could see through it, I could fly through it, and it knocked me down. Here is a new glass pane which I have never tried at all, and I will not; for I know it will knock me down like the other." This is reasoning from analogy, or from observation and experiment. It is the beginning of science. The mental conclusion at which the bird has arrived, as the result of his observation and experiment, is that all window glass can be seen through, but not flown through. This is a generalization. It is a grouping of many facts under one law. A bird will learn more quickly the nature of a window than of a mirror, because it is easier for him to think of looking through a hard substance at something really beyond it than to think of looking into it to see the reflection of that which is in front of it. This is true also of a savage or a child.

Among the Birds.

When the oriole observes that she is not the only weaver in nature, but that around human habitations she can pick up bits of cloth, netting, lace, thread, or invisible hair-nets, as fine and strong as any she can weave out of grass or hair, that discovery is in its character science; *i.e.*, an extension of knowledge by means of observation,—not human science, but bird science. When the oriole uses these bits of netting of human manufacture as substitutes for her own weaving, she performs a labor-saving experiment; and when she generalizes by saying, All man-wove fibres are just as good for nest-building as bird-wove fibres, testing them in her own way to avoid getting rotten materials, that is a philosophic theory. And, when she acquires a habit of locating near human habitations in order to get these aids more easily, that is practical philosophy, or science applied to use.

Among the Insects.

It has long been known that, while certain species of ants keep some animals for their milk and others for their honey and others as servants for their work and others as pets for their beauty and others to fight, one species maintains and feeds with great care, and even guards so that he could not get away, an ugly black beetle, which neither yields milk, honey, beauty, work, nor military services. Lubbock thought these beetles might perhaps be gods whom the ants worshipped religiously, or, at least, if not gods, they were clergymen, the difference between the two not being essential. Probably, however, the ant perceives that every larger animal starts back and exhibits fright at this odious beetle. If so, the ant keeps him as a sort of devil, on the philosophic theory that there are people who need a devil to frighten them.

Both science and philosophy as processes begin in animals. Possibly also superstition, or the tendency to conceive of some phenomena as natural and others as supernatural, begins in animals; but this I will not discuss.

From Sensation to "Spirit" Inferences.

The savage bares his heated brows to the cool breeze, as the lion does. This is mere sensation. Then, he infers that the same something which fans his brows, waves in the grass, rustles in and bends the trees, ripples the water into waves. This is induction, or drawing in under one head of new phenomena. It is the detection of one force in many phenomena. It is philosophy. Then, he discovers that his wife, or companion, can, by waving a palm-leaf before him, produce the breeze in miniature. If a person produces the little breeze with a fan, who or what produces the great breeze, the gust, or ghost, that comes no one knows whence and goes no one knows whither? In all languages, the words which signify an invisible person or spirit, when reduced to their root idea, become either breath or wind, shadow or shade, or dream. Spirit itself, in English, means "a breathing"; ghost, "a wind." In poetry, the word "shade" reveals its root idea, as also does the word "vision." When the savage thinks, therefore, "Who is it that fans me, but does not appear to me?" he thinks of an invisible person, and says, "A breath, a spirit, a ghost."

Nature and the Supernatural.

At this early point in the development of reason, men divide into Spiritualists and Materialists, the former asserting, "I have seen, felt, heard, or interviewed this invisible spirit of air," the latter saying, "We have seen nothing, and we do not believe that you have."

Then, the human mind diverges, and flows in unlike channels. There are those who see, or think they see, a spirit at every turn, literally. There are the poets who, to please the imagination, coin fanciful pictures of the spirits that rule the streams, woods, caves, and seas, but do not believe in the verity of these coinages. There are philosophers who believe that the over-brooding presence of all-pervading spirit is neo-

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essary to explain the phenomena of matter, and there arise others who conceive that the diversified phenomena of matter have been mistaken for immaterial existences. The former assign to all suppositions of spirit existence a material origin. The latter assign to all the movements of matter a spiritual origin. The former "bank" upon time, space, matter, force, motion, and phenomena as tangible, and discard metaphysics. The latter "bank" upon consciousness, thought, mind, individual and universal, as real, and distrust physics, in its æsthetic and philosophic influence, if not in its essential verity. The former believe therefore in man, and that man has constructed all spirits and all the gods. The latter believe in a God or gods, and that this or these have created nature and man. This is the first great conflict in philosophy. Does matter give rise to thought, or is soul anterior to and independent of matter? Does man create all his gods, or does one God create all men?

An Exotic Industry.

I think every theologian and spiritualist will admit that the god-making and spirit-making business has always been a thriving industry in foreign countries. Of course, none of it has ever been done among us. The faculty of God-making, which is so prolific an art, when it turns out a Jove (Yov) who overthrows Saturn, has nothing whatever to do with the actual fact of history that Jehovah (Yovah) overthrew Satan. The former legend may have dwelt for centuries among the Ionian, Pelasgian, and other ante-Greek races that lined the Mediterranean, so that it would only have to travel fifty miles over the Judean hills to reach the early Jews in time for that revelation of which we are the inheritors. There may be an essential identity of names and of incidents between the false religion which the Greeks had to impart and the basis of the divine revelation which the Jews received. This identity assumes clearer shape when we become satisfied, with Goldziher and Steinthal, that all of alleged Jewish history from Adam to Saul is myth and romance. Yet, in spite of these evidences that the monotheism of the Jews was but an offshoot from the polytheism of the Greeks, there is room for

The Hegelian Theory:

That the absolute, all-pervading spirit had been struggling to express himself through the Greek mind, but, failing to do so perfectly, told the Greeks certain fictions about Jove having conquered Saturn, etc.; but, when this all-pervading spirit, ever struggling to express its inner self to mankind, got across the hills of Judea among the Jews, he struggled out of that mere ability to compose fictions which he had been practising on the Greeks, and managed to get off to the Jews the exact truth of the whole business. There is room, I say, in philosophy for this theory of theism, which is the essence of Hegel's theories of art and of history, that the Absolute One struggled quite in vain among the Hindus, Chinese, Egyptians, pagans of all sorts and Greeks, to express himself, to tell the truth concerning his own nature, but kept weaving Munchausen stories, but yet approximating more and more nearly to the ability to say something true, until he struck Judea; and there, perhaps from being better acquainted with the Jewish language than with any other, he got his story straight, and told it in accordance with the facts. The chief drawback to this theory is that it makes the Absolute One responsible for all false religions as well as true, and the author of all the lies of every kind that were ever told for any religious purpose.

A Struggling Absolute.

Moreover, if the Absolute struggled for the mastery over matter so long and triumphed so imperfectly as Hegel represents him to have done in Hindu art and theology, in Egyptian *ditto* and in Greek *ditto*, what assurance can mere philosophy, apart from dogma, afford us that the Absolute did not continue his uneven struggle to express himself with like ill success to the Jews and Christians, and was not able to tell anything true to them, but that the final triumph of the Absolute to express himself to and in man began with the actual Copernicus instead of with the hypothetical Moses, and continued through Galileo, Kepler, Newton, Harvey, Priestley, and the other prophets of the scientific epoch? The root idea of Hegel therefore, that nature and history are simply the Absolute, or God, struggling to emancipate himself from and express himself through matter may as easily be employed to overthrow the Christian in behalf of the scientific dispensation as to overthrow the Pagan in behalf of the Christian. Moreover, any philosophy which pivots on an absolute and unconditioned One who is the energizing source of all action destroys the moral character of God, and hence strikes down all theology in pantheism by making this Absolute One the source of all evil as well as good. Hence, no system of theology which divides the universe and assigns only part of its phenomena to Deity, as every such system must in order to save a moral character to its Deity, can be predicated even on a philosophy which pivots on soul or spirit as being anterior to or the originator of matter. Any such system of theology must rest on dogma, which in turn must be either intuition, inspiration, or imposition, as each mind is able to decide for itself.

Evolution of Deity as an Idea.

When the spirit or theistic idea is traced upon mere historic evidence, it unfolds somewhat as follows. So long as the savage thinks of the wind as a force proceeding from an unseen spirit who fans him, and is conscious that in so thinking his own imagination is the creator of the spirit, and he does not believe in the actual existence of the spirit, that is myth or poetry.

It is the effort of the human mind to think of the forces of nature as persons. When he pictures this fairy goddess or spirit in a drawing, painting, sculpture, or verse, this is fine art. When he or his posterity cease to regard this fairy or demon as a creature of human fancy, but come to believe in it as a veritable person, this is religion. If he calls it by the same name and describes it as you do, it is true religion. If he describes or names it differently from you, it is idolatry to you, while your religion is idolatry to him. If he proceeds to evoke the aid of the unseen person to produce the wind when it is wanted, that is worship. If he slaughters a sheep or kid to induce the spirit to produce the wind, that is sacrifice. If he establishes a contemplative class of men who eat the sheep and commune with the spirit so as to make a profession and business of procuring the wind when wanted, that is an organized priesthood. If, after the priest has eaten the sheep, the spirit is pleased and sends the wind, that is atonement. If many deities are assumed, one for the earth, another for the air, another for the sea, the wind, the sun, rain, etc., this is polytheism. If a particular race selects one of these deities, as the Jews selected Yov of the Phœnicians and El of the Chaldees, and consolidated them into one person, this is monotheism. If the priests of this monotheistic God, as recorded in the twenty-second chapter of II. Kings, while repairing the temple and counting the silver, accidentally stumble upon a book which none of the other priests of the nation have ever seen or heard of, called the "Book of the Law of the Lord according to Moses," this is a revelation from God. If all the priests who would contradict the statements in this book are killed off by order of King Josiah, the book will thenceforth become history, because it will be an uncontradicted narration of fact. If the "Book of the Law of the Lord according to Moses" does not dovetail in with the mere human histories of the Egyptians and other races, but treats Egypt and Ethiopia, Persia, and Babylon to events of which they never heard, then the human in history must yield to the divine. If it appears not to have been known to Daniel, Ezekiel, or any of the older Jewish prophets, what matters that, as long as it is known to us? It is in this way that the truth of history is manufactured, so as to make God its central figure.

The belief that by the diligent study of a book, whose truth was first verified by the slaughter of all the priests who were not concerned in its concoction, every one can arrive at an accurate standard of duty, is religious ethics. The belief that one is actually living according to such a standard is salvation. If there arise among the chosen people a prophet who, having in some manner become acquainted, probably through the mysteries of Eleusis, with the secret myth or story of Hades or Hell, and stripping it of that poetic and mythical character which prevented it from being harmful as taught to the Greeks, thunders it to the world as a pretended truth and a scourge of terror, this prophet, though utterly void of the least rudiments of learning or of any critical power of determining truth from falsehood, will henceforth be a God. This is the historical route by which we come to our Christ Jesus.

Theology coming out of the Egg.

To show how naturally the infantile mind shapes its own theologies out of the materials furnished it by a crude and imperfect science, let me recall an incident. Years ago, I sat reading by a warm winter's fire in a room in which the only other person was a little child of six years, who was looking out of the window upon the sparkling snow and up into the bluest of blue skies where white clouds were chasing each other across the azure. I was in deep study. So was she; and weaving her little fancies, as they formed, into those queer little jets of song-spray which adults, who write songs for children, seldom succeed in imitating. Some of her inspirations were quite too crystalline, dewy, and transcendental for my comprehension. One of them, however, came within my reach. Its tune I cannot give. Its words were,—

> "Where the sky is white, the snow comes down;
> Where the sky is blue, the rain comes down;
> When I come to die, to the clouds I'll go,
> And the reindeer will draw me over the snow."

Here were philosophy, poetry, and religion making themselves out of the materials furnished to the child by what she had observed and heard of nature, —*i.e.*, out of science. Looking up, I remarked,—

"How do you know all that?"

"I don't know it," she replied. "I make it up."

"You haven't but one verse," said I: "would you like to have me make up some other verses for you?" To my extreme wonder, she replied, with great simplicity, "You can't." "Why can't I?" "Because," said she, "you know, I can make things up, because I don't know how they are. But you can't make them up without telling a story, because you know how they really are."

Here, we see a child of six recognizing the fact that the moral right to compose religious myths ends as science advances.

The Fallacy of Theism.

Every religious myth, and indeed every religious assumption or dogma, is an attempt to explain nature in advance of knowledge by attributing its mysterious facts to a Person, when we do not and cannot observe any such person. For a Person that is a Universal Force cannot be the subject of observation. If you find a cabin in the woods, you know that a human hand has been there. But if the man who built the cabin could also have created the trees, the ground, the air, the sun, and the stars, then we could not detect his presence at all, because, being universal, we cannot distinguish that which he creates from that which was never created. Cabin or no cabin, tree or no tree, star or no star, it would have been so, if he made it; and equally so, if he made it not. Hence, a universal creation can leave no track of its creator.

The Generalizer and the Critic.

While philosophy brands as myths or mere hypotheses all explanations which involve agencies whose existence cannot be observed, it is equally at war with a science that does not seek to explain, to generalize, to find the One in the many. Its process, and I am not sure that it is not endless, consists of: first, observation, or the collection of facts; second, generalization, or hypothesis, the attempt to state the law or principle of these facts; third, criticism, or the statement by the specialist of additional facts not groupable within the law; and, fourth, the reconstruction by philosophy of its theory, to take in the additional facts. Copernicus evinced the genius of a generalizer, when he perceived that more of the phenomena of the heavens could be explained by placing the sun in the centre than by placing the earth in the centre. Tycho Brahe, the specialist, rejected Copernicus' generalization, but went on observing the moon's orbit with the vigor of a sleuth-hound, meanwhile keeping astronomy practical by predicting human destinies from the stars. Kepler, almost before observing at all, conceived that some law of harmony controlled the spheres. After seventeen years of fruitless generalization, he struck upon the three wonderful laws of stellar harmony associated with his name. Thus, the specialist and the generalizer antagonize, yet aid each other. The specialist, or critic, tears down only in part, in the name of a broader science, what the generalizer seeks to construct. But philosophy, like the coral reef, ever rises slowly from the ocean of error into a more fit abode for man.

(To be continued next week.)

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For *The Index*.

FUNERAL SERVICES

Of the late Samuel L. Hill, of Florence, Mass., in Cosmian Hall, Dec. 20, 1882.

The resident speaker, Wm. H. Spencer, opened the service with the reading of the following selections:—

"The memorial of virtue is immortal,
Because it is known with God and with men.
When it is present, mankind take example of it,
And when it is gone they desire it.
It weareth a crown, and triumpheth forever;
Having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards."

"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance;
Yea, blessed is the memory of the just!
Their bodies are buried in peace,
But their name liveth forevermore.
The people will tell of their wisdom,
And the congregation will show forth their praise."

The following verses from the song book used in the Sunday-school of the society, which were among the especial favorites of the deceased, were then sung by the choir:—

Dare and Do.

"Dare to think, though others frown;
Dare in words your thoughts express;
Dare to rise, though oft cast down;
And dare the wronged and scorned to bless.

"Dare from custom to depart;
Dare the priceless pearl possess;
Dare to wear it next your heart,
And dare, when others curse, to bless.

"Dare forsake what you deem wrong;
Dare to walk in wisdom's way;
Dare to give when gifts belong,
And dare Truth's precepts to obey.

"Do what conscience says is right;
Do what reason says is best;
Do with all your mind and might,
And do your duty and be blest."

Address of William H. Spencer.

A solemn stillness, as of Sabbath eve, has settled o'er our village. What does it mean? The water-wheels are still, the clang of the hammer is not heard. The shuttle is at rest this mid-week day. What does it mean? Through the streets, I see men and women and little children, from the east and the west, the north and the south, wending their way to this hall, as the pious Jews of old went up to Jerusalem. This vast concourse of people before me,—representatives of all our churches, the Catholic and Protestant sitting side by side, representatives of the various industries of our village,—what does it mean? It is no ordinary occasion that calls us together. Happy the village that is privileged to do honor to such a son! Priceless the memory that deserves and commands such a splendid tribute of respect and gratitude as the presence of this great congregation avouches. But six days ago, the word came flashing over the wires, "Father died at half-past seven to-night, passing away quietly." "Father died!" No, oh, no! such fathers never die. "Passing away!" Never, never was he so present in our midst as at this hour. See where he dwells! His hand, his hand of flesh, indeed, lies folded there in the coffin; but there is a hand that is invisible, and yet I can see it, stretching out, and running like a stratum of granite underneath almost every industry of this beautiful village. Such men never pass away, except in form. The spirit of their influence is immortal. Yea, the very name of our village rises up before me, and reminds me that it was his hand that baptized us "Florence" in the dewy morning of our prosperity. How much we as a village owe to this man! Can we ever forget it? But it is not to his sagacity, perseverance, courage, industry, deliberation, method, promptness, not to any, strictly speaking, *business* qualities he possessed, that we pay our homage to-day. It is not because he started a poor boy, and conquered his way to a worthy financial success, that we gather here to honor his dust. No! He might have possessed the faculty which sweeps millions into its grasp, and yet not a lip be opened in his praise. But here was a man whose heart matched his head; a man at the touch of whose right hand things turned into gold, and then at the touch of his left the gold was transformed into the most splendid charities. It is for this, the good deeds of the departed, that the hundreds of his fellow-townsmen pay him the tribute of their love and reverence.

Philanthropist!—a friend of man,—that is the word which best expresses the ruling spirit of this man. It was born with him, inherited with his Quaker blood. It was early manifest in his life.

Five-and-forty years ago, when the Great Apostle of Liberty in America, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, sat in his little attic in Boston, his heart all aflame with indignation at the wrongs of the slave,—crying, like John the Baptist in the wilderness, "Repent ye, repent ye! prepare ye the way of the Lord," and "Break the bonds of the oppressor, and let the oppressed go free!" and America turned a deaf ear to the prophet, and even the conscience of the Church was asleep,—there was one young man down in Connecticut, then a member of the Baptist Church, a beloved and honored deacon of the Church, whose ear was *not* deaf to Garrison's cry of, "Let my people go, let my people go!" His whole soul was stirred at the thought of the awful crime of slavery; and he appealed to his brethren to open the door of the sanctuary to the pioneer advocates of emancipation, and to take sides with the weak, the oppressed, the down-trodden. But they refused to do so. He then left the Church, never to return, resolved to belong to no church that had not room enough for "Christ and the slave too." And his spirit of philanthropy, after his exodus from Egypt, went with him, like a pillar of cloud by day and fire by night, leading him on in all his after life. The same spirit of brotherly love and sympathy which made him the friend of the enslaved black man made him the friend of the poor struggling and toil-burdened white man. It was largely this spirit which led him with others, forty years ago, to organize here what is commonly known as "The Community," but the corporate name of which was "The Northampton Association of Education and Industry." It was this spirit which led him continually to devise ways and means to help the laboring man to a home and an education, where temperance, economy, and love might gather around the cheery family hearth. Never have I met a man who gathered the poor and needy into the arms of a more generous sympathy! From the day that he first heard the cry of the Southern bondman for help to the day, last summer, when he sent up for my perusal a paper advocating a larger measure of industrial education in our public schools, the spirit of philanthropy has perpetually brooded over him, inspiring him with a sense of obligation to those less fortunate than himself, and making him to cry out, "What can I do to best serve my brother man!" Look at his princely benefactions in this village, standing here, silent but eloquent witnesses to this noble spirit within him.

He early saw man's need of salvation,—salvation from ignorance and vice; and he clearly saw that his savior from these must be *education*,—the education of the *whole man*, head and heart and hand. His faith in the redeeming power of education is shown by his works. I marvel at the fertility of conception and resource of this man. One would think it enough for one head to found the various material industries in our village; but to add to these his active labors in the cause of education,—is it any wonder that the flame of his life-lamp burnt rapidly down to the flickering point?*

When our public schools needed a superintendent, who was it that urged the establishing of the office? and, when the town was unwilling to vote an adequate compensation for such an officer, who was it that rejoiced for the opportunity to put his hands into his own pocket, and furnish half the salary? When an unwise and mischievous spirit of economy had cut down the school appropriations below the requirement, and necessity was about to close the door to the school-house, who was it that stepped in and kept it open at his own expense? Who was it, long ago, that started evening schools for the benefit of those who could not attend the day schools? Who was it, more than any other, that laid the foundations of our village library? The young men and maidens who flock, at the sound of the bell, into yonder school-house,—how many of them have ever so much as heard that, from foundation to turret, that structure was the gift to the town by this man? The little children who are gathered in by watchful care, and go riding in their bright new sleigh to the kindergarten every morning, as merry and happy as spring birds,—ah! little do they know of the generous hand that has fed them so bountifully! Nay, little did hundreds of our citizens know of the extent and munificence of this man's benefactions, until our industrious reporter lately recounted them in the press.* But who can enumerate his *private* charities! How many within the sound of my voice could tell me o the numberless places where he has bestowed his largesses with his right hand, and kept it forever a secret from his left? Were it not for his modesty, he might have said with Job of old:—

"I delivered the poor when they cried,
And the fatherless who had none to help him.
The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me,
And I caused the heart of the widow to sing for joy." . . .

That surely he did. And more than this he was. There is a philanthropy that is generous with stolen wealth. There are those who will rob with one hand and give with the other. In this man, it seems to me, generosity was wedded to justice, charity was in partnership with honesty. Again, like Job, he might truly have said: "Never shall my lips speak falsehood, nor my tongue utter deceit. . . . To my last breath will I assert my integrity." Integrity!—the adamantine virtue. A man who has this is rock-ribbed as the eternal hills, and cannot be moved one inch from his basic principles. Thus it was with this man. Think not, my friends, that I am indulging in fulsome eulogy. That were to wrong the dead as well as the living. I but let facts speak, and they are more eloquent than any tongue to him who knows them. He had faults, no doubt; but, be they what they may have been, this I know,—that he had most magnificent virtues. And let us celebrate them. Is earth so rich in such men that we can afford to let them slip out of our sight and memory, unhonored and unsung? Let our boys see how, out of poverty and obscurity, a man may rise on the ladder of industry, thrift, temperance, and perseverance,—a perseverance that knows no such thing as failure,—rise to the topmost round of the ladder of financial success. Let our business men see how kindness to their employés, *humanity to man*, should be written in the bond of the laboring man, and how contracts should be measured more and more by the Golden Rule. Let our men of wealth learn a lesson from such lives as this,—to use their means in the public service, nor to wait until it is too late. Let them realize that by and by there will come an hour when friends, with hushed footsteps and shadowed faces, are gathering around one whose hand lies stretched out powerless longer to give and bless, though it held millions. Then, oh, then, as the mists are silently settling down over the scenes of this world, I think nothing can make that pillow quite so soft and sweet as the precious remembrance that you have done what you could to better the condition of your brother man. Know

"That to be saved is only this,—
Salvation from our selfishness."

Pity the man whose memory is only perpetuated by a marble shaft! The remorseless "tooth of time" gnaws out the record. I see a future generation peering through the long grass in vain to decipher the half-effaced inscription. But a monument like this man's, built up in the hearts of a grateful people,—nothing can obliterate that. So long as the name of Florence shall live, the name of Samuel L. Hill shall live. The future historian shall tell of his noble deeds, and the generations to come shall rise up to call him blessed.

I rejoice that this man has lived, rejoice in the name of *man*. When I see such virtues as he illustrated springing up in the soil of our common humanity, my heart throbs with a higher hope for the human race. It assures us that this mother Nature of ours has royal blood in her veins, and that the little school-boy I meet may be one of the kings of men, and the little girl, one of the queens, to match him in the grand things they shall yet do for the world. I warn you, think not meanly of what you may be and do, young man and young woman. What man has done, man may do, and more! Look up, struggle up, and rest not till you have climbed to the zenith of your possibility. I rejoice, then, in the name of our common humanity, for the manliness that was lived out in this life. Again I rejoice,—rejoice in the name of our beautiful, enterprising, prosperous, and happy village. His benefactions have lent a lustre to the fair name of Florence. What we are is largely due to what he made us. Let us keep the

* Mr. Hill was one of the founders of the Florence Sewing Machine Co., of the Brush Factory, of the first mercantile house in the place, of the cotton manufactory, and may almost be regarded as the father of the Nonotuck silk business in Florence.

* His public benefactions in the village amount to about $100,000.

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name untarnished. Let us bequeath it to our children, freighted with still richer legacies.

Again, and lastly, I rejoice,—rejoice in the name of the Free Congregational Society of Florence. I feel that in a special sense he was ours. He was one of the founders of this free society. He ever continued its steadfast friend and one of its most liberal patrons. For years—I know not, indeed, but from the very beginning of its existence—the society honored itself by annually electing him its president; and he died in that harness. This great Cosmian Hall rests largely on his contribution of time and toil and money. That noble gospel of freedom, fellowship, character in religion, an excerpt from the original "articles of agreement" engraved on the marble tablet over the entrance to this hall, breathes the spirit of his faith. These words which he helped to pen, and which he cordially subscribed nearly twenty years ago, seem sacred now that he is gone: "Respecting in each other, and in all, the right of intellect and conscience to be free, and holding it to be the duty of every one to keep his mind and heart at all times open to receive the truth and follow *its guidance*, we set up no theological condition of membership, and neither demand nor expect uniformity of doctrinal belief, asking only unity of purpose to seek and accept the right and true, and an honest aim and effort to make these the rule of life. And, recognizing the brotherhood of the human race and the equality of human rights, we make no distinction as to the conditions and rights of membership in this society on account of sex or color or nationality."

It is superfluous to assure you that he never regretted leaving the Church in his early years, nor the founding of this society in his later. The last word which he ever wrote, that has appeared in print, was written in reply to a sermon published less than a year ago in one of our local papers,—a sermon which seemed to him to reflect upon the intelligence and virtue of the mechanic class,—shows where he stood up to the last. Permit me to quote a few lines from it. Says he: "While in the 'fold,' I know not but that I desired the welfare and salvation of my fellow-beings as sincerely as my brethren, though perhaps not so well manifested; and, since I came out, I have been conscious of an *increasing* interest in the same direction. And I now desire to bear testimony, in these last declining days of a long life, that I have ever experienced uninterrupted enjoyment in contemplating the course I have pursued since coming out of the 'fold' into a free and independent position, and whether in health or sickness *never for a moment have I regretted the change.*"

That such a faith as his is good to *live* by, let his life for the last forty years testify. That such a faith as his is good to *die* by, let these, almost his dying words, testify. He believed that he who serves humanity most serves his God best. If this goodly universe has not her Best in reserve for such as he hereafter, then she were unworthy of such sons; and that we dare not believe of her.

"When God made the earth, it shook to and fro till he put mountains on it to keep it firm. Then, the angels asked, 'O God, is there anything in thy creation stronger than these mountains?' and God replied, 'Iron is stronger than the mountains, for it breaks them.' 'And is there anything in thy creation stronger than iron?' 'Yes, fire is stronger than iron; for it melts it.' 'Is there anything stronger than fire?' 'Yes, water; for it quenches fire.' 'Is there anything stronger than water?' 'Yes, wind; for it puts water in motion.' 'O our sustainer, is there anything in thy creation stronger than wind?' 'Yes, a good man giving alms: if he give with his right hand and conceal it from his left, he overcomes all things. . . . A man's true wealth hereafter is the good he has done in this world to his fellow-men. When he dies, people will ask, What property has he left behind him? But the angels will ask, What good deeds hast thou sent before thee?'"

What will be, *must* be, his answer? If modesty should seal his lips, as I imagine it might, let them read the answer in the grateful heart of Florence to-day.

Address of Elizabeth Powell Bond.*

It is difficult to lay aside in a single hour the habit of long years. For years, one benefaction after another has fallen upon our village, not less silently than fall the sunshine and the dew; and it has been our habit to accept them in silence, lest an expression of gratitude should be an intrusion upon the utter self-forgetfulness of our benefactor.

In breaking this long-accustomed silence, my lips seek the purest, simplest words in which to bear testimony to the beneficence of this ripened life. To speak words of eulogy would be to "paint the lily, and to gild refined gold." The life has been lived before all our eyes: its fruits, by which we know it, are all about us, portraying, as no words can, the principles by which it has been governed, of steadfast purpose, of incorruptible integrity, of perfect unselfishness. As is known to you all, every important business interest of our village has been founded or fostered or assisted by his wealth or his energy or his wise counsel. But his interest ended not with the business prosperity of the community, indeed, it only began there, as a means of securing what he felt to be the highest end of life,—true education and its certain results in pure morality and in justice between man and man. How complete was the circle of his beneficent work! He wrought upon the surface of our village life, in that he founded industries, and assisted to the establishment of homesteads, and fostered the public schools, and generously sustained this society for free inquiry; but his wise beneficence reached its consummation when he touched the hidden springs of our future, in our little children. We love to remember it of Jesus, that he took the little children into his arms and blessed them. This benefactor took the little children into his fostering care,—not merely the favored children of comfortable homes and wise parents, but his provision reaches to the byways and hedges, and gathers in most tenderly the little ones whose lives are overshadowed by the ignorance or incompetence of their parents. With his customary prudence, he first opened his own parlors for experimental work in this direction; and, meeting with an encouraging response, he provided for the continuance of the work in the admirable kindergarten building on Pine Street. When the spacious, sunny rooms were ready for use, he caused a printed circular to be sent to the parents of young children, inviting all to avail themselves of the kindergarten privileges, with the payment at the end of each term of such a sum as each was able or disposed to give. No one knows what his neighbor gives, so each is left absolutely free to contribute in proportion to his means. It is according to the wish of the founder, as it is in harmony with the spirit of kindergarten training, that the conventional differences in society should not be regarded; and this charming assembly of little ones is truly a congregation of peers. Who can estimate the far-reaching results of this kindergarten work! It is true, it is not reasonable to expect that a part of each day spent in the kindergarten can uproot all the implanted evil tendencies of unhappy birth, or undo all the mischief of unwholesome home influence; but it is rational to expect that every child who shares its benefits will receive into his soul some seed of truthfulness and justice and honor. No monument of stone built to the memory of our friend could be so enduring as this beautiful work, no testimony of our gratitude can be so sincere or so acceptable as the faithful attendance upon the kindergarten of all the little children of our village.

One thought that has been borne in upon my mind most strongly is of the inspiration of this life to the young men of our community. The greater part of seventy years has been passed in hard work, in devotion to a fixed purpose of business success, in consecration to the philanthropic works that concern all the race,—the freedom of the slave, the elevation of woman, the check of intemperance, the promotion of freedom in religious thought.

In the light of such a life, how unworthy and insignificant seem the lesser aims of self-indulgence and self-aggrandizement that are the besetting temptations of our young men! In the light of such a career, what a privilege it seems to have been born into this world, to have a share in its hard work and its splendid victories, to have a fellowship with the souls whose strength and purity seem the imprint of a divine hand!

No fear of future punishment nor hope of future reward has had aught to do with the life whose lesson we ponder to-day. Sufficient unto this soul has been the steady prompting of the voice within, the serene faith that the universe is ordered in wisdom.

May the sweet sorrow of this vacant place in the beloved family circle be comforted by the memories of the past, by the tender reverence and deep gratitude of all our hearts toward him whose benefactions have touched each one of our lives.

It is not given us to demonstrate whether this triumphant life has passed into a dreamless and unending sleep, or whether new and greater victories wait for the soul set free from its limitations of flesh. For one, I believe that this human father who never mocked his children with delusive hopes, who loved the right, who served the truth, is the type and in the image of a heavenly Father, who hath clothed him with immortality, and hath called him to the unending service of truth and to the immortal joys of love.

After the address of Mrs. Bond, the following letter was read:—

Dear Friends,—Owing to a severe cold, I am unable to join in to-day's public manifestations of universal and profound grief at the death of that truly great and good man, Samuel L. Hill. The people of Florence need no words of eulogy for their devoted friend. They cannot walk the streets of their beautiful village without being everywhere reminded of Mr. Hill's beneficent deeds. An intimate acquaintance of forty years with this noble man has impressed me with the conviction that he was one of the most unselfish and generous of mankind. He delighted in doing good; and some of the institutions which he has endowed will be far reaching beyond our conceptions in their beneficent influences on the welfare of his fellow-men, who will have great occasion to rejoice that such a magnanimous soul was permitted to bless the earth with his presence, and give to the world assurance of a man. SETH HUNT.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., Dec. 20, 1882.

Address of Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer.*

We meet here to-day, one family, in a common love, a common grief, a common gratitude. Yet would we not forget that family within the family, that circle within the circle, the nearest beloved of him who has passed from sight. The son and daughters, the grandchildren, the kindred of nearer or more remote degree, the aged friends whose footsteps have so many years kept pace with his,—these mourn not alone the public benefactor, but the heart's dearest: to them, and for them, I humbly speak.

It were idle to make pretence that, because there are many things to give us sacred joy and gratitude to-day, therefore this loss is easy to bear. It is hard. Death is not less awful that it comes to all in turn, not less strange and terrible that it is inevitable. And, if we are spared the sharp pang that comes when an untimely frost destroys the young just entering upon life's duties, we mourn not the less to bid farewell to the aged and revered. For, the longer we keep our loved ones with us, the more dear and precious they become. And if we may cherish a noble pride in one whose voice is stilled, if we may feel that all who knew our beloved one grieve for a wise counsellor and a generous helper, not the less—nay, rather the more—must we feel the loss. For, by so much as he won the world's deep regard, he grew the dearer to those who knew him best. Yes, we must accept the grief as a burden heavy and hard to bear.

But, in the spirit of him whose memorial we speak to-day, we would bear that burden as a rich experience, to be consecrated to noble, and not to selfish, uses. There are many in sound of my voice who have reason to bless with gratitude the memory of him who has gone, for helpful deeds done silently, all record forbidden. Let these, and the little circle next the departed one, make their sorrow to-day, and in the future time, when they miss so sorely the loved presence, a holy place of service such as he gave.

In the city of London, in a spot long ago a centre of wealth and comfort, but for many years given over to the abodes of squalor and misery and sin, there was, until recently, a high-walled enclosure, a church-yard burial-place. The church, which once stood in its centre, had long since crumbled to the ground. The dust of all those whose memory lingered in the heart of any living being had been removed to other consecrated ground, and nature had long since mingled with her common earth all trace of those of forgotten generations whom no one claimed. For years, the once sacred place stood thus, useless, and deserted even by the dead. And then business, ever ready to take all space to itself, claimed the old burial-place. Let the relic of the past make way for the activity of the present, it cried. And many said, Yes, it shall be so. But, amid the clamor, one voice was heard, the voice of Benevolence, pleading that other living uses

*Mrs. Bond, sister of Aaron Powell and widow of the late Henry Bond, was formerly resident minister of the society.

*Substantially as spoken.

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than those of commerce and manufacture be given right in the old "God's acre." Throw down the walls! cried this voice, and let the children of poverty and sickness, the children who have never seen the clear shining of the sun or the beauty of tree or flower, come in and make this their play-ground. Let mothers who have nothing of joy to give their children bring them here to receive nature's gifts of air and freedom. Over the entrance to this walled spot was once written by the mysterious hand of death, "Sacred to the Memory of the Past." Let love now write there, "Sacred to the Good of the Present." And it was as Benevolence desired. And, now, the happy children play where once the dead were laid away with weeping; and there, where human love knew loss, they learn the lesson of its gifts and tenderness.

O friends, as the years go by, larger and larger space in our lives must be set apart in memory of the beloved dead. Few of us all, however young, but heap within our hearts some mound of grief. To one, it is the child that love could keep so little while; to another, it is the youth, just blossoming in life's rich promise, who left a desolate home; to another, it is the husband or wife who had grown a part of the very self, but is torn away to leave a bleeding heart; to another, it is the revered father or mother, dearest of all. To us all comes the wail of death, as universal as the cry of the new-born that ushers all into life's mystery. And the burial-places of our lives are besieged by selfishness. The trivial cares, the sordid labors of life, would have entrance even there, and drive out the memory of those that were once with us; or grief would hug its sorrow, and isolate the bereaved from all the world of loving helpfulness. But, dear friends, in his name whose life we celebrate to-day, I beg you, yield not these sacred places, consecrated by the presence of the dead, to the selfishness either of the material life that presses us so closely or the sorrow that cares not for the sorrows of others. When time has a little softened our grief and we have strength to conquer our weaker selves, let the still shut places where we buried precious hopes be opened again, but not to the common things of life. Once consecrated to the memory of the past, let them be now like the old burial-place in London consecrated to the good of the present,—peculiarly sacred still, not to us alone, but to the needy, the ignorant, the suffering of our kind.

Then let our tears for the dead water the plants of love and pity for the living. And in our hearts, so chastened and enriched, will spring also flowers of hope and trust in the future union with our loved and lost, I must believe. The immortality on this earth is assured beyond dispute by the endless sequence and consequence of acts. Each day's life is a link in the chain of influences whose beginning and end we do not see. But love begs always that the immortal deeds may not outlive the conscious doer. And I, too, as one before me has confessed,—I too, hold deeply in my heart the hope that love prophesies truly, and shall yet claim and know its own.

Let us, then, make our sorrows serve the world; and let us make our own lives so true and pure and helpful that we shall not shame the noble dead we mourn, but deserve an immortality with them.

The choir then sang three verses of Longfellow's "Psalm of Life." Mrs. Spencer dismissed the congregation with the following sentiment:—

May this hour of tender sorrow teach us as no other could do what are the real, the deathless things, in human life: the truth, whose only language is sincerity; the right, which, faithfully followed day by day, binds us to the Divine Good; the love, which, kindled at the hearth-fire of home, goes out to all the world to lose its life of selfish desire, to find a truer self in the better life of all! And may the peace of trust, which passeth understanding, be and abide with us all!

WE are a company of ignorant beings, feeling our way through mists and darkness, learning only by incessantly repeated blunders, obtaining a glimmering of truth by falling into every conceivable error, dimly discerning light enough for our daily needs, but hopelessly differing whenever we attempt to describe the ultimate origin or end of our paths; and yet, when one of us ventures to declare that we don't know the map of the universe as well as the map of our infinitesimal finish, he is hooted, reviled, perhaps told that he will be damned to all eternity for his faithlessness.—*Leslie Stephen.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

DID NOT JESUS TEACH ORTHODOXY?

Editors of The Index:—

The last *Christian Register*, in replying to Dr. Withrow of Park Street Church, asserts that "the evangelical belief"—the creed which that distinguished clergyman upholds—implies that "a vast majority of the human race are victims of eternal woe." The *Register* quotes the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions; an American missionary in China; Hunel, an orthodox preacher of great celebrity fifty years ago; Canon Farrar; Chrysostom; Cornelius à Lapide, Du Moulin, Professors of History at Oxford; St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory. And, if these eminent authorities may fairly represent the "evangelical belief," it makes good its assertion. But why beat about the bush in this way? Why not go at once to head-quarters, and settle the matter upon prime authority?

The very question was, in his lifetime, submitted to Jesus Christ, and he gave an explicit answer. "*Are there few that be saved?*" asked one of him; and he replied, "Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and *many there be which go in thereat:* because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life; and *few there be that find it.*"

After sixty years of controversy upon the point whether the Bible touches the liberal or the orthodox creed, a distinguished preacher and scholar of the former faith comes forward, and admits that it teaches the latter. Now we have arrived at the point of candor and are in the mood of making concessions, why not make all the concessions we shall ultimately be obliged to make? Why not say at once not only that the Bible is an orthodox book, but that Jesus was an orthodox teacher? Can any candid student of his recorded words doubt that he was? In what phraseology and on what occasion did he ever contradict this statement of a restricted and limited salvation?

The *Register* sneers at a well-known "hymn of Dr. Watts, still sung in Park Street Church to the *doleful* tune of *Windham*":—

"Broad is the road that leads to death,
And thousands walk together there;
But wisdom shows a narrow path
With here and there a traveller."

It was certainly a marvellous exhibition of the artistic skill of that sweet lyrist of evangelicism, that he could render in rhyme and rhythm the words of Jesus, with so little violence to their sense or form. "Windham," though in minor key, bears along a plaintive melody in its sad refrain. The dolefulness is rather in the subject than in the tune. What would you have? One would not sing a merry jig over the eternal damnation of the great majority of his race.

The only reason the *Register* gives for rejecting the doctrine supported by such weighty authority is that it is "abhorrent" to it. It finds the doctrine of damnation disagreeable. If God and the soul, and heaven and hell and eternal life, are creations of our imagination, it were certainly self-tormenting folly to imagine anything that would wound our sensibilities. Let us imagine a good-natured God, a blissful soul, a comfortable and enduring heaven, and eliminate hell and death from our thoughts. But, if all these are verities, we must take them as they are, not as we would prefer to have them. We are compelled to believe in many things (in a world whose ordering is just as much in the hands of God as any other domain of the universe) that are very abhorrent to us. Common and repeated as they are, we have never come to find them at all agreeable. Old age is abhorrent to us; so is death; so is the pain by which we make our entrance into and our exit from life; so is the ancient and modern cruelty, by which one order of sentient creatures perpetuates its own life a little while by the painful death of other orders; so are the savagery and suffering, by which our race has climbed from bestial conditions to human satisfactions, human sympathy, and human intelligence, whose attainment is the history of our civilization. If a man is to cancel from his belief every thing that is abhorrent to him, he would have to cancel the facts of his personal experience, and of the career of his race in the world.

The truth is that Unitarianism, sliding down from the airy heights of a docile faith, has stuck mid way upon a narrow ledge in the precipice of doubt,—a *Point No-Point*,—to which by tooth and nail it can cling no longer. It must be hoisted up to the grim heights of the naked and austere beliefs it has abandoned, or plunge fearlessly down, till its feet strike the *terra firma* of rationalism. In the evolution of creeds, part of the Liberal Church will timidly cry out to the orthodox, "*Give us a rope!*" but the bravest and the best will fearlessly sound the depths of thinking till they stand upon solid ground. T.

"WHAT CONSTITUTES AN AGNOSTIC?"

Editors of The Index:—

Meeting George Jacob Holyoake in the office of *The Index* on his first visit to Boston, and being introduced to him, in our conversation I put the question to him, "What constitutes an Agnostic?" He hesitated, and returned the question. My reply was, "One who neither affirms nor denies anything." Friend George replied, "That is the best answer I ever heard to that question." Hence, you can easily apprehend my surprise on seeing a ten-column article in *The Index* on "The Creeds of Agnosticism," Agnosticism being defined as that doctrine which, professing ignorance, neither asserts nor denies; in theology, the doctrine that the existence of a personal Deity can neither be asserted nor denied, proved nor disproved, opposed alike to dogmatic theism and dogmatic scepticism. To talk about the creed or creeds, in other words, the beliefs and disbeliefs of one, or of those who neither believe nor disbelieve, affirm nor deny anything, seems little short of the acme of absurdity.

LEANDER WETHERELL.

THE DEITY OF CHRIST.

Editors of The Index:—

"Is it not almost time," asks the *Christian Register*, "to leave off quoting Napoleon in proof of the Deity of Christ?" The philosopher Mendelssohn—forefather of Felix Mendelssohn, the eminent composer and the sincere friend of Lessing—was asked by a clergyman, "Great philosopher as you are, why are you not a Christian?" Mendelssohn answered, "The Jewish people give no credit to the son, if the father lives eternally." His meaning is plain, when it is remembered that in Germany the Jew money-lenders take care not to advance money to sons whose fathers live and hold the capital in hand.

A READER OF *The Index.*

JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS.

BOOK NOTICES.

OUR LIBERAL MOVEMENT IN THEOLOGY. A closing course of lectures given in the Harvard Divinity School. By Joseph Henry Allen. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price $1.25.

This book has been lying too long upon our table unnoticed, but it has not been unread. And the reading of it has caused us to wonder and regret even more than before that its author, who has been Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History in the Harvard Divinity School for several years, should not have been permanently appointed to the professorship in that department. The young man who has lately received the appointment may have a good equipment of book-learning for the office; but many years must pass over his head, we imagine, before he will be wise enough to write such lectures as these. They have not only the wisdom of book knowledge, but that which comes through experience and a well-trained judgment. It is not strange that the students who heard them should have asked Mr. Allen, as the "Prefatory Note" shows, to have put this, his closing work for them, into more permanent form.

The subjects of the lectures will attest their breadth of interest as well as the appropriateness of the general title given to them. They are: I. Antecedents; II. New England Unitarianism; III. Channing; IV. Fifteen Years of Controversy; V. Theodore Parker; VI. A Scientific Theology; VII. The Religion of Humanity; VIII. The Gospel of Liberalism. Each of the lectures has an interest peculiarly its own. The first five, which have chiefly to do with the Unitarian movement and its controversies, are not only excellent statements, calmly judicial in their tone and entirely free from the spirit of partisanship, but they receive additional value as well as a pleasant coloring and warmth from the vein of personal reminiscence that runs through them. But it is in the last three lectures, which treat the religious problems of the present hour, and treat them to the core, that the intellectual strength of the book especially appears.

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Mr. Allen is not only a calmly poised thinker, but he is a clear and thorough thinker. He does not ignore the hard parts of the modern religious problems nor try not to see any possible disagreeable alternatives that may present themselves. Whatever question thought may raise, even though it may imperil fondly cherished beliefs, he is ready to face it with thought, and does not try, as do some modern writers on kindred themes, to ward off or conceal the danger by extemporizing a barricade of rhetorical sentiment. Few writers, coming to the same topics from the religious side, have planted themselves more squarely and confidently on the ground of science. Speaking of the creeds of Protestantism, he says: "As I honestly think—though here I do not undertake to dogmatize—the ecclesiastical root out of which they all grow alike is withered, and will put forth no more new growth. At any rate, the order of thought with which we have most to do is absolutely detached from that root, and is growing in other soil. The intellectual foundation which we have to assume is laid not in theology, but in science." He faces the possibility that the two great convictions of past religious faith, belief in a divine Personality and belief in the immortality of the soul, may erelong pass into an eclipse, but, if this shall happen, considers that the experience will be a needed discipline for divesting those beliefs of unworthy and harmful forms of conception.

In the lecture on Scientific Theology, there is an interesting discussion on the use and meaning of the Christian name. He would himself retain the name simply because of the fact "that we are Christian by habit or inheritance, unless we deliberately choose to renounce that name in favor of some other." He would not, however, have the name asserted or retained any farther than it strictly represents the fact; but he thinks that, "on the side of associated religious action," it does represent the fact in the freest Christian organizations. Speaking for himself, he says: "As distinctly as I realize any fact in human history, I realize in acting with such an organization that the great Christian movement has not spent its force, but that in some very important departments of thought, still more in some of the most vital and practical spheres of motive and emotion, its current still bears me along." This, up to a certain point, is doubtless true. But we wish Mr. Allen had carried his illustration a little further,—to the point where those who have been borne along on the current of the Christian stream and those who have been borne along on the stream of some other religion meet on the broad sea of common beliefs and aims,—and then told us whether he would see any appropriateness or usefulness in their still retaining the names that designated their separate streams. Rivers, when they reach the ocean, drop their names as rivers. So, as it seems to us, must it be with the religions, when they have once escaped the channels of provincial and ethnic theologies and the separating barriers of mutually excluding claims to supernatural authority, and mingled their waters in the common ocean of natural human experience.

MR. ISAACS. A Tale of Modern India. By F. Marion Crawford. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price $1.00.

This work by a new American novelist is attracting considerable attention in literary circles from its being a new departure in the line of romance, treated in an able manner, and yet, save for its frequent touches of mysticism, being entirely possible and lifelike in detail. The three principal *dramatis personæ* are: first, the narrator, an American born and educated in Italy, a journalist by profession and a Catholic in religion; Mr. Isaacs, the hero, whose real name is Abdul-Hafiz-ben-Isák, a handsome, cultured diamond merchant, a Persian by birth, of the Mohammedan faith, and the husband of three wives; and the heroine, Miss Westonhaugh, a beautiful English girl and a Protestant. About these people, meeting temporarily in a fashionable health resort in the Himalayas, cluster all sorts of the queer but recognizable characters, developed by the religious and intellectual interregnum existing at the present time. These discuss in the pages of this volume many of the old beliefs, superstitions, and new isms to which such a state of things has given rise. It will be seen that with such a *mise en scène*, controlled by a thinker who possesses a vigorous, clear style, who has for a background all the wonders of the Orient, with a tiger-hunt and other romantic accessories brought vividly before the reader, the book cannot fail of being interesting. One fails, however, to grow so interested in the love story which forms the thread of all these philosophical dissertations as the narrator apparently does. Dressed up in whatever felicitous form of statement, there is something decidedly repulsive to our moral sense in the idea of a man with three wives coolly deciding to discard them all, because he has fallen in love with a pretty English girl who will not consent to make a fourth in his harem, and whom we feel sure, in spite of Mr. Crawford's predilections, would probably tire of his new passion in a short time, and go back to his former state of polygamous happiness. And it is this feeling of repugnance to the ideas of Mr. Isaacs which makes us rather glad, on the whole, of the rather sad *dénouement*. The writer seems to have been a close student, if not a partial believer, in the mysticisms of both East and West, and leaves us at the last in a state of bewilderment as to his real religious status.

MAGNHILD. By Björnstjerne Björnson. Translated from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price $1.00.

This volume, which, while adding another to the series of novels in which the Norwegian poet has depicted in his own unique style and with remarkable accuracy the various every-day aspects of home life in Norway, is viewed in another aspect,—as "a story with a moral," somewhat hazy in treatment and unfinished in plot. "It marks," says the translator, "a new epoch in Björnson's career as a writer of fiction"; though, he frankly continues, "it is but justice to say that Mr. Björnson himself looks upon this as one of his less finished works." One grows doubtful, as he reads, whether Mr. Björnson intends this story as a protest against marriage or as a sort of championship of woman's rights and deprecation of some of her wrongs. A writer in a late number of the *Atlantic Monthly* fancies Björnson has written the work as a sort of allegory of Norway's political condition. Our opinion is that the moral meant to be enforced by the story is contained in a paragraph which occurs at the close of the tenth chapter, which we here quote: "There are many whose lives are ruined by the loss of love, or by sacrificing every thing to love. With some of them, perhaps, it could not have been otherwise (people are so different, circumstances excuse so much); but those whose existences I have seen thus blighted could unconditionally have gained the mastery over self, and in the effort acquired a new power. Encouraged, however, by a class of literature and art whose short-sightedness proceeds from a maimed will, they neglected all attempts at gaining strength." The book is printed and bound in handsome shape, as is usual with most of the books issued by this firm.

STORIES OF DISCOVERY. Told by Discoverers. By Edward Everett Hale. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price $1.00.

In the preface to this interesting volume, Mr. Hale explains its purpose, which is to interest the younger class of readers in the kind of literature which will increase their stock of useful knowledge, while at the same time it interests and entertains their always restless imaginative faculties. When in 1879, at a Convention of Librarians held in this city, he said this could be done, he "was met, courteously, with the statement that, if I thought this thing ought to be done, I had better do it myself, a statement frequently, and perhaps fairly, made to people who offer advice." The result of which is the excellent series of which this volume makes the fourth, those preceding being entitled respectively *Stories of War*, *Stories of the Sea*, *Stories of Adventure*. In all of these, Mr. Hale gives the narrative at first hand or as nearly so as he can, while connecting each "story" by the thread of an original story of the thirst for such knowledge displayed by a party of agreeable young people. The stories of discoveries in this volume consist of the first voyage of Columbus, Da Gama's discovery of the East Indies, Magellan's discoveries, the voyages of Sir Francis Drake, the discoveries of the Atlantic Coast, Pacific Ocean, the North-west Passage, the source of the Nile, the mouth of the Niger, West of the Mississippi, and the Antarctic Continent.

THE *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for July comes to hand several months late. The leading article, "Philosophy in its Relation to its History," is from the pen of Dr. Shadworth Hodgson, President of the Aristotelian Society in London. A short article, giving the beginning of a treatise of the celebrated Polish philosopher, "Trentowski on the Sources and Faculties of Cognition," is translated by Prof. Podbielski. John Dewey writes on "The Pantheism of Spinoza." Prof. Soldan continues his translation of "Hegel on the Absolute Religion." May Wright Sewall writes on "The Idea of the Home." Dr. Alex. Wilder edits "The Chaldean Oracles." Meeds Tuthill finishes in this number his essay on "Use, Beauty, and Reason," and Mrs. Caroline Eliot Lackland analyzes the character of Goethe's "Mephistopheles." The notes and discussions contain matters of interest to all thinkers. The publishers are D. Appleton & Co., New York; and Prof. William T. Harris is editor.

THE *Sanitarian* appears in an enlarged and entirely new form in its first number of the year, a form that is decidedly inviting, and an improvement in every way. Among the contents of this January number are: "National Legislation and Attempts at Legislation on Quarantine," by Prof. J. L. Cabell; "National and State Sanitation," by Henry I. Bowditch; "Sanitary Requirements of New York," by Dr. J. C. Peters; "Soldiers' Shoes," by Dr. Ziegler; "Emigrant Inspection Service," by Dr. William Smith; and "House Drainage."

PERSONAL ITEMS.

THE *Athenæum* announces that Mr. Leslie Stephen will withdraw from the editorial conduct of the *Cornhill Magazine*, in order to edit a *Dictionary of National Biography*, undertaken by Smith, Elder & Co.

MRS. MARIA MOTT DAVIS, daughter of Lucretia Mott, who has been the wife of Mr. Edward M. Davis over forty-six years, experienced her first attack of illness severe enough to confine her to her bed a few days since on her return from a fatiguing Western trip. She is now convalescent. A remarkable health record.

B. F. UNDERWOOD finished his engagements in Iowa last week by a course of lectures at West Liberty. He spoke last Sunday at Indianapolis; and, after a course of lectures this week at Canal Dover, Ohio, he will return East for a few days before lecturing at Doylestown and Linesville, Pa., East Saginaw, Mich., Chicago, and other places where engagements will take him.

MISS MARY THOMAS, daughter of one of the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University, has just taken the degree of Ph.D., *summa cum laude*, at the University of Zürich—a distinction rarely attained by male graduates. Miss Thomas is a graduate of Cornell, and studied three years at Leipzig. She took her examinations at Zürich, because the University of Leipzig does not grant degrees to women. Her subject was philology, a particularly difficult one in Germany.

M. LENORMANT has visited twenty-four towns and cities of the Basilicata and Calabria, in more than half of which no archæologist had preceded him. He has collected more than two hundred Latin and thirty Greek inscriptions that have never been published. He has observed a remarkable resemblance between the geometric decorations of the Apulian and of the Cypriote pottery, and also has found relics of a primitive Italic black pottery once made all over the south of the peninsula.

PRINCE KRAPOTKINE, who was arrested at Thenon, France, last week, charged by the French government with seeking to overthrow social order in that government, belongs to one of Russia's oldest families. The Prince is only thirty-nine years of age, but has, since he was seventeen years old, been a socialist and on the side of the people. He was a very earnest student in the natural sciences, so that great things were hoped of him by his family, as he seemed engrossed in his studies. But, as early as 1877, he was arrested for his revolutionary opinions by the Russian government; but he escaped at that time, and settled in Geneva, Switzerland, where he wrote powerful articles for revolutionary papers. These radical opinions brought persecution upon him, and he retired to Thenon in Savoy, where, still giving expression to his unpopular opinions, he was recently arrested by the French government, and with many other malcontents will be tried early this month.

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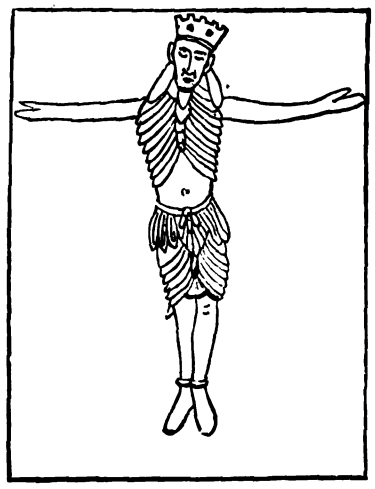

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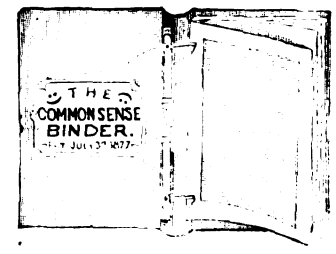

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 337

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
- Science and the Religious Sense, Wm. J. Potter, . . . 338
- "Thomasing," Moncure D. Conway, ... 338
- France on the Wane, B. W. Ball, ... 339
- Notes from the Field, B. F. Underwood, ... 339
- A Survival of Religious Intolerance, B. F. U., ... 340

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 340

POETRY.
- The Spirit Realm, B. W. Ball, ... 341

ESSAYS.
- Conflicts of Philosophy, II., Van Buren Denslow, LL.D., 342
- Maxims and Meditations, J. Wm. Lloyd, ... 344

CORRESPONDENCE.
- Capital and Labor, J G. Whyte, ... 344
- Liberalism in Religion, John G. Webb, ... 344
- The Sunday Evening Association in London, Mark H. Judge, ... 345
- Eternal Damnation, W. H. S., ... 345
- Liberal Religion in Long Island, N.Y., W. C. Bowen . . 345

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 345

LIVE THOUGHTS, ... 346

BOOK NOTICES.
- Poems by Ernest Warburton Shurtleff, ... 346
- Anyhow Stories, by Mrs. W. K. Clifford, ... 346
- The Art Amateur, ... 346
- Babyland, Wide-Awake, North American Review, Our Little Ones, Herald of Health, ... 347

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 347

CURRENT TOPICS.

ONE hundred and thirty-two separate and distinct languages are spoken within the limits of the great British Empire of India.

CASTELAR, the Spanish orator, has broken with Sagasta and the "dynastic" democrats, and declares himself a republican pure and simple, and announces his intention to carry on a republican propaganda from the platform, from the university chair, and with his pen.

THE Burlington *Hawkeye* refers to the great size of the Chicago papers of January 1st, and adds that, "when you have read one page, you are convinced that those edges of the world sticking outside of Chicago had better hurry up and get annexed, if they want to be heard of in '83."

THE Pope continues to complain of his harsh treatment by the Italian Government. Addressing the College of Cardinals a few days ago, he said that "the consideration which formerly was shown to the Holy See, and which was dictated by political prudence and reasons of State, has now been put aside."

THE Court of Queen's Bench at Toronto has unanimously decided that the laws of the Province of Ontario place no restriction on the carrying of passengers by land or water on Sunday, thus overruling an old decision made thirty years ago, in which the plying of ferry boats on the Lord's day was pronounced illegal.

MRS. SARAH B. COOPER, a relative of Col. Ingersoll, and an energetic Sunday-school teacher of the highest character, who some time ago, it will be remembered, was turned out of the Orthodox Church to which she belonged in San Francisco, because of various liberal utterances, but found refuge, with her whole Sunday-school class, in another Church less strict in its renderings of the letter of the law, is now, in conjunction with that class, doing excellent service for humanity in that city. "During the past year, the class has raised almost $3,500; and it carries on three charity kindergartens, and has organized two others, five in all. These schools have taken over three hundred little neglected children from the streets, and are teaching them all that is good. The class was never so large and interesting as now."

SAYS the New York *Evening Post:* "Registrar of Vital Statistics, Nagle, has made an interesting table of the age attained by the 37,924 persons who died last year in New York. It shows that the total of those who died under five years of age was 17,520. Of these, 9,867 did not reach one year, 1,882 fell short of two years, 1,297 of three, and 888 of four. After that, the mortality is stated by quinquennial periods, as follows: Five years, 1,635; ten years, 505; fifteen years, 759; twenty years, 1,555; twenty-five years, 1,751; thirty years, 1,696; thirty-five years, 1,916; forty years, 1,687; forty-five years, 1,588; fifty years, 1,500; fifty-five years, 1,193; sixty years, 1,262; sixty-five years, 959; seventy years, 905; seventy-five years, 655; eighty years, 523; eighty-five years, 207; ninety years, 61; ninety-five years, 34; one hundred years and over, 13.

REV. DR. SUYDAM'S church in Jersey City has taken a new departure in shortening the sermons and giving more time to music, which includes classical compositions of high merit such as Gounod's "Redemption," Händel's "Messiah," Rossini's works, and those of other famous writers of oratorios. "The effect is wonderful," says an exchange, "in bringing the congregation up from one which filled only a few pews to that which now packs the large auditorium on Sunday evenings. The new method is worthy of examination and adoption by many of the pastors who are looking for improvements in the art and science of making people come to church. A service of this kind can be made far more attractive than the stiff sort, which consists of three doleful hymns, a wearisome prayer, and a poorly read chapter or two of the Bible, according to the mode prevalent in many of the churches."

SENATOR HOAR acted honorably in speaking and voting in accordance with his convictions in the case of Fitz-John Porter; but it was not in the spirit of disinterested justice and the loftiest morality that he said in his speech: "It is not an easy thing for a Republican, a partisan, a man whose life has been given to the advocacy and the support of the doctrines of this party, to incur the disapprobation and the condemnation of his political friends, who sit about him on a great question of State; but I thank God that, after hesitation and doing my best to discover what my duty requires, he has given me the grace to perform it." If he were doing but a simple act of justice to a man who had been wronged, mere partisan feeling should not have had such weight and influence with him that only "grace from God" enabled him to perform his duty. A man of the highest moral type is always ready to do justice to one who has been wrongly accused, regardless of "the disapprobation and the condemnation of his political friends."

MR. JUSTICE STEPHEN, in London, recently sentenced a ruffian who had robbed a lady in a public highway, and knocked her down to prevent her giving chase, to fifteen years penal servitude and to receive thirty lashes. The judge said that such outrages had become common of late, and to the prisoner he made the following judicial remark: "You are not only a rogue and a thief, but a cruel brute; and, since you knocked this woman down and inflicted grievous bodily suffering and pain upon her, I shall give you a severe taste of what bodily harm means." The London *Daily Telegraph*, commenting on this and other similarly severe sentences for robbery accompanied by violence, says: "The punishment is just of the sort which these cowards most dread, and it is quite as efficacious now as when it checked the practice of garroting. A sharp medicine, such as this, is the kindest and most merciful treatment that the disease can really receive." But, with the truly radical reformer, the *conditions* that produce this disease are the subject of prime importance; for, until they are changed, "the disease" is sure to exhibit itself in one form or another, in spite of the severest penalties.

DR. R. HEBER NEWTON recently delivered in New York a discourse on the Bible, one of the most pronounced in rational thought ever given by a regularly ordained clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal denomination. "I have utttered the conviction," he said in this discourse, "which many of you have held in secret with misgivings and self-reproaches, and have shown you many reasons why the old could no longer be held by men of open minds." He would expurgate the Bible, as though it were not a "book let down from the skies, of which God can be called the author," and, says the New York *Sun*, "deals with the Biblical authors throughout, those of the New Testament as well as the Old, in a way that must have left the people of his church in utter doubt respecting every part of the creed laid down in the Protestant Episcopal standards. Even the imprecation at the end of the Apocalypse against the man who shall 'take away from the words of the book,' is spoken of as an 'impotent threat'; and he cries out, 'Heed it not.' It is surprising that such a sermon as this of the Rev. Dr. Newton could be preached from the pulpit in which he stood. Had it been delivered by any of the loose pulpiteers of the day like Beecher, it would not have deserved a moment's notice. But the Rev. Dr. Newton is one of the lights of the great orthodox denomination which has fixed standards of faith, he is subject to the authorities of his Church, he is under the jurisdiction of an episcopate which is responsible for the orthodoxy of its rectors, and he holds his place upon conditions which give the highest weight to his words." We hope to find space in *The Index* soon for this remarkable discourse or copious extracts from it.

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SCIENCE AND THE RELIGIOUS SENSE.

Religion is man's threefold expression—through feeling, thought, and deed—of his relation to the universe and its life-powers. This definition of religion we have more than once stated in *The Index* as one which seems to us best to accord with the facts of history and a rational philosophy of them. The "life-powers" of the universe may be conceived as embodied in some ruling personal intelligence or intelligences, or simply in the form of impersonal vital forces; but man's relation to them, and through them to the universe as a whole is a solid fact of human existence in whatever way they may be regarded. And that man should have some sense of this fact—a sense enlarged, elevated, and refined as he advances in enlightenment—is as natural as that he should sense anything in his relations to his surroundings; and how he is ever to get away from this sense, as long as he retains his nature as man, it is difficult to comprehend. In some way expressive of his general sense of his relation to the vital powers of the universe will he continue to feel, to think, and to act. The beliefs and institutions which the religious faculty of man has produced may be variously transformed, and many of them may vanish; but how the faculty itself is ever to disappear, as long as man remains finite and continues to have the intelligence to see that he is vitally related to a universe which he acknowledges to be infinite, it is impossible to conceive.

Liberalism is apt to assume that religion necessarily implies a definite belief in a personal Deity or Deities. But it is not essential to religious feeling or to religious action that the secret motor and life of the universe should be represented under the conception of a mighty universal sovereign seated on a throne at the centre of things nor of a divided personal sovereignty ruling the different parts: it is only necessary that the fact of man's vital relation to the universe in some form should be felt and acknowledged as a source of obligation upon conduct. The religion which, it is estimated, has swept into its circuit one-third of the whole human race, Buddhism, did not have in its origin, nor ever in its purest teachings, any conception of a personal Deity. It has even been characterized as an atheistic religion. Yet it had a very distinct idea of a unity of vital energy and purpose in the universe, though their source and essential nature might be beyond man's power to comprehend; and a very practical idea, also, of man being able, by a reflective, true, and pure life, to put himself into a condition of reconciliation and peace therewith. And no religion ever began or spread with a nobler moral enthusiasm or a loftier self-consecration and devotion. There are, too, many people to-day who cannot conscientiously profess belief in any Deity beyond the active forces and laws which they see manifest in the universe itself. All beyond, they call the unknowable, the inscrutable. Yet they necessarily conceive of something there that is unknowable, unfathomable, and of human relations to it. And in that conception is the kernel fact of all religion.

And this is a fact which science must recognize, and does recognize. Those who suppose that science is going to abolish all conception of the existence of any power within and behind phenomena mistake the purport of science. Science undoubtedly has abolished, and will continue to abolish, many crude, ignorant, superstitious, anthropomorphic notions of the infinite and inscrutable power manifested in phenomena; but it discloses no tendency nor capacity to abolish or deny the power itself, nor man's relation thereto. Science approaches too close to the great secret, and is too habitually bent on traversing its ways and revealing its hiding-places to deny its existence. Rather does it spread before our enlightened vision a world of new wonders, to stir within us fresh emotions of admiration and reverence. It seems to take us ever nearer and nearer to the creative method and power, yet leaves the final mystery still locked; while vistas are opened into space and time, and unfolding processes of life so august and vast that, in comparison with them, all the old chronologies and plans of creation and conceptions of the universe sink into childish prattlings. Science is the destroyer of superstition; but, by its constant challenge to man's imagination and to his intellect to make profounder search, it is the feeder of rational religion, both on the side of emotion and thought.

Science, too, is promoting the interests of religion on the side of conduct. It is revealing to us a basis of morality inwrought into man's consciousness as the product of the very forces that have given him his being and developed and preserved the life of the universe itself. It declares the law of right to be one with the law of life, as life unfolds by gradations into higher and richer forms. And so science summons man more thoroughly to learn and intelligently and voluntarily to co-operate with this law of progressive and ascending life. In its investigations also in sociology,—that comparatively new department of knowledge,—science is bringing new views of the solidarity of mankind and of the meaning of human brotherhood. It shows the human race to be joined together in origin and experience and destiny by ties which cannot be severed. Nations and classes and individuals are members of one organism, of one body. The health of the whole, morally, mentally, physically, depends on the health of the parts. Hence, new responsibilities are laid upon human beings for one another's condition and welfare, and new ways opened for philanthropic activity. Science, therefore, instructs religion on the active side more and more to emphasize morality and philanthropy, and to measure all its institutions and aims by their success in promoting worthier living.

WM. J. POTTER.

"THOMASING."

There are curious old customs, surviving from an immemorial past, that come out of their caves on Saint Thomas Day, and are visible in various rural districts of Europe. They are called "Thomasing." Although, in the New Testament, the doubts of Thomas are shown to have been respected,—his demand for proof of the resurrection being met in a dramatic way most likely to have an effect upon the world,—and although Saint Augustine recognized that to doubt was the *métier* of Thomas when he said, "He doubted that we might not doubt,"—yet, when the Church came to put forward miracles of its own, the example of this sceptical disciple was found inconvenient; and he was slighted. No churches were dedicated to him; his sanctity being transferred to Saint Thomas à Becket, after whom the Saint Thomas churches are named, even to the "S. Tommaso degl' Inglesi" in Rome; and he was assigned the shortest day in the year. The reason why Saint Thomas Day was fixed at the winter solstice was that it was a kind of doubting day, halting, as it were, between the setting of one solar year and the rising of another. But this was the Yule Day of our "pagan" ancestors,—the end of the old year, when they sacrificed the bird of morn for a good New Year Day as omen of a lucky year, and observed many other rites and ceremonies in honor of their deities. Christianity killed all these deities, but could not lay their ghosts; and these fastened themselves—such is the irony of superstition—upon the incredulous disciple. Personally, indeed, Thomas was also a ghost. His Aramaic name is simply translated in the Greek Didymus (twin), on which was built a saga of double-mindedness, or wavering, when it became important to declare to sceptical Greeks and Romans that among the witnesses to the risen Christ had been a sceptic of their own kind,—a man as hard to convince as the scholiast Didymus of the Augustan age, who, according to Seneca, wrote four thousand books.

But Thomas is having his revenge. Those ghosts of heathen deities and rites at any rate preserve some of the sentiment and character of the religion of nature they originally represented; and Thomas, as a myth, represented the spirit of inquiry after facts, which gradually converts natural superstitions into natural science. "Thomasing" has had a significant development. In certain remote regions of Germany, a maiden sprinkles linseed on her head, and says, "I sow my seed in Saint Thomas' name, in Saint Thomas' garden will I await my bridegroom," believing that she will see her future husband in a dream the same night. In other regions, when church-bells are ringing for matins or vespers, a youth takes up three chips, and the next bell that sounds will report the direction in which, after burning the chips, he must seek his fortune. If he be far from his beloved, he takes a mirror and lighted candle out into the air on Saint Thomas night, and, as the clock strikes twelve, believes he will see on the mirror just what his beloved is doing. On Saint Thomas eve, the rural Germans listen at the back of their big stoves to hear small voices within it, foretelling bad luck by tones of prayer or good luck by their piping. Or a youth lights a consecrated candle, sets it on a prayer-book, in order that at midnight the maidens of his acquaintance may pass by him, the last of the shadowy procession being the one he is to marry. Meanwhile, if any of these maidens speaks in her home, she will die, her spirit being absent. This touch looks as if added by wise parents to keep their daughters from sitting up late for midnight incantations. A favorite Thomasing custom in South Germany is to get a sackful of straw, and say to it, "Straw-sack, I beg you, Saint Thomas, I pray you, to show me my bridegroom" (or bride). There are three noticeable characteristics in these German customs: they generally mingle natural things, as seeds, straw, with Christian symbols, as candles, prayer-books; they are practised by people in doubt about their love-affairs; and they look for discoveries in dreams, or occasionally in visions. In most parts of Germany, the only survival of Thomasing is the belief that all dreams dreamed on Saint Thomas night will come true. Coming now westward, as far as Belgium, we find Thomasing represented by a custom of school-boys, who make little paper cocks and burn them before the school doors. This sacrificial act may be regarded as a type of what most sacrifices have become on European altars, a childlike substitution of something worthless for something real. On the other hand, the Belgian children, also servants, try to beguile the master of the house into a room and lock him in, or out of doors and lock him out, until he promises a substantial Thomas-gift. Any amount of prevarication is permissible to secure this end. So, where the gods get paper poultry, the children get something real. Coming now to England, we find Thomasing become equivalent to "a-gooding," both words being used. There are still faint traces (unless effaced by the new school-system) of this custom of peasants, who went about offering holly or flowers to squires or farmers, in order to receive gifts in return. In War-

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wickshire, they call it "going a-corning," since each petitioner carried a bag for the farmers to fill with corn. This is a survival of the straw-sack to which the German peasant used to pray along with Saint Thomas. It would seem that, after a time, the Northern peasant began to grow sceptical as the saint, and wished for some benefits that he might handle. So the offerings became somewhat more real (turning from candle-light, paper, and runic words to evergreen and flowers), the prayers directed to more palpable patron-saints, and the sack emptied of symbolical straw that it might be filled with grain. As the agricultural laborer became less a serf, he left off this custom; and it remained as the exclusive custom of his successors in serfdom,—women. When women also were raised a little, the custom fell to the roughs, and has ended, or is ending, in a practical joke.

Whatever other living and real form the Christian disciple may handle, in this Northern world he is sure to handle, or be handled by, the forces and realities of nature. In the struggle for existence, the straw-sack of superstitions is steadily sifted; and only those survive which have some grain in them. In my boyhood, I heard a story of some red Indians who were visited by missionaries. One of these Indians held on to his Great Spirit until one day when he saw a more yielding comrade returning from the Mission House, with Christmas gifts of bacon and herrings. After a little consultation with that brother, the before unregenerate Indian hastened to the missionaries and broke out with the words,—"Jesus Christ! Holy Ghost! God Almighty!" Then, seeing the stupefaction of the missionaries, he shouted: "Damn it all, don't you know what that means? It means bacon and herrings!" That aboriginal style of Thomasing does not appear to me very different from the more decorous method going on in Christendom. The whole world, in a sense controlled by Christianity, is now Thomasing around the Dives-barns and tables of Christianity, and asking for some substantial evidence of a risen Christ, in the shape of charities, better dinners, or other advantages. Saint Thomas is in order again. Some will not believe unless they can retain the old order in which they are comfortable, and others unless they can overthrow the old order in which they are uncomfortable. Christianity must mean to one his conservatism, to the other his radicalism. On Saint Thomas Day, the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock, because Christianity meant to them a Church without a Bishop. And, on this Saint Thomas Day, the High Church from which the Pilgrims fled hears with joy that one of its docilè darlings is made Archbishop of Canterbury. Antiphones between Plymouth Rock and the Archiepiscopal Palace are not inharmonious on Saint Thomas Day, when the world is asking, not what is true, but what can prove itself to the senses to be alive, and on earth, and able to fill a believer's empty sack with corn. Happily there are sacks and sacks: some of them may seem of a transcendental kind, but these also are real, and after they have become empty cannot be satisfactorily filled with threshed straw for any great length of time. There are other hungers than that for bread which nowadays go about a Thomasing, and ask for unmistakable proofs. The lovers of the absolute truth will have to accept the conditions as much as their predecessors. They will have to associate as much real human service with their new views as anybody can connect with the name of Christianity. Science has done this, and Christianity acknowledges it—even by its fear—an equal. It is not necessary that every truth should show that its aim or its effect is to put money into the pocket of a man or a nation or even to secure a moral advantage; but it is necessary that every truth, whatever its negations, should be associated with believing men and women, whose characters and services shall be as the print of nails and the wounded side which make the stigmata of living saviours, before which the human heart has never failed to bend the knee with simplest love and trust.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

FRANCE ON THE WANE.

In the lapse of a single generation, France has declined from the position of foremost nation in the group of great European powers to that of the least important member of the group. And the end is not yet. In the process of European development, what may be called "Latin civilization" has had its day and run its course. There was a time when Italy was in the van of modern civilization. Then, the hegemony passed to Spain. After the decline and downfall of Spanish domination in both hemispheres, France came to the front as the foremost Latin nation and the leader of European civilization. Meantime, Great Britain and Germany, the two great representative powers of what may be called Germanic civilization, were slowly but surely attaining to a world-control, which now casts into utter eclipse Latin Europe. The civilization of to-day, or modern civilization, is Germanic. Latin Europe remains to this hour half Roman and antique. The Latin group of nations have never succeeded in thoroughly modernizing themselves. As long as France was in the ascendency, the Roman Catholic Church—which is as much an anachronism now as would be the religion of Jupiter—held up her head, and maintained her mediæval arrogance. Because, while a percentage of the French nation is ultra liberal and ultra republican, there is a vast fraction of it which remains loyal to the past, and, above all, to Romanism. But Sedan completed the work of Waterloo, and finally relegated France and the Latin Church and Latin civilization to the rear, where it is destined to remain, declining more and more to final extinction. In the near future, to judge from present indications, the different communities of the English-speaking world in both hemispheres will form a sort of world-encircling confederacy, more and more absorbing, and gathering under their protection and occupying the entire globe outside of Continental Europe.

In this hemisphere, the mostly effete Spanish-American republics are likely to be injected with new life and modern ideas sooner or later by English-speaking North America. With the establishment of an international railroad system, the process of social reconstruction on a modern basis of the Spanish-American republics will commence, and proceed over all obstacles to final consummation, because the entire globe is bound to be sooner or later the seat of a *modern* civilization.

Superstition, barbarism, savagery, and imperfect, rudimentary civilizations are bound to be supplanted by a civilization of light, knowledge, science, freedom, and a cosmopolitan humaneness.

B. W. BALL.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

The question is sometimes asked, In what parts of the country do you find the decay of theology and the prevalence of Liberalism the most marked? The question does not admit of so easy and definite an answer as some imagine. In regard to the strength of religious beliefs, like that of conceptions generally, during periods of rapid change, appearances are deceptive, and one is extremely liable to be misled by superficial indications. Old systems continue to receive support and exercise a powerful influence, through established forms and customs, even when faith in them among the more intelligent has nearly disappeared; while new conceptions, in a thousand subtle ways, work themselves into the popular mind before there is any general distinct acknowledgment of their truth. In old communities especially, religious scepticism and disbelief are reticent and quiet. In new settlements, where there is a tendency to break away from old traditions, where there is more flexibility, and generally, too, where there is more courage and independence, the decay of religious creeds and the progress of advanced thought are more readily seen, because expression is more free, pronounced, and demonstrative.

It is certain that, throughout the Eastern, Middle, and Western States generally, religious disbelief is diffused among all classes. The attitude of the people toward Christianity is something like that of the Romans toward Paganism in the first century of the present era. The large membership and wealth of the Churches even, far from denoting Christian faith and zeal, are but indications of their worldliness, of their readiness to conform to the demands of the time, to make religion a secondary matter, and give prominence to music, social attractions, and such other features as suit the taste of an unbelieving generation. A large element of the foreign population retains its religious faith. In some communities in New England and the Middle States, the creeds are, chiefly from lack of intellectual activity, still scarcely questioned; and in the Southern States, except in the large centres of population, the old-fashioned theology is still preached, modified some, but not greatly, by the spirit of the age; but it is evident, wherever education has made the greatest progress and where there is the most thought, Liberalism has gained the greatest ascendency.

We are of the opinion that liberal thought is not only more pronounced, but more general and more thoroughly assimilated in the West than in the East. The *average* audiences that assemble to hear liberal lectures are in the West of a higher intellectual grade, and they more readily understand and appreciate the scientific and philosophic thought of the day than the average audiences of the East. This is due in part, probably, to the fact that much of the intellectual vigor, courage, and enterprise of the East have sought new fields of activity and conquest in the West. By the laws of heredity, these qualities are transmitted here, as the conservatism left behind is transmitted in the East. And the conditions of the new settlements are favorable to the growth of independent liberal thought, while it is somewhat restrained by the conditions of older and less flexible communities. The cautious, temporizing liberal from the East, when he has lived a few years in the West and discovered that the frank expression of his views will not injure his business, feels greater freedom to speak his honest thoughts.

The *average* intelligence of the foreign element in the West is above that in the East. The poorest and least progressive element of foreigners, when they land at Castle Garden, look for homes in the factory towns of the East. The better class push West. The Germans constitute our best foreign element, and of them a large proportion are free thinkers. They come West.

We could not help noticing a dozen years ago the readiness of Western audiences to hear lectures on Evolution and Darwinism, when to Eastern liberal audiences these subjects seemed abstruse and dry, and when the thought of Voltaire and Paine elicited the heartiest applause. Thinkers and scholars in the East who are quite willing to give their assent to Darwinism now were as silent as the grave in regard to the subject then. Societies

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were formed in the West to study the philosophy of Spencer, before any such societies were formed in the East. In Denver, Kansas City, Dubuque, and Minneapolis, we were specially requested to lecture on Evolution, when the subjects preferred in New England cities were "The Services of Thomas Paine" and "The Four Gospels Examined." One fact that helps to explain this is that the great prevalence of Liberalism in the West made it safe for professional men, teachers, merchants, etc., not only to attend, but to take part in arranging for liberal lectures, when the pronounced interest in subjects pertaining to Liberalism in the East was confined to a class quite as honest, but less influential in society. But where in the United States is the liberal element the strongest? In our opinion, Kansas has the largest number of Liberals in proportion to the population of any State in the Union. Illinois and Iowa rank next. In Northern and Central Illinois, free thought shows itself in a thousand ways. In Southern Illinois, it is weak and crude. The region of country in Ohio which extends from Salem to Massillon is one of the most liberal districts in America. In the Willamette Valley, the best part of Oregon, we found the most liberal region on the Pacific Coast. Minnesota is a liberal State, as is also Michigan. Nebraska is not entitled to rank with Iowa, although Lincoln is one of the most liberal cities in America. But, in all these regions in which the decay of theology is the most manifest, no tendency is evinced among Liberals to unite in organizations. The disposition seems to be to work with all existing organizations for every worthy reform.

Since we sent the last "Notes," we have been speaking in Iowa. On the 28th of December, the Iowans celebrated the thirty-sixth anniversary of the admission of their State into the Union. The development of Iowa is wouderful, and its future is full of promise. It has important natural advantages, and the achievements of its people are such as they have a right to feel proud of. The population of the State is now nearly two millions. Its area is fifty-five thousand square miles, about the same as that of Illinois and greater than that of England and Wales combined. The two greatest rivers in North America form the eastern and western boundaries of the State. It has six thousand miles of railroad track, including three trunk lines crossing it east and west, and ranks the fifth State in the Union in railroad mileage. In 1880, it produced two hundred and thirty million bushels of corn and forty million bushels of wheat. Its manufacturing industries are increasing in number and importance. Its public school system is good. It has twelve thousand school-houses and five hundred thousand children are being educated in them. Six hundred newspapers are published in the State. The percentage of illiteracy is small. The people are intelligent, industrious, enterprising, and progressive; and they can look forward with confidence that the achievements of the generation which has passed are but an earnest of yet greater achievements in the future.

Iowa is one of the most thoroughly Republican States in the Union. But its press seems to us unfairly partisan.

An Iowa journal says, evidently with truth, that in many of the cities and towns of the State, Davenport, Council Bluffs, Burlington, Keokuk, Mt. Pleasant, and others, papers which support the administration are "loaded down with post-office positions and salaries," that the places of trust are not filled on the principle of merit or fitness or with the expectation that their duties will be performed by the incumbents, but that the appointments are made with the knowledge that the official duties will be performed by deputies, while the salaries will go to the editors and papers as a recompense for work done for the party, and a subsidy from the public treasury for their continued support. The lack of independence and the truckling spirit manifested by some of the journals whose proprietors or editors hold federal offices are alone sufficient to suggest that newspapers from which the public receives its news and to a certain extent its opinions should be free from pecuniary obligations to Congressmen and place-givers. Men tied hand and foot by the cords of patronage, and with their mouths padlocked by fear of losing their offices if they point out abuses and denounce wrongs, are not fit representatives of the press, the source of the people's information in regard to political and governmental matters.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

A SURVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE.

Judge Briggs, in the Common Pleas Court in Pennsylvania, lately delivered an opinion which suggests the need of a little legislation in that State in the interests of equal rights and religious liberty. Robert Becker, a witness, had said that, while he believed in a supreme power that would punish false swearing here, he did not believe in a personal God or in God as commonly understood by the people. His testimony having been received, its admission was made the ground for a motion for a new trial. No other objection was urged against the witness. According to the reports which have appeared in the papers, Judge Briggs said, "Something more is required to render one competent as a witness, than a belief in a supreme power simply as a power or principle, which may be the resistless natural laws as exhibited by the motion and operation of the elements, and to violate which will surely bring punishment here to the transgressor. The belief required by our laws is a belief in the existence of an omniscient being, who will impose divine punishment for perjury either in this world or in the next. If the belief be short of this, it falls under the ban of legal condemnation." After citing several authorities to sustain his ruling, Judge Briggs continued: "It hence follows that the faith of a witness should be a religious belief of some kind in the existence of an omniscient being who will reward and punish either here or hereafter for good and evil doings, —a belief in a power as exhibited by the force of nature and calling it supreme, and yet to ignore that that power is the handiwork of the omniscient and omnipotent God is totally insufficient to meet the law's requirements. Nor is any advance gained by asserting that he who violates the law of nature will be punished, for admittedly such punishment will follow with unerring certainty. While the witness, Becker, said he believed in a supreme power that would punish him here for false swearing, he would not say that he believed that power was divine; and he totally denied the personality of God and of God as generally understood by the people. With such a belief, how can he be said to be in fear of divine punishment for testifying falsely? His belief being defective in this respect, it falls short of one of the legal requirements, which is indispensable to entitle him to be examined as a witness in the courts of this State. It follows that I erred in receiving his testimony, and that a new trial should be ordered." Think of the multitude of men and women, many of them eminent in science, literature, and philanthropic work, whose testimony by this ruling would be inadmissible in the courts of the State of Pennsylvania. Yet this judicial ruling is made in the American Republic in the last quarter of the nineteenth century! Protection from such bigotry and intolerance, so far as they would impose disabilities upon citizens on account of their religious views, should be guaranteed and enforced by the authority of the government of the United States.

B. F. U.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

VENEZUELA will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of Bolivar's birthday, July 24, next. A statue of Washington will be unveiled at Caracas, and a railroad opened between Caracas and Laguayra.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS said recently, "I presume no student of history will deny that what the great baronial power was in mediæval civilization, and what the great slaveholding oligarchy was in our politics, the vast consolidation of capital will be in the future of this country."

WE must not hereafter think of Spain as a country in which there is no progressive movement, for very recently the first female doctor has taken her degree in Madrid, in spite of considerable opposition on the part of male students; and another lady is now studying there for the same profession.

ACCORDING to a calculation of Prof. Frisby of the Naval Observatory at Washington, the great comet that shone so brilliantly in the eastern sky last summer is probably identical with the one seen 391 B.C. and 363 A.D. Its orbit is a lengthened ellipse; and, according to this calculation, its nearest distance to the sun is only about seven hundred thousand miles, while its orbit extends outward at the farthest point ninety times the sun's distance from the earth. Its time of revolution is believed to be 798 years.

IT is stated that early marriages are nowhere so common as in the prosperous manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Eng. Boys and girls not out of their teens, earning good wages and prematurely developed by the absence of home life, get married, generally Saturday night to avoid loss of working time, parade the town a few hours in cheap finery of glaring colors, or perhaps visit one of the watering places; and the next Monday morning the newly married couple, in the most unpoetic and unromantic manner, return to their place in the mills.

ONE of the editorial corps of the *Congregationalist* recently attended a funeral conducted by a Unitarian minister, and comments on the funeral discourse in this fashion: "By skilful engineering, that gentleman managed to get through a half-hour without mention, even *pro forma* in the benediction, not only of the work, but of the very name of Jesus. A pagan gentleman from any remote part of the world might have sat through it without so much as being led to any remote conjecture that a Saviour ever came into this world. The spiritual temperature naturally was that of an ill-ventilated ice-house."

A WRITER states that there are two hundred and thirty-seven chances of being murdered in Rome to one in England, or that in the former country there is one murder to 750 inhabitants, while in the latter there is but one to 178,000. But, in the days of Henry VI., there were more murders in England than in any country on the continent, and from one point of view it was thought to be rather creditable to the country; for Chancellor Fortescue explains the seeming virtue of other people, especially the French, by accusing them of "cowardise and lack of harte and corage to do so terryble an acte." According to this, the Italians must now be very courageous and the English veritable poltroons.

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WE find the following in the *Presbyterian*, which is ever on the alert to defend and define the old Orthodoxy against the encroachments, attacks, and new renderings of the more liberal Orthodoxy: "Cornell University, in New York, was certainly not founded for the promotion of Evangelical Christianity. But enough of faith was left among the trustees to require a resignation of a professor, because his teachings gave to the University a 'reputation of positive irreligion.' The *Alliance*, of Chicago, tells the story with much indignation, and adds that President White, who remains, is much more 'radical' than the professor who was dismissed. We do not know much of this matter; and all that we need to say is, that there are still left colleges where the faith of Christ is taught and the Word of God honored, and that parents would do well to find where they are."

RATHER a curious lot of figures is brought together by Dr. Gill, of the Illinois Penitentiary, showing the death rate in the principal State prisons of the country. The most astonishing variations are shown. Thus, among New York prisons, while at Sing Sing the yearly deaths from one thousand inmates number a trifle less than seven, at Auburn it is twelve, and at Clinton over twenty. The lowest rate is three in Wisconsin, and the highest seventy-seven in Mississippi. The shameful practice of letting convicts to work in mines and upon railroads causes frightful death rates in several Southern States; but the New Hampshire figure is forty-eight, for what reason does not appear. The rate in Massachusetts is fifteen, in Maine fifteen, in Vermont twenty-five, and in Connecticut fifteen. Pennsylvania has six in the west and fourteen in the east district. And the rate is generelly very low in the States of the North-west.

COREA, "the Hermit Nation," must be a wonderful land, since it develops kings capable of making such public confession of sin as the present king of that country is said recently to have made: "I have been for seventeen years at the head of the nation," he says, "although I was wanting in ability. My administration has been a failure, and abuses have arisen in the government through my fault. I repent, but it is too late. Since I occupied the throne, I have made many improvements in roads and other things, and both rich and poor have had to suffer under the burden. This is my sin. I have often altered the currency, and sacrificed the interests of the people. This is my sin. I have acted against religious doctrines. I have wasted the revenue. This is my sin. Bribery has been carried on publicly. The complaints of the victimized have not reached my ear. This is my sin. The taxes have been embezzled, and the business of the people ruined. This is my sin. I am ashamed to come before the people again. I will purify my mind, and repent my former misdoings."

THE Unitarian *Year Book* for 1883 has a new feature. To the usual lists of societies and ministers is added a supplementary list of ministers who are pastors of societies known as Unitarian, but who do not consider themselves, or are not considered by the compilers, good enough Unitarians to be put in the regular list of Unitarian ministers. This appears to have been done to meet the criticism of those who have objected that the regular list has in late years been constructed on too narrow a basis, and has not been a correct directory. But we doubt if the result will satisfy the objectors. It makes the regular list more sectarian than ever. It was reported before the *Year Book* appeared that the question whether a minister called himself "Christian" or not was not to be raised in making up the regular list. But this report seems to have been an error. We do not understand that there has been any rescinding of the vote passed by the Unitarian Association, by which the *Year Book* list of "Unitarian ministers" was made to mean "Christian" ministers. Yet to see some names in the list under that caption rather surprises us.

THE editor of the Indianapolis *Journal*, after describing "the incubator" which he examined at a chicken show, indulges in the following reflections: "It is quite a marvellous invention. It saves, in the first place, much time and trouble to the hen, leaving her free to devote herself entirely to the production of eggs. With eggs at thirty cents a dozen, no public-spirited hen can fail to see the advantage of the invention. Looking at this steam stepmother, one naturally wonders whether this method of getting on in life will not finally result in changing the nature of the chicks. Brought by wholesale into a life where there is no clucking, cooing mother to cuddle them under her wings, what will be the final result upon their characters? Orphans turned loose into a wire nursery, with hot water pipes to their backs instead of the maternal wishbone, their development must be abnormal. If the full-grown specimens on exhibition were raised by hand, it must be said that the development is abnormally large as to physical results. Whether a hen is morally benefited through a training and environment which impels her to lay eggs 365 days in the year and to refuse to 'set' is a question to be determined."

THE *Christian Union* makes the following sensible remarks in regard to the refusal of the Mayor of New York to grant a license for the performance of the "Passion Play" in that city: "Good people will draw a sigh of relief, and congratulate themselves that the community is to be spared this travesty on the drama and this profanation of religion. But good people will be mistaken. There is really no law to prevent this performance, and habitual readers of the *Christian Union* will not accuse us of sympathizing with the perpetrators of this proposed infliction, when we say there ought not to be any such law. In former times, other communities protected themselves from evil literature by a censorship of the press. The protection roved futile ; the censorship was abandoned; and now, in all free countries, the people are left to protect themselves by refusing to patronize bad literature, or by prosecution of publishers of that which is clearly against good morals. And the press has steadily improved in quality in this air of freedom.... The days of censorship of all kinds, whether of press or drama, are past. The remedy for such a proposed insult to the intelligence, taste, and moral sentiments of the American people as this attempted representation of the Passion of Jesus Christ by amateur actors threatens to be, is a public sentiment which will leave it without an audience."

"OXONIENSIS," the able London correspondent of the *Catholic Review*, referring to the burial of Darwin in Westminster Abbey, writes:—

It would seem that the Catholic priests have now the best of it. If a man who was *not* a Christian ought to receive Christian honors on the ground only that he was a clever man of science, the inference must be obvious that not religion, but science, constitutes a man's claim to be thought a Christian. Such an estimate may have the merit of being Broad Church, but it hardly commends itself either to the logician or to the Christian. If science *minus* faith makes a Christian, what is a man who has only faith *minus* science? He has evidently not that gift, that special grace of "true religion," which is required for Christian honors, Christian monuments. It is time that the excellent dons of Westminster Abbey issued some new catechism of their religion. *Q.* What is a Christian? *A.* A scientific man. *Q.* What is the greatest impediment to true religion? *A.* Not having studied the natural sciences. *Q.* What entitles a man to be buried in Westminster Abbey? *A.* Not believing that there has ever been a revelation. *Q.* What distinguishes an Anglican bishop from a Catholic bishop? *A.* A Catholic bishop says that the rites of Christian burial should be given only to those who have believed in Christ; but an Anglican bishop says that the rites of Christian burial should be given equally to those who have believed in science. *Q.* Is, then, the Christian faith and natural science one and the same thing? *A.* No: a man who has faith and no science is a mere nobody, and it does not matter where or how he is buried; but a man who has science and no faith is a true believer, and ought to be buried in Westminster Abbey.

MR. JAMES MACALISTER concluded an address at a recent meeting of the Wisconsin Humane Society as follows: "I think that, in their eagerness for the intellectual culture of the masses, the American people have shown a tendency to forget that the great concern of every human being is right living. Knowledge is not to be undervalued, but it is mainly as a means to the attainment of moral qualities that it is important to men. The aim and end of all science, of all philosophy, is morality. I believe I am right in claiming that more attention should be paid in the public schools to training the young in the principles and practice of moral duties, even at the cost of sacrificing some of the culture in other directions. I would not be understood as saying that the standard of conduct in the schools is low; but it represents too accurately the spirit and practices which prevail in society at large. There is not enough regard paid to the humanities of life, those social refinements which make up so much of its happiness; there is not enough reverence for the claims which justice, right, truth, make upon each individual; there is not enough faith in the power of love to conquer and destroy the hatred and wrong that still live in the world. When these things become an actual, measurable part of the child's school training, we may hope to see their fruits abound more fully in the life of that larger society into which he is to grow. Need I say that no one can be moral without being humane; and that to do right and to love one another are the two poles on which revolve the order, the peace, the happiness of mankind."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE SPIRIT REALM.

Nach jenen stillen, ernsten Geisterreich.—GOETHE.

1.

After long years of life, a mystic yearning,
Such as the mighty Goethe felt of yore,
Within our heart of hearts at times is burning
For vanished faces which return no more.

2.

Beyond this being's ceaseless, sad mutations
In stillness lies the solemn spirit-land;
There evermore arrive Earth's generations,
And footing find upon a changeless strand.

3.

So deems the heart, and so have deemed the ages,—
To final peace and permanence we're bound.
This petty, mortal life, which frets and rages,
Is by majestic silence girt around. B. W. BALL.

Jan. 1, 1883.

"ALL things have something more than barren use:
There is a scent upon the brier,
A tremulous splendor in the autumn dews,
Cold morns are fringed with fire.

"The clodded earth goes up in sweet-breathed flowers,
In music dies poor human speech;
And into beauty blow these hearts of ours,
When love is born in each."—*Alexander Smith.*

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The Index.

BOSTON, JAN. 18, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

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For *The Index.*

CONFLICTS OF PHILOSOPHY.

A Lecture delivered before the Philosophical Society of Chicago, Oct. 14, 1882.

BY VAN BUREN DENSLOW, LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Part II.—Philosophy as related to its own Limitations.

If we turn from theism and from theories based on the subtantiality of spirit as incapable of scientific verification to matter and force, we find that our new starting-points are intelligible only to those who have not sought to comprehend them. This by no means reduces them to the level of the factors which rule in theological speculation. In regard to matter and force, it remains that we can easily observe them, when it has been proven that we cannot at all comprehend them. But the ultimate conceptions of theology—namely, God and spirit, as substances outside of matter and force—can neither be comprehended nor observed.

Prof. Du Bois-Reymond, in a recent address on the limits of natural science, declared the seven insoluble riddles of modern thought to be: 1. The nature of matter and of force; 2. The origin (and, he might have added, the reality) of motion or change; 3. The origin of life; 4. The design of nature; 5. The source of consciousness; 6. The origin of language; 7. The freedom of the will.

This, however, is by no means so logical a statement of the limitations upon our power of thinking as that given by Herbert Spencer in the third chapter of his *First Principles*, in which he proves that it is beyond the power of the mind to think of space, time, matter, motion, or force in the outer world, or of consciousness or personality in the world of mind. These, he says, are

Ultimate Scientific Ideas.

The moment we attempt to think of them, we find we cannot frame any self-consistent statement of our thought. Each embraces a complete suicidal self-contradiction when treated metaphysically, and must therefore be assumed, after the habit known as common sense, without being understood.

This conflict between metaphysics and common sense is one of great importance, and lies at the threshold of all philosophy; for, if Mr. Spencer be right, then the whole metaphysical method stands impeached at the outset as misleading and barren, at least as far as it works alone and away from Physical Science. For these very ideas which Spencer consigns to the limbo of the unthinkable constitute the stock in trade of metaphysics. On these, Plato, Kant, and Hegel have largely built. With Spencer stand Locke, Bentham, Mill, Combe, Auguste Comte, and most scientific atheists, pantheists, and agnostics. And with Plato, Kant, and Hegel, as far as their attitude of belief in the utility of metaphysics is concerned, stand Sir William Hamilton and the great mass of theists. Hamilton denies that there is any conflict between common sense and metaphysics. Probably, this belief is inherent in every one who respects metaphysics. The very first point to be solved in philosophy is whether we will accept the metaphysical method, a method which I define to be the pursuit of truth by an attempted introspection or looking into the supposed nature of the machine with which we think, and by a "turning over of our notions."

Conflict between Positivism and Metaphysics.

The last is the term by which Hegel defines philosophy itself: but, unfortunately, it is a definition that begs the whole question between the metaphysical class of philosophers and the positivist or scientific class. All of these define philosophy as the generalization of the observed facts of science, and allege that true philosophy, in the sense in which Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, Comte, and Spencer are philosophers, not only is not helped by metaphysics, but it discards the metaphysical method, and contemplates the metaphysical field of thought only to close it up as unprofitable. Kant says, in opening his own work, that Plato "made no real progress in all his efforts, because he abandoned the world of sense, impatient of the limits it sets upon thought, and rose on ideal wings into the void space of pure intellect, where no progress was possible for want of a resisting medium." He was trying to fly in a vacuum. But the Experiential or Positive School virtually charge that throughout the *Critique of the Pure Reason* Kant was only flying in that same vacuum. Kant's dogmatic tone shows that he had no doubt that he had reduced metaphysics to a state of certainty as definite as mathematics, though his politic and would-be modest phrase disclaims success. And yet his very first position—that time and space, in which all things exist, do not themselves exist, except subjectively in our thoughts—is one in which scarcely a subsequent metaphysician has agreed with him; for they say if time and space exist only in our thought, and if all other entities in the universe exist only in time and in space, as they certainly do, then the whole universe has no objective existence, and is indebted for its appearance of existing to the fact that we deign to think of it. Therefore, when we go to sleep, the universe absolutely ceases to exist. All this absurdity is irresistibly inferrable from the very first inference of the metaphysician who was going to place metaphysics on a scientific basis.

But perhaps Mr. Spencer's position that time and space cannot be thought of may seem to some as untenable as Kant s position that time and space exist only in thought. Let us see, then, what progress thought can make in comprehending

Time and Space.

Time, we say, means duration, or the condition by means of which things exist successively; and space means extension, or the condition by means of which things coexist simultaneously. Truly. But duration of what, extension of what? In order that duration may exist, there must be something to endure, or else we must be able to think of duration as a quality of nothing. And, in order that extension may exist, there must be something to extend, or else we must be able to think of extension as a quality of nothing. If we think duration and extension to be qualities possessed by the things which fill the universe, then, if there were nothing in the universe, there could be neither duration nor extension; *i.e.*, neither time nor space. But this mode of thinking makes the existence of things to be the conditions without which time and space could not exist: whereas, according to our definition of time and space, things themselves can only exist in time and in space; and, therefore, time and space are the conditions without which things could not exist. Hence, time and space are not qualities of things. They also are not things; for we define time as the condition precedent to the existence of things in succession,—*i.e.*, we cannot think of one thing following another, unless both are in time. Therefore, time, being the condition upon which things exist successively, is not itself a thing. And space, being a condition to the existence of things simultaneously, cannot itself be a thing. For that which conditions another entity cannot be that entity, any more than a cause can be its own effect, or than a father can be his own son. Besides, if space were a thing, instead of being the extension which things occupy, then you could have a thing not in space; for to say that space is in space would be absurd. And, again, if space were a thing, then, as all things are in space, it would follow that there were never less than two things in the same place at the same time; namely, the space and the thing that occupies it, which is a double absurdity,—once, because no two things can occupy the same place at the same time; and once, because it drives us back to the assumption that space is in space, which contradicts our definition of space as being the place things occupy, and not a thing in itself. So of time. If time be a thing in itself, then it must exist in some order in relation to succession with other things,—*i.e.*, either before, simultaneously with, or after any other one thing that exists; for we have defined time as the condition wherein, or by means of which, all things that do exist maintain an order of succession. But nothing can precede time nor follow it. Like the road over which the procession passes, it cannot get up and join in the procession. Time will not come into any relation of succession, because it is the condition upon which we think of things in their succession; and that which conditions a thing cannot be that which it conditions. Hence, time is not a thing. But we have already proved that space is not a thing. Hence, there are two kinds of nothing; namely, spatial nothing and durational nothing, which is again absurd. For there can be no distinctions or qualities to nothing.

Try it Again.

Space is something, because it is that which contains all things. Since it contains, it therefore acts; and whatever acts or performs a function must have an existence. Very well. Whatever exists must have qualities by which we become sensible of its existence. What quality, then, has space by which we know of its existence? Suppose we say it has extension. But extension is space itself. The two are but different words having one meaning. We will say it contains. Is that an attribute of space? If so, take away that which it contains. Then, the space is still there, but it doesn't contain. Hence, containing is not the attribute. Well, we say it has a capacity for containing. Try that. We restore the object that fills it,—the space occupied by this ball for instance. Now, it contains again; but, though the space is still there, it has lost its capacity for containing. For, as space is filled, its capacity to contain becomes exhausted. Therefore, capacity for containing is not a continual attribute of space: it is only an attribute of empty space, not of space *per se*. So we return again, and say, Space is its own sole quality, extension. Very well. This ball has the same extension as the space it occupies. Extension, therefore, is a quality of things; but, if it be a quality of things, it cannot be a condition to the existence of things. For nothing can be at once the effect of a thing and its condition, or that without which it could not be. But, if space do not condition the existence of things' then there may be things that exist without any space to exist in,—*i.e.*, nowhere, which is again absurd. Hence, space has no attributes by which to make itself known to us. But that which cannot make itself known to us cannot exist. Hence, metaphysics says space does not exist. But common sense says space only fails to exist when considered metaphysically; *i.e.*, it fails to exist in thought, or to be expressible in terms of thought, because it is not itself thought,—just as length fails to be expressible in terms of weight, or color in terms of value. Just as we cannot say how much a mile weighs or how much yellow is worth, so we cannot express space in terms of thought, because space does not think. To be able to think truly what space is would be to contain space in its essence in our thought. But space will no more be comprehended in thought than color can be contained in length.

And Still Again.

Take the case of time again. Time, if it exists, is either past, present, or future. The past portion of time does not exist, because it has ceased to be. The future does not exist, because it has not begun to be. The present is a mere line of division between the future and the past; and, as a line can have no width,

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so the present can have no duration. It is a mere moving line of distinction between future and past; hence, not having duration, it is not time. Hence, metaphysically, time does not exist.

This is the metaphysics of it only. The common sense of it is that time is a simple concept, part of the original raw material whose existence the mind must assume without analysis, being, like the sixty-seven simple substances in chemistry, incapable of comprehension, but necessary to be apprehended. Spencer says: "It results, therefore, that space and time are wholly incomprehensible. The immediate knowledge which we think we have of them proves, when examined, to be total ignorance."

Failure of Metaphysical Methods.

I would say, when examined by the metaphysical method only, it proves to be ignorance, just as life, when searched for with the dissecting knife, reveals only death,—not because there was no life there, but because the knife destroys the life for which it seeks. But when we look for life with our own life, with the outstretched hand, the genial word, the act of co-operation or recognition, there is life not only in every flower and bird and leaf, but possibly in every pebble. So, in our experience, to see time and space, we have only to think back and to look around. They are the two plainest facts in the world to every person who doesn't know anything at all. To understand them completely, it is only requisite to be a fool. But, to become incapable of understanding them, you must, by spending several years upon metaphysics, rise in this profession to the high point where you cannot remember the teachings of common sense; and, when you can aver and prove that neither time nor space exist except in thought, you will be a metaphysician of the order of Kant. If you conclude that they cannot be thought of at all, and that all thought begins by assuming certain unthinkable ideas, you will agree with Spencer. If you believe that time and space both are and are not, and that the fact that they are and the fact that they are not is one and the same fact, you will agree with Hegel. If you believe that the result impeaches the metaphysical method, and proves that the metaphysical method is, at least in relation to space and time, to be subordinated to the experiential,—*i.e.*, that we "can reason but from what we know," *i.e.*, again, from what we observe or suffer or perceive,—then you agree with Auguste Comte. If you believe that this apparent conflict between common sense and metaphysics is not inherent or final, but that a philosophy can be predicated which shall accord with every instinct of common sense, yet shall carry the mind up into the highest reaches of human speculation, keeping your feet all the time on firm ground, while with the wings of your thought you cleave the highest heaven,—if you are a bird of that kind,—and that it is one of the highest functions of common sense to recognize the thinking power as something that works in a conditioned sphere, terminating in the contradictory poles of the infinite at one end and the absolute at the other,—if you think you know what that means, and that that is true science and not poetic cloudland, then you are with Sir William Hamilton.

Further Applications of the Metaphysical Method.

Let us see, then, if we can think without self-contradiction of matter, force, and action or motion. Aristotle thought that matter consists of two phases: namely, essence or substance, which is the thing in itself, and attributes or qualities, which are the messengers which make the thing known to our senses. This notion was held so long that it became an underlying assumption in all speech concerning matter. But the difficulty is that, when we strip matter or substance successively of the several qualities by which we know it,—namely, form, size, weight, hardness, color, fragrance, flavor, density,—and then look underneath them for the wearer of all this mere apparel, he is not there. We know matter only by its qualities; yet none of these qualities is the thing in itself, as Democritus was the first to show twenty-five hundred years ago. Hence, its essence, the mysterious supposed something in which these qualities inhere, is wholly unknown to us. Upon this basis, Lotze and his pupil, Prof. Bowne, of Boston, in his recent work on metaphysics, deny the Aristotelian doctrine that there is to matter any essence or substance in which its qualities inhere, "as pins stick into a cushion"; and this brings them to a new definition of matter,—namely, that matter is that which acts, that what we call its qualities are its action, and that, apart from this action, matter has no existence for our thought. For instance, the fact that it resists the attempt of other matter to occupy the same place with it at the same time we call the quality of hardness, or impenetrability; the fact that it attracts and is attracted by the earth we call its weight; the act of its supposed atoms in cohering together in the degree they do, and yet in standing apart in the degree they do, we calls its atomic structure, or density; the act of light in being reflected from its surface we calls its color; if it be fruit, its act of sending sensations of taste to the brain, we call its flavor. And so all its attributes become acts or manifestations of force. But, alas! when we have got so far, we find that, instead of defining matter according to our preconceived notion as passive substance, we have thought it out of existence, and have substituted in its place force or motion.

Can we think of Action, Force, or Motion?

It must be then that force or motion is a more tractable idea, and one more capable of being detained by thought than matter is. What, then, is force? Take the force of cohesion in a bar of steel. The only way we can think of it is to think of it as the act of an atom. We imagine the piece of steel to be composed of atoms, each as much smaller than a mite's eye as an apple is smaller than the entire globe. These atoms are all alike, all units of substance, have the same weight and size, but are too small to have a shape of any kind; but, if they have a shape, they are round. Inasmuch as all matter is compressible, it is necessary to think of all these little fellows as lying like fine shot in a canister with spaces between, since the universal compressibility of all matter requires that the atoms, even in a bar of steel, shall say to each other, "Keep your distance." This being so, cohesion means that these little fellows, without arms, or hooks, or brads, or sticking material of any kind, hold on to each other with such force, both for the purpose of preventing any greater separation and to prevent any greater compression, that a steam trip-hammer that will displace them in the smallest perceptible degree costs in some instances a million dollars to construct, and descends with a force of a thousand tons. This cohesive force, bear in mind, is not a force which the atom can exert within its own dimensions: it must be exerted over its neighbor. It is a force acting outside itself, like the force a policeman exerts over his prisoner. In cohesion, it exerts this force over its nearest neighbor; but, in gravitation, it exerts a like attractive force upon every other atom in the most distant world. Now, the mind is so constructed that no thinker has ever been able to think, or ever will be, how an atom can act outside itself upon another atom, either at small or at remote distances. But this mode of action is the essence of all force. Hence, no man can think of force. Hence, Lotze and Bowne, in defining matter as that which acts or exerts force, have only escaped out of one unthinkable idea into another just as unthinkable.

Newton's View of Atoms.

To show you that our attempted definitions of matter are not mere idols of straw set up to be knocked down, but are the best the human mind has been able to conceive, let me quote to you the Aristotelian conception of matter, as stated by Sir Isaac Newton. He says: "It seems probable to me that God in the beginning formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, movable particles of such sizes and figures, and with such other properties and in such proportion to space, as most conduced to the end for which he formed them, and that these primitive particles being solids are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them, even so very hard as never to wear or break in pieces; no ordinary power being able to divide what God himself made one in the first creation."

Graham's Atom in Motion causes Volume.

Judge Stallo quotes Mr. Thomas Graham as holding that all the atoms in every mass, no matter how solid it may be,—as, for instance, a bar of steel,—are in perpetual motion, bounding and rebounding against each other, as nearly all physicists suppose the atoms in every gas to be. Mr. Graham says: "Let us imagine one kind of substance only to exist, ponderable matter; and, further, that matter is divisible into ultimate atoms, uniform in size and weight. We shall then have one substance and a common atom. With the atom at rest, the uniformity of matter would be perfect. But the atom possesses always more or less motion, due, it must be assumed, to a primordial impulse. This motion gives rise to volume. The more rapid the movement, the greater the space occupied by the atom, somewhat as the orbit of a planet widens with the degree of projectile velocity. Matter is thus made to differ only in being lighter or denser matter. The specific motion of an atom being inalienable, light matter is no longer convertible into heavy matter. In short, matter of different density forms different (simple) substances,—different inconvertible elements, as they have been considered."

Mr. Graham negatives our primary idea of matter, namely, that it is not motion, by attributing its most familiar and inseparable attribute, namely, relative density, to the relative rapidity of the motions of its atoms, and thus robs its atoms of the qualities of inertia and passivity, with which in the definition of matter they are endowed, and virtually tells us that we know matter only as motion. This would be like answering the question, "Why does the stone move through the air?" by saying, "Because it is a bird." Graham virtually asks, "Why do different masses of inert, dead matter differ in density?" and answers by saying, "Because there is no such thing as dead inert matter: every atom moves, and all matter lives." Thus, as the attribute of cohesion brought us by the metaphysical route to the conclusion that all matter is force, so, by the same route, the attribute of density also returns to the conclusion that we know matter only as motion, which again is as contradictory to common sense as it is irresistibly inferable in metaphysics.

Spencer on the Limits of Thought.

Mr. Spencer therefore says concerning matter: "Matter then, in its ultimate nature, is as absolutely incomprehensible as space and time. Frame what suppositions we may, we find, on tracing out their implications, that they leave us nothing but a choice between opposite absurdities"; and, concerning motion, he says: "Neither when considered in connection with space, nor when considered in connection with matter, nor when considered in connection with rest, do we find that motion is truly cognizable. All efforts to understand its essential nature do but bring us to alternative impossibilities of thought." The same is his conclusion concerning force and consciousness. The impossibility of knowing things in themselves, or *noumena*, and the fact that the limits of the human intellect confine it to uses and appearances, or *phenomena*, were familiar topics to the Greeks. Hence, their name for an appearance has become the common English name for an observed fact. Spencer says of the philosopher, "In all directions his investigations eventually bring him face to face with an insoluble enigma; and he evermore clearly perceives it to be an insoluble enigma. He learns at once the greatness and the littleness of the human intellect, its power in dealing with all that comes within the range of experience, its impotence in dealing with all that transcends experience. He realizes with a special vividness the utter incomprehensibleness of the simplest fact considered in itself. He more than any other *truly knows that in its ultimate essence nothing can be known.*"

Pumping Inspiration into Genesis.

Here therefore, in the midst of the Garden of Philosophy, is the tree of whose fruit we may not eat, the tree of the knowledge of things as they are, or of things in their essential nature. Of the fruit of the tree of life—*i.e.*, of the uses of things experientially—we may eat. Slight perversions of the meaning of all revelations are necessary to bring them into harmony with either science or philosophy. But, by putting into Genesis a meaning its author never dreamed of, we can find in it a rude and crude prophecy of the limits on human knowledge as they beset the most advanced philosophy. We can know the uses of things; *i.e.*, how to live in and by them. But we cannot know them in their essential nature. The difference between Philosophy and Genesis in this respect was that in Genesis it is represented that mankind might overstep the prescribed limitations on the knowable. In Philosophy, it is affirmed that the law is self-enforcing, and that human thought has never had the power to violate it.

(*Concluded next week.*)

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For The Index.

MAXIMS AND MEDITATIONS.

BY J. WM. LLOYD.

The wisest man is he who knows best how to be happy himself, and how to make others happy also.

The best man is he who can keep step to the wisest man's music.

Do not condemn a thing because the world condemns it, because it is new, or because it seems to combat your own preconceived theories or opinions. Examine it for yourself, honestly and fearlessly, without malice or prejudices; and, if you find it true, virtuous, and worthy of imitation, then believe and accept it. If, on the contrary, it should prove to be false, doubtful, or impure, then reject it, no matter how much it may be applauded by those around you.

Religion is the theory and practice of perfection.

Our memories should be like sun-dials, recording only the sunny hours and bright moments of existence.

The true infidel is the man who is voluntarily unfaithful to his ideals.

An ideal is like a mountain peak, seen afar off by a traveller in the desert: the nearer he comes to it, and the more clearly he perceives it, the higher and longer and wider it becomes; and it ridges itself with rocks, and waves with trees and laughs with brooks, until, instead of being a mere point on the horizon, it proves a world of fertility, strength, and beauty. So all good things grow nobler and finer as we approach them; but evil things are mirages that grow smaller and meaner.

In the poetry of life, "she" always rhymes with "he."

In all religion, in all philosophy, I find only this worthy,—to do good, enjoy the present, and trust the future.

The hunter is often surprised, in his mountain rambles, to stumble upon some dimpled and crystal spring, half-hidden among storm-torn trees and jagged rocks; and, in many a stern and iron-bound nature, there lurks a fountain of purity and kindliness, where the peace of heaven is reflected, where the bright sun shines upon purling waters, sweet with joy and refreshing.

Self-sacrifice is the cream that rises on the milk-pans of human kindness; and martyrs, heroes, and reformers are rolls of butter, churned therefrom by the dashing of human woes.

Even as the sparkling water of the ever-flowing fountain quickly washes out and away the poison of any drug that may be thrown into it, so the sweetness of the right mind quickly purifies itself from the envenoming influence of the obscenity, wrath, and wrong by which it is daily contaminated.

Woe to that oyster whose shell is too hard for his growth.

Eternal warfare is the price of peace; eternal labor, the price of rest.

We are like shell-fish, washed and surrounded by the oceans of eternity, clinging to and crawling about in the sands of time, and making sundry queer marks and patterns thereon. Perchance, when those sands have petrified into the rocky foundations of future ages, some of these marks may remain: our fossilized lives even may give pleasure and instruction to the *savans* of the future.

If we sin, it is against ourselves and our fellow-creatures: we cannot sin against God.

We often long to go back to the small pants and jacket of childhood; but, when we try them on, we find we have lost the fit.

A frank and simple and hearty speech, a ready smile, a quiet dignity that is free from pride, and a modesty that is devoid of humility, an air of politeness that cannot be analyzed away, a good-natured adaptation to life's inequalities, and a persistent but unostentatious adherence to principle,—these are badges of noblemen.

What can't be endured must be cured.

Poverty is a lean mare, but she raises some sleek colts.

HE is good that does good to others. If he suffers for the good he does, he is better still; and, if he suffers from them to whom he did good, he has arrived to that height of goodness that nothing but an increase of his suffering can add to it: if it proves his death, his virtue is at its summit,—it is heroism complete.—*Bruyère.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

GALETTA, ONT., Dec. 26, 1882.

Editors of The Index:—

It is matter of common remark that a good cause sometimes suffers more from injudicious friends than from open enemies. This is especially true of free thought. In the war which it has waged against superstition and the false beliefs and practices of the past, the strange vagaries and crude and groundless notions of some of its advocates have done immense harm, have closed the ears of many doubters and inquirers, and given strength to the arguments of the enemy. How much obloquy and contempt have been brought upon free thought by forced alliances with free love, with Spiritualism, with quack physiological nostrums of one kind and another; but greater harm than from any of these sources has come from false ideas on economic questions, such as the relations of capital and labor, currency and banking, conditions of the working classes and the like. A recent writer in *The Index* has launched out a prodigious tirade against business men, meaning especially the employers of labor, comparing them to the corrupt politicians, charging them with being the cause of the corruption in politics, with being "contemptuous of moralities and ready, pen in hand, to strike 'heart' from the qualities of the human brotherhood," and charging the present wage system with being the cause of prostitution among women and with making men sneaks and thieves. What will the thousands of employers of labor on this continent, who, by their ingenuity and skill and capital, provide industrial employment and a comfortable living to hundreds of thousands of men and women, think of this? Sometimes these men succeed and grow rich, sometimes they fail and lose all; but, meanwhile, their workers have had their wages, and bear no share of the loss. What would these theorists who deny that the law of supply and demand applies to labor put in its place? How do they propose to appraise the varying qualities of workmen? If they would have the profits over and above interest on capital and cost of management divided among the workers, what about the losses, and who is to decide what the cost of management should be? These people seem not to be aware that the agriculturist with his crops is exactly on the same footing as the workingman with his labor. Last year, the farmer expended the same amount on his wheat fields that he did this year, the same ploughing, sowing, and harvesting. Yet he is compelled to sell his grain for thirty per cent. less than last year. Who is to reimburse him for this loss? What capitalist has he a claim upon? The principal, if not the whole cost of his wheat, is in the labor he has put in it; and he stands exactly on the same footing as the workingman, who demands that his wages shall be high, whether there have been gains or losses in the business. This matter may be verified by any one who chooses to visit a city market. He will find the profits of the market gardener and farmer—literally their wages—varying from day to day in proportion to supply and demand. When an article is abundant the price comes down, when it is scarce the price rises, while the labor put into the production of these articles remains the same. No one ever heard of any of the railers against political economy going into the market, and addressing a farmer who has on hand a quantity, say, of butter, the price of which has fallen on account of a full market: "My good friend, you must not be the victim of this bogus law of supply and demand. Your wife has expended the same amount of labor as heretofore on this butter. I will pay you the price you have been accustomed to."

To speak of the conception of trade as "the old robber conception, enforced by money and the threat of want," is language, to say the least, extravagant. No reflecting person will so describe the marvellous system of exchange of commodities by which the necessaries and the luxuries of life are brought within the reach of the remotest hamlet, and the productions of far distant lands brought across the ocean to cheer the hearts of the poorest in the land. Equally untrue and inapplicable is such language to the relations of the employer and the employed. In the vast majority of cases, this relationship is mutually beneficial, and very frequently accompanied by feelings of friendliness and co-operation. A very large number of the present employers of labor were originally workingmen, who by industry and economy accumulated capital, the possession of which, aided by skill and character, enables them now to provide employment for their fellows. And, even among the largest capitalist employers, it is no uncommon occurrence for them to keep their works going at a loss, for the sake of their workers, hoping often against hope for the return of better times and the resumption of profitable business. These men, in the simplicity of their hearts, never for a moment imagine that the wage system makes women prostitutes and men sneaks and thieves. They, on the contrary, think that one of the best checks to prostitution and theft is employment for idle hands.

The transformation of the savage man into the civilized, which takes place in the social state, is a slow process, and, notwithstanding all our progress, is still far from complete. Power of application has to be developed. The ability to sacrifice immediate gratification for future reward has to be gained. Industry, self-denial, forethought,—these are the qualities which distinguish civilized from savage man; and they have to be acquired by painful expression of consequences. And, as misery must more or less result from incongruity between constitution and conditions, the unhappiness must be borne as best it can. The process of adaptation to the social state must be undergone, and the sufferings have to be endured. No statute of the legislator, no rectifying scheme of the humane who weep with compassion over human suffering, and, least of all, no communist panaceas can stand in the place of this adaptation, or mitigate the sufferings by which it is accompanied. In the mean time, it is pleasant to think that large numbers of the working classes have emerged and do every day emerge from the condition of life where daily labor is exchanged for daily sustenance. It is reasonable to think that this process will go on in an increasing ratio, and that, when the time comes—as come it will—when men are universally intelligent, industrious, and honest, the wage system will give place to something better, but not till then. J. G. WHYTE.

LIBERALISM IN RELIGION.

Editors of The Index:—

The progress of Liberalism in Religion seems to me one of the most wonderful things of this wonderful age. I am not yet sixty; and yet within my day has appeared, had its day, and vanished almost out of sight the era of "revivals" and "conversions." Whatever these manifestations seemed to be, they were really built upon the theory of the miraculous interposition of God. The Almighty was to the Churches of those days a sort of superintendent of religious "awakenings," omnipresently going around from village to village gathering into the fold all sinners. Now, the refined and cultivated, it would seem, have everywhere banished hell (which was and is the corner-stone of Orthodoxy) from their belief, not because it is not taught in the Bible (for it is taught there), but from an innate sense of its inconsistency with any possibly sensible idea of God. They have everywhere consigned to the province of mythology the myths of Moses or of whomsoever was the author of the Book of Genesis. And all classes are looking on with astonishment as they see the once sacred book treated like any other classic, subjected to criticism, historical and verbal. What, they say, "have we been listening to words of 'inspiration,' we and our ancestors, for three hundred years, that were not genuine? And have our clergy all this time been too ignorant or not truthful enough to tell us of it? What then becomes of the 'inspiration'? Did God intend to furnish us with his word, and has he failed? or is the Bible like any other book, a book?"

The custodians of Orthodoxy for the long period that elapsed from Paul, its true author, to Leo XIII., and the last Ecumenical Council of the Methodist Church, have not been fools; and they have surrounded their narrow and artificial religion with defences of many kinds. Any man of little sense can see that Jesus did not claim miraculous power as a personal gift and evidence of his mission. He claimed it only as an evidence of faith, that any man might possess, and by the exercise of which he might "remove a mountain." So the Church has always claimed the power of miracles, and claims it yet. The Protestants do not claim it. The truth is Protestantism is unfledged Rationalism.

So with the infallibility of the Church and of the Pope as its head. Is the meaning of the Bible some-

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times confused and contradictory, as might be expected from the number of its authors? The infallible Church is its legitimate and indeed promised interpreter. Protestantism ignores or denies this power, and it has split into possibly a thousand sects. The Church of Rome, claiming the promise that "on this Peter I will found my Church," assumes the prerogatives of power and authority. "Thus saith the Church," is a commission behind which no one is allowed to look. But Protestantism, clothing herself only with what she calls truth and reason, increases like the diatoms by bifurcation, each half after separation claiming all the prestige of the original whole. I say again that "Protestantism is nothing else but nascent Rationalism." Who, that has been brought up in families belonging to Presbyterian or other orthodox churches, has not known from childhood rationalists in the Church? Their Rationalism might not have extended very far, their horizon might have been limited; but it was there, and it was the seed of wider rationalism, scepticism if you please, in their children, which spreads out in ever-widening circles with each succeeding generation.

The time is not very far distant when there will be again in Christendom but one Christian Church. Protestantism, which will then mean Rationalism, having disclaimed inspiration, supernaturalism, and authority, having organized itself into creedless associations for the cultivation of ethics, and the encouragement of morality and neighborhood sociality, will look back upon its Luthers and Knoxes as the unwitting planters of free thought and free speech.

JOHN G. WEBB.

THE SUNDAY EVENING ASSOCIATION IN LONDON.

Editors of The Index:—

On Saturday, December 16, the second annual meeting of this association was held at the Laugham Hotel, the newly elected President, Mr. G. I. Romanes, F.R.S., in the chair. The annual report was read by Mr. Edward Marsh Simpson, one of the honorary secretaries; and Mr. Godfrey Stafford, Treasurer, read the balance-sheet. These having been adopted, the President delivered his address.

Mr. Romanes, in the course of his remarks, said there were three great questions which the philosophy of the present day was trying to answer: namely, What can we know? What ought we to do? What may we hope for? Fortunately, most persons were fairly unanimous on the first two questions; but, with regard to the third, the mental activity of the present day only seemed to leave the matter in greater perplexity than ever. He would at once admit that while religion, by which he meant creed, was a thing apart from conduct or morals, nevertheless there were circumstances in which the two blended or overlapped, and in this category he placed the observance of the Sabbath. Amid all the controversy which this question excited there was one thing on which we had all agreed; namely, that Sunday must always be a day of rest. Indeed, a deep debt of gratitude was due to those creeds which had given us the Sunday. Proceeding to criticise the words of the Commandment which enjoins abstention from servile labor on the seventh day, Mr. Romanes maintained that the true interpretation of the text pointed more to rest than the performance of any religious ceremony. He quite admitted, however, that Sunday should be a day of prayers, though he strongly maintained that the views of the strict Sabbatarian were not warranted by anything found in Scripture. In conclusion, Mr. Romanes said: "I think that all reasonably minded persons must agree that it is only those who belong to the straightest sect of the Pharisees who can find anything to condemn in the aims and the methods of the Sunday Evening Association. Therefore, I heartily hope this, the third year of its existence, may prove as useful as the first and second have been, and that it may long survive to bestow on others the benefits which it has already bestowed on us."

At the close of the address, which was listened to with much interest, the meeting proceeded to the election of officers for the year, including Mr. Mark Judge, Chairman of Committee; Mr. Godfrey Shaen, Treasurer; and Mr. I. I. Marshall and Mr. I. Godfrey Stafford, Honorary Secretaries. The committee intimated that arrangements were being made for a series of Sunday evening meetings at the Workingmen's College in Gt. Ormond Street, commencing January 14.

MARK H. JUDGE.

LONDON, ENG.

ETERNAL DAMNATION.

Editors of the Index:—

This agitation in orthodox circles concerning eternal damnation and future probation is certainly pleasing to liberal minds, as it shows that the human is getting the better of the animal in man, and demonstrates that the idea of a brotherhood of man is gaining ground. It is truly gratifying when such a radical orthodox exponent as the Rev. J. L. Withrow, D.D., comes to the front in defence of Orthodoxy from the imputation of having always believed and taught that the greater part of us poor mortals are doomed to everlasting punishment, or that the few would be saved, and the many lost. That idea was early instilled into my mind, and was encouraged and strengthened by all the preaching and Sunday-school teaching from my childhood up to the time I commenced to think for myself. And isn't this the experience of every one who has been brought up under orthodox training? It speaks well for the liberal pulpit and press, and shows that their efforts in the cause of humanity have not been in vain, when orthodox preachers begin to go back on their record, as they are now doing in denying that they have *thought* as bad as they have taught. It speaks well, also, for those liberal-minded orthodox divines who, having the courage of their convictions, come out boldly and say, Brethren, we have gone too far in this direction. God is not quite so bad as we have been representing him. The idea is beginning to penetrate through the brains of theologians that *perhaps* God is not any meaner or more cruel than they themselves would be under similar circumstances; and, when a man gets that idea once planted in his brain, it is wonderful how quickly it will germinate and grow. There seems to be a stream of warm, fructifying influences flowing up from the heart, which at once meet the roots of the idea, causing it to grow and spread into the broad tree of humanity, which soon brings forth its glorious fruits,—hope, love, and charity. But, to return, wouldn't it have seemed more honest in Dr. Withrow if, instead of denying that the doctrine of eternal damnation for the non-elect had ever been in the orthodox creed, he had come out fairly, and "acknowledged the corn" by saying that idea *had* been held in the past, but was now entertained only by the few, or said nothing? His position now seems very equivocal, for he must acknowledge ignorance of his own creed or stand as a dissembler. The Boston *Herald* of Saturday morning, 6th inst., editorially gives a very lucid explanation of the controversy between the editor of the *Christian Register* and Dr. Withrow, and says Dr. Withrow has been discounted and beaten out of his position, "horse, foot, and dragoons," by Rev. S. J. Barrows.

The time may not be far distant when Prof. Park will deny that *he* ever decried future probation for fear that "the blessedness of the saints would be insecure." Isn't it the *heartfelt* wish of all civilized humanity that the future of mankind may be *better* than the present? And why may not the wish be father to the thought that God wishes so too, and means it shall be?

W. H. S.

WEST SOMERVILLE, Jan. 6, 1883.

LIBERAL RELIGION IN LONG ISLAND, N.Y.

Editors of The Index:—

During the past three years, by request of Mr. Isaac W. Ketcham, the writer has conducted, albeit in imperfect fashion, rationalistic meetings at the residence of that gentleman, in Jericho, Queens County, L.I. Our series of meetings have usually commenced the first of June, and ended the last of October. They have been held fortnightly, on Sunday afternoons. Mr. Ketcham is one of the most prominent business men in the section where he resides, a most estimable gentleman, and withal a subscriber to *The Index*. Our meetings have been well attended, and the interest manifested has been deep and abiding. The prevailing religious sentiment of the place is that of the Hicksite Friends; and Orthodoxy there is at a decided discount, thus rendering it a comparatively easy matter for a rationalist to obtain a hearing. The most gratifying thing of all is the assurance that, together with the mental agitation in the community resulting from our fortnightly gatherings, their moral influence has been of an uplifting and ennobling character. The writer has tried to be fair in all his statements concerning the Christian religion, and has endeavored to keep an eye single to the advancement of our common cause.

Yours very respectfully, W. C. BOWEN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y., Nov. 27, 1882.

MISCELLANEOUS.

HOW TO HELP THE POOR.—One of our liberal writers makes the following timely appeal in behalf of the poor and in behalf of the Associated Charities work for them: "The winter which has set in so early with severe cold and snow promises to be a hard one for the poor from the scarcity of work and the high price of the most common articles of food and fuel. While our hearts have gone out in festive kindness during the holiday season, we should be sure that our sympathy does not fail in the sterner needs of every-day life. The tramp and the beggar in the street appeal to our sensibilities and shock our taste, and we are too apt to satisfy our feelings and relieve our nerves by giving them a few coins or some old clothing, which are quite insufficient to relieve their wants, if they are real sufferers, but quite enough to encourage them in idle habits of begging, or to furnish them with the desired dram, if they are worthless impostors. How, then, can we be sure that we have done our duty by the poor and unfortunate who have fallen out in the race of life from circumstances beyond their own control? Setting aside the great social questions of the origin and prevention of poverty for the time, we can only meet the present need by steady, persistent care of the poor, which will not only relieve the hunger of to-day, but help them into a position where the bread of to-morrow is secure. In the busy hurry of life, we cannot always stop to investigate cases and carry out a wise system of help; but we can at least make ourselves acquainted with the institutions of charity already existing, see what they are doing, and give them the hearty support which will enable them to do *our work* efficiently. For is it not the work of all of us to care for our brothers, and see that none of these little ones of society are lost?

"The Board of Associated Charities are striving to do this very work as an organized body. They endeavor to become acquainted with all those families and individuals who are liable on any sudden emergency to fall into the pauper class, and by help at the right time and of the right kind to enable them to regain their independence and self-supporting character. In doing so, they do not deprive this class of any other charitable help; but they use all the agencies which are already in existence, only trying to put them into mutual relation, so that they shall supplement each other instead of duplicating each other's work. The help of the Overseers of the Poor, of the Provident Association, of the North End Mission, of the various hospitals and homes in the city, is eagerly sought and gratefully accepted for such cases as they can meet; while the visitor can fill up by individual advice and assistance any gaps which are left by these institutions. Here, then, is an agency which every one, however hurried, can employ to relieve the poor and to satisfy his own benevolent feelings without doing violence to his sense of justice and social science. Let any one place in the hands of this board the money which he would be willing to give to chance beggars in the course of the year, and then refer all such cases to the central office in Chardon Street, and he may sleep with a clear conscience, knowing that he has done his part to prevent any one in the city from severe suffering by cold and hunger. At the same time, the magic word 'Chardon Street' at once silences the importunate beggar and sends a chill to the heart of the impudent impostor. Do not accept the negative duty of giving no money without investigation without at the same time taking the positive step of strengthening those organizations which should make beggary needless and impossible."

WHAT is blasphemy? To contradict a priest, to have a mind of your own? Whosoever takes a step in advance is a blasphemer. Blasphemy is what a last year's leaf says to this year's bud. To deny that Mohammed is the prophet of God is not blasphemy in New York. It is in Constantinople. It is a question, then, largely of geography. It depends on where you are. The missionary who laughs at a modern God is a blasphemer. In a Catholic country, whoever says Mary is not the mother of God is a blasphemer. In a Protestant country, to say she is the mother of God is blasphemy. Everything has been blasphemy. My

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doctrine is this: he is a blasphemer who refuses to tell his honest thought, who is not true to himself, who enslaves his fellow-man, who charges that God was once in favor of slavery. If there is any God, that man is a blasphemer. They're afraid we'll injure God. How? Are infinite goodness and mercy to become livid with wrath, because a finite being expresses an opinion? I cannot help the infinite. That man only is the good man who helps his fellow-man. I know men who would do anything for God, who doesn't need it, but nothing for men, who do need it. Why should God be so particular about my believing his book? It's no more his work than the stars or gravitation. Yet I may declare that the earth is flat, and he'll not damn me for that; but, if I make a mistake about that book, I'm gone. I can blaspheme the multiplication-table, and deny the power of the wedge, —in fact, the less I know, the better my chance will be. I say that this book is not inspired, and there is no infinitely good God who will damn one human soul at the judgment. If I am mistaken, I will own up. I am here: I do not know where I came from nor where I am going,—I'll be honest about it. I am on a ship, am not on speaking terms with the Captain; but I propose to have a happy voyage, and the best way is to do what you can toward making your fellow-passengers happy. If we run into a good port, I'll be as happy an angel as you'll meet that day. Blasphemy is the cry of a defeated priest, the black flag of theology: it shows where argument stops and slander and persecution begin.—*Ingersoll.*

EVERY six months, a notice is circulated in the female penitentiaries of France, calling upon all women who feel inclined to go out to New Caledonia and be married to make an application to that effect through the Governor. The matrimonial candidates must be young and exempt from physical infirmities. Girls under long sentences readily catch at this method of escaping from prison life. The only moral qualification requisite is to have behaved well at least two years in the penitentiary. The selected candidates have to sign engagements promising to marry convicts and to settle in New Caledonia for the remainder of their lives. On these conditions, the government transports them, gives them an outfit, and a ticket of leave when they land at Noumea. The marriages are arranged for them by the Governor of the colony, who has a selection of well-behaved convicts ready for them to choose from; and each girl may consult her own fancy within certain limits, for the proportion of marriageable men to women is about three to one. It has frequently happened that pretty girls have been wooed by warders, free settlers, or time-expired soldiers and sailors, instead of by convicts. In such cases, the Governor can only assent to a marriage on condition that the female convict's free lover shall place himself in the position of a ticket-of-leave man, and undertake never to leave the colony. The married couple get huts and free grants of land, and all they can draw from it by their own labor becomes theirs. During five years, they are subjected to the obligation of reporting themselves weekly at the district police-office; and they are forbidden to enter public houses, and must not be found out of doors at night. This probationary period being satisfactorily passed, they get their full freedom, but subject always to the condition of remaining in the colony. To this rule, the law has forbidden that any exception shall be made. On no account whatever must convicts who have accepted grants of land and contracted "administrative marriages," as they are called, ever return to France.

THE attack upon supernaturalism is becoming more and more bitter,—supernaturalism in the Bible, in its prophecies and miracles, in the person of Jesus Christ, and in his resurrection from the dead. The "broad Church" is every day gathering some new, conspicuous name into its ranks. It is indeed a "broad Church"; for it embraces, with those who simply yield to the modern destructive criticism upon the Old and New Testaments, the vicarious character of the atonement, and the eternal element in final retribution, those who accept the evolution theory without hesitation or limitation, as does Mr. Beecher in the August *North American*, and those who divest the Bible of all special inspiration, refuse to accept its supernatural statements, and find God only in nature, in law, and in science, in an unseen force above us tending to righteousness, as does Mr. Arnold, and as, in his last book, *Natural Religion*, Prof. Seeley (author of *Ecce Homo*) very definitely teaches. This evidently is the tendency of the "broad Church." Few that still hold upon the Christian name have reached the outer limit. The majority linger at the threshold, reluctant to cut themselves entirely loose from the sacred traditions of the past. They shrink back at first from the chilling and impersonal faith that is proffered in exchange for the fervent and filial trust of the fathers. But there is no halting-place on this inclined plane. While a few who fear to seem illiberal, and are eager to hail any symbol of progress, may still hold upon the horns of the altar and be saved from the extreme plunge, the great body which becomes loosened from conservative truth will simply slide down hill to the bottom of the precipice, and find itself without a Bible, without a God, and in an utter eclipse of faith.—*Zion's Herald.*

A GERMAN pamphlet by E. Schläger, reprinted from Schmëitzner's *Internationale Monatsschrift*, speaks thus of the moral and religious meaning of Wagner's "Parsifal": "As the 'Nibelungen Trilogy' gave us negations in exhibiting the vanity, sin, and misery of seeking worldly riches and honors, so 'Parsifal' gives us positive truth in showing us the development of new and eternal life. 'Parsifal' is the new heaven and new earth destined to follow that passing away of the old Norse mythology which is prophesied in the 'Twilight of the Gods.' Thus, 'Parsifal' has been called the continuation of 'Siegfried,' in order to express the secret connection between the two masterpieces. In fact, 'Parsifal' is Germany developed with the aid of Christianity out of Northern heathenism, Germany first to reveal the highest meaning of Christianity and embody it in art. But Wagner rises high above dogmatic and fossilized Christianity, not only giving free play to the sentiments which produced this religion, but giving it new meaning in reference to present problems, as he had already done for the heathen mythology. Especially suited for this is the legend of the Holy Grail, whose knights are the forerunners of the millennial reign of Christ, and the deadly enemies of worldliness, which is personified in Klingsor. The attempt to make a tragedy of the life of Jesus always has and always must fail, because the character of a mere sufferer is not sufficiently dramatic. But the mighty working of 'Parsifal' on the hearers is largely due to the likeness of the hero, especially in the second act, with Jesus. The whole opera is penetrated with the spirit which brings down heaven upon earth. This shows itself especially in the lament for the swan and in the central idea of Knowledge given through Sympathy."

LIVE THOUGHTS.

HE whose first emotion on the view of an excellent production is to undervalue it will never have one of his own to show.—*Aiken.*

ONE true friend adds more to our happiness than a thousand enemies to our unhappiness.—*Marie Eschenbach.*

TO THINGS which you bear with impatience you should accustom yourself; and, by habit, you will bear them well.—*Seneca.*

AS THE tired man looks forward to the insensibility of sleep, so the philosopher, weary of the world, should look forward to the tranquility of extinction. —*J. W. Draper.*

"O BAL!" spake Vishnu, "take thy choice,—
With five men wise
To live in hell, or with five fools
In paradise."
"Then give me hell, for heaven is but
Where wisdom dwells;
And folly would of heaven make
A dozen hells!"
—*Rachel Pomeroy, from the Hindu.*

SLANDER is the solace of malignity.—*Joubert.*

FALSEHOOD may have its hour, but it has no future. —*Pressensé.*

THE proper way to check slander is to despise it: attempt to overtake and refute it, and it will outrun you.—*George Eliot.*

DID we ever see a man in anguish stand as if carved out of solid rock, mastering himself? Or one that, bearing a hopeless daily trial, remains silent, and never tells the world what cankers his peace? That is strength. He who, with many powers of indignation in him, can be provoked and yet restrain himself and forgive, is the strong man and the spiritual hero. So let not the bearers of false witness and the unblushing distributors of gross insults imagine that the objects of their assaults are weak, because they are silent. It is for that very reason that they are strong. Silence is a wonderful power in human affairs.—*Banner of Light.*

IS IT at all surprising that the number of those who hold the opinions of the Church in light esteem should so rapidly increase? How can that be received as a trustworthy guide in the invisible, which falls into so many errors in the visible? How can that give confidence in the moral, the spiritual, which has so signally failed in the physical? It is not possible to dispose of these conflicting facts as "empty shadows," "vain devices," "errors wearing the deceitful appearance of truth," as the Church stigmatizes them. On the contrary, they are stern witnesses, bearing emphatic and unimpeachable testimony against the ecclesiastical claim to infallibility, and fastening a conviction of ignorance and blindness upon her.—*Draper.*

BOOK NOTICES.

POEMS by Ernest Warburton Shurtleff. With an introduction by Hezekiah Butterworth. Boston: A. Williams & Co.

From the "introduction," we learn that these poems were written by the author while he was "between seventeen and twenty years of age," and "their collection in permanent form had been advised by the editors of the publications in which they have appeared." The title "Poems" is very modest. The youthful writer has considerable poetic versatility, his rhymes are musical, and here and there, as in "The Hymn of the Deep" and "The Shadow Boatman," there are evidences of vigorous thought as well as of verse-making facility. But, on the whole, the poems give plain assurance of the author's age, and will find their most appreciative audience among those of that age, while they give promise of better work from the same writer in the future. The writer of the introduction more than hints that in Mr. Shurtleff we have a new pastoral poet; but we fail to find in him such tokens of kinship with nature as we find in—to make an equal comparison—the poetry of the child poets of the Berkshire hills, Dora and Elaine Goodale, whose poems on nature bring us face to face with the objects described, and which we feel sure these girls have seen, loved, and studied.

ANYHOW STORIES: Moral and Otherwise. By Mrs. W. K. Clifford. With illustrations by Dorothy Tennant. London: Macmillan & Co.

This series of improbable stories, accompanied by "morals," is very entertaining indeed. It is beautifully bound, clearly printed, charmingly illustrated, and written in a free and easy style calculated to win the hearts of all good children.

THE *Art Amateur* for January contains an abundance of good things. First is a notice of the reopening of the Metropolitan Museum, which is discriminating, if a little severe. "Montezuma" gives some lively notes of other exhibitions. The biographical sketch is of Walter Shirlaw, a clever and spirited painter of rural subjects. We are rather tired of the talk of critics about the "duty of somebody to buy certain pictures." It is the duty of the public to judge pictures fairly and charitably; but they are not bound to buy them, unless they want them. Goethe makes it one of the traits of the dilettanti that they buy pictures for the sake of the artist, to encourage struggling genius, etc. Encourage art by learning to understand and appreciate what is good, and so stimulate the artist to do his best, and remuneration and success will follow.

Miniature painting, which has been almost driven out of the field first by crayon portraiture and then by the photograph, is again attracting attention; and we have in this number an interesting illustrated article on Cosway, the celebrated English miniature painter, with some instructions to those wishing to attempt this pleasing style of art. The illustrations are varied and spirited, being taken mostly from Walter Shirlaw's charcoal drawings.

Decorative art is not neglected, articles on tapestry, pottery, ornamented piano-fortes, etc., giving many suggestive hints, and patterns being furnished for embroidery, plaques, etc.

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THE January number of *Babyland* is a "thing of beauty"; and the group of six sweet, happy-looking babies which adorns its beautifully, illuminated cover ought to make it also a joy forever, to say nothing of the pretty verses, stories, and pictures inside. *Our Little Men and Women*, a magazine for children a few years older, is from the same publishers, D. Lothrop & Co., 32 Franklin Street; and "it goes without saying" that any magazine from these unrivalled caterers to the intellectual and æsthetic needs of young people is all that can be desired in that line. *Babyland* is fifty cents, and *Our Little Men and Women* one dollar per year. No better Christmas present could be made to the inmates of the nursery than these monthlies.

"WIDE-AWAKE" for January keeps up its reputation as a first-class magazine for young people. Among the contributors to this number, we notice such well-known names as E. E. Hale, Marion Harland, Mrs. Abby M. Diaz, Fred A. Ober, Charles Kingsley, Margaret Sydney, Benjamin Vaughn Abbott, and Ernest Ingersoll. The many illustrations are of the usual type of excellence characteristic of this best of juvenile monthlies.

THE February number of the *North American Review* is to contain an article on "The Experiment of Universal Suffrage," by Prof. Alexander Winchell; a discussion of "The Revision of Creeds," by clergymen representing six evangelical denominations; a paper entitled "The Decay of Protestantism," by Bishop McQuaid; and a defence of the Standard Oil monopoly, by Senator Camden.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for January is a holiday number, and part of its appetizing list of contents consists of "Santa Claus' Letter," an excellent lesson for quarrelsome children, "A Ragged Christmas Feast," "Santa Claus at the South," "The New Year," and "A Christmas Carol" set to music. These and the other delightful though unholiday stories are illustrated by beautiful pictures. Russell Publishing Co.

THE *Herald of Health* for January, 1883, is an excellent number. Among its list of contents, we note the following: "Herbert Spencer's Views on Overworked Americans," "Marriage in Germany and America," "Health of the Brain," "The Influence of Food on Civilization," "Funerals as Disease Breeders," "Health of American Women," and "Weight of Men and Women."

RECEIVED: *Wilford's Microcosm* (monthly), Hall & Co., 23 Park Row, New York; *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, Davenport, Iowa; *The Vaccination Enquirer*, London, Eng.; *Bulletin of National Association of Wool Manufacturers* (quarterly), 95 Milk Street, Boston.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

C. D. B. MILLS will lecture in Cleveland, Ohio, January 23, 26, 28, and 30.

LOUIS BLANC was very diminutive in stature, a fact about which he was extremely sensitive.

GEORGE W. CHILDS of the Philadelphia *Ledger* is reported to have given $6,000 in money as Christmas presents to his employés this year.

THE Chinese minister, who lives quite simply at Washington, devotes, it is said, $100,000 a year to the support of the poor in the province of Hon-Nan.

AN exchange declares that "the most highly remunerated and successful" author of the nineteenth century, taking into account the amount of work accomplished, was certainly George Eliot.

NEAL DOW stumbled and fell on the sidewalk the other day, and was not particularly pleased to be picked up by a man who didn't know him, with the exclamation, "I wish there was not a drop of liquor in the world."

B. F. UNDERWOOD will give an address at Linesville, Pa., January 29, on the one hundred and forty-sixth anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Paine. Mr. J. E. Remsburg of Kansas and other speakers will also address the meeting.

CLARK MILLS, the sculptor of the Jackson and Washington equestrian monuments at Washington, died last week, at the age of sixty-seven. He was a man of great force of character and of marked individuality. He was a radical free thinker.

A COLOSSAL statue of George Stephenson and another of James Watt, both after models by Prof. Keil, are now being completed in the studio of the eminent German sculptor, Herr Bock, and are intended for the new Polytechnic at Charlottenburg, near Berlin.

JOHN STERLING, the friend of Carlyle, whose name has fresh interest from its association with that of Caroline Fox in her *Pleasant Memories of Old Friends*, is the author of some of the most interesting letters in the forthcoming volume of Emerson's correspondence.

MR. JAMES K. APPLEBEE will commence a series of lectures next Sunday morning at the Parker Memorial Hall on "Virtue for Every-day Use." The course will include discourses on "Boy's Virtue," "Girl's Virtue," "Wife's Virtue," "Husband's Virtue," "Mother's Virtue," and "Father's Virtue."

THE death of Gambetta has been followed by that of Gen. Chanzy, who beyond any other man had the confidence of the French nation as a military strategist. Had France been involved in war at any time after 1871, Gen. Chanzy was the soldier who would have been called upon to take the chief command of her army.

MISS LOUISE ALCOTT, author of *Little Women*, etc., is described by W. A. Croffut as being "tall, strong, and reposeful" in physique. "Her projecting square brow and broad chin give her face that appearance of flatness which intellectual people so often have. It has a touch of pink in it, made more striking by the wealth of hair and eyes as black as coal."

DR. S. B. BRITTAN died January 4. He was one of the first to become identified with modern Spiritualism, was one of the editors of the Spiritual *Telegraph* a quarter of a century ago, and for a while editor of the *Banner of Light*. He was a polished writer and the author of several works, but they are not marked by originality or great strength of thought. His influence among Spiritualists has been of late years less than it was in the early history of their movement, which is not less true of many of their ablest representatives.

THE most distinguished literary men in Great Britain, says the *Tribune*, are on the liberal side in politics. The list includes Froude, Kinglake, Lecky, Freeman, Herbert Spencer, Trollope, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Oliphant, Leslie Stephen, Trevelyan, Hayward, Jowett, Reeve, Hughes, Rawlinson, Layard, Ferguson, Spottiswoode (P. R. S.), Lubbock, Owen, Tyndall, Huxley, Grove, Henry Smith, Goldwin Smith, Gavan Duffy, Grant Duff, Cartwright, Bain, Tulloch, Torrens, F. Harrison, Harcourt, Brodrick, Lord E. Fitzmaurice, Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke), Lord Dufferin, Lord Houghton, the Duke of Argyll, Gladstone.

ACHMET VEFIK PACHA, the most cultured man in Turkey, who occupied the post of grand vizier to the sultan for two days in the early part of the present month, has the finest private library in the East. Books in almost a dozen languages crowd its walls, all of which can be read by their owner. Once, writes a correspondent in Constantinople, as I was remarking the pleasure I felt at seeing the works of so many English and American authors on his shelves, he said, "Do you want to see the book I prize most of them all?" Then, he showed a worn copy of Longfellow's poems. "No other living man," said he, "in my opinion, has given such poetry to the world in English as the Boston Longfellow."

AMONG the deaths of last week was announced that of Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, three years governor of his native State, and for nearly sixteen years one of her representatives in the United States Senate. Mr. Morrill was a man of sterling integrity and hard-headed Yankee common sense, and did his country good service in trying times. He was one of the earliest advocates of the rights of suffrage being extended to the colored people after the war, and in his place in the Senate was always found on the side of maintaining the public faith and restoring its currency to a healthy basis. For nearly a year, Mr. Morrill acted as Secretary of the Treasury, and upon his retirement from that office he was appointed Collector of Customs at Portland, Me.

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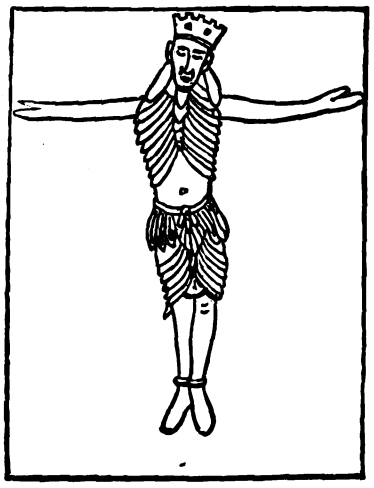

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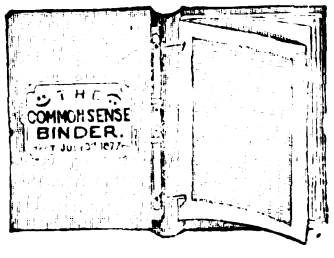

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 349

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The New Orthodoxy, Wm. J. Potter, ... 350
Protestantism and Romanism, B. W. Ball, ... 350
George's Doctrine of Wages, W. M. Salter, ... 351
A Batch of Assumptions, B. F. Underwood, ... 352

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 353

POETRY.
The Problem of Life, "Old Birch," 355

ESSAYS.
Conflicts of Philosophy, III., Van Buren Denslow, LL.D., 355
Theodore Parker's Interest in the Elevation of Woman, 357

CORRESPONDENCE.
From a Defender of the Faith, R. Brinkerhoff, ... 358

BOOK NOTICES.
Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher, ... 358
Popular Science Monthly, North American Review, Century Magazine, Unitarian Review, Revue de Belgique, ... 359

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 359

CURRENT TOPICS.

MAX HEAVENRICH, Esq., a Hebrew, and son-in-law of the late Rabbi Lilienthal, has been unanimously elected President of the Unitarian Society at East Saginaw, Mich.

BISHOP IRELAND, of Minnesota, in a recent lecture in Chicago, said that ninety-five per cent. of the crimes committed in Ireland are directly due to whiskey-drinking. He declared that, if people would only let whiskey alone, the country would be rid of the curse of landlordism within five years.

A DESPATCH says, "All the Liberal newspapers of Berlin express indignation at a Conservative motion made in the Reichstag, giving to Christians the right to demand either that the judge before whom they may have to take an oath shall be a Christian, or that they shall be sworn by a Christian minister."

THE practice of cremating in place of burying the dead does not seem to recommend itself very highly to the German mind. It is four years since a crematory was established in Gotha, and only one hundred bodies have been burned in it during that period. There were sixteen cremations the first year, seventeen the second, thirty-four the third, and thirty-two the fourth. Of these, seventy-five were men and twenty-five women.

THE Czar of Russia has broken up the Medical College for Women at St. Petersburg, which was founded by his father, the late Czar. It has done much good in furnishing capable nurses for the army hospitals, and in raising generally the standard of education among women. It was a favorite institution with the Russian people, who contributed liberally to its support. No cause is assigned for this action of the Czar, save the unprogressive spirit which makes him averse to all reforms.

THE Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association was held at the Meionaon, Tremont Temple, on Monday and Tuesday of last week, finishing with a supper and "sociable" on Wednesday evening. The meetings were all well attended in spite of inclement weather, and cheering reports of progress were made. The principal speakers were Lucy Stone, H. B. Blackwell, Col. Albert Clarke of the Boston *Times*, Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Miss Mary F. Eastman, and Rev. Mr. Bashford.

REV. GEORGE F. PENTECOST, the noted evangelist, says in the *Independent* that the conversion of sinners is becoming a lost art: "The fact is sad and stubborn that, in the great cities, of churches where the talent, wealth, culture, leisure, and opportunity to do revival work abound, there the number of conversions is in an inverse ratio to the facilities." For the reason probably that faith in what is commonly called "the conversion of sinners," as a means of real and permanent reform, "is in an inverse ratio" to "the talent, wealth, culture" of a church or community.

IN the Queen's Bench division of the High Court of Justice, on the 11th inst., Mr. Justice Field "gave judgment against Mr. Charles Bradlaugh in his action against Mr. Henry D. Erskine, Deputy Sergeant-at-arms of the House of Commons, for an assault on the occasion of Mr. Bradlaugh attempting to enter the House of Commons and take his seat as member for Northampton Borough, after a resolution had been passed prohibiting him from so doing. Mr. Justice Field cited precedents, showing the power of the House to control its own proceedings."

ONE of the elevating moral results of the recent enforcement in New York of the Sunday penal code was finely shown in the arrest by a police officer of a poverty-stricken old woman who had endeavored to gain a few pennies by the sale of a few cents' worth of taffy on Sunday. The judge, before whom she was brought, not being entirely destitute of common sense and humanity, exercised judiciously the discretionary power vested in him by the law, and ruled that taffy, "if sold before nine o'clock" on Sunday morning, was one of the necessities of existence; and, as the poor old creature professed ignorance of the time of day, he discharged her.

BISHOP MCQUAID, in an article in the February number of the *North American Review* on "The Decay of Protestantism," says: "Private interpretation of the Scriptures, without note or comment, without guide or limit, became the cardinal tenet of Protestantism, its very essence. By it, Protestantism was to live or die. In leaving the Catholic Church, it carried along many of the old points of doctrinal belief and some of the familiar and cherished religious observances. But, when it thus left the Catholic communion, it was much like a mariner going out to sea in a ship without a rudder, who, when the storm arises, casts out one bit of cargo after another, in the vain hope of saving the sea-tossed and bounding vessel. Protestantism went out to sea without Christ's appointed pilot, and has been discharging cargo ever since to escape shipwreck. Now that there is little left to throw overboard, above all contention and wrangling the cry of distress is heard that danger is imminent and disaster inevitable. In all its multitudinous forms, Protestantism is decaying, is dying."

WHAT thoughtful, intelligent person can read without regret and dismay the following, which we copy from a recent issue of one of the most cultured dailies of our "cultured Boston"? "Although the services conducted by Rev. E. P. Hammond have lasted less than a week, the results among the children, no less than among the adults, are considered by those organizing the revival to be satisfactory. Dr. Gordon, pastor of the Clarendon Street Baptist Church, after what he considers rigid and sifting examination of the youngest of the converts, has avowed his belief in the genuineness of the conversions. The services go on afternoon and evening." Understanding as we do the methods by which these "converts" are made,—the appeals to the always too vivid imagination of childhood, the visions conjured up of the "fiery lake," the omnipresent and active Satan, the sufferings of the crucified Saviour, the mystery of death, and kindred terrors,—it seems almost impossible to think that there are hundreds of parents who will allow their little ones to pass through such an ordeal, under the impression that their God, whom they profess to *love*, requires it from these impressionable and ignorant young creatures, and that responsible papers, representing the intellectualism of the age, publish such statements without a word of rebuke or deprecation.

FROM "Topics of the Times," in the February *Century*, we extract the following: "The peculiarity of the modern method of robbery is the employment, by the robbers, of the State as their enforced agent and accomplice. Sometimes, but not often, they organize their clients and retainers into armed bands and seize the coveted booty, combining to have the State confirm possession. But the force on which they prefer to rely is the quiet and resistless force of the laws and the courts. By artfully contrived legal schemes, they constrain courts to do their bidding. The judges may be unwilling instruments, yet they are bound to sanction, impartially, the working of legal processes. But what shall we say when weak or corrupt judges hasten to legalize schemes by which great corporations are wrecked or rehabilitated as suits the purposes of the conspirators? . . . Our legislators have failed to see, or for private and corrupt reasons have winked at the fact, that the laws which were made to fit old-fashioned ideas of honor and morality, instead of protecting the public, are the strength and the protection of dishonest men. The old code of commercial honor is lost sight of in the complex transactions of stock-jobbers, who remain out of sight while their work is being done by conscienceless factors; by lawyers skilled in discovering loop-holes in the law and in juggling with the law; by lobbies with money at the doors of legislatures; by paper shares and paper promises to pay; by cipher messages and spies, and by abusing the facilities of stock exchanges."

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THE NEW ORTHODOXY.

What is to be the coming orthodox creed is a question that continues to furnish abundant material for discussion in the religious press, and many of the secular newspapers try their hand also at a solution. The particular point, concerning which there have been the most words,—the possibility of another probation after death for any portion of mankind before they are finally consigned to eternal torments,—is evidently only a minor issue in the great debate which is coming, which, indeed, is already in progress. The old Calvinistic and Augustinian creed is really attacked all along the line. The character of the Bible, how and when the book was composed, what the nature of the inspiration behind it, and how far and on what grounds it is to be regarded as authority, is especially in debate. This part of the discussion is doubtless, to a considerable extent, one of the consequences of the publication of the Revised New Testament. Many people who had been pinning their faith upon the Bible, even though all the articles of their faith did not quite satisfy their reason and conscience, have probably had their eyes opened by this revision of their once infallible standard, to at least a glimpse of the fact that they have been believing under an illusion; and not a few of them have been attempting a little revision of their own. The breadth of the assault made upon the Calvinistic system is well shown by a recent editorial article in the *Christian Union*, in reply to an inquirer who asked what were the leading differences between the new and the old theology. The editor, after saying that the question "cannot be answered in a paragraph," that "the old theology can be defined, because it is formed," while "the new theology cannot be defined, because it is forming," affirms that certain "contrasts" may be indicated, and proceeds to state them as follows:—

> The old theology regarded God as ruling nature from without, the new as controlling it from within; the old regarded God as governing man from without, the new as dwelling in him; the old regarded miracles as a violation of nature's laws, the new as a variation in the divine habit; the old regarded inspiration as a dictation to men, the new as a divine influence in man; the old thought it wholly exceptional, the new thinks it only an exceptional form of a universal phenomenon; the old feared God as a King, the new reverences him as a Father; the old regarded punishment as stripes inflicted by God on man, the new as death wrought by sin in man; the old thought of it as future, the new is conscious of it as present; the old feared punishment more, the new dreads sin more; the old believed in a theory of the atonement, the new has faith in the forgiveness of sins; the old emphasized the supposed effect of Christ's death on God, the new its manifest effect on man; the old governed men by law, penalty, fear, the new by faith, hope, love; the old offered carefully formulated definitions of God,—the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit,—the new reverences him as transcending all definition; the old had confidence in theology, the new has faith in religion; the old is a creed, the new is a life; the old is clear cut and cold, the new is nebulous and warm.

The *Christian Union* warns its readers, however, that this statement must be read with some precaution; that antitheses are misleading, if taken too literally; and that it must not be forgotten that "the old theology" was once "new"; and that it, too, was then, when in the hands of its great masters, "nebulous and warm," "fresh and, therefore, vital," "a life more than a creed." There is, doubtless, some truth in this reason for such precaution. Yet we think the *Christian Union* urges it needlessly far. We cannot believe, for instance, that Calvin, though he may have been as "warm," was ever so "nebulous" as Dr. Newman Smyth. The old theology was "clear-cut," even when it was the "fresh" and the "new." And it is more than doubtful whether the present new theology will ever become so "clear-cut" as the old. It certainly will not so long as it attempts to keep so much of the old basis for its new structures.

But it must be admitted that a great change is being wrought in the creed of at least a large section of Orthodox Christendom. And a great point is gained, when the change is candidly confessed and openly advocated, as it is in such journals as the *Christian Union* and the *Independent*. The advanced Orthodoxy of to-day, as represented in the extract above quoted, is, indeed, farther away from the old Calvinism than was the Unitarianism of fifty years ago.

On one important point, however, even the most advanced Orthodoxy appears as yet to have made little movement. The doctrine of the Deity of Jesus seems to be still assumed and closely hugged. At least, on this doctrine there is as yet great reserve of utterance. Henry Ward Beecher quite rivals Col. Ingersoll in denunciation of the absurdities and cruelties contained in the old orthodox creed and in the Bible itself. Yet Mr. Beecher still declares, as he did many years ago, that Christ is to him essentially God,—that the conceptions of God as Infinite Father and Holy Spirit are to him so dim and shadowy that he would practically be without any faith in God, were it not for his belief in the perfect divine incarnation in Jesus. Rev. Heber Newton, at the close of one of his remarkable discourses, just delivered, on the Bible,—discourses alike remarkable for the incisive radicalism with which they cut under all the old theories of infallible inspiration and authority, and for the broad, uncompromising, and scholarly rationalism with which they treat the Bible throughout, Old Testament and New,—appears to state his belief in Christ as the perfect ideal man, alike divine and human, and the final consummation of the long process of evolution through which Deity was seeking to incarnate himself in humanity.

Now, neither of these nor any kindred writers seem to see that, when they have once adopted the scientific method in the study and interpretation of the Bible, they have no longer any standard left for determining whether Jesus fulfilled the perfect ideal of humanity or not, save their own finite conception of what a perfect man would be. By the scientific method of Biblical criticism, there can be no assumption, no presupposition, concerning Jesus' character as a special incarnation of Divinity. He must be judged by the record only, and by a record that is admitted to be faulty; and whatever measure of excellence may be attributed to him must necessarily be arrived at by comparing him with other examples of human character, and all of them together with some standard of excellence, necessarily finite and fallible, existing in the human mind. How, by this process, the belief can ever be consistently reached, that Jesus was a perfect manifestation of the divine man, the head of the human race, and an ideal sufficing humanity for all time to come, is difficult to see. The belief comes, in fact, not by faithful, logical adherence to the steps of the scientific method which is professedly adopted, but by a metaphysical leap to a presupposed conclusion. The new Orthodoxy must boldly advance to this problem of the Deity of Jesus before it can make much headway toward rewriting the church creed.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE New York *Witness* says, "It cannot be denied that, whatever may be the reason, the interest connected with the week of prayer has steadily and greatly diminished."

PROTESTANTISM AND ROMANISM.

Protestantism did its work long ago. It broke the power and spell of Romanism. The reason that the Reformation stopped short, where it did, is not far to seek, and ought not to have been beyond the ken of the superficial and rhetorical Macaulay. The fact was that the common people of the countries of Latin and Levantine Europe were too illiterate and ignorant, and had been too deeply ingrained and imbued with an inveterate and invincible paganism, to be capable of a religious reformation, regeneration, and rejuvenation. They were bomb-proof, as it were, against any rational innovation on their ten-thousand-year-old superstitious habits of mind. Therefore, they remained, and remain to this day, in the slough and ruts of supernaturalism and idolatry. Whereas the people of Northern and Western Europe, of Northern Germany, of England, Wales, and Scotland, and North Ireland, the people of Holland and the Scandinavian countries, and the best part of the people of Switzerland and France, became Protestants or Huguenots, as the French Protestants called themselves. Into the majority of the above people, the old Roman pagan civilization had not entered. All the above nationalities and descriptions of European people could read and write as a rule, or were speedily taught to do so under the reformed religion. They could exercise their reasoning faculties. They were capable of self-control and of a sturdy, individual morality, and of exercising the right of their private judgments. The civilization of to-day, with its popular intelligence, with its science, freedom, and tolerance, is the work of the Protestant populations of Northern Europe. The United States, the foremost country of the modern world, was a colonization and creation of various forms of Protestantism. This being so, Protestantism is entitled to the lasting respect of mankind, as at the time of its origin and advent as a historic factor the longest stride that had hitherto been taken in mental, moral, social, and political progress. But, as a religious faith and half-and-half mysticism, Protestantism is weak. It undertakes to be both rational and mystical, enlightened and superstitious, rational, and orthodox: therefore, as a religion pure and simple, and as a faith, it is neither one thing nor another. It halts half-way in its exercise of reason. It saw at the start that Rome was pagan, that the Rome of the Popes was as pagan as the Rome of the Cæsars,—in fact, that the Popes were mere ecclesiastical Cæsars. It saw that Christianity was an Oriental and not a Greek or Roman *ism*, that it was a movement from below, a ground swell of the popular heart and soul, a struggle of oppressed average humanity, which had been contemptuously denounced by ethnic philosophy and treated by pagan civilization as an irrational multitude fit for no higher social position than that of slavery to the higher grades of human beings. Protestantism transformed the priest from a celibate, magician, enchanter, and *soi-disant* divinely authorized church official, superior to his congregation in sanctity and power, into a minister and spiritual teacher and married man, if he chose to be, standing on the same social, mental, and moral plane with his congregation, and wielding influence over them to the extent of his intellectual ability and moral purity, and no farther. So far, so good. Protestantism in its best phase was a rational, democratic movement, a revolt against priestcraft and kingcraft in the interest of popular rights and average character. But when, under the lead of the Calvins and others, it undertook to crystallize itself into a religion of dogmas and articles of faith,—in other words, to become an overbearing and intolerant Orthodoxy,—when it undertook to substitute in

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place of a personal spiritual autocrat a Biblical standard of infallibility, and when it was willing to retain a certain percentage of the miraculisms and supernaturalisms of the old blind faith against which it protested and from which it seceded, it prepared itself to be, and put itself *en route* to being, ultimately almost as offensive to the spirit of progress and tolerance and to the cultivation of rational knowledge and the growth of social and political freedom as the old Roman Church itself, which delights to be found sticking in the mud and ordure of the past up to its chin. Modern democracy and science are the outcomes of Protestantism carried to its logical conclusion. For genuine Protestantism could not halt short of free government in the political order, and of free thought and the right of the individual to form his own opinions and beliefs on all subjects whatever, and to act and live in accordance with such beliefs and opinions, in the moral order. It is needless to say that current free thought and science are cases of *genuine* Protestantism or protest against the stupidity, blind faith, and fanaticism and persecution on account of opinion of the past. Romanism does not profess to be anything but a faith and credulity, a mysticism, a despotic priestism and spiritual despotism and supernaturalism. It denies the right of private judgment to the individual and the right of self-government to the majority. The populations which have always been Roman Catholic from generation to generation are primitive, quaint, unmodern, and illiterate, mentally and physically undeveloped; that is, the lower orders and great mass of such populations. The crimes of brutality and outrages on the person, which this sort of population commits savor of the savagery of the anthropoid ape. Such a population has little individuality, but is made up of what may be called nouns of multitude, who look alike, believe alike, and act alike. Unless the populations of inveterate Roman Catholic countries make haste to modernize themselves, they are destined to revert to utter unimportance and barbarism. For Edmond Scherer, in an article published two years ago in the *Contemporary Review* on "The French Republic and the Catholic Church," well says: "The weight of an unsolved question lies on those European States which three centuries ago shut themselves up against spiritual emancipation. They have to break off in their turn with theocracy, to disengage themselves from the trammels of a dead tradition. The nineteenth century will complete the work of the sixteenth, and the nations which are found unable to accomplish that revolution will fall into the rear of civilization."

B. W. BALL.

GEORGE'S DOCTRINE OF WAGES.

The London *Times*, in the course of an extended notice of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, remarks that it contains "some criticism of economic doctrines which future writers on political economy must either refute or accept." One of these doctrines is that wages are paid out of capital, that they are hence limited by the amount of capital, and that the rate of wages is a simple mathematical resultant, obtained by dividing that part of capital known as the wages-fund by the number of laborers employed. The moral pointed to the laborers is, Either help to produce more capital or limit your numbers,—in no other way can you raise your wages. George's view, on the other hand, is that wages are paid out of the product of labor, that capital, instead of suffering any loss (to be compensated at some future time), simply changes its form; namely, from that of ready money to that of a valuable product. The farmer paying his hands, or the manufacturer his employés, thereby recognizes an equivalent of value which has come to him from their labor, if only in the form of ploughed fields or of raw material that has undergone but a slight transformation. Wages are simply a trade, an exchange; and the capitalist loses no more by giving them than the laborer by giving the work. The limit of wages is thus not the sum of money in the possession of the capitalist, but the productiveness of the laborer's work. Labor is not really dependent on capital, but on the value of what it produces.

It should be said before proceeding further that Mr. George leaves out of his consideration unproductive labor. Those who attack his view would be spared some trouble, if they would observe a foot-note, of two or three lines, on one of his early pages (p. 20) to this effect. Wages paid to the unproductive laborer (that is, the result of whose labor turns out to have little or no value in the market) are or may be a dead loss to the capitalist. And it may be said that a true doctrine of wages should cover such cases, which are by no means rare in the industrial world. Wages, in these cases, are certainly paid out of capital, and out of nothing else: the product has no value. But, in turn, it may be asked, can a single theory cover two opposite classes of facts? Must not the logic of one class be different from that of the other? However this may be, Mr. George actually considers only one class; and the question with regard to his view must be, not—What is a supposed universal law holding in the whole economical realm? but—Is his the true explanation of one set of phenomena in that realm? It may be added that the production, exchange, and distribution of *wealth*, being ordinarily regarded as the subject-matter of political economy, the query might even be started, whether the consideration of labor that does not produce wealth make a part of political economy? The man who dug holes in the ground and then filled them up would hardly make a subject for political economy; nor would he, if he hired himself to a capitalist and received wages for his useless work. Prof. Jevons, the member of the English school of economy who has made the most recent and significant contributions to the subject, regarded utility as the fundamental conception of political economy. If so, how can useless objects (or objects in so far as they are useless), or the production of them, fall within its province? A general science of industrial society, into which some are now seeking to extend political economy, would be a different matter; though, even here, the meaning of "industry" would need to be determined, and whether mere labor which results in no useful product *is* properly industry.

But taking George's doctrine with the limitations which he himself sets to it, and without seeking to determine to what extent he has been anticipated by writers like Thornton and Walker, both of whom have criticised the old doctrine,* what shall we say of it? Without assuming to speak as a professional economist, I venture the opinion that George has brought out the real nature of wages more clearly than any other writer on the subject. That is, in all productive industry, wages are really an exchange, and no more an advance out of capital than the purchases by capital of machinery or raw material, or indeed the purchases which any of us common folk, whether called capitalists or not, are continually making. If I buy good railway or government bonds, or if I go into a shop and purchase a hat or a pair of shoes, I spend my money indeed; but I do not part with my capital. I simply change its form. The bonds or the hat or shoes are just as valuable to me as the money,—yes, more valuable, else I would not buy them. Does the manufacturer in paying wages do any less? Does he not indeed value the product of the week's or month's labor more than the money he pays out? If not, why does he pay it? Money he does advance; but capital simply changes form, and indeed from less to more valuable form.

But George, in his honest zeal for the presentation of this fact, forgets or rather opposes the equal though comparatively secondary truth of the ordinary economic doctrine. His view has not an antagonistic, but a complementary relation to the orthodox view. It will not be difficult to bring this out. There may have been primitive conditions,—and there may be now, here and there,—in which labor wins an immediate return of subsistence. Fish may be caught or animals be killed or herbs be gathered; and, in such conditions, the position of George would have literal truth, that labor is sustained not by capital (the results of past labor), but by its own immediate exertions. But to the extent to which agriculture or manufacturing industry is pursued, labor is dependent to greater or less extent on the results of past labor; that is, on capital. If the farmer should depend entirely on the returns from his present labor, he would starve before those returns came in. For ploughed fields, though better than unploughed fields, are not yet means of subsistence. Weeks and months are necessary for the corn and grain to grow and ripen. Just so the labor of factory hands of one season of the year is dependent on the saved fruits of agricultural industry of the preceding season; that is, on capital. For, whatever wider references capital has, it at last means this,—saved means of subsistence, applicable to the support of labor. Only in one set of circumstances would George's doctrine, that labor is maintained out of its own product, have truth; namely, if corn and wheat could be produced at any time, as a piece of cotton cloth can,—that is, if there were no seasons.* Then, we should, to this extent at least, be lifted above dependence on the labor of the past. But it is useless to argue from what might be, if not merely the order of society, but that of *nature* itself were different from what it is. And here we see the meaning of what Dr. Henry Carter Adams has somewhere called one of the principal functions of capital; namely, to overcome the element of *time* in production.† Capital bridges the chasm between the past and present, and makes it of no account: it is the past brought into the present.

George's criticisms on the current doctrine thus lose their point: they rest upon a failure to distinguish the different conditions in the midst of which labor is performed. In all other than primitive conditions, capital (that is, saved means of subsistence) does limit labor or industry. Capital must be accumulated before labor is employed: every increase or decrease of capital means the possibility of additional or lessened employment to industry. For no more labor can exist than can be supported, and the means of support are not creatable at pleasure; nor, *pace* George's criticisms on Malthusian.

* W. T. Thornton, *On Labor*: Francis A. Walker, *The Wages Question*.

* George tries to show that the production of means of subsistence goes on contemporaneously with that of other products (p. 66). But he ignores entirely the fact of seasons, and the dependence not only of man, but of animals (in part) on the product of the past season. He speaks of the "luxurious idlers" subsisting on new-laid eggs, butter churned a few days before, and milk given by the cow the morning it is consumed. But, in the winter season, how would it be if the hens had no feed or the cows no bran or hay, which are simply what was saved from the summer or fall harvesting? And do "the vegetables fresh from the garden and the fruit from the orchard" come at any time of the year? As George asserts it, it is not true that the daily labor of the community "supplies the community with its daily bread." As a rule, in our present conditions, the labor of yesterday is just as necessary as that of to-day. George even treats the making of jack-knives as parallel with the production of wheat. But all that he can justly assert is equivalent, not contemporaneous production.

† On this, also, Prof. W. G. Sumner lays stress in an article on "Wages," in *Princeton Review*, November, 1882.

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ism, can they be increased in their seasons in proportion to the increased labor expended to get them. The fundamental truth in Malthusianism, that of diminishing returns from land, is not touched by all that George has so truly and eloquently said of the viciousness of the practical inferences often deduced therefrom. But George's view of Malthus deserves separate treatment.

And now let me show that the current doctrine and George's doctrine as to wages are not incompatible. The two, briefly stated, are: The laborer earns, really produces, his own wages; and, on the other hand, he is dependent on capital. That wages are an exchange is the reconciling idea. The wages are capital which has simply changed hands. The wages mean at least—however much more I need not now say—so much means of subsistence. The laborer has not produced the latter, but he has produced an equivalent value: so that, in one sense, he may be said to have produced the subsistence itself. But it is equally true that, without this subsistence already in existence, no exchange whatever could take place; and the whole difficulty is seen to lie in endeavoring to express two facts, or two sides of a single fact, in one proposition. *Dolus latet in generalibus.* If we are not on our guard, we may in this way be continually led astray,—a fact which receives continual illustration in controversial writing. That labor produces its own wages is true; but, if accompanied with a denial that labor is dependent on capital, it is not true. Equally untrue is the one-sided dependence of labor on capital, which the orthodox view is never tired of asserting.

But why does not labor get a larger return of the means of subsistence than it does? Beyond the total means of subsistence saved from any season, labor cannot be supported. But what determines the particular amount within these limits which goes to labor? The answer must be different, according as the means of subsistence are free of access to any one or become private property. The latter is the fact in all civilized societies. While not a natural or necessary, but a legal fact, it is none the less influential. Individuals *own* the means of subsistence: hence, they have the advantage in making any exchange with those who do not. Men must live; and they will take any, no matter how scanty, means of life rather than none. The capitalist can thus dictate his terms to labor. And thus there is a double dependence of labor on capital, as industrial society is now constituted,—not only the necessary dependence on the saved means of subsistence, as already explained, but on the capital*ist* who owns these means of subsistence, and whose own will and interests may determine him in the disposal of them.* The cause for the almost universally low wages of labor is not that the capitalist *can* not give more, but that he *will* not. The ordinary business language in reference to the impossibility of paying higher wages always means *consistently with a certain rate of profit;* but this rate of profit is not a necessity, but a demand, and rests on nothing and nobody, save those who make it. To talk of the law of wages being as invariable as the laws of the universe (*cf.* New York *Tribune*, Aug. 11, 1882) is sophistry, if it is not worse. This is not saying that private property in the means of subsistence, should be abolished,—though I do not see how George's scheme of abolishing private property in land serves to check the power of the capitalist in the direction mentioned even to the slightest degree,—but simply that we should trace low wages to their real sources. If an ethical view of wealth could gain currency and acceptance,—I mean as opposed to the view, which political economy has so largely countenanced, of the unlimited rights of individual interest,—a better condition of labor might come about without any changes in the legal system of private property. And I believe it will be either this, or State socialism, or revolution, sooner or later in this "free" country as truly as any other. For freedom, if not guaranteed by the State or by the consciences of the strong, becomes in time but the freedom of the strong and the corresponding slavery of the weak.

There is still another element in the problem, which the old doctrine did not, at least sufficiently, take into account, and this without involving any departure from the ground of individual self-interest. The notion of a definite wage-fund—that is, so much circulating capital set apart for the payment of wages—is now generally abandoned. To say that the amount of the wage-fund determines the rate of wages is tautological; for the wage-fund *is* so much of capital as is devoted to the payment of wages. But this is a variable quantity. What determines it? It cannot, of course, go beyond the entire amount of capital in existence; but its variation inside this boundary is, to my mind, determined by the amount of profit expected from the product of the labor for which wages are paid. When the farmer expects high prices for his crop, he can afford to—and will, if his hands insist—pay them more than ordinary wages. If he has not money of his own, he will borrow it rather than lose the extraordinary profits which the payment of the wages will enable him to win. This is the occasion and the justification for credit; and only when there is an undue extension of credit—that is, beyond the sum total of actual wealth in a community or country—is there any wrong or occasion for alarm in connection with it. So, when profits are expected to fall, wages fall (sooner or later), unless employers are actuated by other motives than those of self-interest. In a word, that wages are determined by the wages fund is true, but meaningless (*nichtsagend*): wages are determined, within the limits already indicated, by anticipated profit. Prof. Cairnes, in conceding the truth of the latter part of this statement, virtually assigned to the "wages-fund" doctrine purely formal value, though he still maintained it. Recently, Hon. Carroll D. Wright has maintained the connection of wages with profits, giving informal adhesion to the doctrine that "wages are paid out of the product of present industry, and not out of the saved results of the industry of the past" (*Princeton Review*, July, 1882). On the other hand, Prof. W. G. Sumner maintains the orthodox view in all its sharpness in the November number of the same Review, calling "the notion that wages can ever be paid out of product the most ridiculous notion which has ever been introduced into political economy." It is the denial of the dependence of labor upon capital that excites his economic ire, and justly. But if George's (and Mr. Wright's) view were stated in this way, "Wages are paid out of the product of present industry, said product being *exchanged* with the saved results of the industry of the past," Prof. Sumner might see the real significance of what he opposes, and in any case give us criticism instead of declamation. The present product and capital from the past are both necessary. And, though in literal truth labor creates only its own immediate product, yet, if this is equivalent to the saved results of past industry, labor may be said to create the latter in the same sense in which it may be said to create any commodity (whether making now or to be made in the future) with which its own product will exchange. And this side of the truth, though it be by no means the whole, George deserves peculiar honor for bringing out with such clearness and force. If his critics were intent to learn his positive services, such as this for example, they would help themselves and the cause of economic science far more than by seeking merely for his faults, and demanding from him what no one has yet given to the world,—a perfectly balanced treatment of economic questions. A book better fitted to awaken interest and stimulate inquiry on these questions has not yet been prepared by an American author. W. M. SALTER.

*George makes the rather arbitrary definition of capital as means of subsistence, "only so long as they remain in the possession of those who propose not to consume, but to exchange them for other commodities" (p. 64). A truer view would make capital cover whatever means of subsistence are saved, and at the same time are destined not to unproductive but to productive consumption. The difficulty of exactly determining the amount of such capital is nothing against the conception itself: whatever is saved and not consumed, and saved for productive purposes, is capital, no matter by whom or for whom. What the laborer saves with the idea of being able to live and work, when otherwise he could not, is as much capital, though to be entirely expended on himself, as that portion of the manufacturer's profits which he saves with the idea of expending it in the support of others. But, even accepting George's definition, what I have said above remains true. As matter of fact, the means of subsistence are to a comparatively insignificant extent in the hands of the laboring class at the present time, nor have the laborers free access to them. They must bargain for the means of subsistence, and are, within limits, at the mercy of those who possess them. George says the laborers generally furnish their own breakfasts, before going to work. Were he of another spirit, I should suspect him of trifling or irony in making such a statement. For why is it then that they do not have the sort of breakfasts they would like? And, what is more, could they have any breakfasts at all, if portions of the last season's crop had not been saved, instead of being wasted or consumed?

A BATCH OF ASSUMPTIONS.

Among the communications printed in *The Index* this week are two letters from Mr. R. Brinkerhoff, a prominent citizen of Mansfield, Ohio, a gentleman who no doubt meant well in writing these letters, and who is probably entirely sincere in the expression of his views and feelings respecting this journal. But Mr. Brinkerhoff, we regret to be compelled to say, mistakes unsupported assumption for axiomatic truth, dogmatism for demonstration, assertion for argument, spiritual pride for spiritual discernment, and exuberance of zeal for certainty that he is right and that they who differ from him are wrong. Since, however, he represents a stage of thought, a religious condition and an attitude toward independent liberal thinkers common among those orthodox Christians in whom traditional beliefs have been but little weakened by that thought and spirit of the age which have profoundly modified the views of men like Prof. Robertson Smith and Dr. R. Heber Newton, it is thought to be worth while to print Mr. Brinkerhoff's two letters, and to indicate some of the main assumptions and fallacies which they contain.

1st Assumption: That *The Index* "seeks to take away from men a faith which presents the only working hypothesis, affording a satisfactory solution of the world's phenomena, spiritual and material," when in fact this journal encourages the study of all systems of thought, and aims in a broad and catholic spirit to present the truth as it appears to scholars and thinkers, from every point of view. Comprehensively stated, the object of *The Index* is, to quote the language of Mr. Abbot by whom the journal was founded: "To increase general intelligence with respect to religion; to foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual; to substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes."

2d Assumption: That "with Jesus a reality [as a Divine being] and his teachings true, the world's phenomena become intelligible,"—a statement from which we wholly dissent, since the notion that Jesus was a superhuman and divine being, far from solving any of the mysteries of nature, is an offence and an insult to untrammelled and enlight-

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ened reason. This is said without questioning the reality of Jesus as a human being, or the excellence of many of the precepts ascribed to him, the same in substance that were taught centuries before he was born.

3d Assumption, by implication: That the hope of a future life and belief in intelligence in the government of the world depend upon acceptance of Christianity as a revealed religion, when it is well known that both doctrines were believed by millions anterior to the time of Christ and even of the alleged date of the earliest portions of the Old Testament.

4th Assumption: That, without these beliefs, "life becomes the most direful of possessions,"—a statement which is disproved by the fact that multitudes of men and women, including some of the noblest and the best, have lived, and are living to-day, "without these beliefs" in the enjoyment of as much happiness as commonly falls to the lot of human creatures.

5th Assumption: That the doctrines that "we have a Father in heaven, who is also Lord of the universe, and that we, through Christ, may become the heirs of the Infinite," must, "whether true or false," make men better and "our sojourn here much more tolerable than it otherwise would be," and, if so, it is wrong to take from men "so comforting a faith." We do not seek to take from anybody his faith; but we ask all to examine the grounds of their faith, believing with Mackay that "true faith is belief in things probable," and that we should use reason and common sense in matters of religion as freely as in the other concerns of life. The same experience which teaches us that Truth is the friend of man teaches us that Error, even though her illusions are sometimes agreeable and hard to give up, is the foe of human happiness, and should therefore be exposed. Every superstition in its time—the fetichism of the savage and the mythology of the Greeks, not less than the religious beliefs of the devotees of Romanism and Calvinism (which are no part of Christianity, according to our correspondent), and of the hundred and more conflicting sects of Protestants—has been a "comforting" faith to millions. Must these superstitions be encouraged and perpetuated, therefore, through all the higher stages of intellectual and moral development? It may be well here to remind our correspondent that the more "comforting" doctrines of Christianity are but parts of a system which teaches that a portion, probably the larger portion of the race, will suffer indescribable torture forever, which must make its adherents *miserable* just in proportion as they believe it and possess sympathy and benevolence,—qualities that must exalt human nature.

If the claims of the Christian theology are true, they will stand the test of the closest scrutiny and the fullest discussion; and, unless he disbelieve this, our correspondent should regard favorably a journal whose columns are open to the freest consideration of these subjects.

6th Assumption: That the editors of this journal are not honest, or at least their honesty is very doubtful, although our correspondent shows his kindness in saying he "would like to believe" us honest. With his narrow views, he makes moral precepts, the general element of all systems of thought, dependent upon Christianity, and moral qualities corresponding with these precepts dependent upon belief in Christ as a divine being. Of honesty apart from belief in Christ, he seems to have no idea. It is doubtful whether he would admit that Confucius, Sakya Muni, Socrates, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, John Stuart Mill, Littré, Harriet Martineau, Lydia Maria Child, Darwin, and Emerson were "honest." Were he logical, he certainly could not from his point of view believe them honest, however much he "would like to believe" them so. This religion teaches that they, with millions of others who have rejected the gospel, are tormented day and night where "the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched"; while multitudes who lacked the intellectual vigor to examine and the courage to doubt the creed in which they were indoctrinated, but who had the selfishness to avail themselves of the scheme by which without investigation, or personal merit, they could as they believed overcome the effects of both ignorance and vice, are among the saints of heaven, rejoicing in their escape from "the wrath and curse of God."

7th Assumption: That this journal is tearing down without anything better to put in the place of what it destroys, when it assails error only that it may substitute for it the truth which the adherents of error have denied or ignored, and when it is contributing by its criticisms and by its affirmative teachings to that modification of creeds and institutions which is continually making them conform more and more to the increasing liberal thought of the age. If Mr. Brinkerhoff imagines that we aim to destroy the entire system of Christianity as one would tear down a building, and to "put in its place" at once another structure, composed wholly of new material, he misunderstands the position and object of *The Index*.

8th Assumption: That our disbelief in the supernaturalism of Christianity makes us "as one afflicted with the most deadly of diseases." Assuming the rôle of a physician, he says: "I suggest a cure, and one that I know to be infallible." This "cure," "prescribed," he says, "by the great Physician," would require us to take for granted theological doctrines which, after mature reflection, we have been compelled to reject, and to act as though we believed in that in which we do not believe. Since with physicians, who claim to have infallible remedies for "the most deadly of diseases," performance is usually smallest where the promise is the most confident, and since the progress of medical science during the past few hundred years makes the skill of anybody who goes back eighteen centuries for his remedial agents and methods of cure extremely doubtful, we have no confidence in Mr. Brinkerhoff's "cure," and should be compelled to decline it, were we, as he imagines, afflicted with "the most deadly of diseases."

9th Assumption: That to us, and all others like us, "argument is useless"; that we are "blind as a bat," while he, by implication, can appreciate an argument, and can see clearly, being blest with spiritual vision.

10th Assumption: That out of Christianity has "grown all that is best in the world's history,"—a statement that is palpably absurd, when we consider the poetry, the philosophy, the history, the art and sculpture, the jurisprudence, the moral systems, the governments, and the achievements of pre-Christian ages; when we consider that the greatness of this age—in its scientific discoveries, mechanical inventions, and industrial interests—has been reached by departing from many of the teachings of Christianity rather than by embodying them into the life of nations; and, when we consider further that intellectual and moral progress throughout Christendom has been greatest where decline of belief in the Christian theology has been the most marked, as in England, Germany, France, and the United States, and in this period when, as Froude says in substance, the Gospels are more generally discredited or doubted than in any other period since the time of Constantine.

11th Assumption: That the light of civilization is due to the Bible, because "you may belt the globe to-day, and you will find darkness deepens as Bibles disappear." Just as though it were not quite as true that "darkness deepens" as the works of Shakspere disappear, and, indeed, as the works of recent authors like Darwin and Emerson disappear, or as useful inventions, like the sewing-machine, disappear!

12th Assumption: That we "and others of the Free Religious Association" "seek to destroy the Bible," when no member of that organization would destroy so much as a chapter or even a verse of that venerable volume. It is a part of the legacy which the present has received from the past; and, notwithstanding the errors and absurdities and even indecencies which it contains, its antiquity, its many excellences, the knowledge it gives us of the past, its history, the authority with which it has been invested, and the influence which it, like the Koran, has exerted for good and for evil on the lives of millions who have believed it divine, will continue to make it a book of great interest when it shall have been stripped of an authority which, in our opinion, does not belong to it, and assigned to its proper place in the literature of the world.

13th Assumption: That the moral law, or knowledge of it, depends upon Moses, and that we are working to "weaken its authority," when the moral law was enjoined in precept, enforced by legislation, and observed by individuals and nations thousands of years before the alleged date of Moses and the "Commandments," which contain no statement of the moral law that was not known to earlier ages.

14th Assumption: That the mission of *The Index* and of the Free Religious Association is, without qualification, to weaken and destroy "the teachings and the philosophy of Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified Jew," when in the teachings and philosophy of Jesus is much that all sane men accept, since it is a part of the wisdom which has grown out of the accumulated experiences of the race, and is sanctioned and affirmed by the highest reason, whether expressed in the language of Socrates, Hillel, Jesus, Epictetus, Mill, or George Eliot. But whatever is erroneous in the teachings of Jesus, no claims made in his behalf shall deter us from opposing. And how, except by sceptical, critical study and the freest and fullest discussion of the teachings of Jesus, can we rightly estimate their value or distinguish between what he really taught and what has been falsely attributed to him, and what is true and good and what is erroneous, ascetic, impracticable, or otherwise objectionable?

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE Supreme Court of Iowa has decided that the amendment to the constitution of that State, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, is invalid, because certain words in the amendment as it passed the first legislature were omitted when it passed the second legislature.

WE have had on hand several weeks, vainly trying to make room for, a timely and excellent discourse by John W. Chadwick on "Orthodoxy and the Bible," suggested by Dr. Ellis' address at the Boston Unitarian Club. But the controversy is not one of transient interest. It is likely to go on for some time yet, and only good can come of it. The discourse is in type, and will appear next week.

A REV. MR. DICKINSON, in a recent "fellowship meeting" held in Springfield, Mass., declared his conviction that "there should be a feeling in the Church that those who believe in Christ will be saved and those who do not will surely be damned.

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Do we realize this in these days of isms and infidelity? We haven't time to be quite so gay and joyous when so many are going down to death, for whose salvation we should work unceasingly."

THE Paine Memorial Corporation will observe the one hundred and forty-sixth anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Paine next Sunday evening in Paine Hall, when Mr. James Parton, the popular author, will deliver an address on "The Immorality of Religious Capitals." Admittance free. On the afternoon of the 29th there will be a Liberal Conference, and in the evening a grand ball, tickets to which will be $1.00.

ONE of our city papers, which makes a specialty of railroad news, reports among other items that "several well-known clergymen living along the line of the Boston & Providence Railroad have petitioned for a Sunday evening train out of Boston as far as Dedham. The directors have decided to put on such a train. It will commence to run on the 21st, and will leave Boston at 10 P.M. for Dedham *via* West Roxbury." *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.*

THE *Christian Union* says of the first lecture given by Joseph Cook, after his return to this city: "It was light, and mainly a repetition of the thoughts and even of the phrases of the lecture delivered already in San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. It is not creditable to the discernment of his audience that his now thrice-repeated sneer at Prof. Fiske as 'the echo of a charlatan' should have been received with applause. Prof. Fiske's philosophy of life and history is certainly partial, and we think superficial; but he is not an echo. Herbert Spencer does not see all of life, nor even, to our thought, the profoundest part of life; but he is certainly not a charlatan."

OUR Christian contemporary, *Unity*, not only rejects "Moses and the prophets" as authority, but evidently feels under no obligation to assent to a proposition sustained by no better proof than that Christ believed it. This we infer from the following, which we find among its editorial notes: "'Did Christ believe that Moses wrote the Pentateuch?' is the latest theological conundrum propounded by the 'wise men of the East.' Prof. Francis Bowen led the negative, Dr. Crosby the affirmative, before a recent meeting of the Biblical Exegesis Society. When this is settled, we propose as the next one: 'What if he did? Would that prove that Moses did write the Pentateuch?'"

WE clip this hit at modern preachers from the Boston *Journal*: "To 'An Inquiring and Anxious Theologue,' who desires our advice as to how he may attain his ambition and become a popular preacher, we would observe in the first place that he has come to the right quarter for counsel. The old-fashioned clergyman was the product of the seminaries and of theological training, but the popular preacher is made by the newspapers; and an editor can give an aspirant points which are overlooked by the theological professors. The formula for making a popular preacher involves these ingredients,—one-third voice and personal 'presence,' one-third sensational selection of topics, and one-third heresy. The proportion of ingredients varies somewhat in special cases, a little extra allowance of heresy, for example, serving to offset trifling deficiencies in personal appearance; but, in general, the properties should be blended about as we have indicated."

SAYS Herbert Spencer in the *Contemporary Review*: "Those who draw the obvious corollaries from the doctrine of evolution, those who believe that the process of modification upon modification which has brought life to its present height must raise it still higher, will anticipate that the 'last infirmity of noble minds' will, in the distant future, slowly decrease. As the sphere for achievement becomes smaller, the desire for applause will lose that predominance which it now has. A better ideal of life may simultaneously come to prevail. When there is fully recognized the truth that moral beauty is higher than intellectual power, when the wish to be admired is in large measure replaced by the wish to be loved, that strife for distinction which the present phase of civilization shows will be greatly moderated. Along with other benefits may then come a rational proportioning of work and relaxation, and the relative claims of to-day and to-morrow may be properly balanced."

WE are pleased to copy from our Unitarian neighbor, the *Christian Register*, the following paragraph, in which is laid down a rule that is observed by *The Index* under all circumstances, whatever the pecuniary sacrifice required: "But, if publishers cannot be held responsible for the truthfulness of all advertisements which they publish, they ought to be held responsible for the form in which they are presented to the public. If advertisers can prepare an advertisement so skilfully that it shall seem to be an editorial article, and its insertion is permitted, the publisher becomes a party to the deception. The editor of the *Recorder* warns his readers against advertisements 'given in such a form as to make the impression on the mind of the reader that the editor had selected and indorsed them,' and adds, 'Advertisements in the latter form always impress us with the idea that the author is a deceiver.' But the remedy in such a case is very clear, and it is in every publisher's power to apply it. *Let such deceptive advertisements be kept out of the paper.* Such a rule can only be enforced at the sacrifice of considerable money, as the *Register* well knows by experience. But, in a paper published for moral and religious ends, money must sometimes be sacrificed for the sake of principle; and, if such papers do not set the example, it cannot be expected that those published merely for commercial consideration will do any better.

COL. T. W. HIGGINSON, in an article in the *Woman's Journal*, taking exception to the passage relating to woman's suffrage in the message of our new Governor, observes that Gov. Butler based woman's suffrage "upon an assumption which shows him to have paid as little detailed attention to the woman suffrage movement as to the condition of State education, the State militia, or the State charities,—namely, that we who advocate this movement generally base our arguments on the assumption that 'the majority of women of the Commonwealth desire to vote.' Not at all. The ground taken is that those who do desire it should vote, whether they be a majority or minority. On this, he bases the proposal that all women over twenty-one should vote Yes or No through the post-office. It is almost impossible to believe that Gov. Butler, in making this proposal, is anything but the 'funny man' which the Boston *Herald* delights to call him. No check which could possibly be devised would make such a ballot anything but a farce. A dozen mischievous young men, as droll as Gov. Butler, could forge and post in a day ballots of 'No' in sufficient number to turn the scale in any such election; nor could any jury of those schoolmasters whom Gov. Butler despises determine by the handwriting which were the real and which the counterfeit, still less detect who was guilty of the trick. It would have even less safeguard than Gov. Butler would throw around the voting of men, and that is saying a great deal; and, after the vote was taken, it would have settled nothing. A public vote of women, under proper safeguards, we have long sought; but an unchecked post-office vote, such as Gov. Butler urges, would have no more value than a game of jack-straws."

FREE TRADE versus Protective Tariff was recently debated at Cleveland, Ohio, before an audience of four thousand people, as one of a series of popular entertainments given by the Bureau of Education. Prof. Van Buren Denslow, of Chicago, opened the debate, advocating protection. He controverted the maxim that that government is best which governs least, and claimed that each duty upon foreign production is in the unavoidable strife of nation against nation, the buttress of an industry. No nation, he said, was insane enough to admit all articles free. England, claimed as a free-trade country, lays as much in duties in proportion to population as the United States, and only admits free articles not competing with English industries. She charges 1550 per cent. duty on American tobacco. The verdict of history and statesmanship is almost universal in favor of protection. All transportation is the medium of bringing together farmers and manufacturers. If we send ships to England, it is to meet manufacturers; and, if they send ships here, they send them to meet farmers. Under the protection of a tariff, manufacturers of woollens and kindred goods have thriven, until America has become the cheapest market for them in the world. Prof. W. G. Sumner of Yale College replied, favoring free trade. He said in substance: The American people need only their energy, industrial virtues, and opportunity, in order to prosper. Protection is to prevent importation. Free trade means hostility to protection, which compels the consumer to pay taxes to his fellow-citizen. National and State taxes are proper, but taxes which do not go to the government are obnoxious and oppressive. Absolute free trade and abolition of custom-houses would do more to solve civil service and other national problems than anything else. Ohio has free trade with Kentucky, and nobody claims that either State is injured. Why not with Canada and the whole world? If trade should be free from Maine to Texas, why not between Maine and New Brunswick? An industry is not an end, it is simply a means of producing wealth. What kind of industry is that which has to be supported? What apology for one which does not pay? The more it doesn't pay, the worse it is. Manufacturers who lobby at Washington for a protective tariff ask for a tax on other people to prevent loss to themselves. It is nonsense to say they do so that wages can be raised. If people get big wages, they produce and earn them. Free trade increases in the ratio of comfort and means to the effort put forth. Protection works the other way. The only things which make wealth are industry and economy. Stealing from one another deteriorates property and demoralizes the community, and the whole system of protection is a delusion. Prof. Denslow closed in a ten minutes' speech. The vast audience clamored vigorously some minutes for the debate to continue, but the management adhered to the rule of closing the entertainment at a given hour.

THE principal of Lassell Seminary, for girls, at Auburndale, Mass., has taken a step forward in the right direction in engaging for the benefit of his pupils a competent lecturer to give a course of lectures on the Principles of Common Law.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JAN. 25, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

THE PROBLEM OF LIFE.

BY "OLD BIRCH."

When vital forces yearn,
We're forced to life,
To rise, and fall, and learn;
A ceaseless strife.

All life, in endless stream,
Forever flows,
And sendeth back no gleam
Of where it goes.

The phantom end eludes,
While Sphinxes new,
From out vast solitudes
Are reaching through.

Machines that live, and feed,
And self repair,
Should never onward lead
To death's despair.

What senseless power will brood
Construction fine,
And build with care the food
Of death and time?

The force of growth and waste
Could we adjust,
No pulsing life need haste
To end in dust.

Is there no rest in death,
No way to kill?
No out for life with breath,
When bones lie still?

O fated, fearful gift,
To live and think!
Oh, might the burden lift,
Ere down we sink.

Do thoughts like candles burn,—
A chemic play,
To feed on life, and turn
To smoke away?

Against the bars of fate,
O restless soul,
Your wings must beat and wait
While ages roll.

The river ever flows
Around the hill,
So life forever goes
Beyond our will.

No storms will ever beat,
No surges roll,
Where Lethe's waters meet
The dying soul.

CRAFTSBURY, VT.

For *The Index.*

CONFLICTS OF PHILOSOPHY.

A Lecture delivered before the Philosophical Society of Chicago, Oct. 14, 1882.

BY VAN BUREN DENSLOW, LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

(*Conclusion.*)

Part III.—The Ultimate Tendencies of Philosophy in its Relations to Physics.

Human thought is thus in ultimate and hopeless conflict with itself both as to the origin and nature of all things. It remains to consider whether these ultimate conflicts in thought are the necessary result of the constitution of the universe itself and the expression of its opposing elements. Is the universe a system of flux and reflux of antagonistic forces, of involution and evolution of growth and decay, of coming into being and of passing into non-being,—a perpetual change, in which nothing is created, nothing is destroyed, nothing endures, and nothing is wasted?

The theory of the universe being an unstable equilibrium sustained in perpetuity by a perpetual flux and reflux, which has no waste or diminution in its complete sufficiency, has been mythically expressed in many religions, and has always attracted the philosophic mind. Such a theory requires that there shall be two opposite, equal, irresistible, universal antagonistic forces, each of which shall, when in action, grow out of the other, and yet produce the other in a system of endless vibrations, pulses, or outflow and inflow, flux and reflux. I propose to present a few suggestions looking toward a theory that these two antagonistic forces may be found in gravitation and light, including in the term light the three alleged elements of the sun's ray; namely, the color rays, heat, and actinic force. The limitations which beset every human effort to apprehend the constitution, nature, or cause of both these forces is a little more dense than our ignorance of anything else in nature. Newton measured the dynamic force of gravitation, and showed that every body falling of its own weight toward the sun, which failed to fall into it and thereby lose its separate existence, would move around it in an elliptical orbit, of which the sun would be one of the foci, and at such a rate that the radius vector would describe equal areas in equal times. He identified gravity with what upon the earth's surface we call weight, and proved it to be a universal force, sufficient for every act of planetary and stellar motion.

Newton's Disclaimer concerning Gravitation.

As to its cause, however, he says (*Principia*, Definition VIII.), "The reason of these properties of gravity I have not as yet been able to deduce, and I frame no hypothesis." Again, in his third letter to Bentley, he said: "It is inconceivable that inanimate brute matter should, without the mediation of something else which is not material, operate upon and affect other matter without mutual contact, as it must do, if gravitation, in the sense of Epicurus, be essential and inherent in it. And this is the reason why I desired you would not ascribe innate gravity to me. That gravity should be innate, inherent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance, through a vacuum, without the mediation of anything else by and through which their action may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity that I believe no man, who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it. Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws; but, whether this agent be material or immaterial, I have left to the consideration of my readers."

Antithetic Relations of Gravitation and Light.

Newton further (in his *Optics*, 4th ed., p. 325) suggests the following query as to whether gravitation might not be connected as to its origin with light. Speaking of the supposed luminiferous ether, he says: "Is not this medium much rarer within the dense bodies of the sun, stars, planets, and comets, than in the empty celestial spaces between them? And, in passing from them to great distances, doth it not grow denser and denser perpetually, and thereby cause the gravity of those great bodies toward one another, and of their parts toward the bodies, every body endeavoring to go from the denser parts of the medium toward the rarer?"

This passage is obscure; but it shows that Newton was searching in light for the antithesis and complement of gravitation, something that would make gravitation the return flow of all the force of which light is the outflow. What it is currently supposed Newton discovered—*i.e.*, the cause of gravity—is just that concerning which he disclaims having even so much as a theory. Newton also did not believe in any luminiferous ether as a means of explaining the phenomena of light; but, if there were such an ether, he thought inquiry should be made whether this same medium, which by its vibration produced light, did not by its pressure produce gravitation.

Mr. J. S. Mill adduces gravitation as an instance of an idea which was formerly thought unthinkable; namely, of a body acting attractively upon a distant body, or pulling it without intervening agency, as having become by habit readily thinkable. Still, when we sit down deliberately to think of a body drawing and pulling another through an absolute vacuum and without physical agencies, it seems to me evident that the reason it becomes part of our common sense to think it is because we fail to think of it.

The Wave Theory of Light.

Turning from gravitation to light, I must be permitted to say that, notwithstanding the refinements of mathematical calculation indulged in by Fresnel and Young, and indorsed as coming very near to a demonstration by so high an authority in physics as Prof. Tyndall, it seems to me that the wave theory of light is false and impossible, and in conflict with the most axiomatic principles of natural philosophy.

The wave theory of light assumes that light is the vibration of a luminiferous ether which is not itself the subject of observation or detection, but whose elasticity is so absolutely infinite that the light which comes back by reflection from the most distant planet travels at precisely the same rate as the light which comes to us from the nearest sun or the most distant fixed star. Its elasticity therefore is absolutely infinite for the purposes of the direct transmission of the ray to an infinite distance and for its retransmission back by reflection at the same rate of speed. But how contrary is it to the very quality of infinite elasticity thus assumed in this medium that, the instant an opaque body intervenes to arrest the continued impact of the original luminous body, the medium stops vibrating so instantaneously that a ray of darkness is transmitted through this medium as rapidly as the ray of light. Here are two complete antagonisms,—infinite elasticity in the transmission of the ray while the impact of the luminous body is not intercepted, infinite stolidity in refusing to vibrate again when the impact of the luminous body is intercepted. The elasticity of a violin string is very finite indeed, but it will continue to vibrate nearly a minute after the impact of the bow is withdrawn. The waves of the ocean travel to parts where the winds which raised them have not been felt. But the infinitely elastic undulatory medium whose vibrations constitute the light exhibits the stolidity of rock the instant the exciting cause is intercepted. This is like emission, or the Newtonian theory; but it is utterly unlike vibration.

Its Conflict with Natural Philosophy.

But, again, the wave theory of light assumes that the luminiferous ether is of so subtle a character that the planets move through it, at the two prodigious rates of velocity which characterize their double motion on their axes and around the sun, absolutely without impact or resistance. The opaque matter of the planet is so perfectly transparent to the luminiferous ether that the latter is undisturbed by the motion of the planet through it. For any disturbance of the ether would of course bend the ray of light, thus distorting the forms of all objects. This implies an infinite incapacity of resistance, or of action or reaction between the luminiferous ether on the one hand and the planets and all opaque substances on the other. But, in natural philosophy, capacities and incapacities of resistance must be mutual. If the luminiferous ether can oppose no resistance to opaque substances, then opaque substances can oppose no resistance to the ether; and, if none to substance, then they can oppose none to that movement in its substance,—vibration. It would be perfectly immaterial to a planet, whose texture is insensible to the

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existence of a luminiferous ether, whether that ether vibrates or not. If an open gate lets the air through absolutely without resistance, it must let through the sounds that vibrate in the air. Or, to put it roughly, if a gate is open to a pig, it cannot well stop his digestion, his grunt, the circulation of his blood, or any other mere vibration in his system. Is it thinkable, therefore, that opaque bodies oppose no resistance whatever to the luminiferous ether, but absolutely stop, divert, and change its vibrations? Does not such a notion present too great a conflict with the principles of natural philosophy to be accepted as an explanation of anything? It is an explanation which does not explain.

Theories which do not explain are Impediments to Progress.

Descartes' theory of vortices in an imponderable fluid producing the motions of planets operated as an impediment to science. Why retain an imponderable fluid to explain light, and reject it to explain gravitation? Why not as readily admit that the nature of light is unknown as that the nature of gravitation is unknown. The objections to the wave theory have all the force of a cannon-ball moving one thousand yards per second. From every point in this room there comes to every eye in this room, and to every other conceivable point in which there could be an eye, a ray of light, which like a fine wire diverges neither to the right nor to the left, but runs as much from your eye to the object as from the object to your eye. Between every two conceivable points, therefore, light is passing in opposite directions without collision; and, at every conceivable point in its progress, it is being crossed by an infinite number of lines from every conceivable point toward every other. The early thought of the ancients was that sight was accomplished by an influence which went forth from the eye to the object. Among all these myriad rays there is no crossing or interference. This is not like undulation, and Fresnel's laborious interference theory concerning light is utterly puerile and inadequate to bring the fine phenomena of light within speaking distance of the rude and clumsy concept of undulation. Mr. Hunt, in his "Researches on Light," declares that the growing opinion of the most eminent physicists of Europe is that the phenomena of light are *sui generis*, and must ever remain utterly heterogeneous to either motion or sound.

Connections between Light and Gravitation.

Light and gravitation therefore are in their nature equally evasive of research. They are irreducible to matter or to any motion of matter. Light, as far as we know, is everywhere superinduced originally in the sun and other self-luminous bodies by a combustion which results from pressure, which in turn results from gravitation. Light operates outwardly from a central luminous point to infinite distance, its intensity diminishing in the ratio of the square of the distance. Whether the volume of light also is in proportion to mass or luminous surface does not seem to have been clearly shown. Gravitation operates at infinite distances toward common centres, its force being directly as the attracting mass and inversely as the square of the distance. The dynamic law, or law of the rate of increase of light and gravitation, is essentially and may be exactly the same, but working in opposite directions. All the matter in the universe bears evidence of having passed at some time through the fire which pressure, induced by gravitation, has produced. All the matter of the rocks was first igneous, and all known solids have been smelted. What is called the chemical constitution of matter, or the attractions and repulsions which give to atoms their present chemical adjustment and properties, seem to be involved in and to have been fixed by this smelting process, since any disturbance of the amount of latent heat stored in the atom disturbs its chemical constitution, or resolves it into a new form. It is easy therefore to trace light in its threefold nature as luminosity, heat, and chemical energy to gravitation as its dynamic antecedent.

What Remains to be Shown.

To establish the doctrine of flux and reflux in nature in a manner to indicate that the system of nature is eternal, it would be necessary to show that gravitation is itself an effect of light, or an obverse side of the same fact. So far, all efforts to even conceive of any interrelation of this kind between the two, though the topic has had much attention at the hands of a few European physicists, have failed.

Siemens' Solar Theories.

Prof. Siemens' efforts are not in this line. He attempts to prove that the gravitative attraction is constantly drawing back to its mass for combustion particles or clouds of compounded gases, which are floating loosely in space, and which go back charged with certain quantities of fixed light and heat, which these gases are capable of catching and absorbing from the sun's radiation. This is a sort of effort to replenish the solar fires and delay their exhaustion. To establish the permanent equilibrium, which in the mere matter of planetary motion seems to characterize nature, it must be shown that all that goes on into space in the sun's rays is returned to the sun by gravitation. Until this shall be shown, we seem to be living in a universe which is in process of exhaustion like our own lives.

Death is the Triumph of Gravity over Levity or Light!

We die, as an oak falls, when we surrender to gravitation, the ascendency of which over our powers of life in an imperfect degree, is disease, in an absolute degree is death. The consummation of gravity is the grave. Dust to dust. Life in its lowest form is the mere emancipation of matter from the power of gravitation by the opposing power of the sun's ray. Whatever feels it, rises. The plant pushes its way upward and outward from gravitation and toward the light. We call its life organization. All organization and organic chemistry begins with the sunlight as its efficient agent, the masculine force in nature.

The Birth of Consciousness.

Pretty soon there are organized beings in whose structure the sunlight produces not merely the phenomenon of resistance to gravitation, but that of consciousness, and consciousness even in a worm or a moving shell-fish develops memory; for these low structures all have habits, and habit being the constant recurrence to like places and acts, implies a faculty of recognizing the places and acts of an earlier period, which is memory. Along with consciousness, which at first may be perhaps associated only with temperature, soon comes sight. Then, behind every eye, the optic nerve begins to spread out into a storehouse for mental images. The brain begins to grow. The sun's ray in the act of entering the eye becomes sensation. Had it entered a leaf, it would have become latent in an atom of fixed carbon, from which centuries afterward it could be evolved as light and heat. The identical rays of light and heat that now shoot across this room came from the sun, entered the leaf, and passed into the coal ages ago. Entering the eye even of a mole or rat, it becomes fixed in a picture called sensation, which may be restored again and again in combination with other similar pictures in a degree of diversity depending on the extent and quality of the brain. Each act of thought is accompanied by an expenditure of phosphorus, which is the subtlest of all light-bearing substances. All perception, memory, comparison, judgment, and reason are the restoration of these sun-painted pictures. The word "imagination," from *imago*, a picture, contains the root idea of all thought; namely, restoring pictures. All thought is light of another kind, but expressible only in terms of light. All love or passion is heat of another kind, but expressible only in terms of warmth.

Analogies between Light and Mental Action.

When phenomena have been so fused in our thought by testing, solving, and smelting them as it were in our minds that they become reduced to hard facts, to crystallized knowledge, we say that is a solid foundation on which to walk; and we then proceed to tread them under foot as commonplace for the rest of our lives. For the mind, being uplooking and aspiring, always treads under foot the known and solid, that it may breathe an air that is invisible and wrestle with the infinitudes above that are exalting to the consciousness. Here, as everywhere, the material world perfectly typifies the interior, or thought world. Physically, we live by breathing an air that we cannot see, and by feeding upon a thousand forms of fruit and flesh, from each of which we suck the imprisoned sunshine, the pent-up power of life, which comes to us by many routes, but each route ending at last in the sun's ray and carrying us out into the vast void of the unapproachable.

All Life originates in Light.

It is the primal fact of the material world that the solid earth on which we walk is not food for anything that lives. It is dead first, last, and all the time, in and of itself. But the sun's ray in all the lowest forms of life is the inspiring influence. In its first faint efforts, it is absolutely undetectable. Its infusoria in the sea are indistinguishable from the water. Its fungi on the land are dust and motes in the sunbeam. But, everywhere, only that which lives can feed life. So it is in thoughts. We tread upon facts which we know, but we breathe for our higher life only the fancies which we imagine. We walk upon what we know, but we live in what we desire to know. What we have learned supports our feet, but what we do not know and cannot know is the breath of our lungs and the light of our eyes. Treading always under our feet the solid facts, in every pebble of which there are a hundred mysteries, we reach outward and upward toward the unknown and unknowable for the unspeakable powers in which we find exaltation and new life. What we know supports us. It is our science. What we do not know exalts us. It is our religion.

What light is essentially before it enters the retina of the eye, what heat is before it enters our frames through our various forms of diet, what actinic or chemical energy was as it came from the sun,—that same thing are they all, when they have become converted into thought. This is why all forms of mental action are expressible in terms of sunlight, and in no other.

Mind Language is Sun Language.

If a man has a new thought for us, we say he is bright, he shines. If he is full of thought, we say he glows, or he is glorious. If he gets earnest in its expression, we say "he warms." If he grows eloquent, we say he speaks "thoughts that breathe in words that burn." If his thoughts are of a character which cause him to demand that we act with him, we say he is "red hot." If he moves upon us so that we act and think with him, we say "we were all wrought up to a white heat." This is not an accident of our English tongue. In all languages, the words to express wisdom are borrowed from those which mean light, and the words which express love and all passions are borrowed from those which mean heat. As the sun's ray dissolves into light, heat, and actinic force, so every form of mental action does the same. We perceive: that is light. We feel or will: that is heat. And we originate,—*i.e.*, we develop an individuality differing from that of any other in the world: that is actinic force. These three comprehend all there is of soul, and all three are variations of the sun's ray. In pure science, we first observe or learn a fact: that is light. We then test or melt that we have learned by mixing it up in the furnace of the mind with other things which we previously know: that is heat, scrutiny, disintegration, destruction, conversion, or assimilation. Then, we turn out our own thought concerning the same thing: that is individuality, invention, origination, genius, differentiation, actinic force. In rhetoric, argument represents light; passionate and fiery eloquence represents heat. And the divine power of thinking what man never thought before,—call it inspiration, originality, or what you will,—it is that which writes books, develops science, constructs new machines, founds empires, wins battles, reveals religions, and pushes on the march of human progress into new fields: this is the actinic ray, the creative force. In society, these three elements blend variously, but are not lost. The bar gets most of the intellectual element, or true white light. The pulpit gets most of the emotional element, too much to be trusted with any other function than persuasion. But there is a class of men subtler than the lawyers, and more beloved than the preachers, whose business it is to reveal new truth,—Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, Watts, Fulton, Franklin, and one who will address you in this course this winter, Prof. Gray, the inventor of the telephone,—these are the men who mine for new truth, who probe mysteries, who work out and on into the shadow of the unknown and unknowable. Knowledge, worship, and discovery may be said to have made up all there is of man.

What is True Worship?

True worship is that attitude of the human mind in which it advances to the edge of what is known, and there makes proclamation of mystery. It appropriately lies between knowledge on the one side and discovery on the other; for there is nothing that more tends to discovery than the recognition of mystery. Religion is the analysis of light, or knowledge,—not as

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it comes from the sun, but as it is seen when a small quantity of it is passed through a pinhole into a dark chamber, and is there thrown upon the spectrum. It is an interesting and pretty experiment, and works in the estimation of many an accurate decomposition of the sun's ray for our analysis. As thus dissolved, we perceive that the divine flood consists of heat, color, and actinic energy. The heat we recognize. The actinic energy we recognize. But, instead of pure white light, we have nothing but a pretty display of red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. We wonder how the white ray can produce these beautiful colors. But we protest that this is not the light that lights up the world. But they who hold the prism say, It is, truly; for, look you, we have only to take a small jet of this light as it comes from the sun, and pass it through our prism and throw the result upon a screen, and, lo! there we see exactly the composition of the light that lights up the world. Theology decomposes God into power, wisdom, goodness, sacrifice, sanctification, redemption, and glory, as this prism decomposes light into red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet. But, replies Philosophy, the light that comes from the sun is white. It has not these colors, but only the power of creating them when passed through the prism of a priest's mind. And so the philosopher places just below the God-revealing theological prism the God-concealing prism of science. The religious analysis of the nature of divine light is reversed. The colors disappear. There is nothing left upon the screen but the same little glow of light that entered the orifice. This is what Philosophy does with all attempts to analyze Universal Truth by catching a beam of it through a pinhole, and decomposing it by means of a creed. It so adjusts its own prism as to restore the purity of the Primal Ray.

When Philosophy is asked whether an infinite universe could not be produced by a personal being, if he had power enough, wisdom enough, and goodness enough, Philosophy answers, Power, wisdom, and goodness are as much products of the universe as clay, sand, and marl.

Making a Universe out of its Products.

Can the thing produced turn around and create its creator? Can the finest silk that the loom weaves create the loom? Every ray of light that shines into an insect's eye deposits its effect in its brain as sensation, which is the germ of wisdom. All the rest is growth. Every atom of oxygen it breathes becomes in it a germ of power. The rest is growth. And, as to goodness, every person or thing is good to us whose will or uses bend to ours. It is a mere element of subserviency, an attempt to win the cards of life by a trick. All words in all languages signifying knowledge have originally signified seeing or light. All words of wisdom, joy, and life, brilliancy, glory, delight, indicate the origin of the thing they express. All words of love, passion, religion in its affectionate scope, originate in words of heat or burning. Inspiration, genius, origination, invention, the transforming power of a new individuality, is the actinic ray. These are the whole of soul; and they are but subdivisions of the sun's ray allied to consciousness, which is also an incident of the sun's action

I see, therefore, in the sunlight not something which power, wisdom, and goodness could have created, but a perpetual outflow of that which is capable of becoming power, wisdom, and goodness as it goes. It changes power, wisdom, goodness, energy, intelligence, and love all into products of the loom, not authors of it. The loom itself, the universe, is infinite and uncreated. It creates all things,—gods, angels, men, and devils, if there be any,—all powers. And, in my judgment, the highest of all the conflicts of philosophy is to defend the dignity and integrity of the universe against the puerile charge of having been created by any of the gods or men whom it has from time to time caused to exist either in fact or in fiction.

IN moral precepts be brief: what is quickly said, the mind readily receives and faithfully retains. All that is superfluous runs over from the mind, as from a full vessel.—*Horace.*

IT is not instruction, but provocation, that I can receive from another soul. What he announces I must find true in me, or wholly reject; and on his word or as his second, be he who he may, I can accept nothing.—*Emerson.*

For *The Index.*

THEODORE PARKER'S INTEREST IN THE ELEVATION OF WOMAN.

Record of an Old Meeting, not before published.

Explanatory.

The death of Theodore Parker occurred on the 10th of May, 1860. On the first day of June following, on the Friday of Anniversary Week, the women of Boston held a very remarkable meeting, afterward characterized as "Mrs. Dall's Drawing-room Convention." Mainly on account of the relation borne by Mr. Parker to the women prominent in the call, this drew together a body of women far superior in intellect and social position to those who had been accustomed to answer to such a signal. After it was over, it was felt that the occasion could hardly have been improved; and those who had heard Mrs. Cheney's beautiful letter and Mrs. Dall's address desired to have them in permanent shape. Mrs. Dall had no manuscript, but some one in the audience had taken some notes, which she retouched; and Mr. Richard J. Hinton undertook to print the whole proceedings. Six months passed, and nothing had been done. It was found that Mr. Hinton's business relations were entangled; and the printed pamphlet, in consequence, never came. The documents were supposed to be lost.

Recently, however, the following draft of the proceedings in relation to Theodore Parker has been found among the private papers of one of the committee. It is more than we ever expected to rescue, and it is sent to *The Index* chiefly for the sake of preserving Mrs. Cheney's fine letter. C. H. D.

WASHINGTON, January, 1883.

BOSTON, MASS., July 1, 1860.

The women of Boston held their usual anniversary, to report the condition and progress of their cause, at the Melodeon, on Friday, June 1. The death of Theodore Parker had just been announced. There were two sessions. In the afternoon, Mrs. Severance, the presiding officer, opened the meeting by reading an address, which concluded in the following words:

"I shall detain you only to offer, in advance of all other action, the tribute which springs spontaneously from all our hearts to-day, to him, the tender, large-hearted brother, the loyal teacher, the unmatched American scholar, whose grave beneath the Italian sod shall make that soil more sacred to us, and the millions who mourn him, than all its classic treasures,—to him who brought the wealth of his rare scholarship, his eminent abilities, and his great soul into the cause of woman's elevation. In the fulness of our gratitude and grief, as women, we thank God, on his behalf, that we can say so truly,—

> 'Happy he
> With such a [wife and] mother! Faith in womankind
> Beats with his blood, and trust in all things high
> Comes easy to him.'

But I hasten to give you, better than any words of mine, those of one longer privileged with his personal friendship, worthy of it by character and culture, who revives our recollections of his services to the cause, and of that sweet, loving side of his nature which poured its constant sunlight upon "all who sought or needed or knew him."

Mrs. Severance then proceeded to read the following letter from Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney: —

"Entirely unused to addressing an audience, I should not dare trust myself to speak of Theodore Parker, with my heart full of the grief which the news of his death has occasioned. Yet it is most fitting that his great services should be warmly recognized, and I offer you a few reminiscences.

"Mr. Parker considered the elevation of woman in political, social, and intellectual life to be a cause second in importance to none of those which received his support. In the religious society founded under his guidance, she was, without hesitation, recognized as an equal and co-laborer in every department. She voted at all meetings. She was placed on the most important committees, and Lucretia Mott and Antoinette Brown were welcomed to his pulpit. Mr. Parker often said that a body of intelligent and highly educated women would do more for the advancement of true culture in our country than any other agency; and it was a constant aim with him to do something toward educating and guiding the minds of the women of his parish. Many a woman was indebted to his constant help in study, to his gentle sympathy and wise counsel amid the perplexities of her life. Who can forget the afternoon conversations held at his house for the women of his parish, or the untiring zeal and masterly ability with which he conducted them? No timid girl could stammer so confusedly but he welcomed her thought, set it in the clear light of his own vast intelligence, showed her its relation to all other subjects, and returned her, for her rough diamond, a well-cut gem. His keen satire was never used to check the painful, diffident speech of one less gifted or ready than himself.

"He had, nevertheless, a most chivalric love of grace and beauty in woman. A cold, hard woman seemed to him a monstrosity. He believed woman to be equal to, not identical with, man, and that her peculiar spiritual faculties were as important in their place as her physical life is necessary in the great plan of creation. He often relied on the fine intuitions of his wife's delicate nature informing his opinions of men in whose hands he wished to place important trusts, and he was wont to say that it never misled him. He respected the whole nature and life of woman. His profound reverence for the marriage relation made it a keen pain to him to pronounce the nuptial benediction in what seemed to him an untrue union. Yet who that received the holy chrism from his lips did not feel his solemn tones sounding through the whole future?

"'Mother' was the most sacred of all words to him. His own mother was his guide, teacher, and never-failing source of sympathy and strength. In a warm debate before a legislative committee, on the abolition of capital punishment, the venerable Dr. Beecher to whom Mr. Parker had just paid a well-deserved compliment said:—

"'Mr. Parker did not get his doctrine of anti-capital punishment from me.'

"'No,' replied Mr. Parker, 'I got them from a higher and better teacher, my mother!'

"A Calvinistic clergyman then retorted, 'Mr. Parker did not get his notions about the Bible from his mother, for I have heard that she was a good and pious woman.'

"'Yes,' replied Mr. Parker, with quivering lip, 'my mother was a good and pious woman; and she taught me to love God, not to worship the Bible.'

"I will not dwell longer on what is so familiar to you all, but I must speak to one other point. Not only did he recognize the life of woman in humanity, but, finding a revelation of God in every work of his hands, he could not but express this thought in some recognition of the Divine Maternity. Carrying out the great thought of Jesus, he loved to speak of God, not merely as our Father, but our Mother; and, in this expression, he conveyed all the childlike, tender confidence in God's love, which was the great source of his strength in life, as well as of his calm peace in the prospect of death.

"In conclusion, I offer you the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the women of Boston cannot meet in council to-day without laying a wreath of immortal honor on the grave of Theodore Parker."

It having been intimated that the resolution would be acted upon at the next session, the usual business of the meeting proceeded.

The evening session was opened by Mrs. Dall, who concluded her report of the progress of the cause by speaking of the laws, the literature, and the losses of the woman's movement during the past year.

In speaking of its losses, her heart failed her. It was not likely that any future year could deprive them of any seven persons so remarkable for social standing, personal culture, and commanding influence as the seven from whom they had parted during the past twelve months. She shrank from the effort of commemorating such a loss since, with one exception, these individuals were her personal friends, and by their loss she was especially bereaved. She went on to speak of Charles F. Hovey, the impartial friend of freethought, the open-handed merchant of Summer Street; of the Frau von Heidenreisch, who had left behind her a reputation second to that of no man in her medical specialty; of Eliza Lee Follen and Lady Byron, united in her memory, because themselves united in the tenderest bond of personal friendship; of Mrs. Jameson, so highly distinguished by the purity of her life, the worth of her artistic criticism, and the eminence of her literary position; of the late John W. Browne, of whom Emerson had said that

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"he was the best conversationist in America," a man tender and true, of wonderful inspirations and delicate scruples. Many, the speaker said, would miss his untiring efforts in the "woman's cause," and *she not least* of all.

Before speaking of him whose loss lay heaviest on their hearts, the speaker paused. She did not envy the woman who, standing on that platform, at that hour, could be silent in regard to Theodore Parker.

Yet, from one who had known him from early childhood, every word must fall like a personal confession. After the eloquent public tribute of yesterday, what was left for her to say? Humble, indeed, must be her words of commemoration. Long years ago, she had read an ancient fable, which told how, when the king of the forest died, all the birds and beasts brought costly memorials to crown and deck his grave. The leopard laid down his spotted skin, and the peacock his plumes. The humming-bird parted with its jewelled ruff, and the porcupine with its quiver of darts. When all were gone, a little mole crept from beneath the freshly laid sod, and longed, in its blindness, to show some honor also: so it brought an acorn from its private hoard, and dropped it unwitting into the hollows of the turf. Then, the rain fell and the sun shone, as the seasons wore on, till at last a lofty oak sheltered with royal and fittest shade the spot where the monarch lay. So might it happen to the woman's tribute so gratefully offered to-day.

James Freeman Clarke has said that, as long as he lived, he should wear the purple pressure of Theodore Parker's lips upon his cheek like a royal badge, as some men wore on their breasts the scarlet ribbon of the Legion of Honor. She had been glad to hear him say it; for every one who had known Theodore Parker carried some milk-white witness to the depth of his tenderness and consideration.

Mr. Garrison had said yesterday that Mr. Parker had come slowly into the woman's cause, thinking the question, at first, one which could be dismissed with a smile. But, if so, there was in his respect for individual rights a broad and safe foundation for his advocacy. At an age when most men would have dismissed her contemptuously to the nursery or the play-room, the speaker had corresponded with him on theological matters; and now, as she glanced over the faded papers, she found that he had always written with the fulness and respect that he would have shown to a man of his own years.

Mrs. Dall related several anecdotes of him, which testified to his tenderness and love of justice. The witness he had borne to the noble liberality of the proprietors of the Boston Athenæum was dwelt upon. He said the library had been a college to him, and rebuked, almost with sternness, an attempt made in his presence to depreciate its value.

She related also, with much feeling, a touching tribute paid to his wife, when, with eyes overflowing, he had said, "You will not wonder that she has been the light of *my* eyes for twenty-five years."

The speaker checked herself on account of the private and personal nature of her reminiscences. One of his last acts, on the eve of sailing from New York, had been to send her a written expression of his sympathy in the woman's movement. When the news of his death floated to her on the wings of the morning, Mrs. Dall did not hear where his friends had laid him. But, wherever it might be, there she felt that the turf would be green, the breezes soft; there, the birds would sing their songs of happy faith; there, the flowers would ceaselessly wreathe the fragrant immortal garlands that every season would renew. Then came the news that he was laid just outside the Piuti Gate at Florence. The speaker could scarce refrain from thinking that, had he rested beneath the sparkling bosom of the Adriatic, where the sweet water-lily, which

"Stole the innermost secret of the sky,"

might have bloomed and floated above his breast, the endless play of the waves, now tossed in summer beauty, now lifted by passing storm, might have emblemed fitly that conflict of human opinion amid which he had lived, and which had worn and hurried him to his grave.

In conclusion, Mrs. Dall moved the resolution offered in Mrs. Cheney's letter:—

***Resolved*, That the women of Boston cannot meet in council to-day without laying a wreath of immortal honor upon the grave of Theodore Parker.**

During Mrs. Dall's address, many of her audience had melted into tears; and now, in accordance with an intimation previously given, the large assembly arose, and testified their acceptance of the resolution by standing silently.

As they stood, and evidently responding to their feelings, the speaker added, and in a voice of much emotion: "He is not so far from us but he knows what we are doing. Let us pledge ourselves to honor him, not merely by this sacred silence and position, but by permeating our whole lives, as he did, with the sacred fires of truth and love."

CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM A DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

Editors of The Index:—

A sample copy of the current number of *The Index* is received. It is one of several which have come to hand in recent years. It certainly shows persistence in seeking readers, and I presume I am but one of many thousands treated in the same manner; and I am curious to know what can be the real motive which prompts so much industry and expense. To me, it seems diabolical to seek to take away from men a faith which presents the only working hypothesis, affording a satisfactory solution of the world's phenomena, spiritual and material.

With Jesus a reality and his teachings true, the world's phenomena become intelligible; for life here is simply a training school in which we are fitted for a larger life which lies beyond. With a future life eliminated from our hopes, and all intelligence abrogated from the government of the universe, human life becomes the most direful of possessions.

We, as Christians, believe that we have a Father in heaven, who is also Lord of the universe, and that we through Christ may become the heirs of the infinite.

Now, it would seem self-evident that this belief cannot make men worse, and must in reality make them better, and, whether true or false, must sweeten the ills of life, and make our sojourn here much more tolerable than it otherwise would be; and, if so, it is equally evident that you do a wrong in seeking to take away from us so comforting a faith. If this be so, I am forced to the conclusion that, in sending me *The Index*, you are not a friend, but an enemy. Why you should be my enemy I cannot tell. I have never done you wrong; and if I know myself, and I think I do, I would not reciprocate in kind, but on the contrary would do you good, if I knew how and you would afford me an opportunity. As a Christian, I would do good to every one upon the earth, and to none more cheerfully than to my enemies. To weaken my faith in the Divine Nazarene is to do me the greatest injury I can conceive of; and the greatest good you could do me, and for which I would be most grateful, would be to strengthen that faith.

As an honest journalist, you ought to give reasons which, in some degree at least, would palliate the apparent malevolence of your action. If you have good motives, please let me know what they are, so that I shall not shrink from your presence as I now do. I would like to believe that you are at least honest; but, even granting that you are honest, what right have you to tear down, unless you have something better to put in its place?

I would like to say more, but I am a very busy man, and I presume anything I could say would be wasted; but, still, I am very sorry to see so much ability thrown away in a bad cause, and I have therefore taken the liberty to ask why it is that you seek my harm and the harm of others of like faith. Now, we, on the contrary, seek to do you good instead of evil. You reject Christianity, and deny the Divinity of its Founder; and, therefore, I feel sorry for you as one afflicted with the most deadly of diseases, and would like to help you. Let me suggest a cure, and one that I know to be infallible. The recipe is short, and was prescribed by the great Physician for those who were afflicted with your disorder in his day. "The Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned? Jesus answered them, said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will [or shall seek to do his will, as the revision has it more correctly], he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself."

To take this prescription will do you no harm, and I am very sure will do you good. Try it, and you may charge to my account any evil resulting therefrom.

To you and to all others like you, argument is useless. To the King of Siam, the statement of the Dutch traveller, that in his country the waters of its rivers became so hard and strong that an elephant could walk over in safety, was preposterous. The only way to convince him was ocular demonstration. So, with men like you, ocular demonstration is the only proper proof, and that kind of proof is what we offer you.

The Apostle Paul understood this fact perfectly, when he said: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things."

My dear fellow-traveller, you are blind,—blind as a bat; but, if you can realize that fact, and really desire to see, I have shown you how.

Very truly, R. BRINKERHOFF.

MANSFIELD, OHIO.

B. F. Underwood, Esq.,—Your postal of the 31st ult. does not answer my questions. *How* you came to send *me* a copy of *The Index* is a matter of no moment. Of course, I understand that you do not know me, and have no personal enmity to me; and, when I said you were my enemy, I made myself the type of a class. What I mean is that you are the enemy of Christianity, and that the organization you represent would not exist except to oppose Christianity. The "Free Religious Society" is not a stranger to me, and I have known *The Index* since it was a scant-leaved folio in Toledo, and I am well aware that this society includes some of the ablest intellects in the nation; but what I have always been curious to know is the *real* reason for its activity. When you ask me to accord to you the privilege "*to diffuse* rational thought," you do not enlighten me in the least. Of course, I accord to you equal privilege with myself in matters of opinion; but, when you manifest such vast activity and such aggressive enmity to the Christian system, I inquire, *Cui bono? cui bono?*

Christianity is a fact,—a noble fact,—out of which has grown all that is best in the world's history. You may belt the globe to-day; and you will find, without exception, that darkness deepens as Bibles disappear. In the presence of this fact, I wonder why intelligent men like you and others of the Free Religious Association should seek to destroy the Bible. Among the mistakes of Moses, the moral law certainly is not one; and, unless you can substitute something better, it must be wrong to weaken its authority.

Christianity is not Romanism or Calvinism or any other *ism*. It is simply the teachings and the philosophy of Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified Jew. To weaken these teachings and to destroy this philosophy is the mission of the society represented by *The Index*, and I inquire, *Cui bono?*

I think I have a right to make this inquiry; and I think you ought, in justice to yourself, to make a reasonable answer to the public you address, and in the columns of *The Index*.

Personally, I am not afraid of *The Index*, and I read it with admiration of its ability; but, to those not rooted and grounded in the faith of the gospel, it may do serious mischief, and therefore I would like to see it meet the fate of Saul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus. Very truly, R. BRINKERHOFF.

MANSFIELD, OHIO.

That I am not an ecclesiastic or rival journalist or a publisher of the "Revision," I would refer you to some near neighbors of yours who know me,—*e.g.*, Frank B. Sanborn, W. S. Spaulding, or Gov. Long, and especially to the first-named. R. B.

BOOK NOTICES.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MRS. FLETCHER. With letters and other family memorials. Edited by the survivor of her family. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883.

The editor of Mrs. Fletcher's Autobiography has taken a little too much for granted. She has assumed that her mother is a famous person. But neither her name nor that of Archibald Fletcher, advocate, her husband, appears in the biographical dictionaries. Therefore, some little outline of her life, prefacing her somewhat desultory and incoherent reminiscences, written after she had reached her seventieth year, would not have been amiss. She was born Jan.

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15, 1770, and died February, 1858. She was a person of much intelligence and of the finest character. Her companionships were high and pure, her friends were of the noblest in the walks of literature and reform that England had to show. She lived in the Lake District; and her Autobiography has many references to her relations with Wordsworth, Arnold, Southey, Mrs. Barbauld, Lucy Aikin, Joanna Bailey, and other famous people of her generation. But there is little in her reminiscences that throws any new light upon their characters. Of Sir Walter also, she could say, *vidi tantum*; of Crabbe also, and Mazzini. She was an ardent politician, interested in our own anti-slavery conflict very deeply. One does not wonder that she was so much respected and beloved, but the reason for publishing her autobiography does not appear. The best thing in the volume is a picture of her face at the age of eighty. It is a marvel of nobility. Her picture at the age of fifteen is given on the opposite page, and the identity of the face in the two pictures is remarkable.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for February contains several articles of practical interest as well as of marked ability. The first paper, by Prof. E. W. Gilliam, considers the increase of the negroes in this country, and favors colonization to avert great social disturbances in the future. Alexander Bain's Rectorial Address to the students of Aberdeen University, on "The University Ideal," delivered Nov. 15, 1882, is of interest to all who are concerned about the higher education. "Curiosities of Superstition," by Dr. Felix L. Oswald, is fresh and pungent. R. W. Boodle, in "Natural Religion, a Study in the Growth of Scientific Morality," sketches the progress of scientific and liberal thought on the religious side since 1850. From this article, the following extracts are given: "It is unequivocally recognized by most writers of eminence that Christianity can no longer look to its supernatural elements for support,—nay, more, that the excellence of some parts of its morality cannot even receive credence for their inferential elements; at least, they have to be definitely discarded as a necessary part of faith, if Christianity intends to bid for the allegiance of the intellectual portion of mankind. It is therefore ridiculously wide of the truth to boast, as the clerical mind is inclined to do, that Christianity has weathered the storm, that she will pass into the twentieth century unaltered in essentials. This is fully recognized by the author of 'Natural Religion.' 'The Church,' he writes, 'has now entered upon that phase when minds of the higher order are seldom found to receive its ancient dogmas with complete conviction, when they do not altogether belong to it, even when they most admire it and most appreciate the service it has rendered to mankind. It has reached this rather advanced stage of decline, and has left quite behind it the first stage, when individual disbelievers were indeed numerous enough: but still minds disposed to religion, even when they were minds of the highest order, were troubled with no scepticism that they could not overcome.' The fact is, that the Church does not pretend to be the interpreter of human society, to open to us the vista of the future, or to give us guidance upon matters of contemporary importance. 'We know,' writes our author, 'for the most part it is occupied with quite other topics. To most of its utterances, the world listens in half-contemptuous silence, feeling that it is useless to controvert the proposition laid down, and that no results would follow from admitting them. The propositions are *archaic*: they show that the Church once understood its function, and discharged it efficiently.'" "Social Forces in American Life," by Herbert Spencer, written as a kind of sequel to his speech at the New York dinner, is a brief paper; but it develops his views more clearly than was possible in the exigencies of a festive occasion. The number contains other interesting articles, among which is a biography of Milne-Edward, the celebrated naturalist, with a portrait. The leading editorial on "Machine Education," which touches on recent developments in regard to public school management in New York, is timely and well worth reading.

THE *North American Review* for February opens with a symposium, in which Revs. Henry C. Potter, Howard Crosby, J. B. Thomas, J. O. Peck, G. T. Krotel, and T. W. Chambers give their views on the question of the "Revision of Creeds." These men do not represent even the advanced "orthodox" thought of the day, and their statements show that they lag behind the age in regard to the subject which they treat. One quotation from Rev. Dr. Chambers is sufficient: "My opinion is that the ignorant washerwoman who is a Christian knows that the Bible is the Word of God, because, as we state it theologically, the Holy Ghost bears witness to her in and by the truth, and satisfies her own mind; and that is independent of anything outside." Prof. Alexander Winchell has an article on "The Experiment of Universal Suffrage," in which he inquires into the conditions of stable popular government, which, he argues, are not to be attained under our existing political system, when the force of superior numbers practically neutralizes the influence of the best portion of the people, whose right to control the government is grounded in the very nature of things. Bishop McQuaid writes of "The Decay of Protestantism," and in support of his thesis quotes from Protestant writers: "Nothing," this writer observes, "has developed scepticism in the laity more effectually than the ministers' quickness in giving up a doctrinal point at the demand of secularists, on the plea of science. The theories of the scientific school have more weight than the Bible, church creeds, or theological teachings. The belief loaned to a congregation one Sunday may be taken back the next. Science, in many of its false assumptions, domineers over theology. In a word, the laity have learned from their ministers to hold few or no dogmatic truths. Constant changes, vexatious uncertainties, doubts, negations, have led multitudes into the ranks of cultured Agnostics and polished Atheists." "The Political Situation" is the joint title of two articles, one by Hon. Horatio Seymour and the other by Hon. George S. Boutwell, who give their views upon the causes of the recent defeats of the Republican party. The other articles are "Physical Education in College," by Dr. D. A. Sargent, and "The Standard Oil Company," by Senator Camden, of West Virginia.

PROMINENT among the many attractions of the "midwinter" number of the *Century Magazine*, we note a very spirited portrait of George William Curtis, engraved by Cole, with a sketch of his life written by S. S. Conant; the beginning of a new story, entitled "A Woman's Reason," by W. D. Howells; the continuation of Frank Cushing's "Adventures in Zuñi"; and the consideration, by Emma Lazarus, of "The Jewish Problem." The most profusely illustrated articles are "American Etchers," by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer; "Artists' Models in New York," by Charlotte Adams; Cable's "Creoles in the American Revolution"; and Cushing's "Zuñi." Mary Hallock Foote's mining romance, "The Led-Horse Claim," continues in interest, and will be concluded in the March number. "Through One Administration" is nearing its conclusion. Frank H. Stockton has a completed short story. There are poems from E. C. Stedman, R. H. Stoddard, Joaquin Miller, Philip Bourke Marston, and other well-known poets. There is a sketch of Frederick Locker, the author of *London Lyrics*, by J. Brander Matthews, with portrait and illustrations. The various other contents of this number are up to the usual high standard of the magazine. The readers of *The Index* will be interested in a letter in the "Communications" department, concerning "Judicial Oaths and Affirmations," from B. P. Moore.

THE *Unitarian Review* for January opens with "The Study of Church History," an Inaugural Address by Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. The principal articles that follow are "American Civilization," by Isabel Francis Bellows; "The Bible," by Rev. C. A. Bartol; "Ellis' Life of Dr. Chapin," by Rev. E. A. Horton; "Martyrdom of Servetus," by Rev. T. L. Eliot. Mrs. Martha P. Lowe contributes "Things at Home and Abroad." "Editors' Note-Book" embraces a number of current topics. "Review of Current Literature" completes the contents.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for December contains an account of the European settlers on the Congo, a plea for the abolition of the property qualification in Belgium, a novelette, an interesting article on comets, a psychological essay, and an essay striving to prove that Shakspere wrote "As You Like It" in order to put down primogeniture. Such attempts of critics to pass off their own views as those of some noted author are very common, unfortunately.

WE have received from Hiram Sibley & Co., of Rochester, N.Y., a handsome seed catalogue of one hundred and fifty-six pages, including several pages of life-like illustrations of vegetables and flowers in natural colors. The catalogue will be sent free to any one upon application to the above firm.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

SENATOR BEN WADE used to say that religion without hell was pork without salt.

B. F. UNDERWOOD lectures the coming week in Pennsylvania—at Linesville, January 29, 30, and 31; at Doylestown, February 2.

JAMES K. APPLEBEE will speak next Sunday morning at the Parker Memorial on "Thomas Paine, the Prophet-Hero of the Revolution."

GEN. SHERMAN denounces as an intentional falsehood the statement in a New York newspaper that he has been received into the Roman Catholic Church.

LEOPOLD SESSLER, of Milwaukee, and his family, consisting of a wife and three children, have renounced Judaism, and are about to connect themselves with the Roman Catholic Church.

THE pastor of the Unitarian church at Medfield, Mass., Rev. J. N. Pardee, is to give a course of lectures for the Busy Bee Society on the following subjects: "Materialism: its Strength and Weakness," "Matter and Mind," "Theism," "The Basis of Morals."

MRS. RALPH WALDO EMERSON wishing at one time to have the children christened, Mr. Emerson said he would not object, whenever a minister could be found to christen the children who was as good as they were. Mr. Emerson was a good deal more of a philosopher than some people imagined.

MISS LOUISE ALCOTT writes to the *Woman's Journal* in regard to the condition of her father, Bronson Alcott: "While he has improved in some ways, there is no prospect of entire restoration to health. His great vigor will doubtless sustain him for a longer time than most men of his age; but at eighty-three, and after three attacks, it is not probable that he will recover."

THE personal appearance of the late Leon Gambetta was thus described: "He is very erect, carries his head in a dignified and firm manner, has a large but well-shaped mouth, beautiful hands, grayish hair, and the left eye bright and full of fire. All his facial characteristics betoken a man of the South. He is of medium height, has a large trunk, broad chest, and moves clumsily. He tends to obeseness, but strives energetically to check this tendency by exercise."

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, in an article in *Longman's Magazine*, says: "I fancy, too, that I sank a good deal in the opinions of some of my questioners when I had to tell them that I knew nothing about Mr. Oscar Wilde, whose name was then to be seen in large letters on the walls, as his photographs, in various attitudes, were to be seen in the windows of Washington and at several other places. It was too true that I had never heard of Mr. Wilde till I took up his poems in the house of a gentleman in Massachusetts."

ANTHONY TROLLOPE was in his later years a short, thick-set old man, with a round, red face and snowy hair, a quick, nervous manner, and a somewhat dogmatical way of expressing his opinions, particularly of the United States, which he thought he knew thoroughly by reason of his frequent visits here. His manner is described as having been very gracious with women; while his fund of anecdotes regarding Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, Macaulay, and many other writers, made him widely popular among men.

THE Boston *Transcript* says: "Rev. Joseph Cook has been around the globe. Emptying his treasures before his Tremont Temple audience, Monday, it could not be found that he had picked up anything new abroad. It was the same familiar lot. There was our old friend 'environment,' and our intimate acquaintances 'axiomatic theology' and 'natural supernaturalism,' together with a job lot of German names and picturesque dogmatism, but nothing new. Hold! there was one thing, to wit, the 'coronal eye,' which is accorded to the people of Great Britain. And a fine thing a 'coronal eye' must be,—that is, to a bald-headed man; but even he must doff his hat to utilize this new optical feature."

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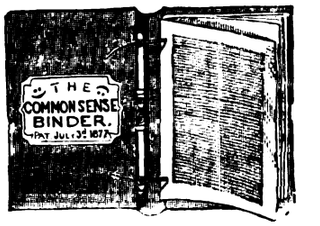

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 361

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Is Goodness only a Trick? Wm. J. Potter, ... 362
Struldbrugs, W. D. Gunning, ... 362
Schools of Poetry, Margaret E. Tirebuck, ... 363
Evolution, B. F. Underwood, ... 364

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 364

POETRY.
A Priest of Nature, B. W. Ball, ... 365
Work on! W. W. Broom, ... 365

ESSAYS.
Orthodoxy and the Bible, John W. Chadwick, ... 366
Thomas Paine, ... 368
The Philosophy of Emerson, ... 369

CORRESPONDENCE.
State and Church and the Preachers, Horace L. Traubel, 369
The Creeds of Agnosticism, V., ... 370
A Query: Bigamy and Polygamy, E. D. C., ... 370

BOOK NOTICES.
George Ripley, by Octavius Brooks Frothingham, . . 370
Phyllis Browne, by Flora L. Shaw, ... 370
First Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution of Massachusetts, ... 371
The Catholic World, Atlantic Monthly, Our Little Ones, 371

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 371

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE one hundred and forty-sixth anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Paine was celebrated on the 29th in several cities and towns in the Eastern, Middle, and Western States.

SAYS the Boston *Herald:* "Treasurer Gilfillan has told all about marking clipped and worn coin with distinguishing marks, but fails to allude to the pious fraud under which the light-weight dollars are marked, 'In God we trust.'"

TALMAGE says: "I tell you plainly if the musk-rat was your father and the opossum your mother and the kangaroo your great aunt and the toads and the snapping turtles your illustrious predecessors, my father was God." Thoroughly reverent and devout worshippers have a right to resent this declaration, as a reflection on God.

THAT the spirit of Puritanism, for which Connecticut was once so renowned, still survives in that State, is evidenced by the following unique missive sent to Gov. Waller, soon after his inauguration, by a citizen of Granby, Conn.: Your Sunday-law utterance is unchristian and heaven-defying. Your liquor utterance is unworthy of a Governor of Connecticut and a mortification to all the best citizens of the State. A Governor of this State should always say, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,' both the dark as well as the light part (one-seventh of each week). Yours with mortification."

IF other State chaplains follow the example set by Rev. Mr. Miller in his prayer before the assembly at Trenton, N.J., "the Lord" will stand a chance to get somewhat acquainted with the eccentricities of American politics. Mr. Miller prayed that "members should not ask themselves, 'How shall I line the nest of some editor, and so make myself subject of editorial squibs dripping with honey?' nor 'How shall I curry favor with bosses?' also that no member might be forced to explain to his constituency when he returned home how, having come to Trenton poor, he went back rich on a salary of $500."

THE *Independent* seems to grow restive in view of the topics selected by the Evangelical Alliance for "the week of prayer," to which allusion was recently made in these columns, and "kicks against the pricks" in the following fashion: "Will some one tell us what constitutes the Evangelical Alliance in this country? Who is he? By what right does he, or it, select the topics for the Week of Prayer? Are the topics made up abroad, and by whom? and adapted here to the American market, and by whom? Do more than one man, or three men, at the most, conduct the business—we had almost said the fussiness—of this organization?"

BRIERRE DE BOISMONT gives the following analysis of 676 cases of suicide: 278 bade adieu to parents, friends, and the world; 105 gave directions as to funeral and burial; 45 asked pardon for their suicide; 43 evinced solicitude for parents or children; 36 had confidence in divine forgiveness; 38 expressed regret at leaving world, friends, etc.; 22 avowed belief in a future state; 18 died in houses of ill-fame; 30 expiated faults or asked forgiveness; 11 desired the prayers of the Church; 11 prayed friends to shed tears to their memory; 11 ascribed their death to useless motives; 9 expressed horror at their own death; 19 wished their death concealed for sake of family.

TWO RECENT cases, cited by the daily press, show how indiscriminately people sign, without reading, any and every petition or paper offered to them. The first is the case of a mayor in a French town who "signed and sealed" a report which stated that "we have no case of hydrophobia or madness to report, unless it be that of the mayor and corporation, who are idiots and raving madmen." The other was a petition to the State Legislature, gotten up to show how careless people were in this matter, and asked that the most popular pastor of an American town be *hung* in the public square of the town on a certain date. This was signed by hundreds of citizens without reading, among others by the pastor's son-in-law.

A WRITER in the *Christian Union* thus refers to the work of Prof. Adler's Society for Ethical Culture: "The practical work of the society is threefold. It comprises an 'ethical school,' a 'workingmen's school and free kindergarten,' and a 'district nursing' department. The first is the Sunday-school of the society. It meets on Sunday afternoon at the society house. The duties of life are taught in two groups, (one) those which regard self, and (two) those which regard others. The histories of the great religions of the world are reviewed, and the central idea of each is emphasized. The course is concluded for adults by a lecture upon the philosophy of religion. In teaching very young children, biography is used to illustrate the duties of life. The workingmen's school and free kindergarten was organized in January, 1878, with one teacher and eight pupils. It now has two hundred and fifty pupils, ranging between the years of three and nine, a principal and eight assistants. The children are all from poor families, and the instruction is free; clothing and food being also supplied where they are needed. The school now has four classes; and a new class is to be added every year until the number reaches eight, when the course will be complete. The district nursing department has been in operation since the spring of 1879. The society employs two nurses,—Miss Benedict and Mrs. Dilts,—who work under the direction of the dispensary physicians at the Demilt and New York Dispensaries. The scene of their labors is in that odorous and pestilential district of Mott and Baxter Streets, and along the East River. The nurse obtains from the physicians every morning a list of patients, and makes her round of visits. She labors entirely outside of the hospitals."

SOME of our Catholic exchanges appear to be much pleased whenever they can glean from the newspapers an incident in the life of any person in France whose name has been connected with liberal principles which reflects upon his character, and are quick to adduce it as evidence of the need of theological faith to keep men in the path of moral rectitude. *The Index* never did and never will defend, apologize for, nor attempt to cover up the misconduct of anybody, however intimately his name may be associated with Liberalism; but we wish to remind our exchanges that instances of human weakness and folly, in the Church or outside of it, are no valid evidence for or against any doctrine or principle, except they can be shown to result legitimately from it. We are not accustomed, therefore, to allude to the moral delinquencies of theologians as any proof that their teachings are false. But they should be reminded that, in assailing the character of free thinkers, they employ an argument which can be used against themselves with terrible effect by any one who chooses to retaliate, although this is a kind of warfare, whether it be offensive or defensive, for which we have no taste. When the Catholic Church was in the ascendency in France, the French government hushed up offences of lascivious priests and monks. But now, when a clerical teacher is caught in the perpetration of an offence against nature or of lewdness toward his pupils, he is hauled, like any ordinary offender, before the tribunals of law, and his guilt exposed and punished. And this, says a French writer, constitutes the last grievance of the Church against the Republic. The Republic has no tenderness for the sores of Catholicism; and, even if it had, it would be unable to conceal them. The liberty which the press enjoys in France leaves no means of protecting any man against publicity. The consequence is that French newspapers are now daily chronicling and French tribunals daily punishing a number of deeds exceedingly damaging to the good fame of the clergy. We certainly have no disposition to refer to these facts every week, and to insist that they are the natural result of Catholic teachings. It is not likely that human perfection will be attained for many ages under any system of religion or philosophy.

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IS GOODNESS ONLY A TRICK?

In Mr. Van Buren Denslow's very interesting, brilliant, ingenious, and thought-stimulating essay on "The Conflicts of Philosophy," which has appeared in the last three numbers of *The Index*, there were two or three points against which, as we read, we were disposed to put a question-mark; but there was one point against which we should have had to put not only a big question-mark, but a series of exclamation-marks, to indicate the measure and force of our dissent. We refer to the definition of goodness, which was made near the end of the essay in this wise: "As to goodness, every person or thing is good to us whose will or uses bend to ours. It is a mere element of subserviency, an attempt to win the cards of life by a trick."

Mr. Denslow probably holds the utilitarian theory of ethics. But, if he had designed to travesty that theory and bring it under contempt, he could hardly have chosen more effectual terms than he has used in these sentences. We do not remember to have heard any enemy of the theory perpetrate a sharper satire upon it than this. If this statement indicates Mr. Denslow's entire ethical philosophy, he does not appear to think that utilitarian action ever emerges into genuine unselfish beneficence. Morality, in his view, is always an effort to secure some advantage to one's self. And the figure he uses to illustrate his definition represents morality, or goodness, as anything but admirable, —makes it, in fact, ignoble and repulsive. "To win the cards of life by a trick" suggests an act either of mystifying illusion or of downright dishonest cheating. And to play such a trick for fun can hardly be to an earnest and honorable ambition a more attractive object than to play it with full purpose of winning by deceit. At the best, Mr. Denslow's view of goodness seems to place it little higher than the trick of behavior which a bright dog has learned to perform, in order to secure a bone from his master. A moral philosophy which thus stigmatizes itself betrays the existence of a fatal moral scepticism at its heart. It has a disease which saps the forces of its own life, and renders it impotent to produce any high moral achievements.

Now, for our part, we do not accept the utilitarian view of morality. If we did, we should resent Mr. Denslow's representation of it in the sentences quoted. We believe that at the root of morality there are certain intellectual perceptions of relation between man and man which are not explainable by any motives of self-advantage. Justice, for instance, has its foundation in the perception that another person has the same natural rights to life, liberty, property, which one claims for one's self. And this is a perception that dawned very early in the development of the human race, however slow the race has been to follow it in conduct. So there are numerous sympathies binding individuals together in acts of mutual helpfulness classed under the general name *goodness*, which spring from a similar perception of others' rights and needs quite as much as one's own; and these sympathies become impulses of action, without the actors thinking of any benefit that may accrue to themselves therefrom. Such reversion of benefit to the actors may result; and yet this may not be at all the impulse of their action, nor even thought of, until some reflective intellect comes, which, looking over the whole process with the causes and consequences, tries to make a philosophy of it. The principle of utility has had very much to do with the development of moral ideas in their practical application, because utility in the large sense, considered as that which is for the good of the world as a whole, as that which harmonizes with and promotes the progressive and ascending life of the universe itself, runs current with the moral law. But this is a very different interpretation of the principle of utility from that which represents it as always judging an act from its subserviency to one's own special will and uses.

Yet, even if it were to be admitted that morality had its origin in an instinct of self-protection and self-preservation, and even though it must be admitted, as in our opinion it necessarily must, that ecclesiastical theology has to large extent directly cultivated the idea that all works of goodness are to be performed with the selfish utilitarian motive of saving one's own soul,—that is, of making everything serve one's own advantage,— nevertheless, humanity, especially wherever it has had opportunity for a natural and healthy moral development, has got nobly beyond the childish view which sees in goodness a means of securing sweetmeats, and beyond the barbarian view which regards morality as part of a scheme for getting possession of the spoils of life by an easier process than fighting for them.

In reading the accounts of the heart-rending catastrophes which have recently occurred by fire and flood and storm, why do our hearts thrill with admiration at the story of any acts of heroism in them where persons, forgetful of their own possessions and safety even, have thought only of saving others from the dire distress? Is it because we congratulate these persons on their sharpness in seeing and seizing the happy opportunity of securing the praise of the newspapers and purchasing higher seats in heaven? Our admiration, on the contrary, would be very sensibly diminished, if we thought that any motive impelled them except a self-forgetful sympathy for others' great pain. When an engineer, to save his train from destruction, seizes the reversing lever and keeps his hands clinched to the iron until he is battered or scalded to death, do we imagine that any motive impels him at that moment but the sublimest motive of all,— that of just standing to his duty, let come what will to self? When Florence Nightingale went to the Crimea to bind up the wounds of England's soldiers, did she do it just to make their wounds serve her fame and happiness? Can any one take the recently published letters of Lydia Maria Child, and read there the story of a woman's heart overflowing with active sympathy for all wronged and suffering human beings,—her own wants cut down to the narrowest limits and supplied with the most rigid economy, in order that she might have more to bestow on the wants of others,—can any one read this biography of self-denying philanthropy, and have the slightest suspicion of a thought that it was all a shrewd contrivance to give herself more pleasure? Was Garrison's lifelong devotion to the slave only a trick for self-aggrandizement in this world or another? Was Harriet Martineau, who believed in no future life, in devising and executing plans during her last years for promoting the welfare of her village neighbors, only plotting thereby an increase of her own enjoyment for the little time she was to remain on earth? And are the thousands of people of unfamed names, who, in obscure homes and private places, may be found every day living dutiful and kindly and self-denying lives, after all, only deluding themselves and cheating their neighbors with the semblance of disinterested care for others' well-being, while all the time they are in reality selfishly scrambling after some personal advantage and taking a secret pleasure in using others' woes and wants to help themselves on?

It is our belief that the world-forces have evolved not only a moral ideal in human consciousness, but a moral attainment in human life, very much worthier and nobler than what is implied in Mr. Denslow's disparaging statement of the nature of goodness. Whatever elements of self-interest may have mingled with the primitive germination of the moral sense, and however well grounded may be the proposition that the highest welfare of all carries with it the highest welfare of each, we believe it undeniable that morality, in its highest development, embraces numerous forms of action from motives of genuine disinterestedness.

Nor is this conclusion inconsistent with the utilitarian theory of ethics, as that theory may be, and frequently is, interpreted by its advocates. And, on reflection, we incline to think that, in using the figure of the trick of cards, Mr. Denslow really said more than he meant to say; that (to revert to his own suggestive paragraph on the evolution of mental action by the rays of the sun) he became over-*warm* in his argument, the heat-rays mastering both the light-rays and the actinic force, so that he missed the "true white light" of intellectual judgment, and fell into the fault, which he charges not unjustly against the pulpit, of excessive emotion. And we the more incline to this view because the context would naturally lead us to expect a much more moderate statement. If he had followed the parallel of what he had just said concerning the development of wisdom and power in the human race, he would have said something like this: The germ of goodness is in the natural instinct of self-preservation: all the rest is growth, through the action of environment and social experience. Philosophically, we should not think that statement complete; but, if he had said only that, we should have felt no necessity of writing this article.

WM. J. POTTER.

STRULDBRUGS.

When Gulliver went to Luggnagg, his attention was arrested by a class of Luggnaggians called "Struldbrugs." A Struldbrug is a man who never dies. His babyhood carries the badge of fleshly immortality in the form of a dark blotch on the brow.

There was born in Luggnagg not more than ten Struldbrugs in a century.

Struldbrugs and mortals lived on terms of good fellowship till the immortal attained the age of eighty. At that age, immortality went into a pen, and the immortal lived on at the public expense. His property was confiscated and his freedom abridged. Lemuel Gulliver, being an Englishman and venerating the rights of property, was shocked. He complained to the Luggnaggians, who answered in such a vein as this: —

"Immortality to the few entails a burden on the many. Unless we tethered our Struldbrugs, they would be our ruin. For what is the passion of age? It is acquisition. What portion of Luggnagg do you suppose would satisfy a centenarian Struldbrug? And, if the Struldbrug is what you call 'a financier,' how much of Luggnagg would he acquire in a hundred years? What would be the wealth of such a Struldbrug at five hundred? He might own the whole of Luggnagg, and all mortal Luggnaggians might be reduced to a state of serfdom. The whole world would fall into the hands of a few Struldbrugs. We stand on the defensive, and we stand for humanity against immortality of avarice. Where nature goes wrong we must correct her. What she should kill we will curb."

This was Luggnaggian statesmanship. It was wise and just. Gulliver does not tell us when the treatment of Struldbrugs came to be the vital question in Luggnaggian politics, or what evils were suffered before the cure was found. Struldbrugery is the vital question in our politics.

While Luggnagg produced only six Struldbrugs a century, the century of our life has produced

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scores. The species are distinct. The American type is known under such names as "Standard Oil Company," "Western Union," "Mutual Union," "New York Central," "Erie," "Union Pacific," "Central Pacific," "Denver and Rio Grande." Corporations have no souls to die or damn. They are Struldbrugs. We have not tethered them, and we are victimized. Every man on the face of the globe who burns a gallon of kerosene pays two cents more than the just value, that Rockafeller may put another million in his pocket. This is not all. A few weeks ago, I read in a Philadelphia paper a list of the defalcations and suicides caused in Pennsylvania by one clutch of the hand of this vast monopoly called the "Standard Oil Company." In the black list appeared the names of three who had lost their reason.

American Struldbrugery is exceedingly complex. Take that Struldbrug called the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Within its ribs is another and another and another,—the "Colorado Construction Company," the "Coal and Iron Company," etc. It is a cunningly devised enginery for the destruction of a State. The directors of the Railroad Company are the Construction Company, and this is the Coal and Iron Company. They conclude to build a branch road, say from Canyon City to Silver Cliff. Is it needed? Will it pay anything to you who own stock in the Denver and Rio Grande? These are matters of the least concern. The directors locate the terminus, not at Silver Cliff, but two miles away, on land which they had purchased at a trifling cost. They will kill the old town and make a town of their own, realizing large profits on the sale of land. [In this case, they failed.] They contract with the Construction Company, an alias of themselves, and agree to pay for the building of the road, say $40,000 a mile. I have it from the lips of the chief engineer that the actual cost was less than two-thirds of the sum paid. This little, illegitimate Struldbrug will make three hundred thousand dollars. I complain to you, a stockholder of the Denver and Rio Grande, that ten cents a mile is too much to pay on your narrow gauge road. You tell me that the fare cannot be too high, since the dividends are low. Simple Luggnaggian!

The Denver and Rio Grande holds every enterprise in the State at its mercy. And how fares it with mortal Luggnaggians? The gods are shutting them out of their garden. As a sojourner in this mountain Luggnagg, I wished to examine Glen Eyrie and the Garden of the Gods.

Here, an ancient river debouched into an ancient sea. And here, on the shore, prowled colossal dinosaurs, reptiles prophetic of birds. And here, where to-day

> "The bytour bumblith in the mire,"

waded the hesperornis, a bird with heirlooms from the reptile *vesper-ornis*, bird of the mesozoic evening,

> "Last in the train of night,
> If rather it belong not to the dawn."

Here, the chemistries of heat, of water, and of air, have wrought strange metamorphism on the rocks, and tinged them with every hue in the gamut of color. And here, whatever sculpturing Nature could do with rivers, with waves, with wind and sand,—the first graver she ever had,—here that sculpturing is most gigantic and most fantastic.

This is Glen Eyrie and the Garden of the Gods. Many forces have acted through countless ages—for what? For the eyes of one Struldbrug! When I wished to enter Glen Eyrie and read these ancient scriptures, I found them under lock and key of the president of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

See that voracious Struldbrug, the Central Pacific. The brat came into the world with the dark blotch on its brow, badge in Luggnagg of the new-born Struldbrug. The legislation which brought it forth is a lie. Congress declared that a certain station called Arcade is at the foot of the Sierras. This one legislative lie gave to four men about four hundred thousand dollars. We made the road, gave it to four men, and gave them land enough for an empire on each side of it. Within a hundred years, this Struldbrug may have wealth enough to buy one of the minor kingdoms of Europe. Already, it virtually owns California. The surplus earnings of the State flow into the coffers of this and three other Struldbrugs. The other day, I read in my morning paper this item: "The president of the Central Pacific Railroad is making arrangements to buy the village of Blank. It is his intention to import two hundred German families to settle in this village and till his lands." Import two hundred families! The title of my paper should have been "Through Struldbrugery to Slavery."

See a picture on the Atlantic slope,—Hudson River and New York Central, an old Struldbrug with the blotch of youth forever dark on its brow. Who does not remember the buying of senates, the watering of stocks, the swearing to falsehoods, by which it has come about that Vanderbilt has a hundred million dollars? If affairs go on for the next hundred years as they have for the past fifty, the journals of 1983 may contain an item like this: "Vanderbilt, the fifth in line from Cornelius (after whom, as antiquarians tell us, a certain Starr King called sharks the Vanderbilts of the deep), is about to complete the purchase of Massachusetts. He intends to convert all the houses into tenement-houses and to import the Irish nation to fill them and to operate his mills and railroads."

In the name of humanity, Burke indicted the despoiler of India. I indict the despoilers of humanity. No man can honestly get or innocently keep one-tenth of a hundred million dollars. When you read that such a man's fortune is estimated at twenty, forty, or sixty millions, what do you say? "From this gilded poverty will come nothing. No man with twenty millions ever added to the world's real wealth one immortal work or thought. Colossal wealth imposes colossal cares. They tether the mind to ledgers and bank vaults."

Bunyan, in his "Sighs from Hell, or Groans of a Damned Soul," makes the wail break from the lips of Dives. Of the hell or the heaven dreamed by the divine cobbler we know nothing, but we do know that on

> "This bank and shoal of time"

the groans are on the lips of Lazarus. And Lazarus is always at the gates of Dives. And the more superfluity is in the palace of Dives, the more squalor is in the hovel of Lazarus. From "Nob Hill" in San Francisco, I went to Mission Bay. I had seen palaces surpassing anything which royalty has built in Europe, and now I saw poverty more galling than anything which caste has imposed in Asia. I saw five hundred men, many of them intelligent and worthy, standing to the knees in foul, mal-odorous mud, and shovelling all day long for wages which would barely cover the body and keep within it a living soul. Words spoken to me that day over a coarse, cold dinner which a well-fed dog would have spurned I cannot forget, as long as misery pleads in the ear of justice; "I am an American, and something from my earnings has gone to the building of the Pacific Railroad. And now the men to whom we gave it have charged a hundred and thirty dollars to bring me from New York, and given fifteen dollars of this to the Pacific Mail Company as a bribe to put their rate up to a hundred dollars. They steal fifteen dollars from me right out, and now they pay me one dollar a day for delving in this foul mud; and delve I must, or die."

I know that the world is poor. I know that nature's only gift to man is air for the lungs and water for the lips. And I know that, to wrest from reluctant nature the props of life, man must toil. But this, too, I know: I know that to each toiler of Massachusetts there should be left, at the end of each day, after covering and feeding the body, a surplus of more than *three cents*.

Three cents! Three cents a day (see Report of Massachusetts Labor Bureau) to each toiler, a surplus of three cents a day for the savings bank. What, then, is a savings bank?

A friend went to the Provident Savings Bank of Boston, on the 2d day of January, to watch the toilers as they came to make deposit of their savings; that is, of the potential comforts they had robbed from themselves. They came by scores. The day was cold, and a woman well on in years stood there without cloak or shawl or stockings. Her bare feet were seen through her tattered shoes. She came with $50 to put away against a day of need!

One thing in the life of Comte has always impressed me deeply. This great and good man observed a sacrament. It was a supper, but not the Lord's Supper. Every day, he took a crust of bread and cup of water. "I take this," he said, "in memory of the millions who have nothing but a crust and a cup." Let it be *our* religion of humanity to strive for the abolition alike of poverty and of colossal wealth. W. D. GUNNING.

SCHOOLS OF POETRY.

I am an English æsthetic maiden, minus the sunflower, peacock's feathers, and melancholy; and, in conversations, I have frequently expressed thoughts on artistic and poetic matters similar to those of your contributor in "Schools of Poetry," in *The Index* of Sept. 7, 1882. Before reading that article, I had not the confidence in my opinions to put them on paper; but, after reading, I cannot any longer keep them as invisible thought without visible expression. I feared that a fault lay in my too practical sympathetic nature; that, in fact, it was not refined to the quality of superfine, or, in other words, strung to such a high pitch of intellectual etherealism as to be able to appreciate and respond to the transcendental poets. It may be that my first misgivings were the true, and I certainly must admit that I am so mentally and morally limited that, after reading the poetry of the latest school, there comes a feeling little short of loathing, a crying out for more spiritual purity and love; more purity and *more* passion; more life,—life that accomplishes and does not dream; more soul that surmounts everything. Instead of the spirit of poetry, they give us refined animalisms, so intricate and sensuous in detail and color as to become sensual. We feel that their painters dare not depict what the imagination experiences while reading the outcome of their morbid imaginings that are morally unhealthy. You see before you words; but, to appreciate and enjoy the conceptions they convey, you must throw your whole heart and soul into the reading, and drink in, by great effort, the sense through your imagination. You have, in fact, to depict on *your* imagination precisely what the poet intends by his words.

Now, I submit that any words that are over-sensuous hurt the mind; for it becomes over-balanced in that particular direction, the case always in all overwrought departments of the human system. Religious, sentimental, passionate, passive, vulgar,

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refined, they all tend to insanity, if overwrought into the imagination. The object and use of all art and poetry is surely to refine. But why not let it rest there; for, when refinement is attained, art has accomplished its end. To think we can go beyond this point with impunity is wrong. The modern school of poets think they can. Can they? From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step. We have had this saying exemplified in modern poetry and art. There is such a lack of sympathy and vitality and reality in the verse that we are indeed weary of the repetitions of cold phrases and adjectives that mean almost nought, and lead up to something still less. These men "do indeed sing for the fastidious, the over-cultured," who have too much leisure and too little activity of body or brain, and so must needs dive into the obscure, phrase-hidden thought in the over-finished, over-elaborated verse of the æsthetic school. They do indeed sing for this class. The real brain-worker cannot appreciate its insipidity and lack of inspiration and brain-force. You would never live a better life after reading their poetry, or be provoked to better action after seeing their embodiment of poetry in a picture, whether the picture be on the mind's eye or canvas. MARGARET E. TIREBUCK.

LEEDS, ENGLAND.

EVOLUTION.

A Letter to Mr. D. A. Wasson.

My dear Sir,—Some weeks ago, you addressed me, through *The Index*, a series of letters on Evolution, in which you defined to some extent your own position in regard to this subject, and at the same time expressed dissent from certain theories which seemed to you unsupported, illogical, and absurd. Your letters were thoughtful and suggestive; and they were written in a generous spirit, and in a tone at once firm and respectful toward those whose views you criticised. The editors of this journal were glad to be able to present to their readers so complete and able a statement on a subject of profound importance to the best thinkers, and of current interest to intelligent readers generally, from an accomplished writer whose matured thought and sympathy with the progressive spirit and liberal tendencies of the age command for whatever he writes on philosophical subjects a consideration as great, at least, as is accorded to any other living representative of the New England Transcendental School of Philosophy.

The occasion of your letters was probably an article from my pen, in which a quotation was given from Mr. O. B. Frothingham, representing the late Mr. Weiss, yourself, and Col. Higginson as the last prominent representatives of the philosophy outlined in his *History of Transcendentalism in New England*, and to which extract were added a few words expressing doubt whether Col. Higginson was an evolutionist, but stating that you were, and that you therefore accepted so much of the experiential philosophy as was involved in a belief in evolution. This article had the good effect to elicit from Col. Higginson a frank statement that he had accepted the theory of evolution years ago; and that, while he did not indorse the doctrines of Spencer, in those of Darwin he fully believed.

You avow yourself an evolutionist, and add: "I had said as much to you, and should have said it in *The Index* in order to correct some misapprehensions had I found occasion to do so, without coming forward for that express purpose. You have spoken for me, and I am glad of it." After stating that, while you believe in evolution, you cannot accept "as sufficient any philosophical explanation of the fact hitherto offered," that you are "holding out for more adequate explanations," that you "suspect that the case is not much otherwise with Col. Higginson, little as he may be satisfied with the system and methods of Mr. Spencer," you proceed to define your position for the benefit of those readers of *The Index* "with whom the fact of evolution and Mr. Spencer's explanation of it are one and the same, and no more to be separated than the fact of gravitation and the law of gravitation as discovered by Newton."

I do not think that any person whose opinion on this subject is of the least value, however strongly convinced by the evidence which has been accumulating the past few years that evolution is a fact, claims or believes that the *explanation* of the fact as given by Darwin, Spencer, or any other writer, is "sufficient" or in all respects satisfactory. Truths are being discovered and principles disclosed every year which acquaint us with some new aspect of the subject, and, while removing objections that have hitherto been urged, and confirming the theory of evolution, present us for solution new problems, adding to the complexity of the phenomena with which we have to deal, and showing that the *theory* itself, not less than the objects to which it relates, is in a process of evolution. All intelligent believers in evolution, whether they agree with or differ from Spencer in some of his views, are, with yourself, "holding out for more adequate explanations." True, there is a large and constantly increasing number who find in the writings of Herbert Spencer what they regard as a more profound and comprehensive view of evolution than is presented by any other thinker. He has certainly adduced strong proofs in favor of evolution, and contributed to put the theory upon an impregnable foundation. He has made most brilliant discoveries in the field of biological and psychological science. He has, too, worked out the conception of evolution, extending its application to all classes of phenomena, formulating the processes of nature in a comprehensive and systematic manner.

But I am not aware that any of Mr. Spencer's most ardent admirers even have ever claimed or intimated that he originated the theory of evolution, or that, to be an evolutionist, one must accept all his theories and speculations. "Evolution," you correctly observe, "means continuity in the process of nature or of the known universe." This conception, you say, "was that of the new school of thought in New England, commonly known as the Transcendental School before Herbert Spencer was heard of." You might have added that evolution was enunciated and defended by the author of the *Vestiges of Creation* (Robert Chambers) in 1844, by Lamarck in 1801, by Dr. Erasmus Darwin in England, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in France, and Goethe in Germany in the latter part of the eighteenth century; with less definiteness by Giordano Bruno and Benedict Spinoza in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and, among more ancient writers, by Lucretius, the author of the most philosophical poem of classical antiquity, by Empedocles of Agrigent in Sicily, by Heraclitus of Ephesus, and by even Anaximander, the Ionian philosopher, who, twenty-five centuries ago, anticipated the fundamental conception of the natural development of the world as maintained by Kant and Laplace, and of the evolution of living creatures as maintained by Lamarck and Darwin. In view of these facts, it was hardly necessary for you to show that the conception of evolution was not first given to the world by Mr. Spencer.

It seems proper here to state that until recently belief in evolution was confined to a comparatively few, and was furiously denounced by the clergy, ignored or ridiculed by the press, and treated with supercilious contempt by the *littérateurs* of Europe and this country. That there were noble exceptions is not denied. During this time, Darwin and Spencer both, in their own chosen provinces of investigation, were making those splendid discoveries and those great generalizations which have done so much to overcome the influence of prejudice and preconception, and contributed so largely to the present wide acceptance of evolution. When the theory was passing through what Prof. Youmans calls its "stage of execration," to both Darwin and Spencer was accorded whatever odium was attached to the theory; but, "when the infamy is to be changed to honor, by a kind of perverse consistency of injustice there turns out to be a good deal less alacrity in making the revised award." How many of the representatives of the New England Transcendental School, twenty or even a dozen years ago, came out bravely in support of Darwin, when he and his views were treated with burlesque and abuse? It is safe to say that, while a few of them assented to development in a general way, they had no definite ideas on the subject, ignored the scientific method, and did less perhaps to call attention to the subject than some of those robust opponents like Agassiz, who vigorously opposed Darwinism and by encouraging discussion helped to exhibit the weakness of their own position and to strengthen that which they assailed.

Since your letters are devoted largely to an attempt to expose the weakness of what you evidently regard as the main conceptions of Spencer's philosophy, it will be well, before examining your own position, to inquire whether Spencer's philosophy is the crude and crass materialism which you imagine it to be. This point will receive consideration next week. An earlier reply to your letters would have been made but for other demands on my time the past few weeks, which could not be disregarded. Respectfully yours,

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A WRITER in the Boston *Advertiser* says that the difference in regard to probation between Dr. Dorner and Joseph Cook is that one suggests "probation after death" and the other "probation after breath."

THE Earl of Derby, in a recent speech on Free Trade before the Cobden Club, said: "There is nothing more certain than this,—that the great preventive of war is trade. Religion has not served to check wars."

MR. WILLIAM SLOANE KENNEDY has completed and will soon publish through S. E. Cassino, of Boston, a work entitled *Oliver Wendell Holmes, Poet, Littérateur, and Scientist.* It is not a biography in the strict sense, but is a treasury of information concerning the life, works, and social environment of the poet, and furnishes as well a critical study of his various writings. It will contain also an extensive bibliography.

SEND two three-cent postage stamps to this office for "Evolution and Religion," by John Fiske. This is Prof. Fiske's address at the Herbert Spencer banquet in New York, printed in tract form by the Free Religious Association. It is a very succinct and comprehensive statement of the subject. It will be furnished in packages of ten for thirty-five cents, and of one hundred for two dollars and fifty cents. It should be distributed widely.

MRS. IMOGENE C. FALES, of New York, who is somewhat known to the readers of *The Index*

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through her thoughtful contributions to this paper, gave an address, on Tuesday eve, the 25th inst., before the New England Woman's Club at its rooms, 5 Park Street, on "Co-operation and Progress," in the course of which she made the statement that "in 1833 there was in New York State one pauper to every one hundred and twenty-three active self-supporting citizens. Now there is one pauper to every eighteen citizens. The accumulation and concentration of wealth keep pace with this growth of poverty, there being now in New York alone over three hundred men worth over $5,000,000, whereas thirty years ago there were but few persons owning that sum in the whole United States. This, the lecturer maintained, was caused by an imperfect system of distribution, excess of energy in one direction, deficiency in another, disease in both."

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD has recently given a course of four lectures upon successive Sunday evenings in the Church of the Unity, Cleveland, Ohio, upon "America in the American Poets." The four poets treated of were Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Emerson. The object of Mr. Mead in these lectures is "to show what each has done with American subjects and for American life and thought. The point is to strengthen by them a finer historical feeling among us and a more ideal view of our post and our problem." Word comes from Cleveland in high commendation of these lectures, both for lyceums and as parlor lectures. Mr. Mead has already been invited to give them elsewhere, and clubs and literary associations may be sure of choice entertainment in securing Mr. Mead for one or more evenings.

LAST Sunday, Talmage, at the Brooklyn Tabernacle, preached a violent sermon against "Mending the Bible," in which he said: "'It cannot be possible,' say some of these pulpit evolutionists whose brains have been addled by too long brooding of Herbert Spencer and Darwin,—'It cannot be possible that you believe there was a garden of Eden?' Yes, just as much as I believe that there were roses in my garden last season. 'It cannot be possible that you think the sun and moon stood still?' Yes: if I were strong enough to make the sun and moon, I could myself easily make them stand still, or, by refraction, give that appearance. 'You don't believe that the whale swallowed Jonah?' Yes: if I were strong enough to make a whale, I could arrange safe ingress for any false prophet, leaving it to evolution to eject him. 'Do you believe that Samson slew one thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass?' Yes; and he who assails the Bible wields the same weapon. 'Do you believe that the water was turned into wine?' Yes; and that the wine now is turned into water with logwood and strychnine. There is nothing in the Bible staggers me."

R. W. BOODLE writes in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February: "The rise of the evolution school was heralded in 1845 by Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, an expansion of the Lamarckian theories of natural development. But the writings by which what we now mean by evolution were popularized fall within the present period. The *Origin of Species* apppeared in 1859, Spencer's *First Principles* in 1862, Huxley's *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* in 1863, and *The Descent of Man* in 1871. With this school, also, we may class Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, which appeared in 1861, as tending to widen the conception of evolution. Of the effects of this new view of life upon religious thought, it is not too much to say that, if it cut the ground from under the intuitionalist theory of right and wrong and of the origin of conscience, to the sceptic, in regard to supernaturalism, it gave a prospect and a future glorious with hope. To many minds, the ascent of man serves a more glorious conception than his fall. The door was opened for a pantheistic view of the universe; and this tendency was enhanced by the influence of Ruskin, who was already writing in 1850. George Eliot who was exercising a distinct influence upon the age by popularizing the ethical side of positivism, and showing men that it gives a workaday theory of life, began to publish in the year 1858."

M. D. CONWAY, in a letter to the Cincinnati *Commercial*, in regard to the Franklin Collection recently purchased in London by our Government, very sensibly remarks: "As I have already intimated, this collection calls for a new Life of Franklin. When that is done, and when an honest biography of Thomas Paine is written, without any suppressions in the interest of Washington or any other divinity, the world will know that America has reached its era of intellectual independence. At present, our Revolutionary ancestors are almost as much conventionalized as Jack the Giant Killer and Blue Beard. Washington is our beatified saintly dragon-slayer, Franklin our penny-wise philosopher, Paine our scoffing Satan, and so on. Is it not time that the cherry-tree phase of our national biography should be outgrown? Can we not bear to have the plain facts told about our canonized ferocious Puritan Pilgrims, and about our devils, such as "Tom" Paine and George III.? Some good work is being done by our veteran Bancroft, by Parkman, Higginson, Fiske, and Tyler; but it is still not quite critically bold enough, when it touches conventionalized idols. A republic must have no idols, ancestral or other, and needs the man with the touchstone

> 'Of heirloom jewels prized so much
> Were many changed to chips and clods,
> And even statues of the gods
> Crumbled beneath his touch.'"

THE *Independent*, commenting on the recent decision of Judge Briggs of the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia, says: "We do not believe in religious tests of any kind in connection with the functions of civil government, and hence would not disqualify an atheist to give evidence before a court and jury. The constitutions of most of the States that have been adopted within the last forty years exclude all such tests. That of Oregon, for example, expressly says, 'No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness or juror in consequence of his opinions on matters of religion, nor be questioned in any court of justice touching his religious belief to affect the weight of his testimony.' One's general reputation for truth and veracity is a fair test in determining the degree of his credibility; but what he believes in respect to religion is not such an inquiry relative to his capacity and status considered simply as a citizen, whether for the purpose of holding office or giving evidence. To make it such is to discriminate between citizens on religious grounds, and, on these grounds, to impose disabilities, and virtually insist upon some sort of religious faith as one of the conditions of full and complete citizenship; and this, in our judgment, is not only unjust, but also contrary to the general principles upon which government is organized in this country. It is a species of State religion, and to this we are opposed in every form in which it can be presented."

WHEN every Christian sect under heaven is beating the devil's tune out of the Bible and plain people are everywhere giving it up as a book for the guidance of life, because they are becoming intelligent enough to know that their teachers have held one view of it, and taught another, if some men in the Christian ministry in this country did not have the manliness to come forward and stand up for the Bible in terms which can be understood and are true to the results of the broadest scholarship, where in the world would we be, and in what age would men be living? The time has come when a thousand Jewish and Christian cobwebs and glosses are being removed from the Bible; and the sooner they are removed, the better. Hitherto, much of this work has been done among liberal Christians and free religionists; but all the while the intelligence of the Christian Church has been awakened and instructed on these subjects, and some of the results of broad and thorough scholarship, vastly changing our estimate of the Bible, but in no wise destroying it, have become the common property of all open-minded Christians.... It were better for Dr. Newton to be ten times the heretic he has been assumed to be than that the particle of the leaven that is giving to the world a new Bible, as new as it is old and as old as it is new,—the real Bible,—should be kept from the minds and hearts of the men and women who make the bright world what it is.—*Boston Herald.*

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

A PRIEST OF NATURE.

He was a priest of Nature, Brahmin mild
'Mid spicy groves, 'neath skies benignant dwelling;
A mystic meaning, pleasure undefiled
For him from Night and Day were ever welling.

The verdurous, foodful Earth with forests, streams
He loved, with flowery leas and skies eternal;
Her interplay of lunar, solar beams,
And all her aspects nightly and diurnal.

His spirit revelled in her thousand charms,
Her mountains' grandeur and her valleys' quiet;
Her scents breeze-blown could medicine his harms,
Her hues and odors were his fancy's diet.

Carlyle versified by B. W. BALL.

For *The Index.*

WORK ON.

PART ONE.

Work on! though drear may be thy road.
Work on! through all Deception's guiles.
Work on! pass by Envy's leering face.
Work on! in noble lines thy life to trace.
Work on! through Hatred's thorny briars.
Work on! break through the clouds of liars.
Work on! and shun the ways that lead to ruin.
Work on! to clutch the vase of poet's perfume.
Work on! to grasp the thought that leads to fame.
Work on! to lead the blind, the lame, the halt.
Work on! to shut in Beauty's rim thy every fault.
Work on! to make thy character repeat thy principles.
Work on! though Prejudice or Superstition howl or frown.

PART TWO.

Work on! for Constancy will gain at last.
Work on! the flowers will gladden all the past.
Work on! unseen fingers will show forth wreaths.
Work on! angels will sing thy victory in song.
Work on! the selfish will rush to see thee conqueror.
Work on! historians will enshrine thee in their splendid diction.
Work on! the preacher will cite all thy deeds.
Work on! thy life in story some future "Optic" will be sure to tell.
Work on! the "generous public" will toast thee at a dinner or a supper.
Work on! for love will kiss thee with a rose's blush.
Work on! thy mother's eyes will weep thee priceless satisfaction.
Work on! and sister will clasp thee as one of heaven's noblest born.
Work on! and, friends, how happy will they be to name their own.
Work on! for God's dear spirit never leaves us in the dark.

W. W. BROOM.

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The Index.

BOSTON, FEB. 1, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index.*

ORTHODOXY AND THE BIBLE.

A Discourse preached in Brooklyn, Dec. 10, 1882.

BY JOHN W. CHADWICK.

The subject of my discourse this morning was suggested by a discussion which has been carried on of late in the columns of the *Christian Register* and in other journals with a good deal of animation,—a discussion started by an essay given by Dr. George E. Ellis before a certain Unitarian Club which meets in Boston once a month at the Hotel Vendôme. Dr. Ellis was a classmate of Theodore Parker in the Cambridge Theological School. For many years, he was a diligent contributor to the *Examiner* and *Register;* an editor also of the former for a time. He wrote a history of the Unitarian controversy while he was still minister of the Unitarian Society in Charlestown, Mass. Since his retirement from the regular duties of the ministry, he has devoted himself mainly to historical studies, with some admirable results. But like the tallow-chandler who had retired from business, but who nevertheless "liked to go in on the melting day," Dr. Ellis has generally been on hand when the discussion of any theological or denominational matter has waxed particularly hot. Up to the time of his retirement from the ministry, he was regarded as one of the most conservative of the elder clergy. But freedom from parochial responsibility has frequently been known to have a strangely softening influence upon men's theological rigidity, and the experience of Dr. Ellis has been no exception to the rule. His later utterances on theological questions have been remarkable for their rationality, their keen perception of the demands of scientific truth upon religious thought.

The title given by Dr. Ellis to his recent essay does not, I think, convey an adequate idea of its character and scope. It was "The Position of the Liberal Body as affected by the Rupture in the Orthodox Body of Congregationalists." A better title would, I think, have been "The Position of Congregational Orthodoxy as affected by a Rational Understanding of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures." The controversy relative to Dr. Newman Smyth and the Andover professorship was not, he rightfully insists, a matter of some texts of the New Testament interpreted more or less rigidly. There are, he says, "deeper and far more serious bearings and elements of the controversy," for the recognition of which an uncounted multitude of intelligent, serious, religious, and Christian people are impatiently waiting. "The deeper and ultimate question," he assures us, "concerns the validity of the grounds and reasons of the popular estimate of the Scriptures." And again, "I can conceive of no more earnest and cogent appeal which all Christendom with the urgency of fit and favoring occasion may make to Christian divines, scholars, and professors, with all the apparatus for theological instruction, than this: Reconsider to the very bottom, divested of all professional proclivities and partialities, the estimate that you put upon the Bible as a whole and in its parts." "That the sanctities of that book," he says, "may be retained, the assumptions and superstitions associated with it must be surrendered." It is Dr. Ellis's contention that the new Orthodoxy cannot maintain itself against the old without surrendering the traditional doctrine of the Bible on which so far it has appeared to stand. (My own impression is that it could still less maintain itself upon the basis of a thoroughly rational conception of the Bible. It would have to go on a great deal further than it has already come. On the score of logical consistency, less can be said for Dr. Smyth or Mr. Beecher than for Prof. Park.) And Dr. Ellis's contention further is that Liberal Unitarianism or Unitarianism of any sort cannot maintain itself as against Orthodoxy without affirming that the Bible can be accounted for within the resources of humanity, and denying to it special divine authority in any and in every part.

The astonishing thing in Dr. Ellis's essay is that he should think the Unitarian body much in need of such an admonition. It is proof that he is not aware of what has been going on in Unitarian conferences and churches while he has been so busily engaged and to such excellent purpose in studying up the Indians and Quakers and the Witches. "Reconsider," he says, "to the very bottom, divested of all professional proclivities and partialities, the estimate that you put upon the Bible as a whole and in its parts." The demand is pointless, so far as Unitarianism is concerned. The thing demanded has been already done. The subject has been discussed in scores of books and pamphlets, in hundreds of articles, in magazines and journals, in thousands of sermons, and with infinite care and patience in the teachings of our Sunday-schools. There has been something almost startling in the rate of our advance. A dozen years ago, it might be said of the Unitarian denomination, as a whole, that it occupied the untenable ground from which Dr. Ellis now warns it off. A dozen years ago, the average disposition was to make a Scriptural defence of Unitarian doctrine. To-day, the truth is precisely as Mr. Barrows, the accomplished editor of the *Christian Register*, has stated it: "Unitarianism has a new basis of operations. It has abandoned the Biblical defence, and taken higher and more comprehensive ground." To be unaware of this, it would seem as if Dr. Ellis must have been sleeping a kind of Rip Van Winkle sleep. Repeating Mr. Barrows's words, he asks, "Would Dr. Peabody consent to this?" Possibly not. But it would be about as pertinent to ask, Would Andrew Jackson consent to the civil-service doctrine: "The tools to those who can handle them, and as long as they handle them well?" Dr. Ellis is a man who loves his joke, and it may be that he is joking here. Certain it is that Dr. Peabody, so venerable and good, does not represent by any means the average Unitarian opinion of to-day. He represents its most conservative extreme. What are the proofs of Mr. Barrows's affirmation, "Unitarianism has abandoned the Biblical defence, and taken higher and more comprehensive ground"? I find them in such an essay on the Bible as that read to the National Conference two years ago by Rev. E. H. Hall, an essay of which some one said, "It would have been more interesting, if we hadn't all agreed with it." It was hardly an exaggeration; and yet this essay was absolutely destructive of the traditional opinion of the Bible, as a supernatural and specially authoritative book. I find other proofs yet more convincing in the fact that the Unitarian Sunday School Society has published this very fall two manuals of instruction, one by Mr. Hall and the other by Prof. Toy; both of them entirely rational and scientific in their treatment of the Bible. Proofs stronger than these would be impossible. Long after grown people have arrived at truth, they generally persuade themselves that any lie is good enough for little children. When, therefore, a Sunday School Society puts into manuals of Sunday-school instruction views of the Bible wholly subversive of its traditional standing, it is safe to predicate of the denomination represented that "it has abandoned the Biblical defence, and taken higher and more comprehensive ground."

However this may be, it has not any special bearing on the as yet unnoticed part of Dr. Ellis's essay, the part which has stirred up the liveliest commotion. This part was merely incidental; and it is greatly to be feared that the ado which it has caused will very considerably, if not entirely, obscure the main significance of Dr. Ellis's remarks. It was as follows: "Fifty years of study, thought, and reading, given largely to the Bible and to the literature which peculiarly relates to it, brought me to this conclusion: that the book—taken with the especial divine character claimed for it, and so extensively assigned to it as inspired and infallible as a whole, and in all its contents—is an orthodox book. The vast majority of its readers, following its letter, its obvious sense, its natural meaning, and yielding to the impression which some of its emphatic texts make upon them, find in it Orthodoxy. Only that kind of ingenious, special, discriminative, and, in candor I must add, forced treatment which it received from us liberals can make the book teach anything but Orthodoxy." In such wise was compounded the projectile which Dr. Ellis lightly tossed into the theological arena, and which, exploding there, has caused infinite satisfaction to the orthodox party, but, to a goodly number of the Unitarian shepherds and their sheep, no little consternation and disgust. A dozen of the older Unitarian ministers have published over their names a counter declaration, expressive of their strong dissent from Dr. Ellis's position, and of their conviction "that the Scriptures, fairly interpreted, no matter with what view of their inspiration, . . . do not teach the doctrine of the Trinity, nor the distinctive tenets of Calvinism, as set forth in what is called the orthodox creed." To this counter declaration, Dr. Ellis has responded in an article which is not remarkable for that "lucidity" for which Matthew Arnold has recently been pleading. The gist of it appears to be that, if we allow Orthodoxy to put itself into the Bible to any extent, when it proceeds to take itself out to the same extent, we must not be surprised. His original statement was that "only a kind of ingenious, special, discriminative, and forced interpretation can make the book teach anything but Orthodoxy." In his second article, he says: "I have tried to recognize the fact that, if we allow the character and estimate which Orthodoxy assigns to the letter of Scripture, we must admit that it finds *some warrant for its system.*" And this warrant, we are assured, "does not cover all its doctrines as Scriptural," nor prevent the Scripturalness of certain doctrines held by Unitarians. Statements so preternaturally mild as these would never have provoked a counter declaration. They differ from his original statements, not exactly as white from black, but as white from an invisible green.

In the mean time, his original statement has gone widely forth, and the orthodox ranks in general have received it with a shout of exultation. They have suddenly discovered that Dr. Ellis is the most distinguished scholar in the Unitarian body. "And he says the Bible is an orthodox book; he says the Bible is an orthodox book; only a forced interpretation, he says, can make it anything but orthodox!" The general purport of the essay is entirely missed, or wilfully disregarded. This point of dazzling radiance makes the surrounding area as black as night. "He says the Bible is an orthodox book!" But all are not so wilfully or inevitably obtuse. The *Presbyterian* is not blinded by Dr. Ellis's "remarkable concession" to the general drift of his remarks. It says: "The plenary inspiration of the Bible is evidently the fort which is to be held. If we cannot hold that, all is lost. . . . The absolute and supreme authority of the Word of God is the only ground on which the faith we teach can be safely rested." Can it be safely rested there? It is a whale's back in the sea. Struck by the Ithuriel spear of scientific thought, the wallowing monster will go hurtling down into unfathomable depths, bearing along with it the hopes and schemes of those who have mistaken it for a substantial island which no sea could overwhelm.

Whether the Bible is or is not an orthodox book is not a particularly vital, nor by any means a final, question from our point of view; but it is an interesting one for various reasons. Dr. Ellis's original affirmation was "that the book, *taken with the especial divine quality and character claimed for it and so extensively assigned to it as inspired and infallible as a whole and in all its contents*, is an orthodox book." This is very much like saying that, if we accept the

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Ptolemaic astronomy, we must allow the earth to be the centre of the solar system. But let us ask if it is true that, even with this high and dry conception of the Bible, it could be made to teach nothing but Orthodoxy, without forced interpretations. The question has at least an historical interest. For this high and dry conception of the Bible was the conception of the early Unitarians. Judge Story wrote in 1824, "Their belief is as complete of the divine authority of the Scriptures as that of any other class of Christians." The voice of Channing was almost alone in the assertion that reason is the final arbiter of truth.* Henry Ware, Jr., spoke for the great majority, when he said that, when there was any conflict between reason and conscience and the Bible, we must "follow the written Word." It is Dr. Ellis' opinion that these early Unitarians were worsted in the famous Unitarian Controversy. "Scripture exegesis, logic, argument," he says, "were clearly on the side of the orthodox contestants." It is a very sweeping statement, and a much too sweeping one, if I am not mistaken. It may not discredit the good faith, but it certainly does discredit the critical sagacity of the Unitarian contestants. For they were thoroughly convinced that the Bible was upon their side. Doubtless, they had their share of forced interpretations. But it was not a greater share than that of their opponents. The necessity for forced interpretations came on neither side so much from the desire for victory as from the inconsistencies and contradictions of a book which could not be inconsistent or contradictory and at the same time infallible.

But were the Unitarians worsted, so long as they and their opponents were upon the common ground of Biblical infallibility? Remember that the points in dispute were almost exclusively the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, total depravity, and the vicarious atonement. In looking over a bibliography of that famous controversy, it seemed to me that about nine books and pamphlets out of every ten were on the Trinity or the Deity of Christ. And, at these points of the line of battle, I am persuaded that the Unitarians were victorious. Andrews Norton's *Statement of Reasons* was the final charge (in 1833), and it carried everything before it. Even an infallible Bible must be interpreted according to certain general principles,—particulars by the general scope, and the more obscure by the less. Now, the general scope of the New Testament was certainly not favorable to the Trinity nor to the Deity of Christ; and, if certain obscure passages were so, the least obscure conveyed a very different impression. For either party to the conflict, there were certain quite unmanageable texts. But the upshot of the matter is that neither the word "Trinity" nor the thing is contained in the New Testament, and that the Christ of Paul and even the Christ of the Fourth Gospel is a little short of absolute Deity. The Arianism of Channing, which conceived of Christ as a being only a little less than God, was as near as possible to a just reflection of the New Testament doctrine. As near as possible, I say; for there were conflicting elements, which could be brought into complete accord by no honest system of interpretation whatsoever.

As regards the depravity of human nature, "Scripture exegesis, logic, argument," were not so clearly on the orthodox side as Dr. Ellis has affirmed. Plenty of texts there were upon their side, and plenty more upon the other. Allowing all an equal inspiration, there semed to be no rule except the rule of thumb for getting at the mean result; and the application of this rule was much more favorable to the Unitarian than to the orthodox side. The difficulty was greater for the Unitarians when they came to the atonement. Metaphor and hyperbole may be affirmed of human writings, but hardly of a theography, a writing coming straight from God's own hands. The Unitarian argument frequently implied a more rational estimate of the New Testament than either Unitarians or Orthodox explicitly allowed. The Orthodox were right in their presumption that God would not, in making a revelation of the most solemn matters, use words that seemed to mean more than they did. They gave to every tropical expression a scientific value. Their estimate of the Bible, which they held in common with their opponents, justified them in doing this and gave them an uncertain victory, more certain than the Liberals could fairly claim. Again, the orthodox party had some very ugly texts upon its side in the Election-Reprobation battle,—"He will have mercy upon whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." But the doctrine, as held by Paul, was not "a statute of limitation," but "an edict of comprehension" as different as possible from the Calvinistic doctrine. Here also, then, the victory of the orthodox party was uncertain, if the eagles did not evidently perch upon the Unitarian banners.

*Sermon on "Self-denial."

The Unitarian controversy of fifty years ago involved many other elements than these which we have now considered; but these were the most important, and the general outcome of our investigation is that the liberal contestants were far from being worsted. They were not worsted at the points of principal attack,—the Trinity and the Deity of Christ, and at other points,—human depravity, the atonement, election, and reprobation,—if there was little room to boast on either side, there was certainly as much upon the liberal side as on the other. The elements which we have now considered are no more exhaustive of the present controversy between Orthodoxy and Liberalism than of the controversy of fifty years ago; but there are elements in the present controversy which were not present in the times of Wood and Ware. When Dr. Ellis says that "Orthodoxy cannot readjust its creed without readjusting its estimate of the Scriptures," I imagine he is thinking almost exclusively of a particular doctrine,—that of an everlasting hell for unbelievers. This doctrine was not in dispute between the Unitarians and Orthodox of fifty years ago. Murray and Ballou, the Universalists, had done valiant battle for a loving God and an inclusive heaven. But the early Unitarians did not wish to be confounded with the Universalists. They were generally careful to make it appear that an everlasting hell of some sort met with their warm approval. At any rate, there was little or no contention on this point between them and their orthodox opponents. But the controversy which is at present going on within the orthodox body is not concerned so much with anything else as with the doctrine of eternal punishment. And it is true that Orthodoxy cannot readjust its creed upon this subject till it readjusts its estimate of the Scriptures. If these are plenarily inspired, an everlasting hell for unbelieving, sinful men is an established fact. Not that every text chimes to this music, but that the most significant texts in their most obvious interpretation mean exactly this. Their meaning can possibly be refined away by learned discussions as to the meaning of *aionios* and *gehenna;* but, as they stand, interpreted as we would interpret any other book, and, still more, interpreted as we should interpret an infallible revelation, their meaning is quite unmistakable. Says Prof. Park: "It is essential to the doctrine of retribution that it should be held with an intensity of conception which shall justify the use of the Biblical emblems of the future punishment of sin." And, indeed, it is so, if the Bible is "the Word of God"; and it is also essential that we should ascribe to such punishment endless duration, and make it plain that there is no mending of our chances after we get beyond the limits of this world. If Orthodoxy were synonymous with everlasting hell, I should agree with Dr. Ellis, that "only a forced treatment of the Bible can make it teach anything but Orthodoxy." The Universalism of Paul is evident; but it is like a skiff upon the rapids of Niagara in the great sweep of the New Testament's more general bearing.

But the infallible Bible is itself one of the most important articles of the orthodox creed. This was not a disputed article in the Unitarian controversy of fifty years ago. It was accepted by the Unitarians and the Orthodox with equal heartiness. To-day, it furnishes the differentiating question between Liberal and Orthodox,—and the Liberal are in hundreds of cases ministers in nominally orthodox pulpits, members of nominally orthodox churches. "Orthodoxy," says Dr. Ellis, "cannot readjust its creed till it readjusts its estimate of the Scriptures." But, in readjusting its estimate of the Scriptures, it is readjusting its creed in one particular, and this one of the most important. And, in readjusting it, it is not making it any less Biblical. For the Bible itself is not an orthodox book in regard to its own infallibility. Not to make the book teach anything but Orthodoxy, in the phrase of Dr. Ellis, but to make it teach Orthodoxy, is, when it comes to this, the difficult, the impossible thing. Certainly, it would seem that an infallible Bible should come to us avowing its infallibility either as a whole or in its separate parts. The Bible comes to us neither avowing nor suggesting its infallibility or its supernaturalness as a whole or in its separate parts. It comes to us explicitly and implicitly as a human book, liable to such errors as were incidental to the human mind in a period of general ignorance and superstition. Here is an immense deduction from the truth of Dr. Ellis's declaration that the Bible is an orthodox book.

And how is it in regard to this matter of the so-called "Christian Sabbath," concerning which we have unusual reasons to be thoughtful at the present time? Why, here again, not to make the Bible anything but orthodox, but to make it orthodox by any honorable device, is the difficult, the impossible thing. The only Christian Sabbath in the Bible is the Jewish Sabbath observed by Jewish Christians, not on Sunday, but on Saturday, from the observance of which the Apostle Paul discharged his Gentile followers. This Christian Sabbath died out in the course of two or three centuries with Jewish Christianity. It had nothing to do with the Christian Sunday, which was observed side by side with it for two centuries. This was a joyous day from the beginning, a working day till 538 A.D., a day of pleasure equally with a day of worship till the English Puritans got hold of it. Who does not know that Knox found Calvin playing nine-pins Sunday afternoon, and doubtless took a hand? The so-called Christian Sabbath is rightly called the Puritan Sunday. It is an essential part of Orthodoxy, but it has not an inch of standing-room in the New Testament. The saying of Jesus, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," has done excellent service against the Puritan Sunday; but the service has been quite illogical. Of Sunday, as a day of religious observance, Jesus had no knowledge whatsoever; and any argument from the Jewish Sabbath of which he was speaking to the Christian Sunday lacks the connecting link of their historical identity.

It would appear then that the grand result is much more in keeping with Dr. Ellis's second statement than with his first: "If we allow the character and estimate which Orthodoxy assigns to the letter of Scripture, we must admit that it finds there *some warrant for its system.*" This was his second statement, and to this we can assent. His original statement was that the Bible "is an orthodox book. It yields the orthodox creed. . . . Only that kind of ingenious, special, . . . forced treatment it has received from Liberals can make it teach anything but Orthodoxy." To this statement, we cannot assent. The Bible, even when regarded as infallible as a whole and in all its contents, does not yield the orthodox creed. It does not yield the Trinity. It does not yield the Deity of Christ. It does not yield its own infallibility. It does not yield "the Christian Sabbath,"—the Puritan Sunday. It does not yield the depravity of human nature, or election and reprobation, or even vicarious atonement, in a perfectly definite and satisfactory manner. It yields these things to those who take what suits their purpose and shut their eyes to all the rest, as it yields something different to those who seek for something different and shut *their* eyes to all *they* do not want. But if the Bible does not yield the orthodox creed, as it does not by any means, it is still true that Orthodoxy "finds there some warrant for its system,"—some, but not much; the most for that which it has least desire to keep,—the doctrine of an everlasting hell. For Dr. Ellis's statement, "The liberal contestants were worsted" in the Unitarian controversy, we are obliged to substitute something like this: The result of the controversy was a drawn battle; but the liberal contestants withdrew in much better order and condition than their opponents, much of whose theological baggage they effectually destroyed.

But it is high time for us to move the previous question, the question to which Dr. Ellis's essay was in the main addressed, and to which his paragraph about the Orthodoxy of the Bible was purely incidental. This previous question is, And what if the Bible is an orthodox book, what if it does yield the orthodox creed, so long as it is regarded as infallible as a whole and in all its parts? seeing that it can be no longer so regarded in a straightforward, simple sense, by any decently instructed person.

President Eliot, in a brief address which followed Dr. Ellis's, said this, with many other memorable things: "The main difficulty with the clerical profession to-day is that few men of business or of science think that ministers are perfectly candid." Are the clergy laboring under an unjust suspicion?

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Was never one more just. If the men of business and of science were better acquainted with the conditions of the Bible problem, they would know that hundreds and thousands of ministers are not candid. For such are the conditions of this problem that it is impossible for any decently instructed man to-day honestly to maintain the infallibility of the Bible as a whole or in any of its separate parts, and not merely its infallibility, but in any proper sense its special inspiration. All that we know about the origin of its constituent parts, which is but little, and all that we do not know, which is infinitely more, conspire to shame the immorality that dares ascribe a supernatural origin to its collective mass. When or where or by whom the books of the Bible were written, we are, in the majority of cases, wholly ignorant. To ascribe to these a supernatural origin and divine authority is manifestly outrageous, the more evidently so as we can trace the process by which these writings from being at first regarded as purely human came to be thought divine, and know how little wisdom was involved in it, and how little conscience, too. And, as for those books of the Bible of whose origin and authorship we are less ignorant, there is nothing that we know that breeds the faintest odor of suspicion in an intelligent and thoughtful mind that they are not purely human, and, as human, fallible, imperfect, and provisional. The amount of knowledge that these things are so is out of all proportion to the amount of open avowal. "Perhaps there never was a volume," says the editor of the *Christian Register*, "which, notwithstanding its moral purport, has been read with more intellectual dishonesty than the Bible. . . . Every form of mental jugglery and mental gymnastic has been resorted to in studying the book." But it may well be doubted whether at any time in all its history the Bible has been the innocent occasion—may we not say the victim?—of so much dishonesty as at the present time. How not to say it, this is the problem of the hour. Knowing that the Bible is not infallible, is not supernatural, is not "the Word of God," is in no special sense a revelation,—how to keep up the appearance of infallibility, the supernatural, and so on, how to own up and not seem to own up, how to surrender everything and not seem to surrender anything,—these are the labors and anxieties that are engaging the enthusiasm and devotion of many Christian teachers at the present time. Yes, we *may* say The Bible is the victim of these methods. Take it for what it is, and it abounds in high and gracious sentiments, in grand and noble thoughts, in pure and holy life, that should endear it to all earnest men for countless generations. But the insane desire to maintain for it a fictitious value is destructive of men's natural reverence and admiration.

Little enough occasion have the Orthodox for their happy twittering over the concession made by Dr. Ellis,—namely, that the Bible as traditionally estimated and interpreted is an orthodox book,—seeing that both the estimate and the interpretation have been ground to powder by the mills of scientific thought. The hour cometh and now is, when, for the intelligent and well-instructed man, a doctrine is as little to be accepted, be it the doctrine of the Trinity, of the atonement, of an everlasting hell, because it is in the Bible as because it is in the Vedas or the Avesta or the Buddist Tripitka or the Mohammedan Qurán. Not that the tendency of our fuller knowledge is to assign an equal value to these Scriptures with the Bible, but only that it is to assign such a value to the Bible that no statement it contains of fact or doctrine can be specially commended to our belief because the Bible contains it. Indeed, such were the circumstances under which the Bible came into existence that the presumption is against the truth of its contents in most particulars, and certainly we are under no constraint to accept one word that it contains which is not harmonious with reason, common sense, and moral principle.

Let us rejoice together that these things are so. Let us demand that those who know these things and say them not shall speak out boldly, that their trumpet shall give no uncertain sound. Think what an amount of intellectual force which has for centuries been braiding ropes of sand, trying to reconcile things that cannot be reconciled, will be liberated by this act of spiritual emancipation! No more fruitless endeavors to get Darwinism out of Genesis, or some pleasant meaning out of the tremendous phrases of he New Testament concerning the unquenchable fire! How sad all this has been, but how inevitable too! Now, God be praised that we are living in the dawn of better things!

THOMAS PAINE.

From an Address by B. F. Underwood.

The man who had defied the British monarch, and called upon the feeble colonies of America to rise in rebellion against the mightiest government on earth, was not to be deterred from giving to the world any opinions that he thought would make mankind better and happier. He could face the prejudice, bigotry, and hatred of the multitude in exposing their superstitions as courageously as he had attacked the pretensions of kings and asserted the sovereignty of the people. With a disinterestedness never surpassed and rarely equalled, he bequeathed as his last gift to the world his thoughts on religion, knowing that his motives would be impugned and his name covered with reproach by the millions from whom he had received such signal honors for his great and acknowledged services in the cause of political freedom.

Paine's fidelity to himself and his continued devotion to humanity cost him his good name. From the time the *Age of Reason* appeared, the author became an object of aversion, hatred, and slander. His great services in the cause of popular government were ignored or disparaged, or, if admitted, the purity of his motives was denied. Most of the old companions, from fear of losing their own popularity, forsook him. Unfounded falsehoods were circulated respecting him. The clergy painted him as a hideous monster. And when death came, and the grave had received him, his memory was insulted, and he was represented to the multitude as a depraved wretch who, dying,

"Left behind
A name linked to no virtue, but a thousand crimes."

And because he wrote the *Age of Reason*, giving to mankind his honest thoughts on religion, the Christian world is still unwilling to do him justice, to give him even his meed of praise as a Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary writer. His name is rarely mentioned in our Fourth of July addresses. The books used in our schools for exercises in reading and declamation, which contain extracts from the addresses and writings of the other prominent actors in the Revolutionary drama, have no paragraphs from Paine, although *Common Sense*, the *Crisis*, and *Rights of Man* abound in beautiful, brilliant passages, inculcating lessons of loftiest patriotism. His portrait was not long ago denied a place among those of his compatriots that adorn the walls of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, the very city in which he wrote his *Common Sense*, the work which "led the people," as Samuel Adams says, "to call loudly for independence." Our orthodox literature still uses its influence to conceal the merits and blacken the character of Paine. Thousands of tracts are in circulation, intended for the ignorant and credulous, that repeat the stale falsehoods about his life and death. The orthodox clergy, to diminish the influence of his works, still disparage and vilify him; while the great mass of Christians are yet accustomed to regard him as a blasphemous scoffer, a vulgar, profane writer, and a moral monster, whose life was one continued career of drunkenness and debauchery, and whose death was one of unutterable terror, made so by the remorse which filled his guilty soul and a glimpse of the fate he saw awaiting him beyond the grave. . . .

It was the power, directness, and irresistible logic with which Paine attacked revelation that caused the influence of his work to be dreaded and himself to be so bitterly assailed. He examined the Bible with the same fearless spirit with which he had examined the English Constitution; and he exposed its errors and absurdities, and refuted its claims to a superhuman origin, in the same clear, concise, and forcible style that had proved so effective in his attacks on monarchical government and the pretensions of kings. He took the arguments which had been confined chiefly to the learned, which had been used by those who, like Collins and Bolingbroke, had written for the educated class, and made them, by the simplicity of his language and the clearness of his illustrations, easily understood by the common reader. Writers more learned had preceded him in the same field, but none who possessed the same happy faculty of engaging the attention, exciting the interest, and convincing the understanding of all classes alike.

Paine had studied the Bible carefully, and was familiar with every part of it, let the clergy say what they will. He produced a work which contains arguments that are among the strongest that can be brought against the divine origin and authority of the Bible. Modern research and modern scholarship have added arguments to those which he employed: the scientific discoveries of the past fifty years have put into the hands of the free thinker new weapons with which Paine was unacquainted; but it may be safely said that the reasons he adduced against revelation are among those which to-day are regarded as the strongest that can be urged from the theistic stand-point. It is to me surprising that a work written nearly a century ago, and by one whose mind was so busily and earnestly engaged in other fields of labor, should be so free from errors, have so few inconclusive arguments, and so little to which free thinkers to-day can take exception.

It is true that Paine lacked a university education, and was acquainted with neither Hebrew nor Greek; but he wrote for the many and not for the few, and appealed to the understanding rather than to the learning of his readers. He founded his arguments on common sense, which is confined to no language, and not on philological interpretations, concerning which but a few are competent to form an opinion. He could not have written a work better adapted to the effect intended, had he been familiar with all the languages of antiquity.

Several attempts were made to answer the *Age of Reason*, but they were so unsatisfactory to the friends of Christianity that their circulation was discouraged. I have seen two of these old works, one written by a clergyman of Newport, R.I., and the other by a clergyman who lived in the State of New Jersey. They are learned and theological, prosy and prolix. I should think they would have the effect, if read, that Benjamin Franklin tells us resulted from the perusal by him of certain works against "infidelity," which, by acquainting him with the arguments of the authors referred to, confirmed him in his position as a Deist. Of all the answers to Paine, the only one known to this generation is Watson's *Apology*. That is not regarded as a very valuable work for circulation. An orthodox Christian would hardly be willing to have Paine's *Age of Reason* and Watson's *Apology* bound in one volume, and generally read. Liberal publishers have circulated them in this manner.

As a *writer*, Thomas Paine undoubtedly deserves to rank among the ablest in our language. We are familiar with the saying of a witty Frenchman, "The object of language is to *conceal* our thoughts."

Paine was ignorant of the art of writing so as to *conceal* his real thoughts. Every sentence from his pen was stamped with his intense individuality, and luminous with the light of his own mind. Aristotle says, "He who would be a teacher must think as wise people do, but speak as the common people do." The thoughts of Paine were those of a sagacious and profound mind. He gave these thoughts to the world in a style peculiarly his own, so plain and lucid, so terse and vigorous, that a child can grasp his meaning, while there are but few men who can pursue his works without profit. In the simplicity of his style, as Jefferson remarks, he resembles Franklin; but his style is more nervous and vigorous than that of the great philosopher. There is truth in the statement of Croly, the author of the *Life of George the Fourth* who says, "Paine, like a young Spartan warrior, went into the field stripped to the last thread of prudent, conventional disguise, and thus not only fixed the gaze of men upon his intrepid singularity, but exhibited the vigor of his faculties in full play." He uses but few embellishments, but he never lacks for a happy illustration with which to convey the full force of his thought. All his works abound in passages full of compact thoughts beautifully and elegantly expressed. There are few, if any, writers whose works contain more noble, generous sentiments. He used wit and sarcasm freely; but to his credit it must be said he never used these weapons against any person or principle, unless he thought they were opposed to the interest of the people. Some who have paid a high tribute to Paine as a political writer have condemned him for the use of irony and sarcasm in the *Age of Reason*. But it should be remembered that *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man* are works in which these weapons are as freely used as in his religious writings; and, since he believed the dogmas of Christianity to be as false and pernicious as the preten-

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sions of kings and the principles of monarchy, he cannot be censured consistently for ridiculing the story of Jonah and the whale, when the sarcasms he hurled against the titled nobility of England are unqualifiedly indorsed.

Paine's views on the subject of religion were mild, compared with the radical views of the majority of those who honor his memory and celebrate his birthday. "I believe," he wrote, "in one God and no more, and hope for happiness beyond this life. And I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy."

One object he had in giving the *Age of Reason* to the world—the first part of it—was to fix in the French mind, then agitated by revolution and in hostility to the corrupt religious system which had robbed and enslaved the people, a firm belief in a Supreme Creator of infinite power and perfection. He regarded this belief as necessary to a correct system of morality. Paine's "Address to the Theophilanthropists" is a defence of the existence of a God; and the arguments therein employed are as conclusive, probably, as any that can be used.

To-day, thousands who, owing to their early education, feel uneasy when the name of Thomas Paine is mentioned, and who are considered and call themselves Christians, hold opinions substantially the same as those expressed in the *Age of Reason*. They have outgrown the errors which Paine assailed, while they are yet influenced in their unjust estimate of his character and writings by the misrepresentations and slanders which his criticisms called forth, and which have been preserved and handed down to these times.

Paine was a self-made man. He most emphatically achieved greatness. He inherited no ancestral name, and could claim neither wealth nor distinction by birthright. He was not suddenly pushed into a position of honor, nor was a reputation made for him by his friends. He started in life with no other resources than a clear head and a brave heart. With these, he carved out his own fortune. He organized victory out of his own subjective forces.

The son of a Thetford stay-maker, born poor in a land of titled nobility, he rose by his own efforts to distinction; helped establish the freest and most magnificent republic that ever existed; wrote his name in large letters in two of the first nations of Europe; associated his name permanently with the progress of republican principles, and found time besides to perform a work in the cause of free thought of incalculable value, for which free thinkers in every land whose shores are washed by the Atlantic have celebrated the day that gave him birth and recalled the story of his life. . . . The world will yet do him justice. "History," to use the words of a Review, "issues no sentences that history may not reverse. Time fights the battles of truth,—an unimpassioned and unwearied ally. Every hour there are new evidences brought forward, mysteries unravelled, and reputations restored." Men will wonder in the future at the ingratitude that has been shown Paine, and will respect and honor him for his worth the more because so great a wrong has been done him.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EMERSON.

Extract from a Paper on Emerson read before a Social Club in this Vicinity, in 1881.

Emerson is a persistent optimist. He has not a drop of pessimistic blood in his veins. He preaches everywhere, and at all times, the doctrine of sunshine and hope. All his utterances are overflowing with joy and gladness,—"I am the lover of uncontained and immortal beauty,"—and says with Browning, "How good is our life here, mere living!" He begins his famous "Senior Class Address," that performance which caused such a rattling of the dry bones of theology among the divinity professors, with this strain of delight: "In this refulgent summer, it has been a luxury to draw the breath of life. The grass grows, the buds burst, the meadow is spotted with fire and gold in the tint of flowers. The air is full of birds, and sweet with the breath of the pine, the balm of Gilead, and the new hay. The mystery of nature was never displayed more happily. The corn and the wine have been freely dealt to all creatures, and the never-broken silence with which the old bounty goes forward has not yielded yet one word of explanation." His little book *Nature* is overrunning with this abounding joy. "Almost I fear to think how glad I am." This was uttered not after he had made a lucky strike in "San Pedro" or "Atchison and Topeka," but when, "crossing a bare common, in snow puddles, at twilight, under a clouded sky, without having in his thoughts any occurrence of special good fortune," under these negative conditions it was that he had "enjoyed a perfect exhilaration."

"I have seen the spectacle of morning from the hilltop over against my house, from daybreak to sunrise, with emotions which an angel might share. The long, slender bars of cloud float like fishes in the sea of crimson light. From the earth as a shore, I look out into that silent sea. I seem to partake its rapid transformations: the active enchantment reaches my dust, and I dilate and conspire with the morning wind. Give me health and a day, and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous." Not only is his optimism thus forcibly emphasized, but he denounces its opposite, pessimism: "A Schopenhauer with logic and learning and wit, teaching that this is the worst of all possible worlds, and inferring that sleep is better than waking, and death than sleep,—all the talent in the world cannot save him from being odious; a low hopeless spirit puts out the eyes; a philosophy which sees only the worst, believes neither in virtue nor in genius, dispirits us: the sky shuts down before us. Don't hang a dismal picture on the wall, and do not daub with sables and gloom in your conversation. Don't be a cynic and disconsolate preacher."

As his first work was entitled *Nature*, so this has been the key-word, as it were, of his whole long life. He has iterated and reiterated it early and late, throughout all his writings. If a concordance were made of his works, one would find this word "nature" occurring about as often as the word "love" occurs in Shakspere's Concordance. This word with him takes on an anthropomorphic quality, and becomes in his treatment of it almost an individual, with human virtues and frailties, and hence the flavor of pantheism in many passages in his writings, as where he says, "Matter is a phenomenon, not a substance," "That nothing is of us, or our works, that all is of God." Rev. J. B. Manning devoted a lecture to Emerson,—one of a course on Pantheism,—in which he ranks him as a disciple of Spinoza. But this did not disturb Emerson: he has never replied to any criticisms, but always preserved an absolute and Sphinx-like silence, as to any unfavorable remarks from whatever quarter they may have come. When asked if some of his writings did not betray a pantheistic tendency, the only reply was, "Well, Pantheism is a grand word." "The happiest man," he says, "is he who learns from nature the lesson of worship." "The ardors of piety agree at last with the coldest scepticism." The evangelical world has rather looked askance on this Western luminary, not knowing exactly how to compute its orbit. The Rev. George Gilfillan brands him as a sceptic, and charges him with having personally and by name insulted the Lord Jesus Christ. His telescope was not achromatic, and his verdict is worthless. Emerson's philosophy of life is set in the minor key. He hates ostentation, pretension, publicity, display. He tells us to seek the shade, and find wisdom in neglect; to be content with a little light, so it be our own.

> "Nor mount nor dive, all good things keep
> The midway of the eternal deep."

He prefers his slippers and old coat and homelike comforts to fashionable outfits and modern exactions.

All this is in the spirit of Agur's prayer, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." He accepts with his whole heart the philosophy of Carlyle's "Night Moth," "common joys and vulgar fate." Another characteristic is his lifting the curtain from the common and ordinary, and showing the divinities sitting masked within our cottage walls, and that "the gods come in low disguises." Emerson exhibits a noble simplicity in his intercourse with others. He greets the child or the poor illiterate workman with the same deference and consideration that he would observe toward the Earl of Beaconsfield or the Prince of Wales. His daily conversation and table-talk is as rich and fruitful as are his finished writings. He is original, kind, cordial, hospitable in his daily intercourse with others, and does not reserve those humanities for print exclusively. Emerson anticipated Darwin. Evolution and the survival of the fittest is to be found in his writings. In geology, he is one with Lyell; and he thus illustrates the transmutation of the material into the spiritual: "The bread man eats is first strength, and animal spirits; it becomes, in higher laboratories, imagery and thought; and, in still higher results, courage and endurance."

Lest you may think me too laudatory in my estimate of Emerson, I will admit that he has his limitations and shortcomings. In his essay on Books, I think him extravagant in his praise of such authors as Plotinus, Porphyry, Synesius, and Jamblichus, whom he warmly recommends as authorities for young men to study. Life is too short to devote much of it to these old sages. The *Sunday Herald* is really much more to our purpose in this nineteenth century. This going back to those old Greeks for mental pabulum is like travelling in their old war-chariots,—more classical perhaps, but very uncomfortable. I prefer a Pullman or the smoking-car. His recommending those ancient authors in preference to the modern is strangely in contradiction to his customary advice, for he strenuously insists on our living in the *here* and the *now*: "Do not foolishly ask of the inscrutable, obliterated past what it cannot tell, but ask it of the enveloping *now*." I am sorry to say that Emerson is not a Malthusian. He denounces Malthus, and utters this nonsense, that "population increases in the ratio of morality." What has morality to do with the fecundity of the Irish potatoe-eater or the Oriental rice-gorger? Elsewhere, he seems to reverse this judgment; for he says: "The worst of charity is, that the lives you are asked to preserve are not worth preserving. Masses! the calamity is the masses. I do not wish any mass at all, but honest men only, lovely, sweet, accomplished women only, and no shovel-handed, narrow-brained, gin-drinking stockingers or lazzaroni. If government knew how, I should like to see it *check*, not multiply the population."

Old father Malthus would jump with delight at these sentiments, kiss him on both cheeks, slap him on his back, and say, Give us your hand, old boy. You are on the high road to my arithmetical and geometrical progression, and you will soon arrive to my three checks, moral restraint, vice, and misery. But I feel it is presumptuous to sit in judgment on Emerson, to point out any shortcomings, which, after all, are but spots on the sun of his transcendent brightness.

> "Even the source and fount of day
> Is dashed with wandering isles of night,"

and one may certainly overlook in Emerson a few of these "wandering isles."

A thousand years from now or ten thousand, Boston will be remembered not for its historical record,—the destruction of British tea in its harbor, the State Street massacre, nor for its Frog Pond, nor the Great Organ, nor the Chestnut Street Club, nor Joe Cook's Monday lectures,—but for having been the birthplace of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

CORRESPONDENCE.

STATE AND CHURCH AND THE PREACHERS.

Editors of The Index:—

I have waited patiently for some one other than myself to note the sermon upon Church and State matters delivered by Dr. Tiffany in Philadelphia, at the opening of the Bi-Centennial season. Aside from my own brief record in another quarter, the event has seemingly been forgotten with the host of less-deserving occurrences of the hour. Yet the words are worthy of resuscitation. The public forgetfulness may in its humor indicate the small importance of an event that well impressed my individual mind, and I would be the last to deny this; but it may happen—and this may be one of those chances—that treasures well worth saving escape us amid the rubbish of a day, and that after-burrowing in the discarded material may bring its good reward. As no one else seems disposed to credit Tiffany, I shall make due statement for him. In orthodox circles, small praise rises to his effort. The orthodox sentiment was more apt to speak for separation of Church and State before its creed became strong and fashionable. The inclination still sits on men's lips, but has small place in their hearts. Consequently, radicals more naturally than conservatives catch at the significance of such a discourse as Dr. Tiffany's.

I have no suspicion that the intellectual side of the preacher's deliverance was powerful. I remark, chiefly, *health*. Above all, in such an atmosphere as a modern clergyman breathes, a frequent entrance of ruddy blood is necessary. No matter for *furore*, nor for the trembling of conventional lips. Give the body

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pure air. For such as it is, reanimate the poor soul. Every witness of a vitiated creed pours out such hopes in its behalf. As long as errors must remain in influence, let their purpose be the best that error possibly can subserve.

As strong words where weak words are common, Dr. Tiffany's sermon carried weighty testimony. At a time when so many of his profession assume the reactionary or the neutral (*i.e.*, the sneaking) side of the question, this eloquent voice rises high in the midst of the old school with its admonition that somebody not very far from the speaker in other points of creed has failed to read history to its deeper promptings.

Dr. Tiffany spoke with the warmth and passion of an earnest man. His survey of old times was free of all offensive pietism, and full of all essential impartiality. It rang in my ears as an inspiration of Christian radicalism. Abbot could on few points have broken better ground. The training of an out-and-out secularist seems to lead the way to liberal ideas, while the breeding of a clergyman in this century seems to turn its back upon the finer tendencies of the time. Perhaps that is the reason why a word not significant from a radical becomes a sign to the hungering world, when a conservative utters it. If I had consented to bar out an incidental extravaganza upon Jesus on the speaker's part, I could easily have imagined myself a listener to a secularist exorcism; and even though I was a reflecting auditor, and safe from vain imaginings, my feelings were mixed of surprise, admiration, and congratulation. I looked upon the silked and satined audience as in a degree necessary converts to the ideas. To the extent that each was provoked to thinking, each was provoked to adoption.

The preacher's main positions were in line with those of the radical agitation. He saw and pointed out the evils attendant upon former unions of Church and State, indicated their reason and inevitability, and declared strikingly, with a great deal of force and point, and as if to give the idea—the shadow, somewhat, of a fear—the central weight of his position, that, if God and the Bible can be put in the Constitution by a vote, they can be taken out by a vote. Thus, little of the legitimate argument of the secularist remains unaccepted by this clergyman. The ultimate stand, it is to be seen, was not taken, though it was not negatived. Only by indirection can his remarks have been construed into anything like compromise. I looked for an avowal of belief, not alone in separation for the sake of Christian and theistic liberty, but for the broadest forms, as it might be, of agnostic or atheistic sentiment. This I did not hear; nor, it is fair to say, did I hear it denied. The most liberal concession usual from Orthodoxy is of liberty to worship God as you choose. Little is conceded to him who has no wish to worship God at all. The preacher, I had hoped, would break from the common stand here, as on other phases; but he failed to do so. It is possible that, even with his bold speech, the end of his thought has not yet found utterance.

That Dr. Tiffany added to his previous statements the assumption that Christianity is able to sustain itself minus governmental support, and that this is a Christian nation all the more positively because not constitutionally designated as such seems natural, and, in consistency, urged upon him. His religious affiliations would not have accepted less. To have failed in the avowal would have shown a failure to think in consonance with the imperative creed of the Church. No one suspects him of such a coming-out. Warrant alone we have to this extent: that here is a man who, though thoroughly orthodox, is not so orthodox as not to take some good part in the liberal thoughts of the age. It has been frequently noticed that he prefers a practical sermon upon a live subject to dogmatic studies on worn topics. That he falls in with this way, and sometimes locks horns with an older, decaying Christian thought, does not identify him with any but the more liberal shades of the orthodox belief. I welcome him not as a heretic, but as a healthful conservative. We may believe possibly that, with him, Methodism once again shows a capacity to rise above the designs of the more ritualistic persuasions. It is to be left to Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism to furnish the reform party's chief motive, such as it may be.

The future will show one thing,—that much now deemed the function of the State will be taken from the State, as not in its province; and much now the monopoly, for instance, of corporations, will be made subject to governmental management. Among the former surrenders will come first all meddlesomeness—to the most indirect—in what concerns conscience. Not a small portion of this once stupendous tyranny has already disappeared. The rest must go the path of the ghost that fathered it.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

THE CREEDS OF AGNOSTICISM.

Editors of The Index:—

As far as time permits, I would be very brief in reply. I would simply ask Mr. W. to point out the passage in which I define Agnosticism in any such way as he would have it,—*i.e.*, "Agnosticism being defined as that doctrine which, professing ignorance, neither asserts nor denies." That primer-like definition, at present so much in vogue among Agnostics, which asserts that "the Agnostic is one who neither affirms nor denies anything," has little to commend itself, except its general simplicity. Again, I am averse to explain my own arguments, preferring they should explain themselves. I would state, however, for the sake of Mr. W., that one thing I tried to show in the article was that Agnosticism had not been consistent,—that is to say, there is a subtle blending of pantheistic and materialistic opinions that has become incorporated almost unwittingly into Agnosticism. When that master Agnostic, Herbert Spencer, defines explicitly a religious creed, and, after a most elaborate argument, comes to the conclusion that the Power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable, I fail to see wherein Spencer or my own absurdity consists. Mr. Wetherell has the high privilege, if he pleases, of holding otherwise.

V.

A QUERY: BIGAMY AND POLYGAMY.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Fiske's admirable speech on evolution and religion has been published as a tract by the Free Religious Association; and I hope it will be widely circulated, for it contains the central truth on this subject expressed in the most concise and clear language.

One sentence in it, however, suggests an inquiry in regard to the use of the word "bigamy," which seems to me important. He says, "The Turk, who sees no wrong in bigamy, would shrink from the sin of eating pork." While there may be etymological authority for using bigamy in this sense, does it give a correct impression? Does not the common use of the term "bigamy" imply a second marriage made in defiance of the law of the State prohibiting such marriages, and generally having also the element of concealment in it, the second wife being unconscious of the existence of the first or the reverse?

Should not polygamy have been the word used by Mr. Fiske? We entirely agree with the condemnation of polygamy as a social system, on every ground of morals; but is there not an ethical discussion between a polygamist, who acts openly in conformity with the law of his State and his church, and the bigamist, who secretly defies both?

I have seen this confusion of terms in other writings, and a clear definition may be of practical importance.

E. D. C.

BOOK NOTICES.

GEORGE RIPLEY. By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. Steel portrait. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1882. Price $1.25.

The lives of men of letters and of statesmen are parts of the veritable scripture through which humanity reveals all that we can know of divinity. When thinkers shall get rid of slavery to traditionally sacred relics of the Hebrew and Christian origins, wisely scan all such records of the past according to their worth, and go forward from the sadly defective beginnings along all the lines of good literature and all the paths of great doing and rare experience, they will find far more and far richer scripture than can be made by taking our Bible as exceptionally inspired and divine. Christendom is not one-tenth so rich, nor is Christianity one-tenth so large in history and so strong in the world, as would have been the case, if religious study had looked widely beyond the old sacred books into the great book of advancing humanity for revelations of truth. Happily, the old idea and the old way are passing away; and, in proportion as men love truth and are loyal to noble ideals, they employ the liberty of open vision, and count no page of the record of humanity common or unclean. For half a century, freedom and culture, in America especially, have been preparing the way of this broad humanity in religion, and nowhere more conspicuously than on that side of New England religion occupied by Unitarianism, and in that quarter of Unitarianism from which open gates have led out of Church and creed into literature and humane work of every sort. There have been preachers at these open gates, as well as leaders of thought and study, who could not stay in the pulpit,—Parker and Frothingham, as well as Ripley and Emerson. One of these preachers has given us a life of one of these leaders who exchanged the pulpit for humane work and for literature, and made his chief name as a man of letters. O. B. Frothingham, who knows every step of the advanced freedom and culture of our time, has written for the series of "American Men of Letters" the *Life of George Ripley*, who was, from now fifty years since, second to no other, not even Emerson, in large and clear intelligence of the free essentials of rational religion. It need not be said that Mr. Frothingham has executed his task with a touch equally sure and delicate. Art and taste, as well as biography, are his debtors for the fine quality of the story which he has given of the varied life and experience of Mr. Ripley. It is a story to be read of all thoughtful people with tender interest. It is a fragment of real scripture. The early public life of Mr. Ripley as a Unitarian minister is recovered in a very interesting sketch, to which no one could have done better justice than Mr. Frothingham, himself the son of a Boston Unitarian minister, and initiated from the first in letters and art, in piety and pure devotion, and in every walk of humane culture. Mr. Ripley started with the palmy days of Unitarianism. He was ordained Nov. 8, 1826, and remained in the pulpit until March 28, 1841, when he altogether ceased to be a minister. "To the end of his days," however, says Mr. Frothingham, "Mr. Ripley looked back on it with tender interest. At Brook Farm, he enjoyed the singing of the familiar hymn-tunes of the old service. In New York, it was his habit, until infirmity prevented, to attend religious worship. He clung to sacred associations, deplored the tendency to make religious observances secular by substituting halls for meeting-houses and lectures for sermons, and held in high esteem the earnest prophets of the soul."

As a member of Mr. Frothingham's society in New York, Mr. Ripley kept the faith more than his pastor did. The latter says: "He was in no sense or degree a materialist; and, though connecting himself with an independent society of a decidedly radical school, he held fast his faith in beliefs which his minister dismissed. His appeal was still to consciousness of the soul. Of doctrines he had little to say, being content to see them change and pass away; but the substance of spiritual conviction he retained to the last."

Mr. Ripley followed Dr. Channing on that side of his mind which led him to say, "We believe that the human mind is akin to that intellectual energy which gave birth to nature, and, consequently, that it contains within itself the seminal and prolific principles from which nature sprung." In a sermon of 1834, says Mr. Frothingham, Mr. Ripley "contended that the history of man is a religious history; that religious truths always have existed; that 'the religious ideas set forth by Christ, as they had been displayed before in other forms, still exert an efficient influence on the soul of man'; and that, in their essential form, they will never cease to influence human souls."

We must send our readers to the book itself for the story of a life which represents, as few others can, the healthy advance of our time and the broad expansion which culture has taken under the best influences of the modern spirit.

PHYLLIS BROWNE. By Flora L. Shaw, author of *Castle Blair* and *Hector*. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The author's name will recommend this book sufficiently to those who are acquainted with *Castle Blair* and *Hector*. In interest and charm, it does not fall below the average quality of those charming books, for, if it is not quite up to the mark of *Castle Blair*, it is a little above that of *Hector*. It is more directly addressed to the juvenile mind than the last-named story. It shows, however, the same power which that and *Castle Blair* evinced of creating ideal forms of boyhood and girlhood that are full of interest and fascination. We have here goodness without goodiness.

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We have the virtues of truth and courage and obedience inculcated without wordy declamation. Some of the situations in the book are more sensational than we could wish, but the general tone and spirit are all that any reasonable child or parent could desire.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE PERKINS INSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS for the year ending 1882.

This is a pamphlet of 137 pages, containing the annual report of the trustees upon the affairs of the institution above named, together with an account of the celebration of the semi-centennial anniversary prepared by the committee in charge of the arrangements of the festival, and other documents relating to the progress and conduct of the establishment. We are pleased to observe by this report that the school has maintained its usual high standard of usefulness during the year, and that its prosperity is undiminished.

THE *Catholic World* for February is quite up to its usual high standard of ability. Rev. A. F. Hewit writes on "The Eschatology of Origen," whose character, he says, notwithstanding all suspicions regarding him, "has been rehabilitated in such a way that he must now and ever hereafter be ranked among the orthodox Fathers of the Church." "The School Grievance and its Remedy," by Rev. Walter Elliott, presents the objections of Catholics to our public schools. The writer says: "If some citizens wish to maintain schools exclusively secular, let the State help them. If other citizens wish to have denominational schools, let the State help them also; and let the State aid in every case be in proportion to the numbers benefited and the success obtained in such instruction as the State judges necessary to form good citizens." The other articles are "Ancient Art and Modern Thought," by Rev. H. J. Heuser; "Among our Diplomats," by John MacCarthy; "Daylight at Last," by Christine Faber; "Sir Thomas More and his Times," by S. Hubert Burke; "The Anti-Catholic Spirit of Certain Writers," by Eugene L. Didier; "Out of the West, III.," by Henrietta M. K. Brownell; "A London Literary Pilgrimage," by A. J. Faust, Ph.D. Among the book notices is one from which the following sentences, referring to the Herbert Spencer banquet, are taken: "Since the Word has been made flesh, it requires no little audacity to write and to publish in a Christian community, in the year of our Lord 1882, that God is the 'Unknowable.' And, in a Christian society, to feast this man and to assemble men of note, many of whom profess to be Christians,—to do this thing is the sublimity of audacity." "Thank Heaven there is not a name of even a nominal Catholic appended to this graceless banquet, where professed Christians were misled, by a badly misunderstood courtesy to their guests, to the shameless betrayal of Christianity."

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for January devotes twenty-six pages to the second part of Longfellow's posthumous poem, "Michael Angelo." It contains also the concluding part of Hawthorne's "Ancestral Footstep"; Prof. E. R. Sill criticises "Herbert Spencer's Theory of Education"; G. E. Woodberry in an essay reviews the genius and character of "Walter Savage Landor"; Marie Louise Henry discourses on "The Morality of Thackeray and George Eliot," finding in the works of both a tone of sadness and discouragement; Richard Grant White gives his reasons for thinking that Shakspere's ideal Rosalind has never been truthfully represented by any of the modern "Stage Rosalinds"; Henry L. Nelson relates interestingly "Some Truths about the Civil Service"; S. E. Turner tells "The Story of Joseph Lesurques," a tragic story of mistaken identity; Bradford Torrey shows that he has made excellent use of his eyes when "With the Birds on Boston Common"; H. H. gives us some of the impressions received while at "Puget Sound"; "Lityerses and the Reapers" is the title of a fine poem by Edith M. Thomas; there are short poems by S. M. Spaulding and E. F. Durkee. The books reviewed at length are *Dr. Rimmer*, Linton's *History of Wood Engraving*, *George Sand's Letters*, M. de Bacourt's *Souvenirs*, and *Selections from the Poetry of Robert Herrick*.

THE February number of *Our Little Ones* is bright and charming as usual, and its illustrations are even above the usual high standard. Among these, "A Stormy Day," "Where," "How much longer must I wait?" and "Coasting" are the most beautiful.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

THE Rev. R. Heber Newton's seven sermons on "Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible" will be published in Lovell's Library.

GABRIELLE GREELEY, daughter of Horace Greeley, has recently given a building site to the Episcopal Church at Chappaqua, N.Y.

CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK WILLIAM of Germany has given ten thousand marks for distribution among the poor on his silver wedding day.

GEORGE DARWIN, son of the late Charles R. Darwin, has been elected Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in Cambridge University.

BARON VON FLOTOW, the composer of many popular operas, chief among which are "Stradella" and "Martha," died last week at Wiesbaden, aged about seventy.

DR. GEORGE MULLER BEARD, the well-known physician, died at New York yesterday, aged forty-four. He was a native of Montville, Conn., and a graduate of Yale. He wrote many medical works.

MRS. MARY HALLOCK FOOTE, the story writer, author of the "Led-Horse Claim," now being published in the *Century*, is the wife of Mr. Arthur Foote, a mining engineer. Mr. Foote is a brother of Senator Hawley's wife.

PRINCE CHARLES of Prussia, who died last week at the advanced age of eighty-three, was an inveterate smoker, having been in the habit during the last sixty years of his life of smoking from twenty to twenty-four strong Havana cigars daily.

THE one hundred and seventy-seventh anniversary of the birthday of Benjamin Franklin, on the 17th inst., was observed in a number of the public schools throughout Pennsylvania, by the children committing to memory some of the sayings of "Poor Richard."

THE one hundred and twenty-fourth anniversary of the birthday of the Scotch poet, Robert Burns, was celebrated by the Boston Caledonian Club at Odd Fellows' Hall in this city on Thursday evening, the 25th inst., by appropriate musical and literary ceremonies, concluding with a supper and dance.

THE London *Times* of January 11 reports that Mr. Henry M. Stanley has reached his scene of activity on the Congo, with three thousand tons of goods. The stories circulated some time ago, of his serious illness in Paris and his sojourn at Nice and in Spain, were apparently a ruse to conceal his actual movements.

SAYS the Springfield *Republican* of the editor of *Harper's* "Drawer": "Mr. Curtis to be a faithful journalist has sacrificed the pride of writing books; but he has chosen the better part for his kind and his country, and is much more a part of the history of his time than a score of bright novels would have made him. Some time, moreover, we look to see a selection of those Easy Chair meditations, which rank him with Addison as a stylist and above him as a critic of the world."

GUSTAVE DORE, the distinguished painter and designer whose fame is world-wide, died at Paris, France, a few days ago. He was an Alsatian, was born at Strasburg, and was over fifty years of age. His first eminent work was his illustrations of *The Wandering Jew*, in 1851. Of these illustrations, the Boston *Herald* remarks: "They foreshadowed and established his peculiar, striking vein, long known as the Doresque. They are so strange, so weird, so antic, and so suggestive withal, that they stimulate the imagination and cling to the memory."

THE *Herald* says: "M. Duval, to whom the delicate work of investigating the brain of M. Gambetta has been intrusted, reports that its weight is considerably below that of the average brain weight of an ordinary man who is a member of a civilized community. In other words, the brain of the great French statesman weighs no more than the brain of a South Sea islander. It will be seen that this discovery seriously conflicts with the notion that cerebral bulk increases in exact ratio with intellectual development. It is said of M. Gambetta's brain that it is finely formed and differentiated, and the conclusion may be drawn that intelligence depends much more upon structure than upon mass."

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to coöperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reëlection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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The office of the Association is at 3 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON (directly in the rear of the Tremont House), where is also the publication office of *The Index*.

All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

Communications intended specially for the Secretary, as well as his personal correspondence, should be addressed to him at PROVIDENCE, R.I.

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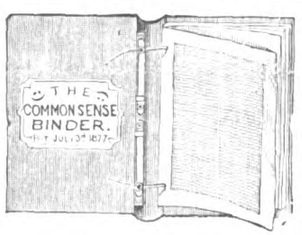

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 373

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Fossil Theology, Wm. J. Potter, ... 374
Crooked Uprightness, C. K. W., ... 374
Mr. Cook's "Tu Quoque," Edwin D. Mead, ... 375
Reform, Pure and Conventional, Horace L. Traubel, . 377
Evolution, B. F. Underwood, ... 377
The Unitarian "Year-Book" Lists of Ministers, W. J. P., 379

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 379

POETRY.
The Evolution of Harmony, Sara W. Smith, ... 379

ESSAY.
Evolution, Objective and Subjective, III., Wm. I. Gill, . 380

CORRESPONDENCE.
Christian Abuse, ... 381
A Free Thinker's Burial, F. B., ... 382

BOOK NOTICES.
Bible Myths, and their Parallels in Other Religions, . . 382
History of the Religion of Israel, by Crawford H. Toy, . 382
Silk and the Silk Worm, by Nellie Lincoln Rossiter, . . 383
A Doubting Heart, by Annie Keary, ... 383
Wide Awake, St. Nicholas, ... 383

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 383

CURRENT TOPICS.

CANADA is of late becoming the Mecca of emigrants. In 1882, more than one hundred thousand new-comers, exclusive of the Chinese, settled in Canada's two provinces.

AN exchange says: "The amenities existing between religious sects had notable illustration at the burial of the unrecognized victims of the Milwaukee fire. Of these, twenty-three bodies were awarded to the Protestants and twenty to the Catholics; and nobody will ever know how many Protestants received absolution or how many Catholics were deprived of the same."

THE first annual meeting of the National Woman's Suffrage Association of Massachusetts will be held at the Meionaon in this city on the 14th and 15th inst. Miss Phebe Couzins of St. Louis, Mrs. Shattuck, and Mrs. Harriette Robinson are already engaged as speakers for the occasion; while negotiations are in progress to secure several other distinguished and eloquent advocates of the cause to give addresses, whose names will be duly announced.

PROF. ALEX. BAIN, in a recent address given on the occasion of the presentation by a number of his friends of his portrait to the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, made the following remark, which is worthy of note by all earnest students: "I took from the men of physical science the notion of being precise and clear in speculation generally, and from the men of movement the desire to be practical, to find some application to human welfare in all my studies."

A DR. P. W. EMENS had engaged a church in Almond, Alleghany County, N.Y., for a course of lectures on physiology. The pastor of the church became angry at what he considered the desecration of the church, and directed the trustees to exclude Dr. Emens from it, which they did by barricading the doors, with men armed with revolvers to guard them. Another place of meeting had to be obtained, and thus the doctor's lectures were gratuitously advertised.

THAT one extreme of opinion often accompanies the opposite is shown by the many cases of religious fanaticism occurring in this age of doubt and denial, the latest of many such cases being that of a mother, Mrs. Zimbrick, of Milwaukee, Wis., who last week, under the influence of religious excitement, killed her three little children, calmly stating that she "had read to sacrifice the children in the good book." She afterward attempted to hang herself, but was discovered in time and cut down.

THE Norfolk Jubilee Singers were arrested last Sunday evening, at New Haven, Conn., for singing in violation of a statute of 1786, which prohibits concerts, theatrical entertainments, etc., on the Sabbath, under a penalty of not less than twenty-five dollars. The performance was for the benefit of a Methodist Sunday-school in that city. The arrest has aroused considerable indignation against the city attorney, who caused the arrest to be made. The law had long been regarded as obsolete.

MR. ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS has been for the past four years the regular speaker of the Harmonial Association of New York city, which holds its meetings at Steck Hall. He recently gave a course of interesting, original lectures before his society on "Our Relations to the Spiritual Universe," considering the subject in the following order: "The Unconscious," "The Cosmical," "The Intellectual," "The Ethical," "The Spiritual," and "The Personal." These lectures have, it is said, given great satisfaction to his audiences. Mrs. Mary F. Davis, his talented and estimable wife, reads at these meetings appropriate selections from various writers in a very acceptable manner.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* says: "It was the high priest of Nishi-hong-wan-ji who was selected by the reforming Japanese Government of 1868 to proceed to London, and to report on the influence of the Christian religion on public morals in England. It was the intention of the Japanese Government that, if the report were favorable, Christianity should be introduced throughout the country. But, after the high priest—a most enlightened and spiritually-minded man of very liberal views—had spent eighteen months in London, he reported to his government that Christianity was far more powerless than either Shinto or Buddhism in preventing crime, particularly drunkenness; and it was therefore resolved to make no change in the public religion of Japan."

THE *Catholic Review* says the Israelites' gratitude to the Catholic Church for "past favors" is not conspicuous, and adds: "Scarcely a movement against the Catholic Church has taken place in Europe which does not count Jews among its fiercest leaders. Indeed, the anti-Catholic press in the Old World would appear to be almost entirely in the hands of Jews; and there does not pass a day but it hurls the most infamous calumnies against the Church and her servants, and excites the ignorant masses against the clergy. The papers belonging to the Jews in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Rome, take the lead in the antichristian warfare. The vile *Lanterne* of Paris is controlled by them, every member on the editorial staff of the *New Free Press* of Vienna and the *Tageblatt* of Berlin is a Jew, and the same might almost be said of the *Libertà* of Rome."

AT a recent trial in Germany, a document was brought into court which ought to delight the hearts of all earnest pleaders for women's rights, as showing that those rights were recognized by at least one chivalrous lover in 1605, over two centuries and a half ago. It was the marriage deed given by the Catholic Count de Sulz to the Protestant Countess of Hanau, whom he was about to marry, and was couched in the following terms: "I, Rudolph, Count of Sulz, hereby promise on my honor as a nobleman—or may the Devil take me—that I will allow my future wife to remain in her religion, nor will I offer her any inducement in the slightest to abandon it. I have at home two Bibles. If that is not enough for her, I will get her two more. Let her read in them bravely and industriously. Moreover, it is her body, not her soul, I take. I shall remain in my religion in which I have been brought up from my youth. I know that I am on the right road. If she won't go to heaven, let her go to hell. Signed, Rudolph, Count of Sulz."

THE protestations of innocence made on the scaffold by some of the men convicted of murder in Ireland, when the evidence was so strong as to leave no doubt as to their guilt, has been a subject of considerable comment and some controversy in England. The *Nation* says: "The controversy has caused the disinterment of a little religious manual, entitled *What Every Christian must Know and Do*, widely sold in Ireland at the price of one cent, and bearing the late Cardinal Cullen's confirmation, which is believed by some to throw some light on the matter. Whether it does or not, it offers Catholic theologians an opportunity of making an explanation of some kind. It says that, when absolution is given by the priest, 'your sins are forgiven, the pains of hell taken away, and your soul made bright and beautiful like an angel of God, and the kingdom of heaven is yours.' This, of course, suggests the theory that the murderer on the scaffold may in good faith, after absolution, declare himself 'innocent as the child unborn.' The definition of murder in the manual points in the same direction. It describes murder as '*unjustly* taking away another's life,'—not, be it observed, unlawfully,—and a foot-note on this adds, 'It is not a sin to desire some temporal misfortune to another to make him cease to give scandal, or be converted, or not persecute the good.' It is easy to see how readily in the mind of an excited peasant this definition and elucidation might be made to cover obnoxious landlords, agents, bailiffs, and even policemen and judges."

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FOSSIL THEOLOGY.

In the discussion that is going on about the new Orthodoxy, the reformation of creeds, the progress of thought in the churches, etc., it should not be forgotten that the old Orthodoxy still remains strongly intrenched in a large part of Christendom. Not to speak of the Catholic Church, it is probably safe to say that not half of the church-going people who are Protestants are accustomed to hear any other theology from their preachers but that which was in vogue fifty and a hundred ears ago. The pulpits which have not yet been reached by the new views may not, generally, be those to whose teachings the most enlightened church-goers are wont to listen; but we must not delude ourselves with the belief that they have not a large following and a wide influence. Nor is the line that separates between the old views and the new by any means always identical with that between ignorance and culture. There are still many men who, in a certain way (though it may be in a narrow way), are learned, who devote their learning and all their energies to upholding all the essential points of the Augustinian and Calvinistic theology. No one whose duties lead to any acquaintance with the current publications of the evangelical sects—considering especially the local and sectarian religious newspapers that go among the people rather than the more pretentious reviews and magazines—can fail to be impressed with the strong hold which evangelical Orthodoxy, of the old type, still has upon Christendom; nor, if such person be liberal in his own views, can he fail, also, to be impressed with the fact that Liberalism has yet a good deal of critical and aggressive work to do before it can be safely and honorably discharged from its mission.

Here, for instance, is the *Sunday School Times*, a paper of very large circulation, devoted to the interests of evangelical Sunday-schools, and intended particularly for their teachers and superintendents,—a teacher, therefore, of the teachers. It has great pecuniary resources, and is thus able to enlist the aid of some of the most distinguished writers of the evangelical persuasions. And this is what one of its regular contributors, a "Doctor of Divinity," in summing up the practical applications of a Scripture text which gives the "lesson for the day," says, in a late number: "There is no other way of salvation except through the name of Christ Jesus.... We see the ground of apprehension there may be concerning very many persons, amiable in life, correct in moral habit, lovely in disposition, true to all outward duties of religious routine: if they are not 'in Christ,' they will be lost." Another writer, on the same theme in the same issue of the same paper, says: "Among all the many false religions, and among all the vast multitude of false gods, there is no name of a Saviour,—of one who absolutely saves sinners who come to him in trust.... Jesus Christ stands alone in the universe of God as a Saviour of sinners,—as the Saviour by whom we *must* be saved, unless we consent to remain lost forever." Another Doctor of Divinity and theological professor, writing in the same paper of the New Testament Book of Acts, says, "It has fairly stood every test, and may well be regarded as the book of history (of all times) which has been proven most exact." And this, notwithstanding the fact that the book gives a quite different account of Paul's life and missionary work from what Paul gives of himself in his own Epistles.

Then there is Talmage, preaching to as many people in Brooklyn as Beecher, and drawing large audiences of admiring and apparently believing disciples wherever he goes to lecture. And Talmage said, only Sunday before last, that there is nothing in the Bible that staggers him. He accepts "the entire book from lid to lid." He swallows whole the story of Jonah and the whale, as easily as he believes the whale was made to swallow Jonah. And, as to the miracle of the sun and moon standing still, these are his own words: "Yes, I believe it possible that the sun and moon stood still. If I were strong enough to make the sun and moon, I could, myself, easily make them stand still, or, by refraction, give that appearance." (This suggestion, that the miracle might be the effect of refraction, is not at all in keeping with the rest of the discourse, nor up to the usual rigidity of Talmage's Orthodoxy. It is, in fact, the subtle spirit of *rationalism* which, in some weak moment, has even infected Talmage, it would seem. It is the beginning of the dangerous process by which, in time, all the miracles are converted into natural processes, and reasoned away. We doubt not, on revising the newspaper report of his sermon, Mr. Talmage will promptly strike out this clause and stand squarely on the Bible text, which gives not the slightest hint about refraction, but says, with downright simple plainness, "The sun stood still *in the midst* of heaven, and hasted not to go down *about a whole day.*") Talmage even goes so far as to say that he "never knew a man or woman greatly distinguished for goodness or for self-sacrifice that wanted the Scriptures altered." And with pride—a pride we can but think somewhat too ostentatious for humble Christian piety—he bids his congregation to gaze upon him, as he stands there before them, "a fossil of the centuries dug up from the tertiary formations, fallen off the shelf of a curiosity cabinet; a man in the latter part of the nineteenth century believing in a whole Bible."

But a still more antiquated specimen of theological teaching may be seen in an article that lately appeared in the *Advocate of Bible Holiness* by Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., on the question, "Did Christ's Blood decay?" This question is treated as if it were one of most profound and serious moment. Dr. Steele, a man really learned theologically and naturally able, wishes to make and maintain his solemn protest against any such statement as that "the blood of Christ dried and decayed on the ground." He thinks, on the contrary, that Christ's blood that was shed on the cross has "always remained blood, ever fresh and pure from corruption"; that it was "carried into the heavenly sanctuary by Jesus, the great High Priest, after his resurrection,"—not, however, in his veins, as if it had returned thither, and as Catholics teach, but as blood shed and apart from himself; that having thus carried his own shed blood (in what way is not explained) into heaven, Jesus presented it an offering to God, where it stills remains "material blood" in the presence of God, fresh and pure as if just shed, and "the eternal reason for administering pardon to the penitent believer." And these propositions Dr. Steele elaborates into a lengthy article, supporting them by an exhaustive argument from Scriptural exegesis, by references to old Christian writers of eminent authority, and by a chain of logical reasoning which, if his premises be conceded, is ingenious and strong. But what must his premises be, that they should urge a man of sanity and of mental ability and moral earnestness to spend his time and talents over such a question as this! The motive that actuates him springs from his belief in the ancient dogma of the atonement,—a belief which is a most baneful survival from a barbarous and bloody age. In summing up the practical advantages of his view, he states the foremost of them thus: "It makes the atonement a vivid, present reality, eternally fresh and efficacious, as if the blood of the Divine Victim were still flowing before the eyes of all moral intelligences."

While such antiquated religious conceptions as these we have here exhibited, culled from one week's journalistic exchanges, have dominion over more than half of even Protestant Christendom, the new Orthodoxy, however rapidly it may seem in certain quarters to be advancing, has, it is evident, a vast field for conflict and conquest before it. These conceptions we have, in fact, misnamed in the heading of our article as "Fossil Theology." If they were fossils, it would be comparatively easy to shelve them; but, unfortunately, they are still altogether too much alive, and are using up the sustenance that should go to truer and better growths. There is therefore ample room and mission for rational Liberalism. And, if the auspices are brightening before it, that should not be a sign for disbanding its forces, but rather for their more united, intelligent, and courageous advance.

WM. J. POTTER.

CROOKED UPRIGHTNESS.

A very intelligent and discriminating writer, Mr. William M. Salter, has lately spoken of a lack of straightforwardness, of intellectual scrupulousness and honesty, among men reputed good and pious, as a marked characteristic of our time. Among the evidence proving this point, he thinks, is the habit of such men to take for granted enormous conclusions built on the slenderest premises, and to put interpretations on doctrines not in accordance with their natural meaning. It seems to me that a good illustration of both these habits is found in the Boston association called the "Christian Temperance Union."

The members of this association belong chiefly, if not exclusively, to the theological class called orthodox. About their good intentions, about their earnestness, and about their piety, there can be no question. They are full of zeal, energy, and activity. They mean to do right, and they heartily desire to set the community right in regard to temperance. Nevertheless, some of the assumptions which lie at the basis of their doctrine and action are not only unfounded, but include direct and manifold self contradiction.

They are combined for the advocacy and diffusion of temperance; but they mean by that word something materially different from what the dictionary teaches and from what the Bible teaches. They call their doctrine *Christian* temperance, though it is contradicted by both their accepted standards of Christian doctrine, the language of the Bible, and the example of him whom they call "The Lord Jesus Christ."

They call the Bible a divinely inspired and infallible rule, both of faith and practice; yet they denounce as sinful what that Bible permits or enjoins in the passages following:—

Proverbs xxxi., 6, 7: "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts. Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more."

In Amos ix., 14, Jehovah is represented as saying, "I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof."

The Psalmist, civ., 14, 15, praises Jehovah because "he causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, that he may bring forth food out of the earth, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man."

In very many passages of the Old Testament, Jehovah is represented as promising abundance of corn and wine as rewards of obedience to his chosen people. In the New Testament, Paul says,

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Colossians ii., 16 (as if he had foreseen what restrictions were to be laid upon Christians by the "Christian Temperance Union"), Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink.

And Paul's Lord and Master, sending out seventy proselyting disciples to travel without money in a country where wine was as common a drink at meals as cider used to be in New England, says to them, Luke x., 7, 8: "In the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give; for the laborer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you."

But there is still stronger evidence of the inconsistency and the self-contradictory position of the "Christian Temperance Union."

These people call themselves "Christian," because they accept Jesus as their rightful ruler, calling him "our Lord Jesus Christ." They recognize it as a duty not only to obey his precepts, but to follow his example, as far as it is imitable. Yet, in carrying out their theory of temperance, they go plumply against what their infallibly inspired Gospels show to have been his habitual practice. What they enjoin and practise as "temperance" is opposition to the manufacture, sale, and use (as a drink) of fermented liquors. What the Gospels declare him to have done is to have used wine habitually as a drink himself, to have directed his disciples to use it, and on one occasion to have manufactured a considerable quantity of it for the use of a mixed multitude on a festive occasion. Since Jesus did not fall in with the ascetic habits of John the Baptist, some who disliked him called him "a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber." Both these reproaches, no doubt, were calumnious; yet the basis of truth under them undoubtedly is that Jesus used at his meals, as John did not, the common food and the common drink of those at whose tables he dined and supped. As we have seen above, he directed his seventy travelling disciples to do the same. He also drank wine, and directed his apostles to drink it, at the last supper he ever took with them; and the wine which he is said to have made at the feast in Cana was of the sort recognized as best by the experienced wine-drinker who distributed it.

No community whatever, no association whatever, now conforms itself either to the injunctions or the example of Jesus. In direct proportion to the increase in number of those who call themselves Christians has been the increase of those who make a point of calling Jesus "Lord, Lord," while they do not the things that he enjoined. The name "Christian" has become a creditable name, and Mr. "Worldly-Wiseman" and his family have long since found it profitable to rank themselves under it. The "Christian Temperance Union," indeed, belongs to a very different family, but it violates the rule of its Master as much when it "opens its meetings with prayer" as the other family does when it frequents balls and theatres. If, however, the name "Christian" means conformity to either the precepts or example of Jesus of Nazareth, no more signal specimen of self-contradiction can be found than the coupling of that name with the theory of temperance held and taught by that association.

C. K. W.

THE *Christian Statesman*, of Philadelphia, mentions the celebration of the birthday of Thomas Paine after this fashion: "The birthday of Thomas Paine was celebrated last Sabbath in this city by several infidel clubs with various blasphemous exercises."

MR. COOK'S "TU QUOQUE."

Joseph Cook is reported to have said in his first lecture in Boston since his return from Asia: "Mr. John Fiske calls me a charlatan for not believing in Spencer. I will not call him a charlatan. He is the echo of a charlatan." And, as a sort of forerunner to this, we heard from Chicago that "twenty-seven John Fiskes"—we think that was the number—didn't amount to one somebody else, —Hermann Lotze, perhaps.

Now, we are of those who think that this sort of thing in our high places is mischievous, melancholy, and—if we may be pardoned—disgraceful; and perhaps none of us will be any the worse for talking about it a little.

We say high places; for we are of those who award a really high place to Mr. Cook's services in this country in these last half dozen years. There may very well be too much of the Walt Whitman dialect about him, and Boston may have to pay extra for this late trip to the Himalayas and the Ganges; but, as Lessing says, a man is scarcely more responsible for his style than for his nose, and we do not know that Mr. Cook has ever advertised as a teacher of rhetoric. He is certainly sincere; and his critics will do well to say no more about his style, but attend to his matter. That matter has been, to our thinking, predominantly and strongly on the side of good and true causes, —the cause of a pure society, of an honest politics, of a broad missionary outlook upon the world, of an idealistic philosophy as opposed to all materialistic theories, and of free and thorough-going study of the burning questions of science and theology as opposed to the timid, protective, Kew-Garden system common in most of the religious schools a dozen years ago and in many of them yet. No one could be absent from New England during the four years of Mr. Cook's work in Boston, without returning to find a shifting to vastly larger and worthier subjects of controversy in the orthodox churches, and men everywhere freely reading and discussing books before tabooed. And no one could fail to perceive how important an agent Mr. Cook had been in these hopeful changes. He is a virile mind; and he opened windows, let in air, shook up the dry bones, wore no gloves, made straight for his points with no snuffling, and told his brethren very plainly that just so much of their doctrine, and no more, would continue to hold its own through this present revolution as could pass muster at the bar of reason,—in one word, that far back of the Old Testament is that *Oldest Testament*, the reason of man, the human mind, which has God in it.

This was certainly very much indeed; and this has made Mr. Cook, with all his rhetorical outbursts upon Andover Hill and Jonathan Edwards, a really efficient worker for the larger faith, a pioneer of much better things in what at one time seemed a rather unpromising and sterile territory. Be all this said very heartily. Mr. Cook's faults have been those of a too impetuous partisanship, of lack of proportion, discrimination, and thoroughness. He has very often, as it seems to us, made the worse appear the better reason, he has blunderbussed at men of straw, he has confused and confounded issues, made it appear often that a stalwart answer to one thing disposed of something much more and very different, made it appear that a spiritual philosophy stood or fell with a particular theological theory, and constantly identified—often in very bungling, misleading, and mischievous manner—things that in no wise go together. Above all, he has undertaken to cover too much ground, and, attempting to speak as a specialist in fields where he has quickly shown himself to trained men as only a layman, has often been forced to make declamation do the work which can only be done well by detailed and thorough knowledge. Thus, it cannot be denied that, along with all his truly beneficent work of *Aufklärung*, ventilation and popularizing of good German books, he has encouraged, in very considerable sections, some very vicious habits of cramming, of snap-judgment, of easy leaping at results, of arrogance often, some complacency and high-and-mightiness, an assumption of the philosophic diction, and much cheap mouthing of great names, —encouraged, in a word, "quackery, egotism, and unwarrantable pretensions," the dictionary's definition of *charlatanry*.

This superficial treatment of many difficult and delicate biological questions with the tone and pretensions of the specialist provoked Mr. Fiske—a special student of biology, naturally jealous for the interests of his science, and keenly alive to the dangers of mistakes in a province now so important—to call Mr. Cook hastily and, as it seems to us, unwisely a *charlatan*. But it was no mere matter of calling names with Mr. Fiske. He claimed to speak by the card, and backed up his charges of pretension and incompetence by a bill of particulars filling many pages of the *North American Review*. Mr. Cook, of course, has the right to show that Mr. Fiske was wrong in his criticisms; but, if he does not or cannot show this, then, whatever names it may be wise or unwise to use, he is at least responsible for having spoken very dogmatically on very serious matters with very inadequate knowledge. And certainly it is no answer to Mr. Fiske to tell him cavalierly that *he is another*.

What Mr. Fiske finds true of Mr. Cook's book on Biology other men find true of other books. The writer, who knows nothing of biology as compared with Mr. Fiske, and very little as compared even with Mr. Cook, does chance to have studied Transcendentalism, along with two or three things else, for a great part of his life, and knows that Mr. Cook's book on Transcendentalism (he hopes that he will not himself be accused of "unwarrantable pretension" in making himself Mr. Cook's judge) is open to the same criticism which Mr. Fiske has passed on the Biology,—an assertion which he would also be quite willing to support by a bill of particulars, were there any occasion for it. And we have heard some married men—presumably specialists—laugh a little at some things in his book on Marriage, which it has been thought he wrote a little hurriedly. But marriage is not a specialty of our own, and we do not know.

When Mr. Cook says that he will not call Mr. Fiske a charlatan, but the echo of a charlatan, it is his picturesque and mollifying way of telling him that he is less and poorer than a charlatan. But what ground or provocation has he for such a charge, save the fact that Mr. Fiske has called him a charlatan? Certainly, none at all; and this is no ground. And this habit of calling names, in circles which make any claims whatever to be scientific, is so vulgar, so vicious, and so baneful, and, moreover, brings so much discredit upon America in the thoughtful circles of England and Germany, that it seems to us that all who have the interests of a sincere and impartial scholarship here at heart are bound to protest against it, and always demand the reason why. We are afraid that it is a peculiarly American habit. It is not an English habit. A considerable familiarity with the lecture-rooms of "ultra-orthodox Leipzig" never revealed it to us as a German habit; and we are very sure that Mr. Cook never learned it of Prof. Lotze, or of Tholuck at Halle-on-the-Saale. It is native American, and a habit which we are willing to see die very rapidly; though, if Mr. Cook chooses to tell

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Mr. Fiske that his article was a bad one, and proceeds to show him why, we are sure that anything he may say will be read with very great respect and interest.

Mr. Cook says three things: that Mr. Fiske calls him a charlatan for not believing in Herbert Spencer, that Mr. Fiske is the echo of Spencer, and that Spencer is a charlatan. But Mr. Fiske did not call him a charlatan *for not believing in Spencer* or for any question of belief or opinion whatever, but simply and solely for alleged *misquotation, misleading quotation, and misstatement of fact.* Mr. Cook should know perfectly well, and know that everybody else knows, that it would be quite impossible for a thinker like Mr. Fiske to call any man a charlatan merely on account of differences in creed, and that he doubtless numbers in the circle of his familiar and honored friends as many Kantians and Hegelians as Spencerians,—men of every philosophy under the sun.

In calling Mr. Fiske an echo, if Mr. Cook means that he is a disciple in some sort and owes much to his masters, he is simply saying what is true of every man who amounts to much. None of us gives much to men without getting much from other men. We are all echoes, and the biggest part of all our lives belongs in quotation marks. Mr. Cook himself is no exception to this, is himself a very considerable bundle of quotations; and it would be very easy to name two or three men whom he is much more given to echoing than Mr. Fiske is to echoing Spencer or anybody else. But if Mr. Cook means, in calling Mr. Fiske an echo, that he is not an independent thinker, not a fresh, original mind, a broad and accomplished scholar, an open, catholic, and many-sided man, he says what is conspicuously, absurdly, and most mischievously untrue, and, in the mere satisfaction of personal grievance, does wrong to every interest of genuine science and culture in America. Dr. Stanley Hall has pointed out to us with unusual force, in his recent article in the *Princeton Review*, some of the dangerous tendencies in our intellectual life, which are producing men of large general intelligence and small genuine culture, of wide diffused activity and little power of concentrated movement; methods which seek simply or primarily the acquisition of facts, producing many smart men but very few able ones, and giving us a type of character, altogether too frequent in this country, helpless in the presence of those deeper problems which demand heroic patience of investigation and long and silent waiting for great results. He shows the danger of the royal roads to learning by declaring that to teach only results, which are often simple, without the methods by which they are obtained, which are often hard, to develop the sense of possession without the strain of activity, is to add an enervating luxury to life. Smattering is really dissipation of energy: only concentrated and prolonged efforts in one direction really train the mind, because only they train the will beneath it. Dr. Hall thinks that the greatest intellectual difference between men lies in power of honest and sustained work, and that the best minds distrust quick methods and short cuts, and trust only to thorough-going, self-devoted work; and the man who waits over a new idea, silently and patiently, till all sides have been seen and all authorities consulted, is the man who, in farmer's phrase, "boils his words till he can give his hearers sugar, and not sap."

Mr. Fiske has been one of the few American scholars in this time who have been a standing rebuke to this superficialness and haste, this real *charlatanry*, and have faithfully exemplified the method and the spirit which Dr. Hall desiderates. He has conspicuously shown in every field which he has entered the thoroughness, the patience, the moderation, the tolerance, the fairness, the geniality, the modesty, the simplicity, the ever-youthful curiosity, and the self-sacrificing zeal of the genuine man of science; and he has brought credit to the American name in the circles of European thinkers. His contributions to the science of evolution have earned from Darwin, from Huxley, and Tyndall and Tylor and Lubbock,—but perhaps all these are charlatans, too, to Mr. Cook,—the most emphatic and flattering recognition; while his profound and enthusiastic studies of the Anglo-Saxon race and of American history have not only had the warmest commendation of all the great English historical scholars, but have placed every one of us in his debt. When, therefore, a man of this character is selected to be dubbed *the echo of a charlatan* and the twenty-seventh part of a genuine thinker, some of us feel that the eternal fitness of things is violated a little, and feel bound to call a halt, and ask the reason why.

But even this might be allowed to pass, and we might say, "Mr. Fiske called Mr. Cook a charlatan, and now Mr. Cook calls him the echo of a charlatan, and we hope they both feel the better for it,"—if this were all. But this is not all. Mr. Fiske is not simply a charlatan: he is the echo of a charlatan. It is not, after all, a mere satisfaction of personal grievance; but Mr. Cook seizes the occasion to stamp as *charlatanry* the whole philosophy with which Mr. Fiske is identified. The doctrine of evolution is charlatanry, and Herbert Spencer is a charlatan.

Herbert Spencer, fortunately, needs no defenders, —least of all from among such as the writer. And the writer is no lover of the Spencerian metaphysics, but a Kantian,—a Kantian, moreover, who lays main stress upon the *Practical Reason* and upon the synthetic principle which was the point of departure for Fichte,—and therefore an earnest opposer of the Spencerian metaphysics. But think of Mr. Spencer's *First Principles* as we may, and find whatever fault we may with his psychology and his ethics,—and to the writer they seem to ignore most cardinal and urgent factors,—it still remains true that his contributions to both psychology and ethics are invaluable; while no man of our time has given us profounder or more useful political and social studies, and his services in the formulation and illustration of the law of evolution, the one great philosophical principle of this age, have been nothing less than revolutionizing and epoch-making. The great principle against which Mr. Cook is tilting, when he says—falsely, as we claim—that in Germany Spencer is no longer regarded as anything more than a crescent moon in its last quarter, is precisely that thing in his philosophy which abides and grows and will shed everlasting lustre on his name; while what will die is precisely that "law of the conditioned," which for the sake of having a metaphysic, which he had no need of, he borrowed bodily from Sir William Hamilton, whose book is the text for what shabby philosophy is taught in almost all the orthodox colleges of America, and from Dean Mansel, who was appointed to expound his philosophy in the Bampton Lectures, that highest stamp of Orthodoxy in England. Every word that is urged so glibly against Mr. Spencer's "Unknowable" applies with equal force to almost every orthodox minister in the land; for almost every one, as far as the writer's experience goes, declares or assumes that the Trinity, or any conception of God whatever, is not the deliverance of clear knowledge or reason, but the object of faith.

Mr. Spencer has carried on his colossal work, through a whole lifetime, with a severity, devotion, and singleness such as have never been seen, save in the great masters of science, Descartes, Newton, Faraday, Agassiz, Darwin; and he has conducted himself in the innumerable controversies, which it was impossible that the propounder of so much that was so new and so bold should escape, in a manner which has been the admiration, almost the despair, of every one with a mind of quality fine enough to recognize a truly excellent spirit. When a thinker of this eminence and these great virtues, one who may well be proposed as a model to a time so full of hurry and tinsel and trash as ours, is boldly and deliberately called a charlatan, then certainly every decent and necessary distinction among men is obliterated, and nothing that has worth is safe or sacred.

We do not believe, indeed, that any other scholar of standing in America would be guilty of calling Herbert Spencer a charlatan. Englishmen will not for a moment accept this word of Mr. Cook's as in the slightest degree representative. The true feeling of American scholars toward Mr. Spencer was shown in the remarkable gathering of men in New York, to say farewell to him, on the eve of his return to England,—a gathering of men of every creed, and in which nothing that is sincere and lofty in American life was unrepresented. "We recognize in the breadth of your knowledge," said Mr. Evarts, than whom we have no greater man of affairs, "such knowledge as is useful to your race, a greater comprehension than any living man has presented to our generation. You have brought to the analysis and distribution of this vast knowledge a more penetrating intelligence and a more thorough insight than any living man has brought even to the minor topics of his special knowledge. Whatever the claims or the debates may be about your system, we must all agree that it is practical, that it is benevolent, that it is serious and that it is reverent, that it aims at the highest results in virtue." Mr. Beecher, the most influential certainly of American preachers, said that there was no man living to whom he owed more than to Mr. Spencer. And Prof. Sumner, perhaps our own greatest sociologist, said: "The philosophy of evolution is sure to embrace all the interests of man on this earth. It will be one of its crowning triumphs to bring light and order into the social problems which are of universal bearing on mankind. We look upon Mr. Spencer's work in sociology as a grand step in the history of science. He is breaking the path for us, and we stand eager to follow him." This is the true voice of American science and scholarship, as concerns Mr. Spencer; and when, beside this, any American ventures to call Mr. Spencer a charlatan, we trust that every Englishman will know it, as it is universally recognized at home, as the merest buncombe.

Mr. Cook alleges that the reason why Mr. Fiske called him a charlatan was because he did not believe in Mr. Fiske's philosophy. We have shown that this is utterly untrue, not the reason at all. But it is true that the reason why Mr. Cook calls Mr. Spencer a charlatan is simply because Mr. Spencer does not believe in Mr. Cook's philosophy, or, if there be another reason, it is not apparent to the naked eye, and we humbly beg for a bill of particulars. And this is no reason, and much worse than no reason; and it is because the *Tu quoque* system is so fatal to all good results in controversy, especially if the controversy borders anywhere upon what pertains to religion, that we are willing, even at the risk of causing offence, to speak a word that may give Mr. Cook occasion to demonstrate that he was not venting spite or talking buncombe, and to show his genuine grounds for counting Mr. Spencer a charlatan and Mr. Fiske the echo of a charlatan. With Lessing, Kant, and Goethe and the great Germans, with Carlyle and Emerson and almost all of the really great thinkers of our time,

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we reject the doctrine of miracles, and believe in the universal reign of law; but it would never occur to us to call Mr. Cook a charlatan for adhering to the old miraculous theory, although unsupported by any really great authority since the dawn of the scientific era. When Mr. Cook was delivering his last lectures in Boston, previous to his departure for Europe, we ventured to say, in the newspapers, that the things he was saying of Zöllner and the medium, Slade, at Leipzig, were rash and harmful. Now, he tells us that he has seen Zöllner since he left Boston, and heard much of the man who deceived him; and who deceived himself, through Zöllner, he should have added, for it cannot be denied that Mr. Cook's discussion of the Leipzig phenomena was that of a credulous man, and was so regarded by the Spiritualists themselves, who got many crumbs of encouragement from it. But, had they been given much more encouragement than they were, we should not have called Mr. Cook a charlatan, but only so much the rasher and more mistaken.

We hope that Mr. Cook saw many much wiser men than Prof. Zöllner in Germany. That he saw the wisest men of Germany, or those who fairly reflect the prevailing intellectual tendencies, we have as yet no evidence; while there is some evidence that he imagines that the professors of Hebrew antiquities may still be visited as authorities on great religious currents, as was true in a measure fifty years ago. He tells us that nine out of ten of the most scholarly physiologists abroad are theists. We sincerely wish that this were true; but that it is true, using theism in Mr. Cook's sense or in our own, we do not believe, although we do believe that nine out of ten physiologists and psychologists now clearly perceive the inadequacy, in their science, of the materialistic hypothesis. But Mr. Cook says, further, in connection with his *coup* to Spencer, that "the battle has been fought in Germany, and the victory is on the side of Christian scholarship," and that "the supernatural origin of Christianity is now established on the best historical evidence." *What* battle is Mr. Cook talking about, and what does he mean in this place by "Christian scholarship"? If he means to say that there is any return on the part of the German philosophers and scientific men to the Christology of fifty or a hundred years ago or to the old miraculous theory of religion, we have simply to say that our own latest advices from Leipzig and Berlin, which are not often more than a fortnight old, are very different from his. We should not call him a charlatan for promulgating such views of the predominant tendencies in German philosophic thought; but we should certainly like a list of the "epoch-making" books of this new tendency, and we think we may safely give assurance that, when Mr. Cook's bill of particulars in this field comes, it will get most careful auditing, and be given abundant opportunity to substantiate itself.

We shall be pardoned for adding, by way of returning to the matter of calling names, that a generation of religious thinkers is rapidly rising in America, that is very impatient of the sort of theological discussion that has been common here during the last year. It would be easy to name half a dozen of these younger men, who, thinking that they see a vast deal of "unwarrantable pretension" in the current American theology, will be apt to speak about it pretty often in the next half dozen years, in a tongue easy to be understood by the people; and we think that, somehow or other, they will manage to make themselves heard. The servants of no party and insisting upon equal justice to all, they will be apt to make the trifling and dodging, the misrepresentation, ambiguousness, and fog, which we have been seeing so much of lately, pretty difficult; they will compel some very categorical issues, and they will try to clear the air. They are men who love "sweet reasonableness," and whom it would be hard to provoke from their chosen method of direct argument and unvarnished statement of fact; but they are men with a vast amount of Americanism in them, and therefore, doubtless, with a native talent for calling names, which, sufficiently provoked and cultivated, might well produce something very magnificent in that line. Is it worth while that the talent should be developed? It is something for the older men, who are setting the tone, to consider. Shall it be syllogism or *Tu quoque?* What would Mr. Cook himself advise?

EDWIN D. MEAD.

REFORM, PURE AND CONVENTIONAL.

Immediately after the fall elections, in which the civil service reform issue had performed a notable part, and after Congress had met, the Pendleton bill was unexpectedly voted upon, and approved by a genuine hurrah. There was some astonishment expressed, and most people recognized the laughableness of the result. The sincere friends of the measure would doubtless have been better pleased, had the bill met with opposition and succeeded in spite of it, or had it been fought and defeated. There was a suspicious unanimity in so sudden a conversion. Politicians who before election openly opposed or acted in perverse contrariness to all the principles of the measure were, on this remarkable day, its good friends and defenders. There would have been better promise of enforcement, had the reform been achieved over sincere opposition rather than insincere co-operation. The mere passage of an act is slight promise of its going into effect. Some apparent victories are practical defeats; and men often grasp at a treasure, and find the shell crush in their hands, and that another has possession of the substance.

In all new moves, the people form the intermediate element. The prophets are at the top of the scale, the formalists at the bottom. There is a time when the function of the former seems to be to prophesy and the function of the latter to deride; while the people, standing between, applaud convention and look askance at propositions of advancement. The political and priestly classes watch the masses as a dog keeps measure of the varying moods of his master. In new developments of Church and State, those who are crowned and mitred mingle with and are one with the people, and then are pure. Later in the life of the idea, when fashion takes the place of honesty, the ruling individuals stand aloof, and by doing so do not embrace an improvement, but suffer a decadence, and then are impure. The populace, in the mean time, remains honest, and grows in capacity, in consequence of which the day comes when it is prepared to acknowledge the justice of the old and long-denied claim. The dog instantly changes with the master, the sincerities and the insincerities are mixed once more; and the philosopher, still passing on beyond the average man, brings human nature again to repeat the old and bitter experiment. Through these transitions, the politician and the priest sustain their constant character. The people stand for convention exhibited in honesty, while the dog is mere obsequiousness embodied in formalism less the generous and hopeful qualities of the owner. The formalistic priest is the late-stager. He enters in on the tide of riches. The work is done, and the great workers have gone ahead. This, therefore, is the period in which apathy enthrones mediocrity and calculation.

What is true in politics is true in theology. History, story, the facts of every day, point it out. Any record picked up at random—Gibbon, Macaulay, Bancroft—will give many and curious instances. Darwin dies, and the Church claims to be abreast of him; claims, indeed, to include him, and covers his soul with its flowers and pæans. The theory may at its first proposition have been rejected and scorned, but that lessens not at all the indorsement accorded when once it becomes strong in the thought of men. The morality that of old was the target of our contempt we make to-day an inclusion in our religion. What was outlawed as foe to our virtues we claim later, in the time of its at last undeniable nobility, as the child of those virtues, and not possible to have been without them. We have passed over night, and the morning hails the king. That our philosophies may be small we are loath to admit. They must include everything or nothing. No man is good but by virtue of our goodness. Who would be king must have us crown him. Buddha was majestic simply, as this tide runs, because he was *Christianly*,—not, in simpler lines, because he was Buddha and Eastern. This is a natural but a disappearing mode of thought. Truth now comes to us in its own habiliments, and not in those with which we may choose to clothe it. We salute it, though it was others gave it a name.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

EVOLUTION.

A Second Letter to Mr. D. A. Wasson.

My dear Sir,—Although the language of Herbert Spencer is rarely vague, and no thinker need be in doubt as to what he teaches, the exposition of his philosophy includes the consideration of every class of phenomena, his data are multifarious, many of the problems with which he deals are extremely complex, and portions of his writings are necessarily abstruse. It is not strange, therefore, that there is much popular misconception in regard to his views, and a very inadequate appreciation of the value of his work among those who formed their philosophic opinions before he became known as a thinker, and who, from lack of time or inclination, have never acquainted themselves with his contributions to thought. But, more and more, his works are being read, and the greatness of his services recognized. By giving in this letter a comprehensive statement, however imperfect, of Spencer's essential doctrines, I may contribute in some small degree to a correct understanding of his views, and a just estimate of his intellectual achievements.

1. According to Spencer, Matter, Motion, and Force, Space and Time are forms which an unknowable Reality assumes in consciousness. Matter and motion he reduces to manifestations of force, and space and time to cohesions—one of coexistence, the other of succession—in the manifestations of force. Force, then, remains the primary datum; but that we know only as states of consciousness,—in other words, as the changes in us produced by an unknowable Reality, of which our conceptions of matter and motion are symbols. That which appears to be, outside of consciousness, as matter and force, is the same as that which appears in consciousness as feeling and thought. In Spencer's own language: "A Power of which the nature remains forever inconceivable, and to which no limits in time or space can be imagined, works in us certain effects. These effects have certain likenesses of kind, the most general of which we class together under the name of Matter and Force; and between these effects there are likenesses of connection, the most constant of which we class as laws of the highest certainty."

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Although the indisputable principle of the relativity of knowledge necessitates the postulation of a Reality that determines our sensations, that Reality cannot be identified with matter which we know only as a phenomenal manifestation or, psychologically speaking, only as coexistent states of consciousness; nor can it be identified with mind, for that we know only as a series of states of consciousness. "I cannot think of a single series of states of consciousness as causing even the relatively small groups of action going on over the earth's surface.... How, then, is it possible for me to conceive an 'originating mind,' which I must represent to myself as a single series of states of consciousness, working the infinitely multiplied sets of changes simultaneously going on in worlds too numerous to count, dispersed throughout a space that baffles imagination." "If, to account for this infinitude of changes everywhere going on, 'mind' must be conceived as there under the guise of simple dynamics, then the reply is that, to be so conceived, mind must be divested of all attributes by which it is distinguished, and that, when thus divested of its distinguishing attributes, the conception disappears, the word 'mind' stands for a blank."

Knowing is classifying. The Absolute Existence, that which persists through all phenomena, we cannot know, because there is nothing in experience with which we can classify it. "By strict necessity, explanation brings us face to face with the inexplicable. We have to admit a datum that cannot be explained." All the claims of theologians and metaphysicians respecting the absolute nature of the Power which appears to us under the forms of matter and motion, and subjectively as feeling and thought, are without the least philosophical basis.

2. The field of science and philosophy is in the phenomenal world. It is the function of philosophy to give to knowledge a unity that shall comprehend the fundamental truths of all the sciences, as the general definitions and propositions of each science include all the diversified phenomena of its recognized province. The sciences deal with different orders of phenomena, and their formulæ are those which express the changes and relations of these orders respectively. Philosophy is a synthesis of all these sciences into a universal system.

3. Force is persistent, and is revealed to us under two opposite modes, attraction and expansion,—in the ceaseless redistribution of matter and motion which extends throughout the universe, involving, on the one hand, the integration of matter and dissipation of motion, and, on the other, a disintegration of matter and absorption of motion.

4. Where the integration of matter and the dissipation of motion predominate, there is evolution. Where there is a predominant disintegration of matter and absorption of motion, there is dissolution. In that portion of the universe observable by us attraction predominates now, as seen in the integration of matter and the evolution of forms. In other regions, expansion may exceed attraction, dissolution may predominate over evolution. In ages inconceivably remote, the elements of our system, now undergoing evolution, were, doubtless, subject to the opposite process. Every condition grows out of pre-existent conditions.

5. Of beginning there is no indication. As Spencer said, in a reply to a critic, "The affirmation of universal evolution is, in itself, the negation of an 'absolute commencement' of anything. Construed in terms of evolution, every kind of being is conceived as a product of modifications, wrought by insensible gradations on a pre-existing kind of being; and this holds as fully of the supposed 'commencement of organic life' as of all subsequent development of organic life."

6. When the formation of an aggregate proceeds uncomplicated by secondary processes, as in the crystallization of carbon into a diamond, evolution is simple.

7. When, in the process of evolution, there are secondary rearrangements of matter, and where there is sufficient retained motion to admit of redistribution among the parts of the body, as in the growth of an animal, is exemplified not only the integration of matter and the dissipation of motion, the primary law of evolution, but also an increase of heterogeneity, and which—when accompanied with increasing coherence, definiteness, and mutual dependence of parts, and the subordination of the various parts to the movements of the whole structure—constitute progress. Thus, we have evolution as a double process, a movement toward unity as well as diversity.

8. In the process of evolution, increase of heterogeneity results from "the multiplication of effects"; for, "in the actions and reactions of force and matter, an unlikeness in either of the factors necessitates an unlikeness in the effects." All parts of a body cannot be conditioned precisely alike with reference to the environment, since the parts must be subject to unlike forces or to unequal intensities of the same force. The more heterogeneous a body becomes, the more rapid the multiplication of effects. Every event which involves a decomposition of force into several forces produces greater complication and increased heterogeneity; and, when this process of differentiation combines with the process of integration to make the change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous at the same time from the indefinite to the definite, we have compound evolution.

9. The field of this compound evolution is among bodies of a density intermediate between gases, wherein the molecular movement is too rapid to admit of structural formations, and solids in which the amount of retained motion is too small to admit of the rearrangement of the molecules. Spencer observes that "a large amount of secondary redistribution is possible only where there is a great quantity of contained motion; and, on the other hand, these redistributions can have prominence only when the contained motion has become small, opposing conditions which seem to negative any large amount of secondary redistribution." It is in organic bodies "that these apparently contradictory conditions are reconciled"; for their peculiarity consists in the concentration of matter in a high degree with a far larger amount of molecular motion than is found in other bodies of the same degree of concentration, as Spencer has clearly demonstrated.

10. All living forms have been evolved in accordance with the above-mentioned laws. The most complex animals are the product of modifications wrought on pre-existing animals. The evolution of species goes on, not in ascending lineal series, but by continual divergence and redivergence. Complexity of life and intelligence is correlated with complexity of structure. The highest form of intelligence, the human, has been reached by modifications wrought through ages upon pre-existing intelligences.

11. The mental faculties of man, not less than his brain and nervous system, are the product of innumerable modifications in the evolution of the highest creatures from the lowest.

Experience, registered in the nervous system, produces structural changes and mental modifications. "Instinct is inherited habit." The aptitudes and intuitions of the human mind are the product of accumulated human experience, transmitted and organized in the race. Even the "*a priori* forms of thought" have been slowly acquired. Whatever in the mind transcends the experience of the individual is nevertheless the product of ancestral experiences.

12. Not only is it true that our highest conceptions of morality have been evolved in accordance with laws above mentioned, but even the *moral sense* has in like manner been formed by accumulated and multiplied experiences, registered in the slowly evolving organism and transmitted as an intuition, as sensitive, in some persons, to a moral wrong as the tactile sense is to the sting of a bee. The ultimate basis of morality is the source of all phenomena, "an Inscrutable Power," as John Fiske well says, "of which the properties of matter and motion, necessitating the process of evolution, with pain and wrong as its concomitants, are the phenomenal manifestations."

"No physiologist," says Dr. Carpenter, "can deem it improbable that the intuitions which we recognize in our own mental constitution have been acquired by a process of gradual development in the race corresponding to that which we trace by observation in the individual.... The doctrine that the intellectual and moral intuitions of any one generation are the embodiments in its mental constitution of the experiences of the race was first explicitly put forth by Mr. Herbert Spencer, in whose philosophical treatises it will be found most ably developed." "With a prescient insight into the future, which has probably few parallels," says the *Westminster Review*, "Mr. Spencer founded his psychology on the hypothesis of development. To all but a few deep-thinking observers there can have seemed few signs in 1855 that that hotly disputed theory was ever likely to be in the ascendant. The exposition of none of the organic sciences that we know of had yet been based on it, and its application to mind was undreamt of."

13. The religious sentiment, equally with the moral sense, has been evolved through psychical conditions represented by all the stages of life below man. The object of the religious sentiment is the Unknowable, and its basis is man's relation thereto. The essential truth of religion is involved in the recognition of an absolute Reality upon which all phenomena depend, while its fundamental error begins with investing this Reality with anthropomorphic qualities.

14. All conceptions and systems, philosophical, social, ethical, and religious, language, government, commerce, poetry, art, science, philosophy, and industrial pursuits, all human activities, equally with vegetal and animal forms, planets and solar and stellar systems, have been evolved from a homogeneous, indefinite, and incoherent condition to a heterogeneous, definite, and coherent state.

Such is the merest abstract, and a very imperfect one, of the doctrines of evolution as maintained by Herbert Spencer. They are neither "materialistic" nor "spiritualistic," nor are they "mechanical," as that word is commonly understood. They are not mere assumptions. They have been reasoned out, in all their details, laboriously and according to the most rigid logical methods. It is not, in my opinion, too much to say with Prof. Youmans that "the same ethical canons of research ... which gave to Copernicus the glory of the heliocentric astronomy, to Newton that of the law of gravitation, to Harvey that of the circulation of the blood, to Priestley that of the discovery of oxygen, to Dr. Young that of the undulatory theory of light, and to Darwin that of natural selection, will also give to Herbert Spencer the honor of having first elucidated and established the law of universal evolution."

If my summary of Spencer's doctrines of evolu-

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tion is correct, it is evident that but little of the criticism in your letters to me has force or even relevancy, if directed against his philosophy. Your own views on the subject of evolution will be the subject of another letter.

Respectfully yours, B. F. UNDERWOOD.

THE UNITARIAN "YEAR-BOOK" LISTS OF MINISTERS.

With regard to an editorial note in *The Index* of January 18 concerning the Unitarian *Year-Book* lists of ministers, one whose name is on the regular list writes to us as follows:—

If, as you state, the Unitarian Association has some rule by which "the *Year-Book* list of 'Unitarian ministers'" is only to mean "Christian" ministers, why does it persist in publishing names of persons who are well known not to be Christians in any dogmatic sense?

The existence of such a rule ought to make it unnecessary for one who is simply a rationalist to send a request asking that his name should not appear in that list. Not knowing that there is such a rule, or, if I ever knew it, having forgotten it, I did think it necessary to send a request that my name should not appear in the regular list for a different reason. My reason for sending such a request was that, notwithstanding all explanations, yet as some persons might suppose that those whose names are in the list uphold the dogmatic statements in the Constitution of the Conference, for the sake of consistency I did not wish my name to appear. Unfortunately, my letter was too late; and I was informed that the *Year-Book* was in the hands of the printer. The reply of the Secretary was very courteous and fair, and suggests a different principle of action on the part of the Association from what is mentioned in your "Notes." As his letter to me was an official reply to a formal communication from me to the Association, it will be no breach of courtesy to refer to one sentence in it. After stating that the American Unitarian Association holds that the list in the *Year-Book* is a list of Unitarian ministers, he adds, "But it deliberately leaves the decision of what constitutes a Unitarian minister to each man's judgment and conscience, and then accepts that decision." My name, I suppose, appears in the list (although I have not seen the book); but, because of the facts stated above, I do not feel that any blame rests on myself except for overlooking a notice in the *Register* and delaying too long the sending of my request.

At the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association, held May 25, 1874, after a long discussion and the consideration of various resolutions covering the subject, the following resolution was adopted by a large majority:—

"*Resolved*, That, inasmuch as the term 'Unitarian,' as used in the title of this Association and its publications, has always been held to carry a distinctively Christian meaning, our Unitarian ministers being held and regarded by us as public teachers of the Christian religion; and as the action of the Assistant Secretary, sustained by the Executive Committee, in omitting from the catalogue the name of a minister who says he is no longer a Christian, has been in harmony with this common usage of the term among us, therefore the action be now and hereby is approved and ratified."

This was a clear and decisive settlement of the question which had then been raised as to what the phrase "Unitarian ministers," which headed the *Year-Book* list, signified. But, most likely, our correspondent never knew of it. We do not see that any blame can attach to him, if his name has appeared and still appears in a list where he now feels it does not belong. What we would like to know, however, is whether this vote, passed by the Unitarian Association in 1874, has ever been rescinded. The Secretary's reply to his letter that the Association "deliberately leaves the decision of what constitutes a Unitarian minister to each man's judgment and conscience, and then accepts that decision," does not appear consistent with the resolution then adopted. Was the recent action taken by the Association's Directors with regard to the *Year-Book's* list of ministers intended to repeal that resolution? W. J. P.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

D. LOTHROP & Co., the people's publishers, add to their list this week a popular Life of John G. Whittier, the people's poet, by W. Sloane Kennedy.

WE hope that none of our readers will fail to read the admirable article we give this week from the pen of Mr. E. D. Mead on "Mr. Cook's '*Tu Quoque*.'"

THE London *Inquirer*, "while far from censuring" clergymen who, by mental reservation, remain with the Established Church after they have outgrown the Athanasian Creed, says, "But, at the same time, we reserve our admiration for the men who at all sacrifices secede from the Church of their fathers, when, after painful thought and inquiry, they have renounced the cardinal points of its theology, and go forth into the wilderness, henceforward standing alone or allying themselves with the little group of congregations which maintain a gallant stand for perfect religious freedom amid all kind of social and political disadvantages."

THE *Alliance* of Chicago has dropped out of existence as a paper with the complete withdrawal of ex-Rev. George C. Miln from the rôle of editor into that of actor; and the *Radical Review* has taken its place, with George and Emma Schumm as publishers and editors. We wish this new free-thought journal all success, which it will be sure to achieve, if it carries out the programme it announces in its first number. It will aim "to make independent thinkers of men and women," to "plead for absolute free thought and its realization in life," to "aid in the elaboration of truth and its vitalization among the masses," the "discussion of religious, political, and economical questions from the stand-point of modern scientific philosophy," and "fearlessly attack abuses in Church and State."

A WRITER in the *Presbyterian* warns its readers against reading the novel *John Inglesant*, which it declares to be "a book of unquestioned literary merit; yet the writer is an Agnostic, and the hero of the story is but a peg on which to hang his philosophical views." This writer further declares: "To many superficial readers, the venom in *John Inglesant* is not apparent; for it is not a poison issuing from a sharp, cutting fang, but a skilfully introduced miasma, sapping more slowly the constitution and health, and therefore *all the more dangerous*. Its patronizing air toward evangelical Christianity, conceding that it has much that is (Platonically) true, is offensive to the last degree. It is only equalled by the Boston philosopher who dared speak of the Lord Jesus Christ as the 'modest young man of Galilee.'"

THE *Investigator*, commenting on Mr. Wetherell's communication in a recent number of *The Index*, entitled "What constitutes an Agnostic?" says of the term "Agnosticism": "It is modest and unpretending, and in its application to God it neither affirms nor denies anything in regard to such a supposed Being. It simply and quietly says that it knows nothing about him. Who does *know?* Can the Christian know anything more of an incomprehensible God than the Agnostic? Probably not. Yet the former *assumes* to have more knowledge, and the difference between them seems to be that between learned presumption and honest scepticism. . . . But, though he (the Agnostic) may not have any belief in a God, he may have a belief in a great many other things, and so be able to form a creed or philosophy in accordance with that belief. It no more follows that an Agnostic has no belief because he cannot acknowledge a God than it follows that we do not have belief because we reject Christianity and are an Infidel. The Agnostic is merely silent in regard to the unknowable, and we regard that as proof of his wisdom." We commend this paragraph to the considerate attention of our esteemed contemporary the Milwaukee *Freidenker*.

THE following is a translation of a letter written to Dr. E. B. Aveling, of London, by Prof. Haeckel, in regard to the suppression of Charles Darwin's letter to a student at Jena:—

JENA, Oct. 8, 1882.

My dear Sir,—In the first place, let me ask you to receive my heartiest thanks for your kindly communication on the memorable letter of Charles Darwin (June 5, 1879) that I made public on September 18th of this year, at the Eisenach meeting of German naturalists and physicians. It is self-evident that I communicated this letter *with the express permission of Nicholai, Baron Mengden, who received it*, and who, according to German law, is *sole* owner of the letter.

The information that I owe to you, that the English press has, almost without exception, suppressed this letter, has filled my German friends and myself with sincere pity and regret; for we recognize in that fact a rigid system of the deepest hypocrisy, social and religious, is still in free England strong enough to prevent even the simple publication of a document pregnant with meaning. We in Germany are happy in daring to speak out the truth freely, happy in that we have liberated ourselves from the bonds of mediæval prejudice. Many letters are telling me that, in the publication of that letter, I have rendered service both to the *truth* and to the great English philosopher whose whole life was devoted to the furthering of truth. Leaving it to you to make what use you please of these lines, I remain, with the deepest esteem,

Yours very truly,

PROF. ERNST HAECKEL.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE EVOLUTION OF HARMONY.

I saw the world from chaos come
Slowly resolving into form:
The elements were fierce in strife,
Force fought with force and life with life,—
A grand creative power was rife.
The voices of the dark were dumb:
A wondrous light from darkness grew,
And music from the silence drew.

I saw the busy, wond'ring boy,
A lover of the aged world:
For him, in flowers of the field
A wordless mystery lay concealed;
To him, a vision was revealed
Of endless, waiting joy.
The vision grew into the real,
And Truth created the ideal.

I saw the Poet in the wood,
While thronging thoughts moved through his soul:
With reverent heart, he saw unfold
The mystery of the ages old.
In speech, the secret was untold;
In thought, the light was good.
He struggled with the silence,—swayed
By dreams,—"For music, this was made!"

Up through the stirring silence grew
The harmony of the pulsing sound:
It shook his soul, it shaped his speech,—
The waiting ages he should reach,—
The waiting multitudes should teach
The secret that he knew.
In burning words, the thought was laid
Revealed,—"For music, this was made!"

SARA W. SMITH.

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The Index.

BOSTON, FEB. 8, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index.*

Evolution, Objective and Subjective.

BY WM. I. GILL.

III.

SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY.

A boulder has just been rolled onto my track, and I must halt a little while to blast it. All over the world, men are seeking a rational escape from the toils of solipsism. The British quarterly review, *Mind*, for October, 1882, has two articles seeking this result. One of these is too abstract and obscure to need much refutation. The other is clear and able, well suffused with the spirit of modern physical science, and its learning is quite imposing. Its first title is "Scientific Philosophy," which it expounds under the designation of "Relationism," which is the ancient and mediæval realism improved, which refutes nominalism, now dominant, and its alleged consequent, idealism, and makes philosophy scientific by confounding it with science. As this coincides with a strong tendency of the age an with a style of thinking prevalent always, it is likely to find adherents among a class of desultory psychologists who are ardent theorizers. It therefore demands attention.

Relation of Nominalism to Modern Subjectivism.

The first step in the process by which this is accomplished is to show that modern psychological subjectivism is only a more subtle and comprehensive form of the old nominalism, and is therefore the child of mediæval scholasticism. This is certainly fresh enough to be interesting. Whether it is true, we will proceed to inquire.

A genus comprises such, and only such, qualities as are common to all the individuals of the genus. If the genus is an objective reality, and therefore a single individual, it cannot be of any particular color, form, odor, weight, taste, or subjective states peculiar to any one; for, then, it would exclude every other, and every individual would be a genus, which is contrary to the hypothesis. And it is a contradiction in terms to say that it objectively exists and yet is void of all particular and distinct quality, as that were to be void of all quality. Hence, real genera and species are an impossibility. They are only mental and verbal expedients and symbolical designations for scientific convenience. Such are, in brief, the doctrine and proof of nominalism.

This does not, as alleged, logically involve idealism, nor the invention of noumena as the unknown real in distinction from phenomena as subjective states, nor the denial of relations or the knowledge of relations; and it leaves entirely untouched the whole question of egoism and altruism. It is therefore utterly erroneous to assert that all our modern psychological subjectivism is derived from the acceptance of nominalism. Modern philosophy holds to nominalism, because it is a logical necessity from the very notion of a genus and an individual, because thus only can it escape self-contradiction. Not one of its adherents has ever in any wise connected it with his subjective psychology. Surely, if there were a vital and universal connection between nominalism and subjectivism, some, if not all, of the great subjectivists would have seen and announced it and drawn additional support from it, which none of them has ever done, so far as I am aware.

The irrelevance of nominalism as either reason or cause for psychological subjectivism is further seen from the fact that it is held by those who are not purely subjectivists. Bishop Berkeley is of this class. Though he held to a species of idealism, it is a serious historical error to number him among pure psychological subjectivists. He had in his composition exceedingly little of subjectivism. In his theory, the objective and the *non-ego* were conspicuous and paramount. With him, everything sensible was objective and *non-ego*, and no objectivism, it would seem, could go beyond that; though I believe that of Berkeley did, by making even our reflective mental processes to be non-egoistic objects. Yet he was one of the most ardent and iconoclastic of nominalists. Berkeley reminds us of what the most cursory student of philosophy should understand, that there is an objective as well as a subjective idealism, and that the former, which had its most conspicuous development in India, is far the older of the two, and still survives in the East as well as in the followers of Berkeley in the West, of whom in England some command a respectable hearing. This double form of idealism is of itself a disproof of the alleged idealistic influence of nominalism, especially as the objective idealism of India was matured before nominalism was formulated or before the intellect of Greece had entered on its highest course. All the prominent Scotch philosophers — Reid, Stewart, Brown, Hamilton — were objectivists more or less; and all were decided nominalists or conceptualists, which are logically one, as the names must have some meaning.

On the other hand, there is also a class of realists which is not only idealistic, but, in the main, objectively idealistic. One of the most pronounced of these is the amiable and eloquent author of *Recherche de la Vérité*. In this work, Malebranche makes a distinction between sentiments and ideas. Sentiments, he says, are egoistic, modes of mind, and that the ideas are not, but primary necessary forms which cannot exist in us nor subsist of themselves, and therefore must exist in God. In God, we see them. And this species of idealism he connects with the old realism. Besides these ideas and sentiments, he holds that there is an unknown world whose unknown action is made the occasion of God's presenting these ideas to us in their order, whence follow those sentiments, or mental modifications, in the order in which they occur. In these views, Malebranche is followed by Fénelon, Bossuet, and even by the great Leibnitz.

Further, and finally on this point, there is a long line of antagonism between an allied realism and subjective idealism (total or partial) on the one side, and an allied nominalism and objective sensism on the other side. Plato was the Greek originator of the realism of generals, and he is sympathetic with the Eleatic sceptics, or idealists. He treats the sensible world with much contempt; and, because of the evanescence and instability of its forms, he almost denies it existence. The Academics, who claimed him as their master, were realists, and yet very sceptical concerning the sensible world, and tended to the reduction of its forms to subjective states or impressions, as Hume did, who called himself an Academic, though he was a broader sceptic than they, as they, like good realists, held to the stability and supersensible origin of the higher intellectual world. Aristotle and his adherents took a different and rather antagonizing position on both these points; and the two parties fought a languid battle till in the Middle Ages (through Porphyry) the question took no a new form, and Aristotle's own disciples were divided into hostile camps, and for some four centuries the fiercest of all intellectual contests raged throughout Europe. The realists were always the orthodox and the high and *a priori* metaphysicians, who made much of the inner consciousness and little of sense; while the nominalists were just the opposite. Hence, M. Cousin, who is one of the best informed historians on this subject, says that the contest was virtually a contest between sensism and idealism, nominalism being the sensist party and realism the idealistic party. He tells us that Duns Scotus was for that age a great student of the material world, and held to an immediate knowledge of it as *non-ego*, and that Occam inherited his views and tastes.*

M. Cousin is himself a striking illustration of the point I am endeavoring to make, that nominalism is not the father of modern subjectivism. Cousin is a strenuous realist; and from this he forges weapons against sensism, and maintains that by none of the senses can we transcend the *ego*, and that the knowledge of the *non-ego* is attainable only through the medium of a principle of causality which can be explained and vindicated only on the theory of realism, just such a realism as this which affirms that universals cannot subsist of themselves, but in connection with all the individuals, finite and infinite.

Substitution of Relations for Universals.

The theory in question is not, as its author supposes, inconsistent with nominalism. It expressly identifies relations with universals, and then substitutes the former term for the latter, and then proceeds to show the serviceableness and objective character of relations as therefore reals and universals (pp. 476–478). This is all erroneous,—an unconscious intellectual jugglery. Relations and universals are not the same. Relations of external objects are objective, inhere in objects as members of a group, and are the special and variable modes of the members of said groups; and *because they are variable, indefinitely, they are not universals. Some relations always exist, but not the same relations. The real and active objective relations are therefore not universal.* Indeed, they are not at all the expression of genera and species, and have no manner of connection with the question of nominalism and realism on that subject; and so the existence of these relations is nothing against nominalism. Nominalism admits and assimilates them with so much ease and comfort as not to know that it has any digestion. As a nominalist, I accept them as indubitably true. Thus, nominalism is the maelstrom which swallows up the great new theory of relationism, instead of being logically extinguished by it.

Subjective Relations.

We must here call attention to an important fact, which has been overlooked, that there are subjective as well as objective realities and relations. There are logical relations, very many: relations innumerable in the field of abstract or pure mathematics in all its many branches; relations between all the sensations, between other feelings, and all the moral conceptions, and between all these classes. These relations of the subjective world involve an infinity of possible detail and modification. Now, these relations are certainly not "reals" in the sense of external and non-egoistic, which is the kind of real and universal we are discussing. They are real facts, and real relations as subjective states, and nothing more. Neither are these relations universals. We can classify them; but the result is only so many classes of particular experiences, which are so much alike in each class that they are put together, and so separated as a class from others because of their relative unlikeness. Myriads of sensations related to each other are brought under five different classes or senses; but there is no general sensation which combines or concentrates or represents or constitutes the generic class sensation, or the specific class of each sense and including all special experiences of that sense. Relations we have in abundance, but no general or universal reals; and relations cannot be substituted for universals, as if they were the same.

Identity and Difference of Method in Science and Philosophy.

A striking contrast is drawn between the successful method of science and the barren method of philosophy, as the latter is represented by Kant's metaphysics. Science, it is said, teaches that cognition conforms to things, not things to cognition, and metaphysics just the opposite. But this is an inadequate representation of modern philosophy. When Kant speaks of making the objects conform to cognition, he confessedly designs to speak under the limitations of science and in conformity with the method of sci-

* See his *History of Modern Philosophy*, vol. ii., Lect. ix.

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ence; and he mentions a great scientific fact and name in illustration of his object, Copernicus and his procedure. It was experience, the experience of sensible disharmony and mental confliction, which led Copernicus to transfer his theoretic stand-point of observation from our planet to the sun. In like manner, it was a corresponding disharmony of experience, outer and inner, which led Kant to change conversely his theoretic stand-point. Copernicus endeavored (successfully) to give a theoretical unity to the known facts or objects of the material universe by supposing that we revolve around the sun and not the sun around us. Kant endeavored to furnish a theoretical unity to the known facts or objects of the psychological world, inner and outer, by supposing that our faculty of cognition shapes the outer world instead of being shaped by it. This is inadequate and partially erroneous, but it is not contrary to the method of science. It does not ignore or depreciate sensible objects or experience, any more than Copernicus did. Kant is wrong in his whole system, nearly,—wrong in his method of deducing the categories and in the result on the list of categories, wrong in his assertion of the need or the existence of synthetical propositions *a priori*, wrong in his doctrine of *a priori* regulative principles as of only subjective authority, wrong in his doctrine of a supersensible material world, wrong in his doctrine of incognizable noumena numerically different from phenomena; but he is not opposed on the point in question to the accepted method of science. He commences with experience and even with sensible experience, and then analyzes it and determines its contents and their relations to each other by what he supposes to be the most rigorous scientific method. Further, when rightly understood, the antithetic phrases, "conformity of cognition to objects" and "the conformity of objects to cognition," are not opposites, but equivalents. Phenomena are the same, whether we speak from the Ptolemaic or the Copernican stand-point; and they are the same, whether we speak from the subjective or objective stand-point. If cognition is in conformity with objects, objects are in conformity with cognition. Still, it is an unfortunate formula which was here adopted by Kant, though not more unfortunate than its older counterpart, whence by the law of antithesis he derived his. For objects do not wholly shape cognition, any more than cognition wholly shapes objects. They are inseparable, and together they form an active causal and cognized unity. There is always an interaction in which action and reaction are equal between the organism and its environment; and there is strictly no object before cognition, and no cognition before there is an object. They necessarily originate together. They invariably conform to each other, therefore; and the distinction between the antithetic phrases used by Kant should never have been made, except to observe their logical and experiential unity.

Hence, I accept as entirely true Mr. Abbot's description of the process and method of cognition according to the theory of scientific philosophy,—"that knowledge is a dynamic correlation of object and subject, and has two ultimate origins, the cosmos and the mind; that these origins unite, inseparably yet distinguishably in experience, *i.e.*, the perpetual action of the cosmos on the mind, plus the perpetual reaction of the mind on the cosmos and on itself as affected by it; . . . that experience has both an objective and subjective side, and that these two sides are mutually dependent and equally necessary": only I add, by way of further analysis and explanation, that the kosmos, or the objective world, is the mind just as much as that which he so designates. The interaction here described is between the kosmos and the organism, and these are two great classes of the complex modes of "the mind." All motion, action, and interaction are changes in the modes of the mind.

This exposition discloses the false basis of most of the objections to idealism. They all assume that the *ego* is confined to the organism, within which therefore our knowledge is confined, if it is confined within the *ego*. Hence, they may speak with just but irrelevant contempt of the limitation of our "capacity to realize only what is contained within the narrow shell of our physical organism, and all the universe outside relegated to the realms of the unknown and uncognizable." All that universe is as much *ego* as the organism itself, and just as much known. While subject and object are equally necessary to consciousness and equally known in consciousness, the object is always as much *ego* as the subject, *two phases of the one reality*. It is entirely true that all cognition is relative, and involves two terms whose reciprocal action constitute the relation, and it is therefore irrational to confine cognition to one of these terms; and I do not do that. I extend it to all such terms, but I affirm that they are all and always *ego*. So neither do I affirm "a subject without an object." That is absurd, as it implies "a thinker without a thought"; but I affirm that the thought and the sensible object are both and equally *ego*. I do not deny extension to the *ego*. I give to it all knowable extension, and duration too. Such is one *ultimate logical result* of our modern psychological analysis, from which there is no longer any dissentient worth the name. Let not philosophers or scientists disparage their own record by starting back in alarm from a statement which is new only in its greater logical thoroughness and completeness.

Scope of Science and Philosophy.

Science seeks laws and lexical connections. Individual phenomena are sought only as exemplifying law. But, for this purpose, individuals are necessary. In them only, laws exist. Law has no separate entity; and it not only exists in individuals, but it is the individuals, and not a genus, except as it subjectively exists in us as an abstract or tropical conception. Hereupon, we are told that subjectivism, by limiting our knowledge to one individual *ego*, renders science impossible, because science implies a multiplicity of objects acting in conformity to general laws (p. 487). This is erroneous. It discloses an unfortunate incomprehension of subjectivism, which admits and includes just the same, and the same number of, objects and laws, as objectivism. It includes all the sensible and knowable universe (and much more), and objectivism never claimed more than that for the sphere of science. If there is but one individual known, that individual includes all the universe of the objectivist, with all its multitudinous phenomena and changes; and these, in all their relations, subjectivism is quite as competent to investigate as objectivism, for subjectivism includes all objects, all phenomena, all mutations, their causes and connections and logical implications. While it identifies relations with objects, it identifies objects with the *ego*, which is more than subject; and thus it absorbs relationism as a very little thing in its vast and measureless womb of a boundless universe.

Philosophy is scientific in its basis and procedure; but it is not science, and it is more than scientific in its comprehensiveness and in the results it seeks, whether it attains them or not. It is utterly erroneous to suppose that the great problem of the age is "how to identify science and philosophy." That is a problem only for those who have no proper conception of philosophy and who desire only that philosophy shall voluntarily abdicate existence, and bequeath to science its name. Philosophy seeks the ultimate analysis and resynthesis in a logical unity of all experiences and conceptions, all phenomena inner and outer, the ultimate actual and logical relation of substance and quality or attribute and cause,—cause as the intrinsic force of phenomena as well as lexical antecedents, and ultimately explanatory of such phenomena, and also of illexical phenomena, if any such are found. To this great object, all the sciences are ancillary; and all scientific methods and results are respected and utilized by philosophy. Philosophy stands at the supreme and ultimate centre of the universe, of which she is the light and glory; and, from every part, she seizes all scientific lights, and blends and combines them into one glowing orb of pure white illumination, which discloses the intellectual harmony of all worlds and all their parts, their high significance, their origin and destiny, and the necessary methods of working out that destiny. The humblest forces contribute to the greatest results; and, therefore, I labor for the promotion of this great end.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHRISTIAN ABUSE.

Editors of The Index :—

There is still existing an old style of argument, which consists in calling names. It is used by those who cannot give rational support to their position. They have many precedents for such procedure. There is a legal maxim to be applied where there is no case for the defendant,—"abuse the plaintiff's attorney." The Jews said to Jesus, "Thou hast a devil"; and Festus said to Paul, "Thou art beside thyself, much learning doth make thee mad." It is a most convenient style of argument, because the possession of brains or knowledge is not necessary for its employment. It is a favorite method in religious controversy. Demonism and insanity are favorite epithets for the disproof of what cannot be met with the weapons of reason or of common sense.

One who, after many years of thoughtful, prayerful study of the Bible and of the doctrines based upon it, was led to embrace the rationalistic views now held by numbers of the best living, highest thinking, and most serviceable members of society, was assailed by volumes of correspondence, of which the following are a few specimens:—

"Permit me to remind you that you are *not alone* in your disbelief of God, the ever blessed, Infinite One; but you share fellowship with the *brute* creation (who also disbelieve), with the added difference that the brutes do not BOAST of their shame."

"Don't bring any more suffering upon the children of God around you. For Zion's sake, hold your peace!"

"It is worse than death."

"Your birthday is a day of sorrow and prayer for you. The customary good wishes seem as much out of place as when sudden death has entered a dwelling."

."Dark days will enter a God-forsaken home."

"I would have spoken to you, but Satan said: 'No, no! you will only hinder him from returning. He is a cinder,—burned out.' But I will rather think of you as of a once fair stretch of Western prairie upland over which the fire has passed, and we see, instead of waving grass and spring flowers and clumps of trees where the birds make their nests, blackness and desolation, gaunt, bare branches, where once was verdure and pleasant shade."

"You have entered upon the arena of a general conflict which will be ended by one of two weapons, the sword of the Spirit or God's permit to the angel,—'Thrust in thy sword.'"

"It is refreshing to receive a letter from you into which the ghastly skeleton does not intrude."

"I hope light will soon dawn upon your dark and clouded mind."

"The prospect has the appearance of a beautiful garden filled with all manner of pleasant fruits, but changed by a wind from the desert into a scene of desolation. My good wishes for you are that our merciful Father will speedily bring you back into his family, . . . out of *darkness* into marvellous light."

"Thus far, the effect of reading your new views seems to make right-minded people cling the closer to the Bible. • Dr. B. says he understands the chain of false reasoning you have wound about yourself."

"I supposed by this time you had given up your *false* notions."

"My first thought was, '*He is insane*'; and I sincerely hope to hear that this great change is the result of insanity."

"I see nothing but a hopeless, eternal separation before us."

"Had God in his righteous dealings seen fit to take you out of the world, I should have had the happy prospect of a joyous meeting hereafter; but now what remains except a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation?

"If, during so many years, your mind has been going through the incipient stages of what has now become open rebellion against the Almighty, is it any wonder that the Omniscient One should have acted as he has done in regard to your children,—to you in faithfulness, with the chastening hand of a loving Father for the purpose of turning your thoughts to himself, and to them in infinite mercy, taking them in their unsullied purity from the care of those whom he foresaw would be unfaithful to the trust?

"Either you are under a fearful delusion, consequent upon being possessed of Satan, or your words are the vagaries of an unbalanced intellect.

"What has wrought such a fearful change except the poisoning of your mind by the venom injected by the great adversary through the means of infidel books, and he now rejoices with hellish delight.

"Through some miserable speculations of infidel scientists, Satan has succeeded in getting you entangled in his net.

"It seems a mockery to wish you the usual compliments of the season."

"When you are *restored* to a *right state of mind*, how surprised you will be that you could ever have held such a belief!"

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The request that noted works of science should be read brings the refusal "to read books which have proved the ruin of countless souls. Would a ship-master sail over and among rocks, which were laid down in the charts, merely for the purpose of trying whether they were there or not? When one can see the wrecks of souls lying about in all directions, I regard it as entirely unnecessary to make any experiments on my own account, having only one soul to lose."

A Sunday paper containing valuable information and one article of special interest was sent to a family by mail. They put the paper in the fire, and wrote to have another paper sent, that had copied this article in a week-day issue, as they were unable to read it in the Sunday paper.

If any further proof were needed of the falsity and injurious effects of the Calvinistic theology, it would be supplied by such utterances. A tree is known by its fruit; and such uncharitable, illiberal, intolerant assumptions never came from the tree of truth.

How pitiful it seems to a man who has escaped from a dungeon, to see the prisoners who are still in bondage howling and lamenting over his wickedness and misfortune in breaking his chains and escaping from the tyranny of tradition to the realm of natural law! Lecky well characterizes such persons in the following paragraph: "On theological questions, unfaltering belief being taught as the first of duties, and all doubt being usually stigmatized as criminal or damnable, a state of mind is formed to which we find no parallel in other fields. Many men and most women, though completely ignorant of the very rudiments of Biblical criticism, historical research, or scientific discoveries, though they have never read a single page or understood a single proposition of the writings of those whom they condemn, and have absolutely no rational knowledge either of the arguments by which their faith is defended or of those by which it is impugned, will nevertheless adjudicate upon every polemical question, denounce, hate, pity, or pray for the conversion of all who dissent from what they have been taught to assume as a matter beyond the faintest possibility of doubt, that the opinions they have received without inquiry must be true, and that the opinions which others have arrived at by inquiry must be false, and make it a main object of their lives to assail what they call heresy in every way in their power, except by examining the grounds on which it rests."

A FREE THINKER'S BURIAL.

Editors of The Index:—

The members of the Montreal Pioneer Free-thought Club accompanied, on the 11th inst., to their last resting-place the remains of a French Canadian lady, Madame Surgeon. The burial, a civil one, created a most extraordinary commotion among those of her countrymen who became acquainted with that hitherto unheard of fact. Born and brought up a Roman Catholic, of a nationality known as the most loyal and sincere, perhaps, of the adherents of the Church,—a nationality which yet rigorously maintains and preserves the customs and language as well as the ignorance and superstition of the sixteenth century, when the first French settlers under Jacques Cartier landed on the banks of the St. Lawrence,—she displayed in the later days of her short life a quiet heroism worthy to be recorded, testifying, as her whole life had done, to a noble womanhood. Together with her husband, a merchant tailor, she had of late years, through thoughtful reading, gradually drifted away from the superstitions of her childhood and race into the open sea of intellectual liberty, where both delighted to roam. With amazement, they looked back on the days of their ignorance, when the use of their reason seemed to them the most horrid of crimes; and, exulting in their newly found freedom, they regarded with compassion their friends and neighbors who yet bend their neck in abject slavery to that dread tyrant, Rome.

But, unfortunately, Madame Surgeon found herself in the relentless grasp of an incurable disease; and slowly were her strength and her life ebbing away, while the fortitude of her intellect, the serenity of her mind, seemed to grow stronger and brighter. In vain did priests and nuns apply for the privilege of delivering her soul to the torments of purgatory, there to burn and to quiver till it might be sufficiently purified to be admitted to the circle of the select, which process is styled "the consolation of the Church." In vain did the relatives rage and threaten the patiently suffering husband with a vengeance which only fanaticism could inspire. True to herself, true to her husband, true to her convictions, she passed away in silent sleep, not a sigh, not a murmur escaped that noble, feebly beating heart. Of her neighbors, none dared to enter that "dreadful" house. They passed it with shy and furtive glances, wondering why an offended God did not wreak vengeance more swiftly, vengeance most terrible. With astonishment and amazement, they witnessed the long procession of highly respectable citizens who quietly walked behind the plain and simple hearse. There were in that procession men with white beards and faltering steps, men who had come to express respect for the heroine whose remains they were accompanying, and their sympathy with the hero whose head was bowed down with grief at the severe loss he had sustained.

At the grave, the following most impressive address was delivered by Mr. Martin, the honorary President of the Montreal Pioneer Free-thought Club.

The Address.

"*Dear Friends,*—The solemnity of the last sad scene in the brief history of a fellow-mortal invests us here, and presses heavily upon our hearts. No philosophy, no science, no religion, can change the darkness of the tomb into light. Believer and unbeliever are alike powerless to escape from the gloom that follows the extinguishment of a life beloved. It falls upon the desolate heart as night falls upon the earth when the last glimmer of sunset has departed.

"Our deceased sister, around whose remains we are gathered to express our sorrow and our sympathy, was an affectionate wife and loving mother, a type of character which constitutes the fairest flower in the garland of woman's excellence. Not in the midst of crowds, in the noisy world of conflicting passions and ambitions, were her virtues seen to bloom, but in the quiet seclusion of her own home, in the daily presence of her devoted husband and innocent children.

"Tried as she was for a protracted period in the relentless grasp of a fatal disease, she showed at all times a spirit of patient endurance, and maintained in later years, to the last gleam of life's poor taper, a severity of intellectual fortitude which adds lustre to her sex.

"She is gone; but her example remains,—an example worthy of perpetual remembrance. She entered the dark valley and shadow of death with unfaltering step: no spectral terrors came between her waning vision and the rest for which she sighed.

"Sweet be thy sleep as thy memory, thou who art released from the ills of life! These flowers that rest upon thy bosom fitly symbolize the grace and beauty that were thine; and the flowers that shall spring from thy consecrated dust will breathe of thee, and prophesy of the golden age to come, when knowledge shall have overcome error and the resurrection of humanity, redeemed from the thraldom of intolerant centuries, shall make for happier generations a new heaven and a new earth.

"Would that the words spoken here in testimony of thy virtues could carry some degree of consolation to the aching heart of him who mourns the loss of his beloved companion. May the recollection of her firmness and faithfulness shown in the extremity of trial, and the thought of her pure and blameless life, be to him a sustaining power which no evil can destroy nor take from him.

"And here we part with thee, thou who hast given such rare proof of a noble womanhood. We leave thee to the sanctity of that rest which is better than the turmoil of life, to the beatitude of a dreamless slumber, to the immortality that is inseparable from all that is good and true and beautiful in humanity."

With this simple yet impressive ceremony, we took leave of all that remained of a true and noble woman.

F. B.

MONTREAL, Jan. 20, 1883.

NO TWO original minds can take the same steps and in the same path. As the face of Aspasia was unlike that of Zenobia and unlike that of Beatrice, and as all these were not the kind of beauty now seen in the homes of America, so each book that comes into the world from an individualized soul will have its peculiar likeness, and will be beautiful or wise in some of its pages.—*David Swing.*

BOOK NOTICES.

BIBLE MYTHS, AND THEIR PARALLELS IN OTHER RELIGIONS: Being a comparison of the Old and New Testament Myths and Miracles, with those of Heathen Nations of Antiquity, considering also their Origin and Meaning. With numerous Illustrations. New York: J. W. Bouton, 706 Broadway. 1883.

This work aims to show that the miraculous stories in the Old and New Testaments, have too many parallels in the various forms of paganism to be fairly considered exceptionally divine. This proposition is proved by an abundance of evidence, taken from standard English and French authorities, stated with praiseworthy clearness, and illustrated with striking woodcuts. The first eleven chapters go over the prominent points of the Old Testament stories one by one, and show the parallels in many other religions to the accounts of Adam, Noah, Moses, Samson, Jonah, etc. This part of the work tells incidentally how the first five books of the Bible arose out of three documents, one of which is older than the Babylonish captivity. Twenty chapters are then devoted to a similar comparison of the New Testament myths and ceremonies to those of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and other Oriental religions. A whole chapter is given to "Christ Chrishna and Christ Jesus," a case in which the similarity of all the names is certainly remarkable, though the question of priority is not so easily settled as would be judged from the work before us. The arguments from the resemblance of the story of the Buddha to the Gospels, also considered in a special chapter, is much stronger, because, in the first place, there is no doubt that what is most like Christianity in the life and teachings of the Light of Asia was written down several centuries before the birth of Jesus; and, second, because there is some reason to believe that the Buddhist scriptures were known in Palestine and Asia Minor before the New Testament was written. On pages 422–424, which might well have been incorporated with the chapter just referred to, it is stated, on the authority of Dean Mansel and other scholars of undoubted Orthodoxy, that Buddhism prepared the way for Christianity. To the facts there enumerated may be added the important one that, long before the birth of Jesus, the peculiar doctrines of his Hindu forerunner prevailed in Bactria, while it was under Grecian rule. What more likely than that Jews who knew Greek were thus taught that veneration for poverty and non-resistance so characteristic of the Gospels and so alien from the Old Testament? Among the most interesting of the closing chapters are those entitled "The Worship of the Virgin Mary," "Christian Symbols," "The Birthday of Christ Jesus," "The Trinity," and "Why Christianity Prospered." The whole book is written in an earnest, thoughtful, and—in the best sense—liberal spirit. Of course, where so much information is given, there must almost inevitably be some inaccuracies. The statements, for instance, about the peculiar tenet of the Docetists, the orthodox view of two natures in Christ, and the position of Calvin in regard to the eucharist, might easily be made more correct, though this would not add much to the general value of the work.

We are glad to see that the enterprising publisher of this work, J. W. Bouton, 706 Broadway, New York, is about to reprint that remarkably interesting and scholarly one, *Evenings with the Sceptics*, beyond question the best history of the subject as far as the sixteenth century.

THE HISTORY OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL: An Old Testament Primer. By Crawford H. Toy, Professor of Hebrew Languages and Literature in Harvard University. Boston: Unitarian Sunday School Society. 1882.

Prof. Crawford H. Toy's Sunday-school text-book on *The History of the Religion of Israel* applies the results of modern criticism to the Old Testament in a fairly thorough way, with the result of altogether destroying the idea of the Bible which the Jewish scribes devised and put into vogue, and which the Jewish disciples of Christ, along with Paul, mistakenly retained, although their Master had himself set it wholly aside. Perhaps no more could have been done to advantage within the limits and for the purposes of a brief text-book; but a far more important service would have been rendered, if Prof. Toy had brought out such facts as the following: 1. The Hebrews at first thought that their god was present

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with them in a little chest or ark, then they assigned his presence to their holy city and temple, and finally found it in their sacred writings, the third form of the same error. 2. The scribes were first and chiefly book or Biblical men, and their one great work was the creation of the Bible idea, the entirely false idea that their sacred writings were of supernatural origin and perfection. Under other religions, the same idea appeared: it is everywhere one of the errors of heathenism. 3. The germ of the Hebrew sacred writings was produced under Josiah, amid circumstances of superstition and fiction. 4. The prophets whose work was purest and best held the priestly claim of sacred written law to be a device opposed to true religion. 5. Christ openly set aside the Biblical idea; he spoke not as the Biblical men; he remarked on comprehensive error in Hebrew Biblical teaching; he reduced the good of that teaching to very simple general truths; and he evidently had no expectation of either continuance of the old writings as Bible, or any making of new ones into a second form of Bible; and it was a great and lamentable mistake when Christian scribes restored and extended the Jewish Biblical idea.

SILK AND THE SILK WORM: a Complete Work of Instruction on Silk Culture. By Nellie Lincoln Rossiter. 2832 Goldbeck Street, Philadelphia. Paper covers. Price 25 cts.

The author of this work, which is written in a clear and straightforward manner, writes us that she is "a girl of sixteen," who has adopted silk culture as a means of support, having been engaged in it professionally since 1880, has received from the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society the highest premium, and a special premium for cocoons and silk raised by herself. Of her fine silk collection, she says, valuable additions have been made to it by the courtesy of the superintendent of the Nonotuck Silk Company of Florence, Mass. She is anxious that other girls and women should try this industry, hence her enterprising book.

A DOUBTING HEART. By Annie Keary, author of *Castle Daly*. London: Macmillan & Co. Price $1.

This book, of over six hundred pages, is a pleasantly told story of the love adventures and domestic lives of a number of people, none of whom have anything distinctively remarkable in their characters or in the incidents related of them. The moral tone of the book is good, its style is very readable; and, though we find ourselves at its conclusion in a state of doubt as to which of its many heroes and heroines the "doubting heart," of which it treats, belongs, we can commend it as a pleasant companion for a leisure hour.

WE have only space to mention a few of what we consider the best among the many good things which *Wide Awake* for February offers to its large constituency of readers, young and old. E. E. Hale talks about "Mexican Affairs"; "Our Business Boys," by Rev. F. E. Clarke, promises to be very interesting to all ambitious boys; "Through a Microscope," with five illustrations, is instructive and pleasant reading; "The John Spicer Lectures" of Mrs. Diaz grow in unique interest; "Granny" is a charming Irish story, told by Kate Upson Clark; and "The Apothecary's Valentine," by H. B. B. W., is a tenderly pathetic story; Jane Austen is the author treated of in this number; "Marion Harland" (Mrs. Terhune) gives her third paper on "Cookery for Beginners"; and among the poems is Robert Browning's "How they brought the Good News'; the song set to music by Prof. J. K. Paine, "Beneath the Starry Arch," is by Harriet Martineau; Felix L. Oswald writes of "A Brazilian Forest." The illustrations as usual are numerous and beautiful.

"ST. NICHOLAS" for February offers among its multiform attactions an article from Joaquin Miller, entitled "In the Land of Clouds"; a poem by Celia Thaxter; the continuation of "The Story of Viteau," by Frank R. Stockton; a play, "Puck's Pranks," by Mary Cowden Clarke; a delightful description of a "New Winter Sport," from the pen of Hjalmar H. Boyesen; "The Tinkham Brothers' Tide-Mill," J. T. Trowbridge's serial, deepens in interest. The advent of St. Valentine's Day is heralded in both prose and verse, while the many beautiful illustrations add point and pathos to the reading matter.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

THE German Emperor has raised Dr. Hermann Helmholtz, the eminent German philosopher, to the rank of a noble.

MRS. ELIZABETH A. BEARD, widow of the late Dr. George M. Beard, died of pneumonia at the Grand Hotel, New York, on Wednesday.

THE *Midwinter* (February) *Century*, containing the first chapters of Mr. Howells' new novel, "A Woman's Reason," is out of print; and a new edition is on the press.

MR. J. G. CRAWFORD, the vice-president of the Sunday Lecture Society of London, has applied for a site on the Thames embankment, that he may place there at his own expense a statue of Robert Burns. This will cost Mr. Crawford £2,000.

EX-GOVERNOR ST. JOHN of Kansas is to have a reception February 22, in Boston, in the mammoth building of the Massachusetts Mechanics' Association, on Huntington Avenue, day and evening. The Governors of all the New England States are expected, and there will be a grand children's entertainment in the afternoon.

REV. J. W. F. BARNES, chaplain of the Massachusetts State Prison for about two years past, tendered his resignation to Gov. Long last October; but it has not been accepted. He has met both Gov. Long and Gov. Butler by appointment, and conferred with them relative to the matter, but neither seemed willing to allow him to leave the institution. The salary of the prison chaplain is $2,000 a year.

MRS. EMMA B. DREXEL, wife of Francis A. Drexel, of Philadelphia, who died last week, was noted for her extensive philanthropy. She paid the rent of more than one hundred and fifty families, and distributed among the poor over $20,000 a year. She employed a woman to institute inquiry into the merits of each applicant, and once a week dispensed groceries, clothing, and money to the poor, who gathered every Tuesday in the rear of her residence.

MRS. SHATTUCK pays this deserved compliment in the *Transcript* to an occasional contributor to *The Index*: "The best addresses of the (Washington Woman's Suffrage) Convention were those of Miss Phebe Couzins on 'Woman without a Country,' and Mme. Clara Neymann on 'Republican Principles.' Mme. Neymann is a spirited little German lady with a full rich voice, and a feeling of patriotism that it is to be hoped more American women will some day possess."

MRS. LUCY STONE tells the following characteristic anecdote concerning the poet Whittier and Lydia Maria Child: "One day, he sat still, thinking, silent. Mrs. Claflin, who was with him, waited for him to speak. Finally, with grave, earnest face and uplifted eyes, he said: 'Did thee see it? There is a change. Surely there is a change. Did thee not see that Lydia has altered her bonnet?' The 'Lydia' was Mrs. Child, and you can fancy how we laughed at the poet's keen detection of a change in 'Lydia's' bonnet!"

MRS. AUGUSTUS HEMENWAY has promised $5,000 to the permanent fund of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, believing that one of the greatest needs of the city is just such a place for women. Other subscriptions received lately amount to $1,430. To this should be added the $5,000 given two years ago to the Union by Mrs. John W. James. The trustees of the Union are Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, 155 Boylston Street; Mrs. E. G. Gay, 385 Beacon Street; Mrs. A. Hemenway, 40 Mt. Vernon Street; Mrs. J. W. James, 119 Boylston Street; Mrs. Grace A. Oliver, 124 Boylston Street; Mrs. G. H. Norman, 343 Beacon Street; Mrs. Thomas E. Proctor, 327 Beacon Street,—to any of whom subscriptions can be sent.

THE *Agnostic* quotes what the junior editor of this journal recently wrote about Dr. B. Michener, who died at Adel, Iowa, a few years ago, and adds: "Mr. Underwood pays a tribute to the memory of a grandly noble but unassuming old gentleman, whose teachings, example, and influence in leading humanity out of the fogs of superstition into the clear light of liberal truth, has caused thousands of his fellow-creatures to venerate and love him. The publisher of this paper thinks of Dr. Michener as his individual 'saviour,' from whom we learned more lessons of liberal truth at the time we most needed them than from any other source; and we cannot refrain from republishing Mr. Underwood's just tribute to this brave and noble benefactor of the human race."

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 385

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Who are "Unitarian Ministers"? Wm. J. Potter. . . . 386
Struldbrugs, II., W. D. Gunning, ... 387
Physics as an Explanation of the Nature of Things, W. L. Sheldon, ... 387
The Associated Charities, E. D. C., ... 389
Kant and his Successors, B. F. Underwood, ... 389

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 390

POETRY.
Victory, B. W. Ball, ... 390
Election Day, "Old Birch," 390
Darwin and Emerson, Rowland Connor, ... 393

ESSAY.
About Books, George Iles, ... 391

CORRESPONDENCE.
The Liberal Church, J. W. Mackie, ... 394
Another Letter from Mr. Brinkerhoff, ... 394
"Sanctified Scholarship," A. N. A., ... 395

BOOK NOTICES.
Schelling's Transcendental Idealism, by John Watson, 395
The Scientific Evidences of Organic Evolution, by George J. Romanes, ... 395
Pearls of the Faith, by Edwin Arnold, ... 395

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 395

CURRENT TOPICS.

A HERBERT SPENCER CLUB has been formed at Providence, R.I.

THE London *News* says that the ministry will probably introduce in the Commons a bill legalizing an affirmation by members who desire to affirm instead of taking the usual parliamentary oath.

THE New York State Medical Society, at a recent meeting at Albany, by a vote of one hundred and five to ninety-nine, approved the new code of ethics by which allopathic physicians are allowed to consult with any legally qualified practitioner. So close a vote indicates, however, a strong feeling among the conservative members of the profession against the change.

THE number of public houses in Copenhagen is to be reduced in the interests of temperance from thirteen hundred and fifty to three hundred. Fascinating bar-maids are not to be permitted to serve liquor. Landlords are forbidden to sell drinks to any person under eighteen years of age or to any one under the influence of liquor. A drunken person shall be conveyed to his own dwelling in a cab or covered carriage at the expense of the landlord in whose house he took the last glass. Prohibitionists in this country will do well to make a note of the Danish system.

A CINCINNATI physician has been sent to the work-house for thirty days for cruelty to his family. The particular offence for which he was arraigned was not an isolated one; and the judge in sentencing him said it seemed strange that a man of his intelligence and standing in the community, who often had been noted in that very court as one of the most persevering witnesses against those who were cruel to animals, should be brought there for cruelty to women. This reminds us of an incident related of Robespierre. A lady, pleading with him for the life of her husband, in her excitement stepped upon his favorite dog, when his countenance, which had remained unmoved by her distress, suddenly changed; and he exclaimed in horrified accents, "Good God, madam, have you no feelings!"

HON. HENRY C. ROBINSON, of Hartford, Conn., recently gave a lecture in New Haven, in favor of co-operation, in which he said that he had lately visited a small factory in Connecticut, whose owner boasted that he had the preceding year "made" $72,000. Going through the mill, he found bobbins tended by children from eight to twelve years old, with faces colorless and without expression, working ten hours a day, with twenty minutes out for dinner, for *fifteen cents per day*. Is it strange that Mr. Robinson asks for co-operation or anything else by which it may be possible to put these little ones at school, and enable their fathers to support them decently? Such injustice to the workingman as is implied in Mr. Robinson's statement, if continued, must result in the most disastrous consequences to society.

LAST Monday, Joseph Cook said, as reported: "In death, the good may see those who have gone before them, and the evil may see those they have injured. After this mysterious outlook into the beyond, the body sometimes retains the power of speech. Therefore, probation does not end before death. I do not affirm that the soul leaves the body when the eye glazes or after the breath leaves it. I only will say that I do not know that the soul leaves the body when the breath does. I do not know. Nobody knows. I have consulted several physicians, and I find that they are not agreed as to the time when the soul leaves the body. Breathing does not usually cease until after the eyes glaze, and there is time for the soul to make decision after the eyes brighten and before they glaze. It is rational to believe that he who passes through death unrepentant will never repent, and this makes it probable that death does end probation." Here we have offered, as probable truth mere assumption and twaddle. Mr. Cook dogmatizes in regard to subjects of which he knows nothing whatever, and makes himself a fit subject for ridicule not only among free thinkers, but among all intelligent, earnest, and courageous seekers after truth.

THE London *Ironmonger* thinks that the French are in advance of all other nations in the settlement of labor grievances. The French statutes provide for permanent courts known as *Conseils des Prudhommes*, of which there are now one hundred and thirty-two in France. To them, both employers and employed can appeal on any question affecting wages, or other questions which may arise between the two classes. According to figures furnished for 1880, they adjudicated during that year 39,429 cases. It appears that out of every one hundred cases brought for investigation, fifty-nine relate to wages, thirteen to dismissals, ten to misbehavior, five to disputes about apprenticeship, and thirteen to various other causes. There is a general court to which cases may be taken on appeal, and it is a noteworthy fact that about three-fifths of the number taken to this higher court are amicably settled. Whether a system similar in character to that of France could be made to work well in this country is uncertain; but it is very evident that we need in the United States some plan of settling disputes between capital and labor, and the subject, being one of great importance, should receive the attention of our best men.

IN the sixth lecture of his course on "The Sun and Stars," in the Lowell Institute, last week, Prof. Langley said in substance: When we see a rose leaf, we say that we see a color in the leaf; but we do not see a color. What appears to be the beautiful red in the rose is really the sensation in the eye. There are no experiences of color apart from the seeing eye, and that finds its fountain in the sun. The limit of the ear in detecting the musical note is about 40,000 vibrations to the second. Above that number, the human ear is not fine enough to discern the musical note, only the dull thud of the hammer sound being heard. So it is with light. Of the rays shown, there are 60,000 to the inch; and, as light travels, there come to the eye 706,000,000,000,000 light waves in a single second. There are light waves which fail to operate upon the eye, precisely as the highest notes" fail to operate upon the ear. From these facts given by Prof. Langley, it is evident that luminousness depends not less for its existence upon ethereal vibrations or waves than upon retinal sensibility, and that the popular belief that the universe itself is radiant with light is without foundation. Where there is no ear, there is no sound: where there is no eye, there is no light.

WE have received from the office of the *Woman's Journal* a circular letter, signed by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, Ednah D. Cheney, Sarah Shaw Russell, Mary F. Eastman, Mary C. Ames, Abby W. May, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, asking us to call the attention of our readers to the subject of municipal suffrage for women, which is now being earnestly urged upon the State Legislature for immediate action. This we do very willingly, as it is an essential part of *The Index* platform to work for improvement in social welfare; and we consider the elevation and advancement of women as among the most direct means toward such improvement. In regard to this particular measure, we agree with the talented ladies whose signatures are attached to this letter that "it is simply fair play that women who pay their share of the town taxes and who have the same interest in the good of the town or city that men have should be equally entitled with men to a legal vote on these questions of common interest." The circular further states that "this right has been granted to and exercised by English women for many years," and "it was secured to Scotch women last year." It will be a little out of character with republican America's pretensions to extra progressiveness, if her citizens allow her matrons and maids to plead in vain for a privilege already accorded to the women under a monarchical government.

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WHO ARE "UNITARIAN MINISTERS"?

The question having been raised as to what is the significance of the new action taken by the Directors of the American Unitarian Association in regard to the list of ministers in its *Year-Book*, the correspondence which we print below between the Secretary of that Association and the senior editor of *The Index* may be of interest to some of our readers, and serve to throw a little light upon the matter, though not all that is desirable. When we received the letter which we published last week, showing, as it seemed to us, a misapprehension of the subject, simply because the writer had naturally had no opportunity to learn its history, we asked the assent of Mr. Reynolds, the Secretary, to the publication of this correspondence in the interest of a clearer understanding of the case. This assent he readily gave, provided it should be understood that his personal letter, being addressed, as he said, to one "familiar with all the circumstances and history of the case," intimates rather than fully states his opinions. It should be further understood that the first letter was a printed circular that was sent to all persons who have stated charge of societies registered in the *Year-Book* "List of Societies," but whose names are not included in its list of ministers. This circular came in due course to the present writer as one who for a number of years had been in this somewhat nondescript position. Without longer preface, we give the correspondence:—

ROOMS OF THE AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
7 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.,
Dec. 1, 1882.

Dear Sir,—At the November meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Unitarian Association, it was voted that the Secretary be authorized to publish the *Year-Book* for 1883.

It was also voted that, in order to make the *Year Book* a more complete directory, in addition to the regular list of Unitarian ministers, a supplementary list should be printed, containing the names of persons who are pastors of Unitarian parishes, or stated supplies, but whose names are not on the usual list.

It was further provided that the Secretary should communicate with those pastors whose names are not on the usual list, that they may notify him whether they wish to have their names entered on that list.

This circular is sent in compliance with the above action; and, should you desire your name so entered, will you be kind enough to notify me at your earliest convenience? Yours truly,

GRINDALL REYNOLDS, *Sec'y A. U. A.*

NEW BEDFORD, Dec. 12, 1882.

Rev. Grindall Reynolds, Secretary of the American Unitarian Association:

Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your printed circular concerning some revision of the list of ministers published in the Unitarian *Year-Book*, and asking me, as one whose name is "not on the usual list," whether I desire to have it entered there.

Nine years ago, my name was removed from that list by the compilers of the *Year-Book*, because I did not call myself a Christian. Your predecessor then interpreted the phrase "Unitarian ministers," in the heading of the list, to mean "ministers of Unitarian Christianity." This action excluding my name, and for the reason given, was indorsed by vote of the annual meeting of the Unitarian Association in 1874. So far as I am concerned, the conditions are the same now as they were then. I still hold that the term "Christian," in any proper religious usage, denotes discipleship to "Christ" in such special sense as not correctly to define my religious position. Whether the conditions are the same on the side of the *Year-Book*, I do not know. Your letter, though indicating some change of method, does not state on what new basis, if any, the list is now to be constructed.

Under the circumstances, therefore, it seems to me that it is rather for the compilers of the *Year-Book* to say whether they desire to restore my name to the list as that of a non-Christian, thereby distinctly changing the interpretation of the list, than to ask me whether I desire to have my name inserted in it.

Yours sincerely,

WM. J. POTTER.

ROOMS OF THE AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
7 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.,
Dec. 15, 1882.

REV. W. J. POTTER:

Dear Sir,—I have received your note in which you allude to the basis upon which the *Year-Book* is now constructed. My position in regard to that *Year-Book* is a perfectly plain one. Personally, I believe that the Unitarian body, both by its history and its organic growth, stands on a broad and generous but still Christian basis. Such being my conviction, I cannot be expected to take any step by which I admit that the body is non-Christian. But the purpose of our Board was to leave the individual to settle for himself whether he does or does not belong in the Unitarian ranks. You are familiar with the historical position of the body, its constitutions, its votes past and present, and with the tendency of its thought and feeling; you know also, as no one else can, your own convictions, tone of mind, and real wishes. You must pardon me, if I esteem it to be my simple duty to leave it entirely with you to say whether you are in sufficient sympathy with the Unitarian body and enough interested in its methods of spiritual activity to desire to have your name entered upon its list of ministers. Very truly,

GRINDALL REYNOLDS, *Sec'y of the A. U. A.*

To this correspondence, we wish now to append a few remarks.

To the last letter of Mr. Reynolds, no reply appeared to be needed; and none was sent. We had stated our position, and were content so to leave it. The responsibility, in our case at least, seemed to belong to the authorized compilers of the *Year-Book*, since they had originally taken the responsibility of removing our name from the regular list; and their action in so doing had been specifically indorsed by the Unitarian Association. On this account, we were at first even disposed to leave the printed circular unnoticed, which explains the delay in our answer. But when we learned that some persons interpreted the action of the Directors to mean that all those whom recognized Unitarian societies chose and appointed as their regular ministers were to be included in the *Year-Book* list of ministers, without any reference to their theological views (the *Christian Register* at first so explained the meaning of the Directors' vote), we thought it but just to ascertain whether such a liberal rule had been adopted. Hence our letter to Secretary Reynolds.

The Secretary's reply, it is evident, does not support this liberal interpretation of the Directors' action. Indeed, his statement of the purport of their action left upon our mind the painful impression that its chief characteristics were want of clearness and want of candor. He makes it sufficiently clear that his own personal view is in accord with that of his predecessor, Secretary Shippen, and of the Board of Directors and of the Unitarian Association, at the time when it was distinctly declared and voted that the term "Unitarian" connotes "Christian," and that the name of a non-Christian was rightly excluded from the list of Unitarian ministers. And this is a position that is frank, open, and above board. It limited liberty, but it met the issue squarely. It seemed, it is true, to pare down the term "Christian" to extreme tenuity of substance; but, nevertheless, it did unmistakably and decisively say that one must pronounce over himself, in some sense, that word as a shibboleth for admission into the Unitarian ranks. It had, therefore, the great merits of candor and definiteness. But it looks as if the present Directors were willing to sacrifice these merits for the sake of an appearance of greater liberality, which, after all, is only an illusive appearance. We sympathize with their desire to broaden the fellowship of the list; but we cannot respect their action in seeming to ignore the fact that any doctrinal fence has ever been placed across it, and in leading others to believe that none is there. Their action is an evasive compromise. It is the old attempt, which Unitarianism has so many times tried, to face both ways at once,—toward liberty and toward authority. They have not ventured squarely to reopen the old issue by expressly rescinding the vote which defined the term "Unitarian," or by recommending the rescinding of it; but their action has the appearance, so far as made public, of being designed with the hope that radical Unitarians would not see or remember that there is any such vote on record.

We do not, by any means, charge that there was this definite purpose to deceive. But deception will none the less be the result. The young recruit coming into the Unitarian ministry with radical proclivities, and disposed to regard Unitarianism—as on one side it may well be regarded—as an intellectual religious movement opening out from Christianity into universal religion, will be pointed to this action of the present Directors allowing him to define the word "Unitarian" for himself; and thus he is enticed into the roll of Unitarian ministers. After his name is there, he hears some of his conservative brethren claiming some day that all "Unitarians" are necessarily "Christians." To vindicate his own integrity, he refers to this action of the Directors; but they spring upon him this unrepealed vote of the Unitarian Association itself, by which it was determined that "Unitarian ministers," in the heading of the *Year-Book* list, should mean "ministers of Unitarian Christianity." And, then, he can but feel that he has been entrapped into a false position.

And this is no merely hypothetical case. The letter which we published last week was from one who is comparatively young in the Unitarian ministry. He knew nothing of there ever having been any such vote defining the name "Unitarian"; and the Secretary's cordial letter seemed to put it so wholly into his hands to define the term for himself that, though thinking that his name for other reasons might not belong in the list of Unitarian ministers, he was led to believe that his not calling himself a "Christian" would be no obstacle to its remaining there. On the other hand, a letter from the Secretary to us, making a similar explanation of the Directors' purpose, produced in our mind an entirely different opinion, simply because we knew the history of the subject. If we had replied to Mr. Reynolds' second letter, we should have first, perhaps, incidentally reminded him that to admit non-Christians to fellowship would not necessarily make the Unitarian body non-Christian, as he seems to assume in the statement of his personal conviction. But then, and chiefly, we should have been obliged to say—following the lead of his own suggestion—that we *are* "familiar with the constitutions and votes" of the Unitarian body, and especially with one vote passed by the Unitarian Association expressly defining the *Year-Book* list of "Unitarian ministers" as "Christian ministers"; and that, so long as that vote stands unrepealed, our name would have no right in the list, nor could we wish it there. Now, we would respectfully submit to the Directors of the Unitarian Association whether the interests of religious sincerity and intellectual integrity do not require that they should explain the meaning of their recent action in terms so explicit that two such diametrically opposite judgments of its effect should be impossible; whether fair dealing does not demand —especially with regard to the young men coming

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into the Unitarian ministry—that, if they are told to decide for themselves whether or not they belong in the Unitarian ranks, they should also be pointed to the special historical votes that condition the problem; whether, indeed, any such liberty of definition is genuinely given until the previous question—supposed to have been settled by the vote of the Unitarian Association in 1874—as to what constitutes a Unitarian minister has been reopened, and that vote has been repealed. In fine, do not clearness and candor alike summon the Directors to state plainly whether they meant by their votes with regard to the *Year-Book* last December to repeal or not to repeal the resolution adopted by the Unitarian Association in 1874?

That resolution we printed last week, but we wish to repeat it in connection with this fuller presentation of the subject. It was adopted at the annual meeting of the Association by a large vote, in a full attendance, and after a long discussion. Any persons who may be desirous to see a more complete report of the matter will find one in *The Index* of June 4, 1874, and in the *Christian Register* of similar date. In *The Index* of January 1 and January 8, 1874, may also be found the full correspondence which led to and grew out of the removal of our name from the *Year-Book* list of Unitarian ministers. We state this for the benefit of the curious, not from any personal interest, but because of the principle involved. Our only aim then, as now, was to secure, if possible, a statement, in the interest of clear thinking and sincere action, by which Unitarianism should either plant itself squarely on liberty or else candidly confess its limit. It chose the latter. It was an open, honest choice, and we made no protest nor complaint against its effect upon us personally. The choice was finally embodied in the resolution above referred to, which was as follows:—

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the term "Unitarian," as used in the title of this Association and its publications, has always been held to carry a distinctively Christian meaning, our Unitarian ministers being held and regarded by us as public teachers of the Christian religion; and as the action of the Assistant Secretary, sustained by the Executive Committee, in omitting from the catalogue the name of a minister who says he is no longer a Christian, has been in harmony with this common usage of the term among us, therefore the action be now and hereby is approved and ratified.

Are we right in supposing this resolution still in force, or has it been rescinded by the action of the Directors? Will the Dirctors face that question? In the interest of clear thinking and sincere doing, again we appeal for a plain Yes or No.

WM. J. POTTER.

STRULDBRUGS.

II.

When Gulliver heard in the Kingdom of Luggnagg of the class of immortals called Struldbrugs, he said to the Luggnaggians: "How happy the people! How happy the rulers! You can sit at the feet of a sage a thousand years old, and learn all wisdom needful for the conduct of life." Gulliver expressed a wish to see and talk with an oracular Struldbrug. The Luggnaggians took him to a pen in which they had confined half a dozen of the ripest of the species. He looked, then turned away, and wished to borrow one or two to show through England to cure the English people of the fear of death.

I have borrowed a few Struldbrugs for *The Index*. I have borrowed a brace from the Jews.

"And all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty and five years. And Enoch walked with God, and he was not." The old gentleman attained to a fair degree of Struldbrugery. The only lesson I ever knew to be gleaned from his life was by a negro preacher during the walking mania: "Enoch walked wid God *free hunderd yeas!* Dar's a walkin' match for you. Talk about physical ondurince arter dat!"

The great Struldbrug of divine antiquity was Methuselah. How on the sacred page will glow the wisdom garnered through a life of nine hundred and sixty-nine years! Here it is,—the entire record. "Methuselah begat Lamech. And Methuselah lived, . . . and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years." That is all.

In California, I saw a great Sequoia called Methuselah. Methuselah the tree was a greater Struldbrug than Methuselah the man. It was a goodly tree when Alexander set out on the conquest of Asia. What events it might have recorded! I interrogated its great bole. Searching the rings of growth inward, I saw that about five hundred years ago a fire had burned into the bark and a squirrel had made her nest in the pit. I saw that now and then, through the past two thousand years, grizzly bears had scratched the tree with their claws. Here and there, a gnarled and twisted growth recorded the beating of a storm. Three thousand years,—and that was all the record.

As I went through the tree, so I would go through the man. Let us pass in through the ringed years of memory, as we passed in through the rings of growth. A hundred years,—no record. Two hundred, three hundred,—an event was scratched into the memory, as the bear scratched the tree, perhaps a scar left by the claw of a tiger. Six hundred years,—the birth of a child hardly dents the rind of memory (sons and daughters, but their names have faded out). Seven hundred and eighty-two years,—the record is clearer, a child and its *name* are recorded.

And this is all. Methuselah the man bided the flow of the centuries as passive almost as Methuselah the tree, and gathered into his memory hardly more of the passing years than the tree gathered into its rings of growth. Methuselah at forty had seen all there was of nature or life for him, and the addenda of nine hundred and twenty-nine years might have been written as a repeating decimal. Repetition is nature's badge of inferiority. She makes the centipede a mere repetition of segments. She makes man, too, a repetition of segments; but she differentiates them, fusing some into a pelvic girdle, and others into a brain-case. Methuselah was a long-drawn centipede.

I have borrowed a Struldbrug from the Greeks. Not less pitiable than Methuselah was Tithonus. This gentleman prayed to the gods that he might be a Struldbrug. The gods granted the prayer, and Tithonus lived on and on, till he became an object of pity even to the gods. Being a Struldbrug, they could not kill him. They changed him into a grasshopper!

A wiser man than Tithonus I saw in New Hampshire. He was seventy-five years old, and he was afraid that he was a Struldbrug. He had suddenly lost his eyes; and, when I expressed sympathy, he checked me. "Stop!" he said. "No more of that. I'm not an object of sympathy, because I'm blind. *I've lived in New Hampshire seventy-five years, and God knows I've seen enough!*"

The Luggnaggians detected a Struldbrug by the dark blotch on the brow. I have found another badge. It is mental rigidity.

Guided by this badge, I have borrowed a few Struldbrugs from France for special use in *The Index*. The French species are in the Academy. A few years ago, a gentleman was exhibiting and explaining to this learned body the phonograph. He talked, he sang, and the instrument gave back with metallic twang his speech and song. One of the Struldbrugs rose, hot with indignation, and moved "*the immediate expulsion of this trickster and ventriloquist!*" Do we wonder now that Darwin had such tardy and partial recognition from these Struldbrugs? Do we wonder that Taine's *History of English Literature* was condemned?

Bright was the Tithonic chirp in the meadows of Greece, but sad is the chirp in the halls of an academy. Not a withered, wizened, weasoned Tithonus is such an object for the interposition of a synod of gods as a leader in the world of thought when rigidity overtakes him, and he becomes obstructive. Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, Copernicus, Leibnitz, Cuvier,—suppose they had been Struldbrugs? Plato would still think that his philosophy held the world of mind, as the Struldbrugs called the Concord School of Philosophy say that it does. Aristotle would still be maintaining the tripartite structure of the mammalian heart. Pliny would not believe in any part of the world which he had not mapped. Copernicus would not accept the Copernican system beyond the inchoate stage in which he left it. Leibnitz would still be hurling anathemas against universal gravitation as destructive of religion. Cuvier would still be rummaging Egyptian tombs for evidence of the fixity of species. Lardner would be demonstrating the impossibility of crossing the Atlantic by steam, and Joseph Buckingham would still be showing in the Boston press how "wild," how "impossible," how "idiotic" the scheme of building a railroad from Boston to Albany!

What if, in the hereafter, the mind should reach its limit of unfoldment, and grow rigid and metallic with age? "The laws above are sisters to the laws below." The modes of life in the afterworld, as conceived by the current theology, have all the conditions of Struldbrugery. I have thought of borrowing a Struldbrug from this theology, and two or three from the literature of Spiritualism, to cure men of inordinate yearning for immortality. A sermon lies before me, in which the preacher raises the question, "What shall we do with eternity?" For himself, he proposes to pass the first thousand years gazing on the nail-wounds of his redeemer. He will spend the next thousand in contemplating the thorn-wounds on his brow. What a Struldbrug this preacher will be at the age of three thousand!

In a realm where all is dogma or doubt, I will not dogmatize; and I cannot doubt that, if the death which awaits us here is transition to another stage of life, a succession of deaths will await us in the hereafter. The mind at the age of a hundred would bend under the weight of memory alone. I cannot doubt that,

> "As old mythologies relate,
> Some draught of Lethe may await
> The slipping through from state to state."

W. D. GUNNING.

PHYSICS AS AN EXPLANATION OF THE NATURE OF THINGS.

We remember with what reverential feelings we began the study of physics. It seemed to us as a novice like the ultimate science, the science that was to lay down those fundamental facts and principles out of which all other truths should flow by a simple process of evolution. Man had struggled so long to explain nature through the principles in his own head, and had landed himself in such a list of inextricable contradictions, that at last he

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had resolved to take a new method, and let Nature explain herself. That was a new and fascinating thought, that Nature should explain herself. What more beautiful conception than that of Nature as a story-book full of the grandest pictures and sublimest truths! Man had only to throw open the leaves and scan the pages. And we listened with deep emotion as an Agassiz in America, a Darwin in England, a Helmholtz in Germany, have been attempting to read these pages aloud to us. We looked to physics as the foundation. We dreamed of the time when out of these few principles the sciences should unroll themselves like the leaves of a book, to the time when with these principles we could move from mechanical to chemical phenomena, from chemical to vital, from vital to psychical phenomena, without a gap at any point. And the scientists have read us many wonderful things out of this book. One of them has seen the whole structure of the universe built out of indivisible atoms and their forces. But, when he talks about indivisible atoms occupying an infinitely divisible space, we conclude that he is contradicting himself, and that he is therefore not reading correctly. Another one tells us how the universe could have been constructed not out of atoms, but rather out of points of force which do not occupy space. That reminds us of Hegel, who tells about nothing becoming something, and something becoming nothing, and both uniting to give a general everything. We don't quite understand that, and we doubt whether they understand it themselves. We look back at the previous phases through which scientific thought has passed, and we see a like lot of confusing and disagreeing interpretations of the ultimate principles of Nature. And so the boasted harmony of scientific thought, as set over against the contradictory wranglings of metaphysics, assumes a very questionable aspect..

The fact is that scientists have forgotten that they themselves form a part of that Book of Nature they are reading. And they do not simply constitute one of its pages, but they belong to the whole of it: they never read a line of it without themselves being woven deeply into its context. In the reaction from metaphysical speculation, they set out with almost complete neglect of the study of consciousness; and many of the scientists of the present day do not seem to be familiar with some of the simplest psychical laws. A little study of those laws might have saved them from a great deal of embarrassment in the contradictions in which they have involved themselves. They would possibly not have set up for a science what was not a science at all, and they would not have proposed to themselves problems which as scientists they were not constrained to solve.

One could have expected a great deal from the movement which began with Immanuel Kant about a century ago. He had come to realize that, if we assume the dualism between soul and nature, there would be both action and reaction in the influence that external nature would have upon us, that the soul was not like a sheet of white paper upon which Nature wrote her own life, but rather that the soul had something to do in reacting upon and reconstructing the material presented. This view is now accepted even by materialists, who allow to the brain some active power in receiving its impressions. And so Kant went analytically to work to take the whole soul to pieces, so as to discover what the mind really gave to the sum total, and also what the external world could give. He constructed thus a magnificent scheme, laying out a set of forms, then a set of categories or laws, and lastly a uniting power of apperception, all of which the impressions from the external world had to go through, before they could become thought,—that is, soul-life. There, of course, he reasoned correctly that external nature would become modified in passing through these forms, and therefore could not be recognized as her original self. But there was one fact he did not reason out, a fact on which the whole system of Kant must founder, *the fact that the forms themselves would also be modified*, and they also would not appear as their original selves; that it thus seems an absolute impossibility to decide just what the mind, and just what external nature, has to do in producing what we call soul-life.

To make the meaning plainer, let us take an example from Nature herself. Those who have read the *Logic* of John Stuart Mill will remember the stress he lays upon the distinction between the mechanical and chemical composition of causes. In mechanical nature, if two forces act to produce a result, the result will be simply a sum of the two forces; and it is quite easy to decide how much is due to each one of them. When, however, two chemical elements combine, we have a result altogether different from either of the original elements. The qualities of each seem to have become annihilated in the compound, and the chemist can gather from the new substance no idea what the qualities of the components may have been. In this case there is no resemblance whatever between the effect and the cause. Now, let us, for example, make a rather singular supposition. Take it for granted that, just at the moment when oxygen and hydrogen unite to make a drop of water, a little consciousness could step in there, and assume as it were all the new characteristics and phases as belonging to itself. The consciousness would then begin to wonder where all its qualities came from. Perhaps, it could at least conceive that it was compounded of two original somethings, though even that much knowledge would be doubtfully possible. Then, it would begin to attribute this quality of water to hydrogen, and that one to oxygen, and so it would build up a scheme almost as good as that of Immanuel Kant's. But we all realize how absurd it would be, because we see that these new qualities do not apply to either one of the original elements.

Now, it is just as probable that the soul-life, or the life of thought, if it be a resulting composition from qualities of the soul and from qualities of the external world,—it is just as probable that the composition should have taken place on the chemical plan as on the mechanical plan. It is just as likely that, when the soul and nature came in contact with one another, and acted and reacted upon one another,—it is just as likely that they gave forth a product altogether different from either; and this product we call soul life, or the life of consciousness. And, if such be the case, it is not possible, and never will be possible, to decide what the soul is, what the world is, and what each independently possesses. In fact, we cannot even assert with absolute conviction that the soul and nature are two distinct things, and that the soul-life is also affected by something outside of itself. We may believe such to be the case as strongly as we please. Even David Hume, the greatest metaphysician England has ever produced, was constrained to acknowledge that Berkeley's idealism could not be refuted, though he was not willing to believe it.

The discussions about the relations of the soul to the outside world recall quite vividly the old discussions among some of the Greek philosophers as to what was the original substance or state. We will call these men, rather, scientists: they would be called so at the present day. They admitted at least three general sorts of stuff,—earth, water, and air, or the solid, the liquid, and the gaseous. Some of them asserted four, and added fire. The great problem was to decide which was the original substance or state. One defended strenuously that it was earth, or the solid state; another, water, or the liquid; another, air, or the gaseous state. They all combated bravely, and all with about equal success. They saw the three states passing from one into another in an unceasing change; and, as far as man could judge, any one of them was just as likely to have been the original as another. Just so it is with the states of consciousness. They are moving up and down and passing into one another in an unending ebb and flow. Whence they come, to what they belong, and whither they go, we cannot say. Only the consciousness that could have existed before the beginning of things can decide what was the original substance or state: only the consciousness that could see without eyes and hear without ears, that could have begun its activity through its own self when nature was yet in slumber,—only that consciousness could decide what it was and in what relation it stood to the world outside of itself.

And that leads us to the only supposition under which one can defend the distinction between soul and nature, and at the same time claim for the soul certain original forms and laws known as belonging only to itself. If the soul came into activity with these forms and laws and intuitions *before* it had been moved upon by the outside world, then the theory of Kant, or that of the intuitionalists generally, could be conceived as defensible. But even the intuitionalists do not admit that such is the case, that these forms and categories could have come into play before they had been acted upon by external nature. If the soul and this external nature at the same instant come together, act and react upon one another, and produce that result which we call the soul-life, then it is too late to analyze. The composition has taken place, and will go on increasing in complexity until at last,—if it *is* a composition, if there is really a dualism there,—until at last it suffers a shock, and it is resolved into its original elements. And not until that has taken place can we come to any absolute knowledge as to the actual nature of things.

The readers of this paper may be familiar with a noted lecture delivered in Leipzig a few years ago, by Du Bois-Reymond, on the Limitations of Knowledge. The lecture created a great excitement in Germany, and the battle raged fiercely for a while. He had said that, on any physical basis, consciousness had never been explained, and never could be explained. The defendants of religion exulted, they thought they had won a champion. Haeckel took up the battle in behalf of his Monism and his Anthropology. The combatants grew numerous and violent. At the same time, the statement was a refreshing one as coming from a scientist. Had a metaphysician made the statement, it would have attracted little notice. Many scientists have a thorough distrust of any one who has dabbled much in philosophy. It had been rather exasperating to Philosophy, when she had at last drawn in her pretensions, to see her sister, Science, claiming to do what she had failed in doing. But now, at length, Science was confessing limitations and acknowledging that nature was not ultimately explainable. Du Bois-Reymond made the same statement we have been contending for, though by different grounds. He had said that the natural causes exhausted themselves in producing the brain. There was no cause left to produce consciousness. For example, if we could, with powerful instruments, examine a brain while it was still alive, we should see all the physical causes active and producing their results in the

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brain: we could follow them all, and never lose sight of them. We should see them passing, one kind of cause into another kind, each doing its full work. We should, in fact, see *all* that they did. And yet all we should see would be the brain as a machine: the consciousness of the man we should not see, and it would remain unaccounted for.

Du Bois-Reymond, however, does not really go far enough. He does not stop to think that in reality he is not studying that man's actual brain at all. Scientists, somehow, cannot rid themselves of the impression that they are studying actual nature, even though theoretically they may admit they are not doing so. They would laugh at the man who really believed that the sun and the heavens revolved about the earth; and yet actual nature is probably even less like the so-called nature they are studying, than is their theory of the heavens like that of the untutored savage. Even Du Bois-Reymond admits that the senses do not actually deliver us real qualities of things: that, if we could bring the nerve of hearing around to catch the sight impressions, we might then get sensations of hearing. So that, in studying nature, we should remember that we are using sensations that we do not understand to explain other sensations that we also do not understand. In the case of this brain, we should be studying a presentation or state in our own consciousness. Whether we have this presentation from an external source, or whether it grew up with our consciousness as a part of its own nature, is a metaphysical question that we leave undiscussed. But, as we study it, it is a part of our consciousness. All we know of nature is what we have in our consciousness, what we get in consciousness constitutes our sum total of knowledge. We can thus compare these states, see their relations to one another, and observe how they pass into one another. But to attempt to show that one phase can be a basis out of which to develop the whole, to attempt to construct the whole consciousness out of one set of its states, would be like a mechanic who should attempt to construct a whole machine out of one of its qualities. Consciousness is a whole of many classes of states. It is a growth out of we know not what. We know not when nor where it began, nor whence the sources of its activity. And the physicist who seizes at one class of states that have relation to space, and attempts to develop the whole out of his theory of atoms; the psychologist who seizes at another class, and attempts to explain the whole through his theory of intuitions,—both of them display a wanton presumption that results in nothing. Both contend strongly, and get themselves in inextricable difficulties. Either one of them may be right, probably both of them are wrong. If it be that we as individual consciousnesses could exist all as states in one great Consciousness, that great Consciousness could possibly understand what we are and in what relation we stand to nature, even as we seem to understand our own states at least in their relations to one another. But that great Consciousness would, perhaps, be also a growth: it, too, would need to exist in another still greater; and so an ultimate explanation is not to be had. It is wiser that Philosophy should join in acknowledging the limitations on which they stand, and to be content to say with Du Bois-Reymond, "We do not know, we shall not know,"—"Ignoramus, ignorabimus."

W. L. SHELDON.

THIS learned I from the shadow of a tree,
That to and fro did sway upon a wall,—
Our shadow selves, our influence, may fall
Where we can never be.—*A. E. Hamilton.*

THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES.

According to the third annual report, 1882, of the Board of Associated Charities in Boston, 691 visitors have been actively engaged in visiting families during the year, and yet they say the number should be doubled; for there have been visited only 1,594 families, while there are 8,000 families, or more than five times that number, who need attention. Besides this body of workers, 131 different societies are working in co-operation with them. This list includes a great variety of institutions and some churches; but of course there are many more institutions and churches doing charitable work independently, or only occasionally co-operating with this society.

Does it not seem as if this were a sufficient force, acting with the help of the law and a strong police, to insure that the charitable work of the city should be thoroughly done, and crime should be gradually diminished and done away with? The Board give as the result of their work 2,473 instances where substantial results can be found. They also believe that one half of the families may, by wise help, become self-supporting, and a blessing instead of a curse to the society in which they live; while only eleven per cent. really needed and deserved continuous relief.

Among the many important topics presented is that of health and cleanliness. "Public sentiment in Boston needs to insist on a far higher standard of decency and health in the homes of the poor. . . . Multitudes of the poorest homes are poisoned with filth, broken drains, entering tides, and accumulated refuse. . . . The Board of Health is doing good work. Let public sentiment strongly support them in insisting on a far higher standard for the lowest homes." We must not forget that the poison engendered in the lowest homes may enter the highest, and the community has as much right to protect itself against it as against small-pox or burglary.

Again, the report touches on one of the greatest of moral questions in saying, "Drunkenness is the chief cause of the misery and crime of the poor!" Now, we would not lessen by one iota the efforts to abolish drunkenness or the sense of its evils; but we have sometimes thought there was danger of treating it as a primary cause, when it is first an effect and then a secondary cause of the evil we all deplore. Drunkenness is the almost constant accompaniment of crime and misery with us, and its nature is to reproduce itself and the very evils from which it springs. But do not crime and poverty and misery exist where drunkenness is almost unknown? Spain and Italy have by no means the proportion of drunkenness which exists in England, Holland, Sweden, America. But have they not their full proportion of degradation, misery, and crime? We are ready to try the most rigorous measures of repression of traffic and of use; but have we fully studied the results of prohibition on a large scale in Buddhist and Mohammedan countries, where the religious law absolutely prohibits the use of intoxicating drinks? In working against drunkenness, we ought never to forget that it is not only a cause of evil in itself, but a symptom of deeper causes below.

The Associated Charities are perhaps doing their greatest work in checking the indiscriminate giving of alms, by keeping a central place where applicants may be sent with the certainty that their real wants will be provided for. We feel that this work of the investigation of the causes of poverty and its true methods of relief is one to which Free Religionists are especially called, because they can work in it unhampered by many old prejudices which trammel the action of many noble and benevolent souls, who are still held in sectarian limitations.

E. D. C.

KANT AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Prof. Watson, whose little work on Schelling's *Transcendental Idealism* is noticed among the book reviews in this number of *The Index*, claims that Schelling forms the transition from Kant to Hegel, that Hegel is the legitimate successor of Kant, and that Hegel's philosophy is the *ne plus ultra* of intellectualism. With all due respect for the opinions of Prof. Watson, we do not think that either Schelling or Hegel should be regarded as in the line of philosophical succession from Kant, that Kant would have recognized either of them as expounders of his philosophy, or that either of them advanced beyond or improved upon his thought.

Kant maintained the relativity of knowledge, and showed with masterly ability that, since there is necessarily a co-operation of object and subject in every act of cognition, the pure object, except as modified by the subject, can never be known. Consequently, it can be known only under the condition of sense and understanding, only as an appearance, only as a phenomenon. As Lewes observes, "The great outcome of the *Kritik* was a demonstration of the vanity of ontological speculation." In his introduction to the *Kritik*, Kant says, "Let us therefore content ourselves with our own kingdom, instead of crossing perilous seas in search of kingdoms inaccessible to man." But while Kant was the precursor of the modern philosophy of relativity, by what Lewes well calls an "initial misconception" in his attempt to isolate the subjective from the objective the element in act of cognition, he opened the way for Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, with all their speculative fancies. The inconsistency is now well understood. Kant tried to hold positions that contradict each other. "The whole drift of his polemic against the ontologist," says Lewes, "was to show that knowledge was limited, relative, and could not extend beyond the sphere of possible experience; but, while thus cutting the ground from under the ontologist, he was also anxious to cut the ground from the sensationalists and sceptics, and therefore tried to prove that the mind brought with it an *a priori* fund of knowledge."

The moment Kant admitted that there is other than experiential knowledge, and claimed that there is an *a priori* element in all thought which can be studied separately, he took a position utterly inconsistent with his demonstration of the relativity of knowledge. And it was this *inconsistency* that formed the main point of contact between the philosophy of Kant and the different system of German idealism. This inconsistency was, as has been well said, the back door through which entered ontology, when it had been barred out at the main entrance. "Through this inlet," says Fiske, "entered Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, with their swarm of mediæval conceptions, to perturb the onward course of philosophy." Had Kant been acquainted with a psychology based upon evolution, he would have seen that the so-called transcendental element of the mind, although independent of the experience of the individual, is derived from accumulated ancestral experience. In showing this, Herbert Spencer, with unsurpassed originality of thought, has reconciled the sensational and transcendental systems of philosophy, and, while strengthening the main position of Kant, has shown the weakness of those very admissions upon which have been constructed the speculative systems of Schelling and Hegel. The principal portion of Kant's philosophy, with the additions that have been made to it by his real

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successors,— those who have kept in his main line of thought, but have added to his philosophy all that is required to make it accord with the facts of mental evolution,— rests upon an impregnable foundation; but all who feel the necessity of the earth as a standing place, while they look up to the heavens above them, will distrust the philosophy of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and all other idealists, who, by denying objective reality, would leave us without either the earth or the heavens.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A FINE edition of Thucydides will presently be ready at D. Lothrop & Co.'s. The translation is by Dr. Jowett, Master of Balliol and Greek Professor at Oxford; and it has an introduction by Rev. Dr. Peabody, of Harvard College.

THE first of a series of articles from the pen of the brilliant writer, Dr. Felix L. Oswald, will appear in *The Index* next week. "A Third Letter to Mr. Wasson," omitted this week to make room for contributors, will be printed in our next number.

A DESPATCH says that Paine's *Age of Reason* and Voltaire's *Philosophy*, ordered from a publisher in the United States, have been seized by the collector of customs at Montreal. This ignorant collector would not, of course, think of seizing Spencer's *First Principles*, Huxley's *Lay Sermons, or even* Haeckel's *History of Creation*, although Paine in comparison with these writers was orthodox.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* says that instances of man's cruelty to the lower orders in the animal kingdom are common in the fish-mongers' shops of London. It mentions that codfish are imported alive in salt water tanks, not so much to insure a supply of fresh fish as to give epicures a chance to serve their tables with crimped cod, to prepare which incisions reaching to the bone are made while the fish is alive and writhing under the knife.

THE Society for Ethical Culture of Chicago announce a course of lectures, as follows: Sunday, February 11, Prof. Felix Adler, subject "The Need of an Ethical Movement"; Friday, March 9, Rev. M. J. Savage, subject "Natural *versus* Conventual Ethics"; Sunday, March 25, B. F. Underwood, subject "The Scientific View of Ethics"; Sunday, April 15, W. M. Salter, subject "The Mission of Ethical Societies"; Sunday, May 13, Prof. Francis Parker, subject "Moral Training in Public Schools"; Sunday, June 10, Prof. Felix Adler, subject "The Science of Morality."

IN the San Francisco *Wasp*, the reasons "Why a Roman was not Elected" are given as follows: —

Coriolanus, noble Roman,
Wouldn't give the voters taffy;
Wouldn't tell 'em they were brilliant;
Wouldn't tell 'em they were valiant;
Wouldn't kiss the Roman babies;
Said he'd see their dads in hades
Ere he'd buss the dirty youngsters
Of a horde of swelling bungsters;
Said no office he would fawn for;
No, his toga he'd first pawn for
What he needed; no, he wouldn't
Give 'em taffy: no, he shouldn't.
Thus it was the noble Roman,
Fearless, peerless Coriolanus,
Just as might have been expected,
Never came to be elected.

MANY times the past few years, M. Renan has received from some person the following sentence: "Si pourant il y avait un enfer!" ("Yet if there should be a hell!") M. Renan appreciates the solicitude for his soul evinced by his unknown friend. "But hell," he says, "is a supposition very inconsistent with what we know of divine goodness. Moreover, if there be one, I can conscientiously affirm that I have not deserved it. A small amount of purgatory would perhaps be fair; and I would run the chance of that, as paradise would come next, and pious souls, I hope, would obtain indulgences to shorten my stay in purgatory. The infinite goodness that I have experienced in this world inspires me with the conviction that at least an equal goodness pervades eternity, and in that I put my trust."

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston *Transcript* grumbles in the following manner at having to pay for other people's religion: "In an interesting article in your columns of January 5, on 'The National Schools of England,' I find these words: 'America blossoms with voluntary churches, and everybody is contented. Nobody pays for anybody else's religion.' If the latter sentence were true, I think everybody would be contented; but, as long as church property is exempted from taxation, it is not true. And I know a good many non-religious but very patriotic and excellent people who are thus made to pay for other people's religion, who are not contented. I have the charity to believe that Deacon Smoothface would think it mean to ask me to pay two or three dollars a year for his religion. Is it less mean for the whole Church to do it?"

THE *Presbyterian* referring to Prof. Gunning's article in *The Index* on "By-Ways of Science in Colorado" says: "Prof. Gunning, whose name was made familiar to the readers of the *Presbyterian* some years ago by certain lectures delivered at Westchester, Pa., had departed from view, and his name had almost vanished from our memory, when it was recalled by an article written apparently after a quest for a silver mine in Colorado. He speaks as if misfortune had wrought in him a melancholy mood, and, in his 'farewell,' forgets his high scientific formulas in the vernacular of the mines: 'Farewell now to Colorado. Poor, miserable men are torturing thy mountains for silver wherewith to measure the fruitful labors of other men. A better civilization will leave thee to thy coneys and quails, and on her retreating flag will write a travesty of this Pitkin motto:—

"In silver they trusted,
In Colorado they busted."'"

Our Presbyterian friends will probably be glad to be informed that Prof. Gunning has sunk into no "melancholy," nor abandoned science for unsuccessful mining speculations. He was in Colorado in his professional capacity.

THE *Catholic Review* has, it thinks, discovered "the origin of Congregationalism," and "where, of course, our independent friends would desire above all things to find it,—that is, in the Bible." It finds an account of the primitive Congregationalists in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers, which contains the history of Core, Dathan, and Abiram, or, as King James' version has it, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. "But now what was the result of this solemn protest of the leading men of the holy congregation?" asks our pious contemporary. Here is the answer: "The anger of the Lord was kindled against them. He called upon the faithful people to separate themselves from those men and their followers. The glory of the Lord descended upon the tabernacle. Suddenly, the earth broke asunder under their feet, and opening her mouth swallowed them up with their tents and all their substance; and the account says, 'They went down alive into hell, the ground closing over them, and they perished from among the peoples.' That certainly was not an encouraging result for the cause of primitive Congregationalism." Now will our neighbor, the *Congregationalist*, favor the world with its opinion as to the origin of the Roman Catholic Church?

"A SOMEWHAT widely known newspaper man west of the Missouri River" writes to the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, asking the editor if he cannot prevail upon Col. Ingersoll to attend a "séance." "We can," he adds, "make him acknowledge the truth, or brand him as a coward. You could by that one stroke convert thousands of his followers." To this, the editor of the journal replies: "Col. Ingersoll has, if we are not mistaken, already had some experience with mediums. It is not at all likely that his mind is any more open to the reception of the truths of Spiritualism than are those of many of the theological dignitaries whom he assails. His work is pre-eminently one of negation. He tells only what has been told a thousand times before in more polished, philosophical, and logical ways; but his stalwart utterances, oratorical powers, and good luck have enabled him to make a bigger dent in the public mind and put more money in his pocket than has any other man. If our esteemed correspondent can successfully assist in convincing Col. Ingersoll that he can fill the largest halls and theatres in the country with people at a dollar a head to listen to his affirmative exposition of the truths of Spiritualism, its facts and philosophy, we will agree, on our part, to convince the great orator of the verity of spirit communion." It is our conviction that the audiences of Col. Ingersoll, should he lecture in defence of Spiritualism, would be quite as large as those he now addresses. It is the personal qualities of the man and the orator, not his views, which attract large audiences.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

VICTORY.*

At last, upon the heights of victory flew
His banner battle-torn;
On the scaled mountain-tops, his sandals grew,
Resplendent with the red of morn.
Hyperion-like, he stood,
Emerged from steep ascent, where glued in blood
His torn feet oft had clung,
As up from crag to crag he sprung.

Triumphant over pain and tears
And struggle long of weary years,
He stood and gazed o'er all the scene below,
Far-stretching, solemn, radiant with auroral glow,
While upward-swelling Memnon-music thrilled his ears.

B. W. BALL.

For *The Index*.

ELECTION DAY.

BY "OLD BIRCH."

To-day, we meet in equal right,
Each voter of our land,
To judge the law, and in our might
Like kings to give command.

In days of yore, the prophet wrote
The law the books reveal,
And never asked the people's vote,
To sanction or repeal.

"Thus saith the Lord," and word divine
Was high authority;
But highest law, we now define,
"Thus saith majority."

The rights of man by ballot turned
'Gainst rights of things divine,
The holy law is often spurned,
When voting men combine.

The common law of all mankind
Is written deep within:
The ten commands we there may find,
Condemning all our sin.

CRAFTSBURY, Vt.

* A passage of Carlyle freely versified.

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The Index.

BOSTON. FEB. 15, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For The Index.

ABOUT BOOKS.

An Essay read at the Opening of the Library of the Pioneer Free-thought Club, Montreal, Sunday evening, Nov. 12, 1882.

BY GEORGE ILES.

In 1880, the Pioneer Free-thought Club was established for purposes sufficiently indicated by its title; and, to-day, we meet together to the formation of a small library which the generosity of members and friends of the Club has placed at its disposal. The purchases are not yet all received, but are so largely so as to warrant no further delay in a formal opening of the collection to the Club. Those who hereafter may attend the meetings of the Club will have access not only to books of mark in general science and literature, but also to works of a radical and ultra-radical character usually difficult to be obtained, and yet precisely of the kind in request by such a membership as that which meets here week after week.

On this inaugural afternoon, your President has been kind enough to invite me to make a few remarks about the contents of your shelves; and firstly, then, as to such of your books as are of a pronounced free-thought character. Most of you have placed yourselves outside the fences of dogma and all assumed finalities, treating many questions as open which most of our neighbors regard quite as settled as the multiplication table; and your committee have had no other principle of selection and exclusion in this field of literature than the simple one of accepting every work treating an important radical question, provided the treatment be able and sincere. No book intentionally coarse or indecent sullies your shelves, but works can be found there discussing the crying evils of our time in plain English, and proposing remedies, how far desirable may be debated, in equally plain English. The bases on which morals and the institutions of the family and property rest you will find in your library investigated by the ablest thinkers of our time, with the result of producing in the mind of any candid reader an appreciation of the value in the main of the moral systems and the laws and customs relating to family and property handed down to us from the past, which appreciation, though tempered by the desire for all practicable reform, will have more intelligence and vital warmth than the mechanical acceptance of ready-made opinions which is the paralysis of so many human brains.

Your library contains as able criticisms of Christianity as are to be found, and it has been thought only fair to provide the ablest expositions and defences of it. So that Paine, Holyoake, and Greg are accompanied by Butler, Paley, and Dawson; and if any members of the Club should form convictions which we as free thinkers admit *may* be true, and so desire to enter the ranks of Catholicity or Protestantism, there are opportunities afforded to them here in the shape of powerful pleas by leaders in the great bodies named. Any one curious to know the distinctive features of any of the great movements intended to supplant Christianity may read the works describing and advocating views as diverse as Positivism and Secularism, Materialism and Spiritualism. The aim of your committee has been to select the ablest advocates of these schools, such as state their positions most clearly and concisely, that the constructive thought of our time may be represented no less worthily than the critical and iconoclastic. Your shelves also bear books of a distinctively reform type,—works on woman's rights, the total abstinence doctrine, and heredity as declaring the duties of parents in bringing children into the world, on physiology as prescribing the rules which as animals we must obey to be healthy and happy, and, lastly, works critical of our governmental methods and suggesting reform in our plans of representation and in our civil service.

Thus much for such part of your books as may be specially radical and critical. Taking up the subject of the proper use of books and referring to the general contents of your shelves, I beg leave to make a few remarks about reading. We have on record the opinions of great authors, themselves great readers, on this topic. They join in one advice. Let us read what we like. Tastes, as a rule, determine what the make of our minds specially fits us to remember and to use; for attention is the handmaid of memory, and there can be no attention without lively interest. Some readers are attracted to biography and history, others to science and discussion, others again employ books as a means of recreation, and seldom read anything but novels or travels.

In marking out a course of reading, the tastes, it may be observed, should not solely be our guides: there ought to be a variety and balance in our reading, to refresh our powers and develop such sides of our nature as might otherwise suffer from entire neglect. Many a boy who would never of himself have risen above the selection of cheap novels has had the delight in better things aroused within him by the timely direction of his attention to good books by parent or other friend. And, at all times of life, men and women conscientiously desirous of reading the best books feel under obligations to any one who may speak to them of works of value of which they did not know.

Reading is always productive of best results, when it is systematic, when it has an aim, a reasonable aim, which may be reached in such circumstances of leisure as the reader finds himself in. When forming a plan, it is well to remember the three main classes into which books may be divided: firstly, those which improve the mind as an instrument of thought; secondly, those which store the mind with facts and principles; and, thirdly, that class of literature which mainly consists of poetry, narrative, and the *belles-lettres*.

Now, although our modern printing-presses roll from their cylinders very many thousands of new books every year, yet so few of these have the originality, the power, and importance which go to make up books of mark, that no one with moderate leisure need despair of enjoying the cream of contemporary English literature. As Goethe said, "There are many echoes in the world, and but few voices," so that it behooves readers of limited leisure to see carefully to it that they read only the best books. A special class, reviewers, are employed to tell us whether a new book has value or not; and it would be unwise indeed to handle the chaff of the numerous publications issued with titles of promise, when we have a competent staff of critics to point us to where the grains of wheat lie winnowed out.

Returning to the brief classification made of books, and beginning with such as are intended to improve the mind as a thinking instrument, the most competent judges on the matter tell us that the best books on Logic are those by Mill and Bain; on the Principles of Science, that by Jevons; and on Evidence, as a brief compend, that by Stephens,—as a full treatise, that by Taylor. Of these works, I think that by Jevons the most valuable. He details with great power the methods of observation, experiment, and generalizing which have made science what it is. He tells us of the legitimate spheres of analogy and hypothesis, and shows by striking illustrations the high value of the trained imagination to the scientific worker. Jevons argues, from the infinity of natural phenomena and the limits of our powers, that our knowledge in science can never rise beyond high probability, what are called the uniformities of nature he cannot regard as absolutely established or capable of such establishment, and on this high ground he would combat all the children of dogma who, with but most fragmentary knowledge of this infinite universe, are provided with completely wrought out theories of its origin and destiny. Jevons has endeavored to marry mathematics and logic, and the first chapters of his work on that account do not interest the general reader. The ingenious author has illustrated the mechanical side of inference by inventing a logical machine, which, when charged with the symbols corresponding to premises, indicates the deductions, after manipulation of its keys.

The works on Logic by Mill and Bain give systematic accounts of our reasoning faculties and of their processes, whereby they digest from facts the vital truths they contain, they warn us of bias, illusion, and fallacy, and of that leaping the discrepant gaps of evidence, and of verbally forcing a fact to mean more than it truly does, which are the bane of some of the writers who believe themselves to be in the very vanguard of science. Besides these works on formal logic, the art of reasoning, the faculty of good judgment and the dignity of fairness are taught us by all the best scientific books of our time, for example is better than precept; and, just as one learns grammar incidentally in reading any carefully written book, so one learns to be logical and candid not so much from those who lay down logic and candor with the formality of a schoolmaster as from those true kings of men who embody them in their writings, and without ever naming them glow in every line with their spirit. The highest phases of ability are usually unconscious in performance, and we always find that a small banner of truth which does not hide the man who holds it up; and this brings me to the second division of literature marked off this afternoon,—namely, to the books of fact. The most striking scientific book of this age is Darwin's *Origin of Species*, striking because of its showing law to hold where mystery and miracle had held feebly disputed sway, striking because of the patience and laborious research it displays and the fairness and justice with which difficulties are stated and such of the arguments as are comparatively weak set forward only as such. Surely, any course of reading for information should include this book. Of similar interest is the *Descent of Man* by the same author, wherein the evidences of the evolution of our race are stated with the clearness and patent love of truth which characterized all the varied work of the greatest naturalist of this age. And here, since man is ever to himself of supreme interest, let me speak of Huxley's *Physiology* and Ribot's *Heredity*, works which tell us of our frames and functions and of the requirements for worthy transmission and the responsibilities of it. Conscience may impel us to duty, but only science can tell us what our duty is. Of heredity, we should know all that is established as science; for why should one ignorantly take the chance of bringing into life human beings with organic ailments or morbid mental tendencies? When men and women realize how their vices are punished in their children, and how disease and wickedness inexorably reproduce their kind, the breeding of children may receive some of the attention now confined to the propagation of horses and cattle.

Man physical suggests man mental, and an account of the powers of the human mind cannot be more acceptably presented than in Carpenter's *Mental Physiology* and Spencer's *Psychology*. These works explain the connection between bodily states and mental conditions, and trace the genesis of our faculties through individual experiences accumulated and organized in the line of our race until such powers as those of Milton or Newton become possible among mankind.

From the science of man as man, we may properly pass to some good description of man's dwelling-place, nowhere better rendered than in the brilliant pages of Lyell's *Geology*, where the history of our planet, in its progress from chaos to order according to laws now plainly obeyed around us, is told in a fascinating manner. And the remarkable effects produced by human agency in transforming the face of the earth have been ably set forth by the late Prof. Marsh, of Burlington, Vt., who recently died at his post as American Minister to Italy.

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If we are curious to know something of the life which shares our planet with us, we cannot do better than read Gray's *Botany* and Morse's *Zoölogy*,—works at the head of their respective departments of scientific literature. The description of the peculiarities of plants, fishes, insects, birds, and beasts, and an account of their adaptation to the circumstances of food supply, of prey, of soil and climate where we now find them, is a study of absorbing interest. No less so is the tracing of relationships between the forms of organized life which now people the world and those extinct species whose remains geological exploration discovers,—species which, through inelasticity of constitution, could not adapt themselves to suddenly changed surroundings, and so were obliged to dwindle in numbers until the last specimens ceased to maintain a struggle too severe for them. A knowledge of this particular world inevitably leads to a desire for knowledge about the other worlds which circle the sun with us, and the bright stars which throng the midnight skies. The best author here, I think, is Lockyer. He has most clearly told the story of astronomy, and best stated the principles by which the complicated motions of the orbs which swim in space around us have been reduced to calculation,—calculations so exact as to enable accurate predictions to be made for years in advance, not only of eclipses and transits, but of meteoric showers and of the wayward recurrences of our cometary visitors. Lockyer gives a very beautiful explanation of the spectroscope, the wonderful instrument which has established the kinship of suns separated by whole celestial diameters, and has shown it highly probable that all the members of our solar system have from time to time been flung out from a great central mass to condense into independent spheres of diverse fortune. The spectroscope shows not only what suns are made of, but the rate and direction of their movement with respect to the earth; and, in a variety of ingenious ways, the prism and its spectrum have been catechised to tell the composition and consistency of the heavenly bodies, and to aid the observers of eclipses, transits, and the fleeting meteors which, from whence we know not, stream across our sky.

You may have noticed, as I have been speaking, how much support modern astronomy gives to the theory of evolution; and that brings me to mention the systematic works which advance the theory and connect the natural sciences together, and interpret them by means of it. Of such works, the best are unquestionably those of Herbert Spencer. He has wrought into a system the evidences of evolution with masterly skill, and shown the greater meaning nature has, when looked at from the point of view of development, of the genesis of all things from the simplest conceivable conditions through natural agencies, such as we can see to-day in operation around us. For those who have not the time to read Spencer's works as a system, I would recommend, as furnishing the key of all his other volumes, that entitled *Illustrations of Universal Progress*. The essay in that book on "Progress, its Law and Cause," sums up briefly the main argument for evolution. Spencer's system has been presented very admirably by Mr. John Fiske, of Harvard, in two volumes entitled *Cosmic Philosophy*. The original additions are of value, and the style is more popular than Mr. Spencer's. Before taking leave of Mr. Spencer, let me name his books on education, the *Data of Ethics* and the *Study of Sociology*, as works every member of this Club should read. His *Descriptive Sociology* is a compilation of great interest. It contains in a series of eight volumes the chief facts known in the histories of the English and French nations, and some of the Asiatic races and savage tribes. The facts relate to government, arts, customs, and manners, and only incidentally to the regal state, the wars and intrigues which used so largely to fill the canvases of historians. The *Descriptive Sociology* (of which a set can be seen in the McGill Library), from its extent, cost, and the little interest felt in it by the public, has entailed a large pecuniary loss upon its author. Yet it surely marks an epoch in the literature of social science, and points to the time when history shall be chiefly sifted for such facts as enable us to understand the best conditions for the progress of our race in national well-being and international morality; when we shall be more interested in the condition of the average workman or peasant, and his place in the scale of character and knowledge, than in an account of the divorces or debauches of his monarch; when we shall be more concerned in inquiring into the causes that lead up to a Shakspere than in the pageants, squabbles, and murders of his queen. Then, such a work as Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology* may be appreciated as it deserves, and perhaps serve as a model for some of the historians of that future time. Among histories, the best ancient ones are those of Pliny, Herodotus, and Xenophon, to be read, of course, with the matchless Lives of Plutarch. Of histories written by Englishmen, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* stands first; while, of historians of England, Knight and Green are accredited as the best. Carlyle, in the beginning of his *Life of Frederick the Great*, gives a masterly account of the rise of Prussia,—that power which, within a century, has come from the fourth rank to a foremost place in Europe. Among histories of France, critics give the preference to that of Thiers.

Social science, as far as its wide and difficult field has been cultivated at all, has chiefly borne fruit in political economy,—a study attendant with high interest from its elucidations of the laws of trade, its treatment of the population and wages questions, and of the methods of taxation and the proper sphere of government. Political economy, for all that it has a vast literature to itself, has not yet reached such dignity as a science as that its main propositions have passed from the realm of debate to that of universal acceptance. Free trade and protection still divide nations; and two schools, the socialistic and the individualistic, maintain the contrary tenets that government control should be paramount in society, education, and business, and that the sphere of government should be as much restricted as may consist with the maintenance of order and the enforcing of contracts. The unsatisfactory state of political economy as a science may be due to the complexity of the phenomena it seeks to formulate, and to the disturbing forces introduced into its problems by the sentiments, affections, and ignorance of men. For mankind are impelled by other motives than self-interest, by feelings national and religious, and by their domestic instincts; and, granting self-interest to be strong, how few men have the foresight, reason, energy, and self-control to work for true self-interest! In this connection, let me name Fawcett's *Political Economy for Beginners*, Mill's great treatise, and the volumes of Walker, Cairnes, and Bastiat for such readers as wish to go pretty fully into the subject.

So much for such reading as may be intended to improve the mind as a thinking instrument, and give it something to think about. A large department of literature remains to be noticed, and that very briefly. It is the field of letters in which imagination enters,—poetry, fiction, and purely literary essays. All these minister chiefly to pleasure, and only incidentally to use. A sonnet of Milton or Wordsworth exalts the feelings, and stirs up depths of our nature unaffected by the presentation of bare fact or the appeals of logic; and in the enjoyment of poetry and imaginative literature lies the main relief which hard workers find in books. Poets of the highest qualities of inspiration suggest thoughts which men of science afterward work out in things. Emerson is the prophet of evolution, as Darwin is its chief demonstrator and Spencer its philosopher. He said forty years ago, in his essay on "Nature": "A little heat—that is, a little motion—is all that differences the bald, dazzling white and deadly cold poles of the earth from the prolific tropical climates. All changes pass without violence, by reason of the two cardinal conditions of boundless space and boundless time. Geology has initiated us into the secularity of nature, and taught us to disuse our dame-school measures, and exchange our Mosaic and Ptolemaic schemes for her large style. We knew nothing rightly, for want of perspective. Now, we learn what patient periods must round themselves before the rock is formed, then before the rock is broken and the first lichen race has disintegrated the thinnest external plate into soil, and opened the door for the remote Flora, Fauna, Ceres, and Pomona to come in. How far off yet is the trilobite! how far the quadruped! how inconceivably remote is man! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to the oyster; farther yet to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come, as surely as the first atom has two sides."

I think no class of books is more important to be read and reread by men of a practical and sceptical turn than poetry; and, with singers of such power and various music as our literature contains, surely every man may find at least one in the great choir to delight and interest him,—Shakspere for universality, Milton for sublimity and stirring independence, Pope and Tennyson for philosophic insight and subtle treatment of the problems of modern thought, Byron and Shelley for passion and denunciation of the hypocrisies and bigotries of our time, Emerson and Bryant for lovers of nature, Scott for description and animated narrative. The great essayists, too, are a relief and refreshment after the perusal of weighty books,—Bacon, as annotated by Whately; Emerson, so rich in aphorism; Macaulay, the master of clearness and picturesqueness; and old Carlyle, with his masterpiece on Burns and his diatribes on modern tendencies, prejudiced, spiteful, and abounding with grim humor, furnishing us not food so much as admirable correctives for any undue confidence we may have in nineteenth-century progress. Every great imagination—Homer, Cervantes, Shakspere—has given the world texts which apply to the newest events with as much aptness as to the occurrences in the original writings. We are told by the great Spanish romancer how Don Quixote once placed upon his head what he declared to be an invincible helmet. Full of faith in his declaration, he laid the helmet on the sward, and brought his Toledo blade down upon it with disastrous effect. Much chagrined, he repaired the cloven headpiece, and placed it on his head once more. Very soon, the old spirit of brag repossessed him, and he resumed all his former declarations as to the resisting qualities of his head-gear; but he was careful not to place it upon the sward again. How all this becomes a parable, when we see the crude ideas of savage times current in an age of civilization, lauded as absolute verities notwithstanding great damage from encounters with astronomy, geology, and natural history!

Mythologies, amid all their extravagances, have symbolized great truths. The Muses nine had for their mother Mnemosyne, the Goddess of Memory, signifying that more important even than the gathering of the materials of science and art is the retainment of them. And what is Nemesis, the Avenger, but that retribution which, burning at the core of all moral systems, is proved by universal experience to be the reaping of what is sown, the whirlwind from the wind, and inexorable pain from all breach of discipline? When the ancients placed the Fates above all gods and goddesses, did they not perceive the causation, the uniform law, which makes all future action, mundane and universal, but the fulfilment of a prevision which we can imagine an omniscient mind to entertain? Embodiments of the same idea vitalize the thought of Saint Paul, Saint Augustine, and Calvin, and their hard-headed following. In the modern struggle for existence, with its merciless competition and vast unscrupulousness, men would be the better for more commonly reading the noble poems and essays of our language. Who can rise from Bacon's writings without having his horizon widened? The great masters of expressed thought lift the reader up as religious people are lifted up by exercises of praise and prayer and the appeals of the pulpit; and mark how your Montreal beggar, reckoning on the softening influences of Sabbath ministries, goes his rounds the first thing Monday morning, and is seen no more for a week. There is little backbiting in households familiar with Shakspere, and scandal has little interest for men admitted to the society of the strongest-brained and warmest-hearted of their race,—the authors of our best books. Biography is an interesting part of the section of literature we are considering. Good biography incites emulation, marks the pitfalls of humanity, and gives an insight into the methods of men of genius, which is always interesting, and often delightful. The best books of this kind easily accessible are Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Ackermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*, and Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. Supremely to be named always in this department are Plutarch's Lives, which have served for ages as the model of graceful and noble delineation of human character.

Novel-writing has risen to its perfection in our times. The genius which in the Elizabethan period wrote dramas in the Victorian age has written novels, and the novelists of to-day have held up as clear and true a mirror to nature as ever did their compeers of the sixteenth century. The best fiction abounds with essential truth. No one can read George Eliot's novels or Hawthorne's romances without acknowledging

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their faithfulness in delineating character and analyzing motive; and so truly did Scott in *Ivanhoe* paint the canvas of the Norman conquest that Thierry, whom the romance incited to be the historian of the event, declares the work of the Wizard of the North to be essentially true and in harmony with the results of formal research. In the intelligent use of the literature of recreation, quite as much good may be done the mind as in the direct endeavor after mental improvement. Play and sport exercise the limbs of childhood with better results than the set and measured movements of the gymnasium; and the cultivated imagination, besides conferring refined pleasures on its possessor, may aid in the highest scientific work. Goethe's spendidly trained imagination reached out to the truths of modern morphology; and the mind which produced *Faust* first saw the skull to be but an enlarged vertebra, and the parts of a flower—calyx corolla, stamens, and pistils—to be but variations of the fundamental leaf.

Having thus briefly adverted to books which improve the mind as an instrument, store it with facts and refresh it by the scope of imagination and the play of fancy, it may be fitting to speak of the time-honored methods universally recommended to us as the best to fasten upon the mind what is read. These are chiefly the reading in quiet, without interruption, connectedly, with a purpose, with the habit of using notes not only for condensed transcription, but for the suggestions reading makes to us, and of reviewing the contents of a book when we have come to its end. Choice should be made only of great books, disregarding all mere dilutions, commentaries, and made-up volumes. The works one reads take a better hold of the mind when we make them topics of conversation among friends who may be interested in them.

No human faculty is more commonly overrated than memory. Let us take up a book of mark which we read a year or two ago, and with such an impression of it remaining that we may deem a reperusal unnecessary, and let us read it again, and we shall find how much of it will be new. A good note-book conveniently recalls at any time the main features of interest in a book, and saves the time needed for a rereading. It is a good plan, when reading up a subject, to take up two or more authors who have treated it rather than to give repeated attention to a single one. Such is the benefit of a new stand-point that even an inferior writer occupying it will give us some views worth having. Editors will tell you how much they value articles from occasional contributors who look at things with unprofessional eyes; and I think we lose much in the fact that many important groups of people are voiceless in the world of letters, and that the complaints of working men and women, of Irish tenants, of abused wives and children, and of many who feel themselves unjustly worsted in the battle of life,—all suffer through the inevitable loss of interpretation, when they indirectly speak through literary sources.

The change which is taking place in the form of literature, making it more and more serial year by year, leads me to make a suggestion, which your committee may pass upon as desirable to be carried out or otherwise. The weekly and monthly journals, reviews, and magazines now receive as contributions very much matter of a class which a few years ago would have appeared as books. This tendency has a disadvantage, growing out of the evanescence of the serial form and the vast breadth of modern literary production. Essays and reviews of value become difficult of access very soon after their appearance; and, through the constant renewal of the stream of good things published, articles of profound merit and interest do not attract the attention and leave the impression they should. In some cases, articles of this stamp are reprinted in book form; but, in the great majority of instances they are not reprinted, through their writers working a vein which, though golden, is restricted. Four years ago, Parkman wrote in the *North American Review* on the Failure of Universal Suffrage. About the same time, in the same review, appeared Boucicault's article on the Decline of the Modern Drama. In the *Fortnightly Review*,—during 1877, I think,—Leslie Stephen wrote "An Agnostic's Apology." These, and others of similar high value, if accessible in a library like this, would be read constantly and with profit. My suggestion is that your Library Committee, as far as their own reading of serial literature may go, and with such recommendations as the members generally may give them, supplement the serials subscribed for by purchasing such recent and current magazines as contain notable articles, and from time to time have them suitably bound, the titles of the articles they were bought for being indexed and included in the catalogue, a similar indexing being made of the most noteworthy articles in the magazines subscribed for.

While I am about it, I will take the liberty of making another suggestion, less likely than its predecessor to be adopted by your committee, but one perhaps worthy of consideration by the members of the Club. It is simply the keeping a scrap-book for newspaper clippings. I should like to have within the lids of mine the letter to the *Witness* three or four years ago, signed by your President, which was so able and striking in its free-thought positions as to lead to its writer's acquaintance being sought by the gentleman whose bequest to the Club forms the nucleus of your library fund. From time to time there appears in the press a brilliant fugitive poem, which, if not scissored and pasted, may never more be seen, and remain, like Pharaoh's dream, an impression without contents. How little known is Mr. Lyell's fine poem, the "Hindu Sceptic," which appeared as a reprint in *The Index* ten years ago! It is a brief, vivid summary of the Agnostic position. Among American poems of remarkable power are Wasson's "All's Well" and Ryan's "Song of the Mystic," but only when some good American anthology is compiled will they be known as they should be. In detaining curious phases of opinion, able and original argument, significant facts, and the fine flashes of the fugitive muse, a well-selected scrap-book is a treasure indeed.

Although newspapers contain so much that is good and interesting and even necessary to be known, yet their preparation is too rapid to be other than superficial and faulty. No daily journal can give sustained treatment of great questions. Sensation and amusement are demanded by its readers, and solid thought is felt to be out of place in an ephemeral paper which a week after date can scarcely be found except on the official file at the publisher's office. Whosoever wishes to read to purpose must resolutely curtail the time given to newspapers, and read chiefly summaries and headings, for your exhaustive reader of newspapers suffers from a restlessness of thought, which forbids the attempt at mastering any really important subject, and his attention, demoralized by distractions here and there, refuses to apply itself sincerely to any worthy purpose.

The same remarks apply to weekly and monthly publications, which must be eschewed by any reader economical of time, except in so far as they treat subjects he is studying.

Among the friends whom I honor in this city is a man who had but scant education in early life; but he had the courage to say, "I will be well informed." He had no unusual aids in the struggle of life; yet, duly regarding the demands of domestic, business and public duties, he has by systematic reading and study made himself master of three languages, and stored his mind richly with history and literature generally, and become possessed of an admirable style in both literary composition and conversation. No one in his circle of friends is more valued as an authority than he on the subjects he has made his own; and all this has been done with no more effort than many of us could make, if we chose. The means of information were never before in the world's history as accessible as now, and all that we require to avail ourselves of our good fortune is to cultivate interesting aims with the same system and persistence which our ordinary daily business demands of us.

TO STEAL into heaven by the modern method of sticking, ostrich-like, your head into fallacies on earth, equally as by the ancient and by all conceivable methods, is forever forbidden.—*Carlyle.*

SOCRATES and Confucius, Plato, Cicero, and Zoroaster agree unanimously in what constitutes clear understanding and just morals. In spite of their various differences, they have all labored to one point, on which our whole species rests. As the wanderer enjoys no greater delight than when he everywhere discovers, even unexpectedly, the traces of a thinking, feeling mind like his own, so are we delighted when, in the history of our species, the echo of all the ages and nations reverberates nothing but truth and benevolence to man.—*Herder.*

DARWIN AND EMERSON.

BY ROWLAND CONNOR.

[From a memorial discourse read at East Saginaw, Mich., January 7.]

Charles Robert Darwin's name stands first
Upon our list of last year's dead, stands first
In almost every quality which makes
Men lovable as well as great, stands first
Because of comprehensiveness of mind,
Because of power to grasp a multitude
Of facts, and hold them firm before his gaze,
Until, through all their seeming difference,
He saw a golden thread of kinship run,
And knew that life, all multiform as now
It seems, from ancient, primal germ has been
Evolved. Shrink we no longer from the thought
That we are kindred—far removed, indeed—
To all those lower forms which breathed and fed
And fought and died, and by their ceaseless strife
A firmer and a firmer hold did win
On life, until at last a conscious man
Was born; who rapidly away from all
His poorer relatives did run, until
In proud disdain upon them all he looked,
And loud denied his humble origin.
"I am heaven born," he cried, "made by the gods
To keep them company." And great indeed
Has been the scorn of Darwin's principle.
Loud has theology challenged its claims,
And hurled the old taunts—"heretic," "sinner,"
"Infidel"—upon men who could not swear
That all the world was peopled by that pair
Of flabby innocents that Hebrew tale
In Eden put six thousand years ago.
In spite of all abuse and senseless fear,
In spite of prejudice and human pride,
In spite of sentiment, in spite of all
Mistaken claims for revelation made,
All learned men are now agreed that thus,
As Darwin tells, did man to earth first come.
How foolish was our prejudice, indeed!
For all of man's hopes rest on lowly birth
And upward climb. The Eden of our wish
Must be before, not back. When this we learn,
And all its import fully understand,
We turn the tables on the old-time faith,
And cry aloud with joy, "I'd rather from
An ape grow up than from an angel be
Let down!"

But Darwin was not great alone
In store of knowledge that made others seem
But pygmies by his side, not great alone
In comprehensive grasp, but great in toil,
In patient waiting for the truth he sought,
In grateful recognition of the rights
Of other men, in modest estimate
Of all he did himself; so that of him
Another great man, writing, said, "He is
The one whom all to science given admire
And love." Admire and love! When words like these
Are spoke of one who never lifted sword,
Who never sat on throne or judge's bench,
Who was not noble by the breath of prince,
Or empty title bore, but only lived
A private, quiet citizen, then are
We sure that this old world is marching on,
Is better than it was, that nobleness
Inherent in the man can make its mark
To-day. And, spite of all that's bad and low,—
The brute which man as yet has not outgrown,—
The promise of to-morrow's rainbow bright,
All hail the coming dawn!

Our Emerson
Is not unworthy to be mentioned next;
For in an earlier day, when form and phrase
Had bound all minds in this our Western world,
He broke the bonds of custom's making loose,
And bravely told what truth his own eyes saw.
He was a prophet in that day, and spoke
So clear and loud that some were shocked, and some
Did cry with pain of old-time idols broke;
But all do give him credit now as one
Who helped inspire our younger men to be
To their own souls true, and not give any
Heed to what was simply old, as though age
Can make a lie the truth. To Emerson,
We owe a debt of gratitude that in
The years to come will be more fully seen
Than now is possible.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LIBERAL CHURCH.

W. J. POTTER, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—Let me thank you for your very interesting and suggestive replies to my request for more light on Liberal Church matters, which have been carefully read and considered. Your goodness has made me bold enough again to ask the use of the columns of *The Index*, not only for the purpose of hearing more from yourself, but to draw out the experience and maturer thoughts of others. Without wishing even to seem to imply dissatisfaction with your kindness or the excellency of your remarks, I think you will agree with me in believing that the case in all its completeness and importance has not yet been presented.

I am aware that the word "Church" is the red flag which rouses the rage of free thinkers. I confess myself not wholly a stranger to the feeling. So much mental slavery and degradation of manhood, so much of every thing repugnant to freemen, has been the result and purpose of ecclesiastical rule, that Voltaire's watchword, *Ecrasez l'Infâme*, seems the duty of every honest, enlightened soul. Nevertheless, as you have ably demonstrated, Churchism is an important factor in our present civilization, inherited from the past, called into existence by human needs and by the same means preserved.

The late Thomas Girard, in his reply here to Col. Ingersoll, reached his loftiest eloquence, moving his admirers to enthusiasm and tears, in his description of all that would be necessary before Christianity could be effaced from the memory of man or cease to influence him. A Celsus or a Julian could have been as eloquent and true regarding the religions which Christianity displaced; for, though buried fourteen hundred years, we have not yet escaped their influence. I do not believe that Churchism can be crushed. It seems to me that all effort in that direction is energy wasted. It is the dominant bigotry and ecclesiastical meanness which have found refuge and support in the Church which need opposition and exposition. As social beings, we need Church organization for mental improvement and religious culture.

Religion! another red flag in the infidel field. Like the Church, it will not be crushed. The efforts of the rationalists in that direction are very much like the efforts of so-called religionists in another, when they attempt to crush the exuberant spirits of youth, decrying everything as sinful which gives pleasure, and carrying on a crusade against art, music, and the drama, a crusade against human nature.

What do I mean by religion? I perceive a force in nature moving everything onward. In biology there is a gradual uprising from one form of life to another, as if an ideal existed in nature from which life flows, and to which it ascends, finding its finest illustration in man, whose aspirations are reaching forward to attain and find rest in the perfection of this ideal.

This instinct in man, this principle manifested in every form of evolution, which is pressing all things forward, is what I mean by religion.

Churches should be academies where the education of man's religious nature is the specialty of every member, where everything which retards progress will meet with special attention, and active, intelligent measures be continually brought to bear on its removal. This catholic Church will be altruistic, and with the Founder of Christianity will preach unselfishness as the only saviour of man; and Messiahs will be proclaiming a gospel to the poor, healing the broken-hearted, preaching deliverance, and spreading light and liberty everywhere. It is not necessary that a Church should be a museum for the preservation of antiquated forms of faith, creeds, bibles, and rituals, coats of mail, bows, arrows, shields, etc., the armor of our forefathers. Neither should their ideals be ours, unless it be the ideal before us which neither they nor we have attained.

I believe there never has been an age in which man's religious nature was more in earnest, more devoted to principle, more determined to be all and have all that the charter of his manhood demands. Yet this wakefulness, this independence, this sincerity and determination have been strangely named anti-religion, and christened Infidelity. Man in all this has simply been obeying the helm of religion. Unhappily, the work of the modern movement has been destructive, clearing away the forests and underbrush for better work; but, after so long labor, have we not clearances enough on which to build, plough, sow, and reap? Construction is now as necessary as destruction was and is. Furthermore, is it not about time that we met our brethren in the Churches half-way, making reasonable concessions and providing a way of escape for them? We know there are a vast number in the Churches who wince under the yoke placed upon their shoulders, and have outgrown the harness in which they are made to work, but who feel they need more than mere mental liberty, whose emotions need a field in which to work and a spirituality in which to grow. We of the radical school have possibly neglected a branch of our nature in which they may help us, while we may lend a helping hand in our peculiar way, and both be the better for it. Let us not be too harsh on their psalmody and prayers, which they may need, if they be useless: in a liberal church, they would soon be disused or modified to meet the demands of growth.

I will not now attempt to exhaust the subject, and I am sincerely glad to find movements of this character in so many places. Friends who have mailed me papers, constitutions, etc., will please accept my thanks. Notably among these, I am happy to mention that of the Unity Church of St. Paul.

Just as I had written the above, *The Index* of January 18 came to hand, in which I find that you have anticipated many of my thoughts, and given a more extended and clearer definition of religion. This placing religion within man, correlative with external things, prevents it ever being used in the interest of priestcraft, or to any other purpose than human advancement. Yours for catholicity and liberality,

J. W. MACKIE.

OAKLAND, CAL., Jan. 26, 1883.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM MR. BRINKERHOFF.

B. F. UNDERWOOD, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—I have received *The Index* of January 25, in which are published my letters of inquiry and your reply. That my single interrogatory should receive attention to the extent of a solid page of editorial, in such an able and crowded journal as *The Index*, is exceedingly complimentary to me, and you will please accept my best acknowledgments; but yet I am compelled to say (and I trust you will pardon me for so saying) you do not answer my question. (1)

You head my letters as "Correspondence from a Defender of the Faith," which is a mistake on your part. I did not appear in that attitude at all. You sent me a sample copy of *The Index*, which is the recognized organ of an association whose mission it is to destroy that system of philosophy and religion known as "Christianity," and of which I am an insignificant member, and without the least claim to recognition as an official exponent, defender, or representative. In my innocence, it seemed strange that so much ability, activity, and zeal should be exerted to weaken the influence of *Him* "who spake as never man spake" before or since, and whose moral teachings and example are acknowledged almost universally, even by those who deny their divinity, as the highest, the purest, the most ennobling known to man. In my curiosity, I inquired, *Cui bono?* With this explanation, my two letters could be reduced to a single word,—Why? Instead of fourteen assumptions, my letters in their object and intent were an interrogation-point (?),—nothing more, and nothing less.

To this interrogatory, you have not replied. Your response, on the contrary, is a condensation of the arguments against Christianity current in the sceptical literature of the world; and, I am compelled to say, it is quite able and very creditable in its arrangement, but there is nothing new. (2) To these arguments and assumptions (for of the latter you certainly have far more than you have ascribed to me), I make no reply. They have been answered a thousand times and in a thousand ways, far better than I could do it; but I would not attempt it, even were I a Bacon in argument or a Beecher in eloquence, and for the simple reason that I do not believe that scepticism can be cured in that way. "Verily, verily," said the great Teacher, in his most emphatic manner of utterance, "I say unto you, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

To talk to a blind man of the beauties of nature or the glories of art cannot convey to him a definite idea. His eyes must first be opened.

Argument to a deaf man in regard to the superiority of music to architecture is simply preposterous until his ears are unstopped. In short, there is such a thing as a spiritual sense, which is as definite and certain in its operations as the sense of sight or hearing. If you ask me to demonstrate this, I am prepared to do so upon precisely the same evidence that you demonstrate that a rose has color or odor, or that a musical instrument produces sounds; namely, by consciousness and human testimony. Nay, more, I offer to do it upon your own consciousness. (3) You reply, in your remarks upon what you call my "8th Assumption," "This cure would require us to take for granted theological doctrines which, after mature reflection, we have been compelled to reject, and to act as though we believed in that in which we do not believe." Not at all. All I ask of you is to believe in a personal God, and then in sincerity and truth *seek* to do "his will, and ye shall *know* of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (4)

You say, "How can these things be?" So said the learned rabbi and legislator, Nicodemus; but the Master replied: "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit. Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?"

This, my dear sir, is all I have asked. Nothing more, and nothing less. If you believe in a personal God, there is nothing in your present attitude or past experience that will stultify you in the least in complying. Do this, and thou shalt see and believe and live. "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."

To the truth of this, I tender the testimony of all true Christians in this and in every other age. When I say every true Christian, I do not mean professors merely, or the adherents of this or that particular creed or system of theology. All creeds and formulated systems of theology are man-made, and not God-made, and all, doubtless, are more or less erroneous; but, among the adherents of all these, true Christians can be found. "By their fruits shall ye know them." It is true I belong to one of the so-called sects, but, in my affiliations, I have long since, I trust, outgrown the boundaries or restrictions of any particular creed; and, personally, I have ceased to consider creed confessions as a test of Christianity. "The word of God is not bound." Whosoever—of any creed, of any name, or race, or condition upon the earth—confesses that Jesus is "the Christ, the Son of the living God," and looks to him as his Saviour and Master, and *seeks* to mould and guide his life by this divine example, although he may not be perfect in life and conduct, and may often stumble and fall, yet he is a Christian, he is my brother. "Believe me," said Jesus, "the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. But the hour cometh, *and now is*, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

Of course, to an atheist, a pantheist, or an agnostic, the test I propose is not applicable; for, if a man does not believe in a personal God, he cannot seek to do his will. But, to all others, I tender it in all sincerity; and I am ready to stand or fall by its results.

Very truly, R. BRINKERHOFF.

MANSFIELD, OHIO.

[(1) The question was plainly answered in the statement of the aim and object of this journal, in our desire to extend the circulation of which we evidently made no mistake in sending to Mr. Brinkerhoff a sample copy, for he has since very sensibly subscribed for *The Index*.

(2) Our article made no attempt to "present arguments against Christianity." Its only object was to point out the fallacy of numerous erroneous assumptions, which are regarded by multitudes as truisms, and which Mr. Brinkerhoff had repeated in a very positive and dogmatic manner.

(3) That there is a spiritual sense which is active in those who accept Christianity and dead or dormant in those who do not is another of Mr. Brinkerhoff's wild assumptions.

(4) We do not believe in a personal God; but while we recognize the intelligence and worth of multitudes who do so believe, we do not think much of a system that substitutes for argument and proof exhortation and promises. Mr. Brinkerhoff's letter is composed chiefly of mere "meetin' talk," and does not call for reply or comment.—ED.]

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"SANCTIFIED SCHOLARSHIP."

Editors of The Index:—

It is curious, not to say more truly what it is, to note the manner and tone in which the *Evangelist* speaks of Prof. Briggs' article in the January number of the *Presbyterian Review*, on the Old Testament controversy. I do not call attention to it because of any admissions or any value in the opinions either of Prof. Briggs or the *Evangelist*, though the editor appears to think the discussion on Prof. Briggs' part a most novel and wonderful performance, and particularly to be commended and imitated, *because it comes within evangelical party lines.*

But I cannot help noting, with mingled feelings of indignation and contempt, the particularly narrow and arrogant manner in which a great journal, representative of a great sect, seeks to hedge in and appropriate to party use a pretence of scholarship. I think it deserves the reprobation of every liberal-minded scholar and friend of truth.

That a great journal like the *Evangelist* should, in this late day and amid all the light which eminent heterodox scholars and those who started out as orthodox have thrown upon the study of the Pentateuch, set up a denominational bias, a predetermined opinion, as a commendable and requisite qualification of inquiry, is to me simply astonishing. Read his own words: "It is entirely lawful for Christian scholars to discuss, so long as they stand with Prof. Briggs on evangelical ground, as to the supernatural quality of the record; and, which we venture to add, *nothing but what has been termed 'sanctified scholarship' is competent to settle.*" In other words, unless discussion ends where it begins, in a foregone conclusion, it is neither "lawful" nor "sanctified." Will the day ever come when such narrowness and egoism will be eliminated from respectable evangelical journalism?

A. N. A.

Jan. 24, 1883.

BOOK NOTICES.

SCHELLING'S TRANSCENDENTAL IDEALISM. A Critical Exposition. By John Watson, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1882. Price $1.25.

This is the second volume of "German Philosophical Classics for English Readers." It presents, with precision and elegance, the speculations of Schelling, the different phases of his philosophical development, and the relation of his system to other forms of German idealism, especially that of Hegel. "The phases of Schelling's philosophy," our author says, "may be regarded as three: first, the period of storm and stress, in which, in harmony with Fichte's earlier philosophy, he refused to admit the reality of any Supreme Being other than the moral order of the world, as revealed to the individual in the idea of a moral perfection to which man can only approximate, and in the struggle toward which his life consists; secondly, the stage at which man and nature are regarded as two coördinate manifestations of a single activity that is revealed in each with fulness and perfection; and, lastly, the crowning stage, in which an attempt is made to prove the personality of God, while preserving the freedom and the moral responsibility of man." These phases represent "the change of one who cannot stand still, because he is the continual recipient of fresh light which he cannot avoid communicating to others." But Prof. Watson thinks Schelling's philosophy was in a large measure a failure, although interesting as the record of the intellectual development of a gifted mind, forming the transition from Kant to Hegel, in whom, if "the pure light of philosophy does not shine, it may safely be said that it has not yet shone upon the earth." Schelling's conclusions, arrived at in the last stage of his thinking, were reached, it is affirmed, "not by any rational and well-ordered method, but simply accepted on the guarantee of a flash of poetic insight." "In the last phases of his speculation, Schelling labors, with sinking spirits and only under the guidance of stray flashes of light, to establish the self-conscious personality of God." He could not give up belief in the universe as the abode of spirit; and, in attempting to coördinate nature and spirit, he swerved from the narrow path of ethical idealism, and assumed a close relation to Kant by falling back on uncritical intuition. Prof. Watson thinks the "best fruit of the study of Schelling is the hold it enables us to have over the infinitely richer and fuller system of his successor, Hegel."

The author of this volume passes judgment on the points of difference between metaphysical systems without reserve, and sometimes with as much confidence as though his speculations had all the certainty of demonstrated truth. The work is valuable, at least as showing what kind of theories and assumptions have been put forward in the name of philosophy.

THE SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCES OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION. By George J. Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Zoölogical Secretary of the Linnean Society. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883. Price 50 cts.

This is a little work of eighty-eight pages, which presents an epitome of the Darwinian theory with the proofs that sustain it, with which Darwin himself was so well pleased that he urged the author to publish it in a form which might admit of its being widely read. It is a sort of digest of the *Origin of Species*, and probably the best that has yet appeared. The language is clear, vigorous, and strong. The principles of natural selection, the struggle for life, etc., are stated so plainly that a child can understand them; and the main arguments from classification, morphology of structure, geology, geological distribution, embryology, and from certain general considerations, are marshalled with the skill of a masterhand. The author quotes approvingly the following sentence from Huxley in the Encyclopædia Britannica: "On the evidence of palæontology, the evolution of many existing forms of animal life from their predecessors is no longer an hypothesis, but an historical fact: it is only the nature of the physiological factors to which that evolution is due which is still open to discussion." Mr. Romanes is of the opinion that "natural theologians can no longer adhere to the arguments of such writers as Paley, Bell, and Chalmers without deliberately violating the only logical principle which separates science from fetichism." But, while he holds that Mr. Darwin's theory is in direct contradiction to the common theory of design or system of teleology, he thinks the Darwinian theory has no point of logical contact with the theory that behind all secondary causes there is "a primary cause of a mental kind." "Whether or not," he says, "there is an *ultimate* cause of a psychical kind pervading all nature, a *causa causarum*, which is the final *raison d'être* of the cosmos, this is another question, which, as I have said, I take to present no point of logical contact with Mr. Darwin's theory, or, I may add, with any of the methods and results of natural science." In this epitome of the evidence in favor of organic evolution, Mr. Romanes aims to show only that its facts "necessarily fall into the same logical category, with reference to any question of design, as that of all or any other series of facts in the physical universe."

PEARLS OF THE FAITH; OR, ISLAM'S ROSARY. Being the ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah. By Edwin Arnold, author of *The Light of Asia*, etc. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883. Price $1.00.

This book of poems, though a slighter work than *The Light of Asia*, aims to do for the Mohammedan faith what that well-known and popular poem did for Buddhism. Speaking as if in the person of an earnest but enlightened liberal Mussulman, Mr. Arnold would represent the religion of Islam in its highest and most spiritual aspects to the adherents of other faiths. In the preface, as explanatory of the title and purpose of the book, he says: "It is a custom of many Muslims to employ in their devotions a three-stringed chaplet, each string containing thirty-three beads, and each bead representing one of the 'ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah.' . . . The Koran bids them 'celebrate Allah with an abundant celebration'; and on certain occasions the Faithful pass these ninety-nine beads of the rosary through their fingers, repeating with each 'Name of God' an ejaculation of praise and worship. . . . In the following verses, I have enumerated these 'ninety-nine beautiful names,' and appended to each some illustrative legend, tradition, record, or comment, drawn from diverse Oriental sources, occasionally paraphrasing (as closely as possible) from the text of the Koran itself." Mr. Arnold has thus made the religion speak for itself, he being only a sympathetic interpreter. The versification, though not equal throughout, is in the main good, and has the proper Oriental flavor.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. CHARLES WATTS, of England, a prominent liberal lecturer, will speak at Paine Hall, this city, next Sunday afternoon and evening.

IN a letter to the New York *Times*, it is stated that Thomas Paine's monument at New Rochelle has been regularly washed of the stains of eggs that have seen better days by an elder in the Presbyterian church of the town.

MR. DWIGHT M. SABIN, who succeeds Mr. Windom as United States Senator from Minnesota, is a native of Connecticut, and worth several million dollars. It is astonishing the way the money-bags are being piled into the Senate Chamber.

THE estate of the late Rev. Dr. Mercer of Newport, which soon after his death was estimated at $200,000, is now found to amount to over $1,000,000. He had been taxed for $10,000, and great surprise is manifested at the revelation.

JOHN RICHARD GREEN, the author of the *Short History of the English People*, lies at the point of death, in England. He is one of the ablest followers of Macaulay's third chapter,—where the idea was first in modern history proclaimed that the human advance was the true object of the historian. The literary world will be considerably poorer for his death.

THE School of Political Science in New York City has suffered a serious loss in the death of Clifford R. Bateman, lecturer on Administrative Law. Mr. Bateman was the son of President Bateman, of Knox College, Illinois, graduated at Amherst College in 1876, at the Columbia College Law School in 1878, and studied afterward in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Paris. He was in his twenty-ninth year.

IT is said that the trustees of the Metropolitan Temple in San Francisco have decided to close it, and give its pastor, Rev. Dr. Kalloch, a year's vacation, without pay, in consequence of his action in letting it for a Sunday evening sparring match, which was attended by a crowd of hoodlums, for whom the regular organist played sacred music before the sparring began. Thus closes in obscurity, says an exchange, the career of a man whose vices lifted him into prominence, and who combined in the most offensive way the religious charlatan and the pot-house politician.

THE New York *Baptist Weekly* last week characterized Senator Ingalls' speech, on the occasion of the memorial services of the late Senator Hill, as "heathen talk in Congress." The editor concluded his article by saying, in substance, that Ingalls was an infidel and a heathen. To this, Mr. Ingalls replied: "If you are a Christian, I prefer to be a heathen. If your religion prompts or permits you, without provocation, to libel those with whose views upon the great problems of human destiny you do not agree, I prefer to be an infidel. But I am neither the one nor the other. I have had some doubts hitherto whether eternal punishment was consistent with infinite love; but I am quite sure that, if there is no hell for such bigoted slanderers and malignant liars as you, there ought to be."

W. A. CROFFUT, in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, writes as follows in regard to the death of the late Dr. George M. Beard, the neurologist: "I was in to see him on Monday. He smiled as he took my hand, and said: 'Behold a prostrate philosopher! I am a dying man. Don't mind what the doctors say: I know better than they. I shall never write or speak any more. But it is just as well. I have probably done my best work.' In his beliefs, he was an agnostic; that is, he held that we could know nothing concerning God or a future world. 'It is waste of time talking or thinking about these things,' he said. Within an hour of his death, he said: 'I wish I could put on record, for the benefit of science, the thoughts and experiences of a dying man. It would be a help to physiological investigation.' Then he called Dr. Dana to his bedside, handed him his last proofs from the press, and said: 'Doctor, you are familiar with my work: I shall be indebted to you, if you will finish that last chapter, and put it to press when I am dead. Henry,' he said to the errand-boy, 'run to the office and get my check-book.' When it was brought, he called for a pen and ink, and signed a check in blank. 'Draw some money to-day,' he said to Mrs. Beard: 'you will need considerable soon.' Scarcely an hour later, he asked the boy to lay a cloth over his face, and, when it was done, calmly said, 'Good-by,' and died."

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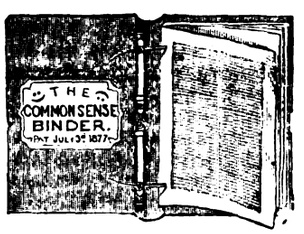

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 397

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Joseph Cook's Logic. Wm. J. Potter, ... 398
The Secret of the East. Felix L. Oswald, ... 399
The New Evangelists. Sara A. Underwood, ... 400
The Deleterious Influence of Quakerism on Philadelphia Life. W. S. Kennedy, ... 400
Evolution, B. F. Underwood, ... 401

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 402

POETRY.

Reveries, Mont E. Collins, ... 403

ESSAY.

Misconceptions of the Christian Clergy and Churches concerning Jesus, C. K. Whipple, ... 403

CORRESPONDENCE.

On the Nature of "Goodness," V. B. Denslow, ... 405
Who is Right? An Inquirer, ... 405
The Index and "The Nine Demands of Liberalism," J. A. J. Wilcox, ... 406
Recent Immigration, John Dixwell, M.D., ... 406
Reprobation, W. H. S., ... 406

BOOK NOTICES.

Notes on Evolution and Christianity, by J. F. Yorke, . 406
Early New England People, by Sarah Elisabeth Titcomb, 407
The Image Breaker, by John E. Remsburg, ... 407
The Popular Science Monthly, North American Review, Atlantic Monthly, Art Amateur, Unitarian Review, Revue de Belgique, ... 407

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 407

CURRENT TOPICS.

OF 4,410 burials occurring in the city of Paris, during the month of November, 1,207 took place without any religious ceremonies whatever.

THE Springfield *Republican* prophetically remarks: "Fast day has been fixed for Thursday, April 5, and the Governor's proclamation is in the hands of the printers. It is perfectly safe to wager that Gov. Butler will not quote a hymn." The *Republican* seemingly forgets in how pious a frame of mind the Governor's election found him.

THE courts of Australia have a very delicate question offered for their solution. A wealthy gentleman and good Catholic left by will $7,000 to be expended in masses for his soul while in purgatory; and, now, the executor of his will refuses to pay the money to the church authorities until they prove by legal process that any such place as purgatory exists. The decision of the courts will be anxiously awaited.

THE first Chinese paper published in this country was started in New York recently by Wong Chin Foo. He issued fifty thousand copies of the first number, and the demand was equal to the supply. He has already received a year's subscription for the paper, which is called the *Chinese American*, from Prof. A. Raux of the Lyceum in Alençon, France, and expects to secure a large number of subscribers from his native country.

SAYS *True Religion*: "Mexico, country of revolutions, is now having a revolution indeed, a complete overturning of old methods and of old ideas too, in the way of labor and commerce. And the railroad is what is doing it. By the way, the railroad is the great missionary of modern times. It will civilize, and that in the near future, China and Africa. The railroad and the telegraph will make the earth one people sooner than any gospel that can be preached."

THERE must be "something rotten," not "in Denmark," but in the good old Bay State, when her penal institutions are in such bad condition that there is incipient revolt among the inmates of her State prison, and her "reform school" for juvenile offenders is in such a state that a judge in this city recently refused to send there two wayward lads brought up before him for burglary, because he "did not deem it wise to send such boys as the prisoners to the institution at Westboro, which is already overcrowded."

THE Prussian Government, having discovered many instances of the illegal assumption of baronial titles among the younger branches of titled families, has ordered these cases to be investigated, and the fraudulent titles to be taken away on the 1st of April. There's the disadvantage of living under a "despotic government." Here, in free America, anybody is at liberty to take whatever title he chooses, from "professor," "captain," or "esquire," to "general," "honorable," or "count," without government interference.

A METHODIST minister of Birmingham, Ala., is slow in being converted to the principles of "civil rights," even in religious matters. He has been recently conducting a "revival" in his church; and, several negroes having the temerity to enroll themselves among his "converts," he published a notice to the effect that "my church is for white persons exclusively, and colored people are not invited or expected to attend." Moreover, the Atlanta *Methodist Advocate* defends the exclusive parson, and declares that "the conferences in the South need at least twenty more like him."

THE New York *Herald* comments as follows upon the unfortunate Arizona mining scheme, in which it has just transpired that the New York Methodist ministers were so deeply interested: "We doubt if the Methodist Book Concern has among its assorted lot of choice little Sunday-school stories anything that works up into quite such a nice and beautiful moral tale as that which we publish in another column under the head of 'A Methodist Mine.' It is the story of a naughty, naughty man, who wanted to endow the East Tennessee Wesleyan University with a couple of hundred thousand dollars, and, not having the exact change with him, gave a band of confiding ministers stacks of stock in a silver mine and got them to market it. The mine and the ministers were apparently worked for all they were worth. The ore eventually was found to be exceedingly valuable for railroad ballast, and it is somewhat apparent that Methodist ministers here and there will not be averse to offering discounts off for cash on prospective donation parties. This is very sad indeed; but we trust that the moral is not too painfully apparent to the clerical miners,—that ministers of the gospel who depart from their sacred calling to indulge in worldly speculations are apt to come to grief, whether the mine has been salted or not."

DR. SAMUEL KNEELAND, in a recent lecture in the Lowell Institute course on "The Chinese at Home and Abroad," said in substance that the conservatism of the Chinese prevents their progress being as rapid as that of the Japanese. Shrewd and energetic, they are gradually assuming the mastery of the Pacific, on land and sea, from Honolulu to Manilla. In his contest with the Malay, the Chinaman is eminently superior. In the strife between the European and the Mongolian, the latter, the lecturer averred, would eventually obtain the supremacy in the Pacific trade. The China Merchant Company of Canton has already many vessels on the Pacific, and the Chinese are fast learning the details of the steam carrying traffic. They own an almost inexhaustible supply of coal, brought by canal from the interior. Already, they have bearded the Pacific mail lion in his den. As the Chinaman is by nature a trader, he will surely appropriate to himself the profits of the small business. In the Philippine Islands, the Spanish government has a great difficulty in them to deal with. To avoid the heavy poll tax imposed by the Spaniards, a number of Chinese were induced to become agriculturists; but the experiment was a vain one. Massacre does not terrify them, banishment does not diminish their numbers.

THE first annual meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, held in the Meionaon on Wednesday evening and Thursday afternoon and evening of last week, was in every way a very enjoyable affair; and, if the crowds of interested and earnest-looking people who attended its sessions be taken as any evidence of increased popular sympathy for the movement, its hour of ultimate triumph is not very far away. Mrs. H. R. Shattuck, the President of the Association, explained in an able address "The Origin and Work of our Association," and in a later speech showed the untenable position of, and gave some excellent advice to, "Our Lady Opponents." Mrs. H. H. Robinson's address on "The Opportunity of the Democratic Party" showed a thorough acquaintance with our national politics. Miss Phœbe W. Couzins, of St. Louis, spoke "wisely, wittily, and well" at every session, on the last evening holding an audience that filled every foot of standing-room in the hall spell-bound for more than an hour; Miss Huldah Loud, of Rockland, Mass., gave a short but admirable and earnest address; and Mrs. Rogers, of Troy, read an essay replete with good sense, which gave evidence of broad and liberal thought on the part of the essayist. All the speeches, long or short, were pertinent, dignified, and earnest. Among those who thus spoke were Miss Hannie M. Todd and Miss E. M. Clarry. Not the least effective among the speakers at each session was Miss Roach, in her realistic personification of "Josiah Allen's wife." Some excellent music was offered; and there was congregational singing of Mrs. Robinson's Suffrage Song, composed for the occasion.

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JOSEPH COOK'S LOGIC.

Logic was never Joseph Cook's forte. His fondness for stringing together positive statements, definitely numbered and connected by a frequent "hence" or a "therefore," has given him the reputation in many quarters of being a strong reasoner. The term he has specially affected for his peculiar method of presenting his views is "axiomatic theology." Another phrase by which he likes to designate his theological beliefs in general is "scientific supernaturalism." And these constant references to "the scientific method" and to fundamental axioms have helped to strengthen the opinion among his admiring followers that he is an acute and precise logician. But it requires no very close reading of his lectures to see that in his numerical lists of accepted propositions there are not only many commonplace truths which no one would think of disputing, but also bare assertions of his own opinions without any substantiating proofs whatever. His journey around the world does not appear to have increased his logical power. If anything, he is more purely dogmatic than before. The main difference seems to be that he has added largely to his *répertoire* of "authorities" for the special opinions he advocates,—the first and foremost scholars being, as his audiences are always informed, on his side. The investigators, scientific or theological, who do not happen to justify his views, are dismissed as having little weight in "the most advanced circles of serious and educated men." For has not Mr. Cook "interviewed" all these circles abroad, and brought back their latest opinions?

As a specimen of Mr. Cook's strength of assertion and weakness of fact and argument, we would refer to the Monday Lecture printed, after his own revision, in the *Independent* of January 25. This was the lecture of which the "Prelude" discussed the question whether death ends probation. And this Prelude was so remarkable in some particulars, and has been so much talked about, that the Lecture itself has been quite forgotten. Indeed, the Prelude was considerably longer than the Lecture, and contained a good deal more of thought. That it was not, however, very strong in logic has been abundantly remarked,—especially in the contrast between its emphatic opening, "Give me no guess for a dying pillow," followed by an argument against the belief in probation after death as resting only on a "guess," and the emphasis afterward placed on the efficacy not merely of "death-bed repentance," but, we may even say, of *coffin* repentance for insuring salvation. For Mr. Cook's theory of the vivid awakening of conscience in the moment of death to a new moral choice that may then wholly change the personal condition for the future life, and that the moment of death may not really come until some time after the breath has left the body, is as purely a "guess" as theologian ever put forth. And practically, if this were to be preached and become embodied in popular belief, it would be quite as demoralizing, certainly, as would the belief in after-death probation, which Mr. Cook thinks so dangerous. People who find it difficult to put away their evil passions and adopt an amended life would be inclined to say, Let us wait for the great awakening of the better impulses which death will bring!

But we were more struck with the defectiveness of Mr. Cook's logic—we had almost written the word "dishonesty" instead of "defectiveness"—in the Lecture that followed this remarkable Prelude, particularly in the part headed "The Downfall of the Mythical Theory." In his numerical list of declarations on this topic, we find this amazing statement: "The mythical theory of Strauss, the legendary theory of Renan, the tendency theory of Baur,—all of them applications of a theory of development to the explanation of the origin of the New Testament literature,—are thoroughly confuted and shown to be now utterly untenable by serious and educated men." And, at the close of the Lecture, this statement, as far as concerns Strauss, reappears in still more dogmatic shape, and in the fanciful dress characteristic of Mr. Cook's rhetoric, thus: "There is not enough left of Strauss' mythical theory to make a fig-leaf large enough to cover the shame of historic scepticism." This triumphant conclusion of the Lecture was greeted, according to the report, with "loud laughter and applause." Mr. Cook doubtless, by the very assurance of his assertions, seemed to the larger part of his audience—though not, probably, to its more scholarly portion—to have maintained his thesis, and wholly proved, not only that Strauss was left nowhere, but that the authenticity of "the gospel history," including "the reality of the Christian miracles," is substantiated by, to quote his own words, "indisputably contemporaneous evidence, and the sneer of the infidels is overwhelmed."

And here are the steps of this overwhelming argument. Compared with the ponderous volumes which learned critics have written upon the question, it is like the advertisements we sometimes see of learning a foreign language in six lessons. Mr. Cook does not enter into the question of the composition of the Gospels. That would bring him at once upon disputed territory, and his short method would not work. He begins accordingly with a fact "admitted by Baur, Renan, Strauss, and all really learned infidels" that there are four of Paul's Epistles which are of undisputed genuineness; namely, Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans. In the next place, he asserts that these four undisputed Epistles "prove," not only that numerous Christian societies had been established at the time Paul wrote them, and not only that the doctrines taught by Paul and received by these societies are substantially the same as the Christian creed of to-day, but also—and observe the long stride here—"that in these societies there was agreement in the reception of the doctrines of our present Gospels as of Divine authority, and *of the history recorded in the Gospels as attested by the most irresistible and overwhelming contemporary evidence.*" The last part of this step is such an astonishing leap, and yet is so all-important to the argument, that we have put it in italics. In the third place, he attacks the question, When did Paul write these undisputed letters? He might have answered the question within certain admitted dates without any discussion. But here was a chance for a picturesque description drawn from the ruins of Rome, which would impress his audience as if the real evidence he was seeking was written in ineffaceable records of stone. And so he goes through the Colosseum, which was begun in 72 and built in part by captured Jews, and through the Arch of Titus, upon which are representations of utensils taken from the temple at Jerusalem when the city was captured by Titus in the year 70, and to the death of Nero in 68 (at this point, he exclaims, "Solid, unmistakable verities, these stones and these dates!") and thence back to the fact which "everybody admits, that Paul died in the reign of this despot." And now what is the momentous conclusion that comes at the end of this circuitous and picturesque historic journey among such "unmistakable" guide-posts? Why, this: "Paul certainly died under Nero, and, therefore, before 68. When did Paul write his Epistles? *Before he died!*" This happy exit from the Colosseum and the Arch of Titus and the solid verities of stones and dates was also greeted with "laughter and applause."

But the argument, of course, does not stop here. Having established the important point that Paul wrote these four Epistles before he died, Mr. Cook boldly proceeds to show that he must have written them several years before he died, and finally places them between the years 54 and 60,—simply, after all, agreeing herein with "Baur, Renan, Strauss, and all really learned infidels." And now comes the clincher. Mr. Cook here takes up what he calls, by one of his happy strokes of rhetoric, "a pair of chronological shears." The upper blade of these shears stands, he says, at the year 34,—the year when Jesus was crucified; and the lower blade stands at 54, the year when Paul wrote to the Galatians. We see now what is coming, and there is no escape from it. The sneering infidel is to be caught in those shears. "Thirty-four, fifty-four," ominously exclaims Mr. Cook. "Twenty years only between these blades! There is not time in twenty years for myths and legends to grow up and be mistaken for history." But Mr. Cook is not content to stop even here. By some sleight of hand and an arithmetical puzzle, which we do not yet quite comprehend, but in which Paul's three years in Arabia and the fourteen years between his two visits to Jerusalem get added together and their sum subtracted from the twenty years, our axiomatic theologian brings down those remorseless blades until they are only three years apart! No wonder, if all this be so, that Strauss' mythical theory should be cut down to a very diminutive and ineffective fig-leaf!

But what, after all, has Mr. Cook accomplished by this imposing parade of figures and dates and Roman ruins and verities in stones, and carefully numerated propositions? What was his purpose in it all? To make his hearers believe that Paul, in these four Epistles whose genuineness is undoubted, is an indisputable, overwhelming, contemporaneous witness to "the history recorded in the Gospels," including its narratives of miracles. But if any of his hearers, who responded with gleeful laughter and applause to his own triumphant statement of his belief that he had accomplished this purpose, having reached the calm seclusion of their homes, had taken their New Testaments to refresh their memories of these letters of Paul, they would have found—what? They would have found Paul expressly and even proudly disclaiming that he had received the gospel by any outward evidence or teaching, or known Jesus except through an inward revelation. They would have found him teaching the new religion as a *doctrine*, and not at all as a history of events "recorded in the Gospels." They would have found him proclaiming belief in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus as the central pivot of the new faith, but giving an account of the resurrection appearances in a manner much more consistent with the theory that they were spiritual or of the nature of a vision than that they were material. They would have found him speaking of miracles only in the vaguest way, as "signs and wonders" such as were generally believed to be in the power of religious prophets (and even of false prophets), but they would not have found him referring to a single special miracle alleged ever to have been performed by Jesus. In fine, from the beginning to the end of these four Epistles of Paul, these readers would have been struck with the exceeding scantness of any references to anything that Jesus personally did or said. In them all there is in fact but one solitary personal reference of this nature,—the reference to the last supper of Jesus with his disciples; and this differs from the corresponding accounts in the Gospels in a way to leave it inferable that they

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both came from a common tradition, and not that Paul had the gospel record before him. Indeed, there is not the slightest proof in Paul's Epistles that he knew anything of the gospel records. And "the history recorded in the Gospels" has but the slenderest support, if it must depend upon his testimony. Even his abundant corroboration of the fact that Jesus was *believed* to have reappeared alive after the crucifixion does not corroborate the gospel narratives of the resurrection.

We can well believe, therefore, that some of the more reflective of Mr. Cook's hearers, when thus calmly looking up the proofs of his argument in Paul himself, might be led to doubt whether those wonderful chronological shears had made such havoc with Strauss' mythical theory as the ardent Monday lecturer had imagined. A very natural question that might occur to them would be this: If Paul, whose four undisputed letters are among the oldest, if not themselves the very oldest, of the New Testament writings, and who wrote so near to the time of "the history recorded in the Gospels," and on matters directly concerned with that "history," yet says nothing of the strange events as there related, is it not probable that the stories of these marvels had not then taken such definite shape, but grew up afterward? In brief, does not Paul's testimony, however irresistible, indisputable, and contemporaneous it may be, weigh more for the mythical theory than against it? We venture to say that the really competent evangelical scholars, whom Mr. Cook is fond of quoting as authorities in Biblical criticism, are in the habit of regarding Paul's silence concerning the momentous sayings and doings of Jesus recorded in the Gospels as one of the greatest difficulties to be surmounted in substantiating their entire historical authenticity, and that these same Biblical scholars would look with astonishment on Mr. Cook's short process of overwhelming the sceptic with Paul as a witness.

That Strauss' mythical theory is not now advocated in its absolute entirety may be readily enough admitted; but this is not because it has been pushed aside by any new proofs of the old orthodox view of the New Testament, but because it has been in part displaced by other theories equally opposed to the old orthodox view and equally radical,—theories, too, which do not require so long a time for legends and myths to form as did Strauss' system of interpretation. That the mythical theory of Strauss, the legendary theory of Renan, the tendency theory of Baur, or the general theory of development as explaining the origin of the New Testament literature, have, as Mr. Cook maintains, each and all been thoroughly confuted and shown to be utterly untenable, are statements that are contradicted by every important book in Biblical criticism that is now issued from the printing-press, whichever side it may take on the question of the Bible's historical authenticity. These theories are all active and vital elements to-day in solving the problem of the origin and authority of the New Testament writings, and no thorough scholar on the subject thinks of ignoring them as confuted. Perhaps Mr. Cook will allow that Dr. E. A. Abbott of England, author of the treatise on the Gospels in the Encyclopædia Britannica, is entitled to a place in his circle of "serious and educated men." He is at least no Unitarian or infidel heretic, but an orthodox scholar, and one of the first rank. Yet he is one who applies the development theory to the New Testament literature. And this is what he says near the close of his exhaustive article: "Tradition, documents, theological tendencies, literary modifications, misunderstanding of metaphorical parable, misunderstanding of eucharistic language, misunderstanding of spiritual language,—all these causes will be found to have produced the present synoptic result."

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SECRET OF THE EAST;
OR,
The Origin of the Christian Religion and the Significance of its Rise and Decline.

Introduction.

"Who has unlocked the gates of the morning?"—*Sadi.*

The wisest man of all nations and times warns the seeker after truth against the influence of what he calls the "idols (or illusions) of the tribe";* that is, the traditional prejudices of his nation, family, or sect, or, in other words, against the bias of confounding hearsays with the results of our own investigations. To him who could divest himself of that bias, the history of civilization during the last twenty centuries would present itself in the succession of the following prominent phenomena: —

I.

The development of a great cosmopolitan empire. The military rigor of a belligerent commonwealth, gradually relaxing under the influence of prosperity and international commerce. Political absolutism, co-existent with an almost unlimited personal, social, and intellectual freedom. A flourishing state of husbandry. Industrial progress in the direction of architectural and agricultural improvements. An optimistic religion, founded on a symbolic nature-worship, and supplemented, or partly supplanted, by three rival systems of naturalistic philosophy. Universal tolerance of all tolerant religions. An excellent system of physical education. Flourishing schools of philosophy, natural science, jurisprudence, rhetoric, and medicine. Liberal patronage of the fine arts. Unparalleled material prosperity, flourishing cities, active commerce, excellent roads. Love of health and recognition of its social importance, free aqueducts, free baths and gymnasia. The optimism of the popular religion manifested in the general worship of joy, cheerful festivals, inspiring athletic games and field sports, though in the larger cities the want of better diversions leading to the brutal excesses of the gladiatorial combats. Æsthetic culture evinced in the love of scenic and artistic beauty, poetry and music.

Summary: Nature-worship, agriculture, industrial and scientific progress, commercial activity. Wealth, luxury, and their concomitant vices, offset by a naturalistic philosophy, and the love of athletic sports, physical education and health-promoting institutions. Intellectual and æsthetic culture, tolerance, material prosperity, and the successful pursuit of earthly happiness.

II.

A general eclipse of common sense and science. A wide-spread epidemic of anti-naturalism, miracle-worship, and self-torture. Rapid decline of industry. The neglect of rational agriculture turning thousands of fertile fields into deserts. Systematic suppression of political, personal, and intellectual liberty. Religious terrorism, culminating in man hunts and wholesale massacres. General ignorance, brutal abasement of the lower classes. Squalid misery of domestic life, general indifference to the beauties of nature and the blessings of health. A thousand years' interregnum of science, Faith usurping the throne of Reason, every branch of human knowledge withered by the poison of supernaturalism, literary activity limited to the production of homilies and miracle-legends, education devoted to the suppression of all natural instincts and the substitution of submissive belief for the love of truth and free inquiry. Decadence of the fine arts, natural science merged in a deluge of superstition.

Summary: Darkness, misery, and slavery.

III.

The dawn of a new day. Reason awakening from her long slumber. A spirit of free inquiry arraigning its votaries against the authority of tradition. Gradual emancipation of common sense. The success of a dogmatic insurrection followed by an unprecedented revival of intellectual activity, superstitions and abuses succumbing to the successive triumphs of science. Social reconstruction, the recognition of human rights, a general reform of juristic, administrative, and municipal institutions, education redeemed from the tyranny of anti-naturalism. Development of new sciences, new arts, and new branches of literature. The increase of general prosperity furthered by the progress of natural science, industry, and rational agriculture, but retarded by the influence of mediæval reactions and lingering prejudices. Material advantages counteracted by hereditary vices, the purpose of free institutions partly defeated by traditional superstitions and hereditary moral cowardice.

Summary: Traditional prejudices obstructing the propaganda of a rationalistic reform, the after-effects of moral and physical poisons resisting the healing agencies of Nature. But, on the whole, progress in the direction of light, freedom, and happiness.

The most important problem in the history of civilization is now the question: Whence this great sunburst of knowledge? What magic has broken the spell of the dreadful night? How has the sunshine of our life been restored? Is it the dawn of a new day, or the end of an unnatural eclipse?

The most frequent answer to these inquiries is the theory which ascribes the blessings of modern civilization to the influence of the system of dogmas and traditions known as the *Christian Religion*. The doctrine of the New Testament, we are told, is the leaven of the moral universe, the reforming agency that has redeemed the world from vice and barbarism. Only Christian nations have entered the path of progress. Virtue, humanity, and true peace can prosper only in the shadow of the cross. In the night of the Middle Ages, the Bible was our beacon; and, as the cloud-pillar of a heavenly guide, it will lead our further progress.

But, in examining the claims of these theorists, the impartial inquirer cannot overlook the following objections: 1. That the rise of the Christian faith coincides with the sunset of the great South-European civilization; 2. That the zenith of its power coincides with the midnight of mediæval barbarism; 3. That the decline of its influence coincides with the sunrise of a North-European civilization; 4. That all the principal victories of Freedom and Science have been achieved in spite of the Church, in spite of her utmost efforts to thwart or diminish their triumph, that only in consequence of the futility of these efforts the heresies of one age have become the truisms of the next, so that Christianity has always marched in the rear of civilization; 5. That the exponents of the Christian dogmas persist in their hostility to the progress of a reform which they recognize only by condescending to share the fruits of its former victories; 6. That the worst enemies of political and intellectual liberty were firm believers in the dogmas of the New Testament, while the direct or indirect repudiation of those dogmas has been the fundamental tenet of nearly every great thinker, scholar, or statesman, till the degree of *Protestantism* has become the chief test of intellectual sanity; 7. That, among the contemporary nations of the Christian world, the most sceptical are the most

* *Novum Organon*, lib. i., cap. 3.

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civilized, while the most orthodox are the most backward in freedom, industry, and general intelligence.

But, on the other hand, if the creed of the Middle Ages was a pernicious superstition, how could its exponents succeed in fastening their yoke upon so many noble and manly nations? How were they able to suppress the healthier instincts of the human race, and perpetuate their power for nearly sixteen centuries? By what baneful magic could the worst enemies of human happiness maintain themselves upon the throne of religion and morality?

The solution of the enigma has long been a half-open secret, and, but for the clouds in the east, should long have ceased to be a secret at all. One by one, the covering veils have since been lifted, till even the blind could have recognized the palpable facts; but though palpable, and often glaringly visible, they have never yet become audible. Their discoverers have been silenced with fire and poison, with threats and bribes. Their promulgation has been deprecated in the name of piety, in the name of prudence, in the name of social welfare, in the name of morality; nay, in the name of heaven and in the name of heaven's God. In the course of the last eighteen hundred years, that God has been appealed to under many strange pretexts. Let us for once invoke his aid in the name of Truth.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

THE NEW EVANGELISTS.

There is to-day a momentary cry of "Halt!" coming from those who in the past have led the van in denouncing superstition and battling for freethought and free speech. The halt is called by reason of these leaders finding out that their hostile attitude is in a measure needless; that there has been for some time a growing demoralization in the enemy's ranks; and that there is no need of any demand on their part of "surrender," since the siege is virtually at an end, because of the disaffection, not of the rank and file, but of the leaders of the opposing army. The hardest fighting of the free-thought party is over. Already there has been partial surrender, and to-day there remains only to decide on the terms of capitulation.

The most active teachers of Liberalism to-day are not all regarded as outcasts or renegades from religion. Preachers of nearly every shade of religious profession are boldly declaring their change of view in regard to creeds and dogmas, hitherto considered unassailable, and, though many of these have been denounced as traitors to their denominational principles, nevertheless their work as teachers goes bravely on, and, when ousted from the old, they build newer churches just outside of their church lines, which they christen by the old names, and organize on the bases of advanced phases of their outgrown faiths. Such teachers are men like Thomas of the Methodists, Swing of the Presbyterians, Beecher of the Congregationalists, Heber Newton of the Episcopalians, Ellis of the Unitarians, and Père Hyacinthe of the Catholic Church. These brilliant leaders in the religious ranks have, as is well known, ceded already to an aggressive Liberalism many of the more defenceless outposts of their various creeds. The Churches are, in fact, all honey-combed with heresy. Doubt is as frequently an occupant of the pulpit as of the pews; indeed, more frequently, for it is the preacher who, by right of his office, is expected to be ever the defender of that faith of which he professes to be the exponent. And, being thus put on the defence, he is apt through investigation to discover how slight his grounds of defence are, and so the more honest or least stupid are shocked into honest confession of their own doubt.

But it is not alone within the Churches that these new teachers of Liberalism are found. The whole Christian world is permeated with the leaven of religious inquiry. Foremost among our new evangelists are the men of science, the practical discoverers of facts in nature,—facts which remorselessly give the lie to theological theories of the universe, and which oblige us to admit their coherent and unassailable evidence, however sorely against our prejudices. Such practical experimenters in science as Darwin, Haeckel, Tyndall, Huxley, Lyell, Virchow, Helmholtz, Lubbock, and Proctor, such systematic thinkers as Comte, Spencer, Mill, Bain, Lewes, are among the most convincing of our new evangelists, as also are the historians of to-day, who write in the spirit of free inquiry, such as Buckle, Lecky, Draper, Froude, Green, Justin McCarthy, and many others; so, too, with the more limited historians, called biographers, who dare at last tell the whole truth in regard to people hitherto needlessly maligned because of their unpopular theological views,—nay, more, the real theological opinions of popular heroes can at last be freely confessed by their biographers.

A Life of Voltaire written, even twenty-five years ago, in the spirit in which Parton wrote his recent great work, would have fallen dead from the press, and consigned its author to a literary limbo. In poetry, too, the new evangelists speak with no uncertain sound; nor are the poetic evangelists to-day, as in the days of Shelley, driven to despair by contempt or social ostracism. Emerson's most heterodox utterances find a cordial and public response in thousands of hearts. Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* is a popular poem. George Eliot's "Oh, may I join the Choir Invisible," is copied into nearly all our periodical literature, repeated in public with unction, and greeted with applause. Stoddard's "Search after God" voices the feelings of hundreds, and is one of the choicest excerpts hid in private scrap-books. Even Walt Whitman's "barbaric yawp" is held dear by his admirers, mainly because of his free and earnest protest against hypocrisy, sham, and superstition. In politics, professions of orthodox belief, heretofore used as a means of gaining the votes of the dear people, are no longer considered so necessary a part of the politician's "ways and means"; and this is even less the case in other countries than in our own, pledged as it is to "religious liberty."

In England, for instance, there is a large element of avowed scepticism among the members of Parliament; and Charles Bradlaugh, an avowed atheist, has been elected over and over again, in spite of the fact that so far the rules of the House, made at an earlier stage of religious growth, have debarred him from occupying his rightful seat. In France, Gambetta, an agnostic who never flinched from open avowal of his religious scepticism, was the acknowledged leader of statesmanship in a country nominally Catholic, with Paul Bert, a man of great scientific attainments, but a pronounced free thinker, as his chosen friend and counsellor. The public speakers of this country, among whom Col. Ingersoll stands the acknowledged head in oratory and in bold and defiant expression, to-day unmolestedly declare their sentiments, however radical their religious views; and their audiences never grow smaller by reason of the freedom of these utterances, when couched in the calm language of reason and justice.

The daily press, which rarely leads, but only clearly reflects the passing mood of the masses, has also joined the evangelists of the new faith of reason; and, in pursuance of their new mission, many of the most popular papers report now only the most radical and the most grimly orthodox sermons, recognizing the fact that the people care only to know the two opposite extremes of religious belief; and the newspaper most prompt to report any new departure in the religious world is apt to be the newspaper with the largest daily circulation.

Our magazines discuss more leisurely, and with more dignity, the grave religious questions of the hour. Our reviews are mainly devoted to discussing religious issues. Our new evangelists are making religion, more than ever before in the history of the world, the leading topic in literature. Even the romance writers weave religious discussion into both warp and woof of their stories; and it does not hurt, as once it would, the sale of their works for novelists to be known as agnostics like George Eliot, a deist like George Sand, or a liberal thinker like Justin McCarthy or Wilkie Collins. Novels like *John Inglesant*, Mrs. Lynn Linton's *Under which Lord*, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' *Gates Ajar*, and Mrs. Stowe's *Old Town Folks* are eagerly sought by story readers; while books like *Essays and Reviews*, *Ecce Homo*, *Natural Religion*, Draper's *Conflict between Science and Religion*, and the essays and sermons of Parker, Emerson, and Frothingham, are found in the library of every person having the slightest pretensions to literary tastes. Even the remarkable attendance on the lectures of Joseph Cook, with his pseudo-science and pseudo-religion; the popularity in England of the crude and vulgar methods of the "Salvation Army"; the overcrowded houses which in both countries greet in the labors of Moody and Sankey, a survival of eighteenth century revivalism; and the crowds which every Sunday fill to overflowing the Brooklyn Tabernacle to drink in the wild words and witness the wilder antics of a religious mountebank like Talmage,—are unmistakable indications of the religious ferment set at work by all these new evangelists of reason and science.

Only in the blindest faith is there any escape from the demands made upon common sense by these preachers of the new gospel; and thitherward rush the unthinking multitude, frightened by the flood of new light let in upon their unaccustomed senses. But, even within these sanctuaries of ignorance and credulity, the voices of the new evangelists are sure at last to be heard.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

THE DELETERIOUS INFLUENCE OF QUAKERISM ON PHILADELPHIA LIFE.

Nowhere shall one's faith in the social potency of the purely ideal and imaginative intellectual endowments receive a greater shock than in the City of Brotherly Love, the city of gourmands, Falstaffian burghers, Gradgrinds, Podsnaps, and Quakers,—that great Babylon, which contains more comfort to the square mile than any other city on earth; that splendid and gigantic piece of materialism, scarcely irradiated by a single gleam of that finer light within light, which is termed "genius."

Take an entire half of the population of Boston, with its demoniacally keen intellectualism, and pit it against the commercial Philistinism of Philadelphia, it would melt away like snow in the sea, and leave no mark behind. Against the stubborn granite of that gross practicality, assaulting genius falls back shattered into merest spray. Heine is known to have cherished all his life a lively dislike for the merchant population of Hamburg. What would he have said to Philadelphia? The city has never produced, I believe, a single imaginative genius. The atmosphere would asphyxiate such a person. Poe tried to live there for a while, but gave it up in disgust.

The city is well known to have a noble record in the matter of the development of the useful me-

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chanical arts and practical sciences; and during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries the place was for a time, as everybody knows, the centre of the literary life of America. But observe that all her great men —her Carys and her Franklins, her Bartrams and Rittenhouses—have been practical geniuses. She has never produced a single great literatus, and probably never will. The one dominant, over-mastering idea of the entire population is to get wealth. Life is all below the diaphragm. The statue of Plutus ought to be on every street corner in company with that of Heliogabalus. The only criterion of social worth is money, the possessors of which are worshipped with disgraceful obsequiousness and fawning. The newspapers have no individual character, and the few literary weeklies of any ability are chiefly supported by New England or extra-Philadelphian brains.

One gigantic library lies almost entirely idle; and the other popular libraries are filled with a distressing huddle of books, read in a desultory way by clerks and apoplectic old gentlemen who have retired from business. Not long ago, the editor of *Potter's American Monthly* published a translation from the French of Edward Everett Hale's "Man without a Country," with a note stating that the author was unknown. A great philanthropist of the city, after showing his visitors his pictures and furniture, uniformly presents each with a copy of his "Life." In Philadelphia, Orthodoxy has, of course, waxed fat and kicked. Nearly the whole population goes to church,—"sad, hasty, unwaked somnambules,"— Christian pessimism and ignorance holding undivided sway in unfurnished intellects.

It is a community of skilled specialists in the practical arts, happy and comfortable, but dominated by no unitary intellectual or ideal life.

The Causes.

A year's residence in the city convinced me that these are climate, Ben Franklinism, and Quakerism, the latter the chief cause of all. The air is soft and moist, and the heat in summer intense and oppressive: the city is partly Southern in characteristics. But climate alone will not explain Philadelphia. The spirit of commercial materialism, the unideality, the immobility, the *vis inertiae* of the place, are partly due to the penny-wise precepts of Franklin, and partly to the repressive and chilling influences of Quakerism. I have never heard this latter influence assigned as the chief cause of the peculiar deficiencies in the mental life of the city, but I believe it to be such. The debt of America to the Quakers is large. The student of the origins of our liberties discovers that we owe very much to them in the matter of freedom of conscience. Their doctrines of love, pure spirituality, universal equality of privileges, conquest of self, etc., are grand. But their repressing and cramping of some of the best qualities of human nature and the most active forces of social life, their dislike of the beautiful arts, their commercial selfishness, and their blind and bigoted conservatism are not grand. Those who know how sensitive the popular mind is, how mobile, how easily carried in this direction or that, or how readily influenced by a few dominant minds,—a coterie, a powerful faction,—will not wonder that a whole community like Philadelphia has been brought to the complexion of Quakerism.

Up to a comparatively recent period, Quakerism held the controlling interest in the wealth and active industries of the city. And to-day it is a synonyme for solid commercial worth and honesty. By its capital, its influence, and its historical prestige, the old sect is still dominant and fecund. But, all along, its politics have been conservative; and its tame passivity, its asceticism, its repressiveness, its narrowness, and its ultra-utilitarianism have operated to stifle out of the mind almost all ideal aspiration, almost all reaching out for the beautiful, for rich, varied, and glowing life, indulgence of the imagination, and love of art for art's sake. You may construct magnificent engines and bridges, you may study medicine, you may work your hands to the bone to provide food for the belly and clothing for the back, and freedom and moral worth for the mind, but into the higher ideal realm of life you shall not enter at all. Beware of beautiful pictures; beware of noble statues; beware of the sweet fire of music and the dance; avoid any intense activity whatever; be passive, silent, calm, phlegmatic; present a frowning front to any innovation, especially in religion; turn a deaf ear to all progressive and brilliant minds,—in short, see to it that your existence is as tame, colorless, and monotonous as you can possibly make it; for only thus can you enter the kingdom of heaven. Is it any wonder that the fire of genius could never burn amid these cold and spectral snow-banks? Quakerism is the wet blanket of Philadelphia. It is an absurd anachronism. It cumbers the ground. And the city will never wipe out the disgrace of its gross materiality until it stabs to the heart its Poor-Richard philosophy, its worship of Mammon, and its subservient idolatry of its tutelary genius, —the repressive and palsying spirit of commercial Quakerism.

I should dislike to have it thought that anything that I have said should seem to indicate ignorance on my part of the intense and pure spirituality (*non*-materialistic) of many isolated Quakers, especially women. There are beautiful feminine lives among them,—wondrously beautiful for sweet charity and exquisite benignity and tranquillity of soul. But, as a whole, the influence of the sect is such as I have described. The men are often hard, worldly, selfish. The sect has, in other words, become fossilized. The accidental or ancillary portions of the creed and customs have choked out the principle of the Inner Light, or pure spirituality; and only the objectionable features abide. The sect itself is small and feeble in numbers. Only its past influence still remains, and gives, as I believe, its complexion to the Quaker City.

If I have overstated or misunderstood that influence, I shall rejoice to be set right; for I have always entertained a love for the tranquillity and purity and peace-loving tenets of the Friends, and have been sorry of late to be obliged to find such serious defects in their doctrines and life viewed as an historical force. W. S. KENNEDY.

EVOLUTION.

A Third Letter to Mr. D. A. Wasson.

My dear Sir,—In your second letter to me, you say "that evolution has been conceived of in two opposite ways, on the one hand as purely spiritual in principle, and on the other as purely physical. According to the former conception, the production is from within outward; spirit brings forth, if not abstract matter, yet the forms and motions of material things, and the line of continuity is not in the outward representation, but in the conceiving and self-active genius of nature. According to the latter, the production is from without inward; matter brings forth spirit, not as a substantial entity, but as a functional effect merely; and the line of continuity lies in the law by virtue of which physical force is susceptible neither of creation nor destruction, neither of increase nor diminution." You add that, according to your view, "there is truth in both these conceptions and the whole truth in neither; that each is false in so far as it is exclusive, and each true in so far as it affirms a particular order of continuity; and that the antithesis may be expected to disappear in a higher synthesis." You find your analogy in the formation and growth of language, which, you observe, "has two sides, a bodily and a mental or spiritual." In language, you think, we have a type of universal evolution, which "has its physical or external side, and has also, as I must think, its spiritual or inwardly productive side."

To these two general conceptions, as stated by you, may be added a third, or, at least, another way of expressing the essential truth of the two conceptions you have outlined. Evolution may be thought of as a process in the phenomenal world, consisting in certain changes equally in what we call the "subjective" and the "objective," the "inner" and the "outer" world, and which changes, we know, only as conscious states, coexistent or sequent, indicating something that produces the changes, but interpretable only in feeling and thought, which may be no more like the Reality than is what we conceive as matter and motion. The conception that "spirit" brings forth "matter, or "the forms and motions of material things," is quite as unprovable as that "matter brings forth spirit, not as a substantial entity, but as a functional effect merely." The words "matter" and "spirit" are mere symbolical representations. One we call physical, the other psychical. Neither can be proved to be the "function" of the other. Both mind and matter are manifestations of force, and equally dependent upon the source of all phenomena, the Unknowable, which is no mere "power without effect," "a power that does nothing but hide itself," since it is the supreme source of all phenomena, physical and mental, from the motion of a feather in the air to the revolution of planets and suns, and from the sensation of a worm to the genius of a Shakspere.

It is affirmed to be not simply unknown or "unfathomable," but *unknowable*, since there are in every cognition two coefficients which cannot be separated or studied apart in consciousness, under the forms of which only can we think, and in the terms of which only can we interpret the manifestation of the Reality; that is, the substance of which all phenomena are but the shadow.

In language, we have a special evolution, which no doubt affords us "a type of evolution in general." It exemplifies clearly the law of change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. We find "missing links" in language as we do in structural forms and in mental forms; but who doubts that the continuity is equally a fact in the world of mind and the world of matter, that in all organic evolution the changes in feeling and thought have occurred in correlation with changes in material form? When you say that "language has two sides, a bodily and a mental, or spiritual,"— the written or printed characters and their subjective meanings,—you express a fact which does not imply two ultimate realties, nor one ultimate reality that is either spiritual or material in its nature, but two aspects of a phenomenon, one side of which is subjective the other objective. In the evolution of thought, certain conceptions have obtained, which have found expression in objective signs; and both in the evolution of thought and its mode of expression there have been continual modification with continuity in the process. But when you fix upon the language of civilized man, which presupposes intelligent beings living together and dependent upon one another, and refer to the thought of the man as the spiritual side, and his acquired and invented modes of expression as the material side of language, and offer these two aspects of the highest expressions of con-

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sciousness—itself a peculiar mode of being, restricted and apparently transitory—as typical of universal evolution, you present a conception which is somewhat ingenious, but at the same time, it seems to me, rather fanciful.

The Trinitarian might say that in language he finds analogy for the doctrine of the Trinity, thus: Language may be considered as a faculty, as a body of mental signs, and as the expression of feeling and thought. Here, we have three in one. So in God there is trinity and yet essential unity. This might satisfy a Trinitarian brother whose belief was already strong, but it would not satisfy the Unitarian.

In the evolution of language, we have that which depends upon the evolution of intelligence. But evolution means of any individual, species, genus, type, or system, change, in which increasing complexity and coherence and co-ordination of parts are prominent features. Organism and environment, ages of unrecorded experience through brute life and savagery, as well as through the shorter periods of human history and tradition, are implied by the intelligence of civilized man. That intelligence, and a mode of its expression among individual intelligences, can afford any appropriate analogy even to suggest a dualism in nature, is not apparent. The distinctions between the "within" and the "without," the "subjective" and the "objective," the "spiritual side" and the "material side," have only a relative meaning, suited to us with our organically imposed limitations; but why predicate them of being unconditioned by our thoughts, unmodified and uncolored by our consciousness?

To assume that consciousness is an exception to all other phenomena and an eternal cause or condition, and to erect its incurable limitations into the conditions of pure being, is not in my opinion warranted by sound philosophy. And the word "evolution" has meaning for me only in reference to the phenomenal world. That the ultimate source of phenomena—the unknown Reality—is itself subject to changes, involving its formation, growth, maturity, decay, and dissolution, is improbable. Evolution, to have a scientific basis, must have a continuity in the knowable world; and it is in this region only that we can become acquainted with its processes.

In your third letter, you say, "I cannot conceive that a nebular gas should, from its mere phenomenal properties as a gravitating gas, produce the genius of a Shakspere, the conscience of a Socrates, the thinking mind, the active soul of humanity." But suppose one should try to conceive that a Socrates and a Shakspere were evolved, like other men, in accordance with natural law, from savages; that the evolution proceeded by continual modifications toward higher conditions; that the savages were evolved from ape-like creatures, and they from lower forms of life which came from still lower forms, through bird, reptile, and fish, through even structureless forms of life, mere specks of living, jelly-like substance; that these were perhaps evolved from forms in which it would have been impossible for us, could we have seen them, to discover evidences of life; and that these lowest conceivable creatures were evolved through modification upon modification from what we are accustomed to regard as non-living matter, which represented, nevertheless, all the forces necessary to produce manifestations of life; that this matter, millions of years earlier, was part of a fiery globe; and that this fiery globe was once a portion of a mass, in a nebulous or gaseous state. Does this seem to you impossible? Nay, can you withhold your assent from some such conception consistently with the acceptance of any intelligible theory of evolution?

And if you believe that the higher forms have been evolved from lower ones, and the lowest ones from the forces represented by the nebula, can you doubt that with the modification of structure has gone on modification of intelligence from the worm up to man, and that correlation of mind and structure has been maintained throughout, and that all this has occurred just as naturally as the atoms of sodium, a metal, uniting with those of chlorine, a suffocating gas, produce the substance we call salt.

It is not necessary to maintain that the intelligence of man, or the life of the fish even, is a "function" of matter; but only that it is correlated with structural forms or material combinations, and that the development of one order of phenomena has corresponded with that of the other.

Nor is it necessary to maintain that the nebula is the *cause* of these biological phenomena.

The nebula is matter in a certain condition; and matter itself is but a symbolic conception of an Unknowable, or, as you call it, the "Unfathomable," the ultimate source of *all* phenomena.

Permit me here to express the opinion that it is impossible to reconcile with the facts of mental evolution the leading doctrine of the New England Transcendentalists, which indeed was substantially the same as that of former schools of Transcendentalism. Of New England Transcendentalists, Theodore Parker has been called "the Paul of the movement,—its doctrinal interpreter, its systematic theologian, its most ardent missionary." "Transcendentalism," he says, "is distinguished by its chief metaphysical doctrine that there is in the intellect (or consciousness) something that never was in the senses,—to wit, the intellect (or consciousness) itself; that man has faculties which transcend the senses; faculties which give him ideas and intuitions that transcend sensational experience; ideas whose origin is not from sensation, nor their proof from sensation. This is the Transcendental school." Now, if it be true that the mind of man, as well as his body, has been evolved, the former from the sensations and the latter from the structures of the lowest forms of organic life, it is an unavoidable conclusion that there are no "ideas and intuitions that transcend sensational experience." Any different conclusion would be utterly irreconcilable with man's genetic descent from lower animals. *A priori* "ideas and intuitions" are as inconsistent with evolution as are structural forms underived from pre-existing forms. In considering this fact, it is not strange that Transcendentalists have an aversion to the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, or that, in their efforts to defend their position, they ignore that province of thought in which have been made those profound and brilliant discoveries which show that instinct and intuition, and whatever is *a priori* in the individual, have their explanation in ancestral experiences organized in the race, in structural modifications and constitutional tendencies, aptitudes, and predispositions. It is not strange that George Ripley was so disgusted with Spencer's *Principles of Psychology* a quarter of a century ago that he "declared that he should like to throw it at the author's head." As the *Westminster Review* says, "Mr. Spencer was ahead of his generation, and paid the penalty of his prescience in twenty years of neglect. But now the wheel is coming round." Spencer was treated nearly as shabbily by the Sensationalists as by the Transcendentalists. But it is gratifying to know that the great thinker, John Stuart Mill, before his death, was, as Dr. Carpenter states, and shows by an extract from a letter, "tending toward the acceptance" of "the doctrine that the intellectual and moral intuitions of any one generation are the embodiments in its mental constitution of the experiences of the race," which "was first explicitly put forth by Mr. Herbert Spencer."

Nor am I surprised that an able disciple of the Transcendental school in the *Christian Register* lately, in reply to his own question, "What is Essential Transcendentalism?" answered, "Not the philosophy of Emerson and Parker and the New England reformers alone, not alone the philosophy of Kant and Fichte and Schelling and Hegel, but that belief in the supremacy and immanence of living reason, that belief in mind as the first principle and ground of the universe, which has not only been behind every great religion, but has been the cardinal feature with every really great philosopher from Plato's and Aristotle's time to ours." When we remember that Transcendentalism as expounded by Parker excluded Bacon, Locke, Paine, Voltaire, Robespierre, Hume, Jonathan Edwards, and Priestley, we cannot help noticing that evolution is proceeding rapidly along the line of the Transcendental philosophy. It has been equally conspicuous along the line of the Sensational school of thought. The truth of each, fused into a synthesis, forms a conception that meets the requirements of evolution.

Very respectfully yours,

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE Free Religious Association will hold a Convention in New Haven, Conn., March 6 and 7, and in Albany, N.Y., March 8 and 9. Full particulars next week.

A FINE feature of *Wide Awake* this year is the use in each number of some strong and choice piece of verse from the English poets, each illustrated by an artist of repute. Hovenden's drawing for Kingsley's "Three Fishers" in the January number attracted much attention; and Sandham's illustration of Browning's "How the Good News was Brought" in the February number is equally fine.

THE *Sower*, the new Unitarian paper of Philadelphia, Pa., says of "shoddy piety": "We tolerate a great deal of nonsense, because it pretends to be religious, or has a pious twang to it. Much of the talk, even about sacred things, is of the same stuff that dreams are made of, and comes to no better result. It befools the speaker, and the sincerest and hungriest hearer finds in it no nourishment for his spirit, no practical guidance, admonition, or comfort, no mental or moral enlargement. Let us have done with cant and rant and all spurious solemnity."

A UNITARIAN minister writes to the *Congregationalist*, protesting against the statement "that 'agnostic materialism' has some of its most subtle, efficient, and dangerous advocates among the Unitarian ministry." With "a wide and intimate knowledge of the body," he does not know of *one* who "is even suspected of this crudity." If the *Congregationalist* had said that Agnosticism has its advocates among the Unitarian ministry, its statement would have been one against which no protest could fairly have been made. The *Congregationalist's* heading to the statement, "No Unitarians Agnostics," is, to our knowledge, incorrect.

IN a recent lecture before his society at East Saginaw, Rowland Connor said: "The life of Jesus was really so unlike any life that can be lived at the present day that its practical influence as an example is of very little value. The theo-

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logical Christ of the Churches is a creature of after development, having little or no positive connection with the historical Jesus, although invested with his name. The ideal Jesus of the Churches (a distinct conception from that of the theological Christ) is also to a great extent independent of the historical person. The ideal Jesus really changes with the progress of civilization, and, as an embodiment of the purest aspirations, is the real secret of the fascination which the name of Jesus still exercises over so many millions. As the real or historical Jesus is more clearly comprehended, the name will gradually cease to be used to express our noblest ideals; for we will recognize the truth that these ideals did not originate in Galilee, but are born out of the heart and mind of humanity."

MRS. HARRIETTE ROBINSON SHATTUCK, in a recent letter in the *Transcript* descriptive of a late visit to Washington, D.C., as a delegate to the Woman's Suffrage Convention held there, has this to say of Felix Adler: "A fitting prelude to the Woman Suffrage Convention was the lecture of Felix Adler in New York on the 'Co-relation of the Sexes.' Indeed, the trend of all things of to-day seems to be toward the solution of this woman question. Almost everybody is considering it, and expressing an opinion about it in one way or another. Among many other noble words about women and their 'equality in value' with men, Mr. Adler said that woman should in all things be the partner and not the subordinate of man, and that, in all ages and communities where it had been the custom to keep women apart from men, the men had invariably become degraded and immoral. 'I wish to be understood,' he said, 'as one who pleads the woman's cause.' Hearing one of Adler's Sunday lectures on any theme is an event in one's life; and it is no wonder that the large Chickering Hall is crowded every Sunday with an enthusiastic audience, whose attention from beginning to end is such that hardly a movement is made or a long breath drawn. The distinctive feature of his discourses is their high *ideal* morality; and, whether the listener misses the religious element or not, he must go away a better human being than he came, with his intellect quickened and his moral sense clear of at least a few of its cobwebs."

LIVE THOUGHTS.

TO ASK for nothing but results, to decline the labor of verification, to be satisfied with a ready-made stock of established positive arguments as proof, and to decry the doubter and negative reasoner as a common enemy,—this is a proceeding sufficiently common in ancient as well as in modern times. But it is, nevertheless, an abnegation of the dignity and even of the functions of speculative philosophy.—*Grote.*

THE truth shall make you wise,
Though simple you may be;
But, ere her light can greet your eyes,
She first must make you free.

The truth shall make you bold,
All fearful though you be;
But, if she find your courage cold,
She first must make you free.

The truth shall make you glad,
Though deep your griefs may be:
To pour her joys upon the sad,
She first must make them free.

The truth shall make you great,
How small soe'er you be:
To raise you to her high estate,
She first must make you free.

Thus, wisdom, courage, strength, and grace
The gifts of truth shall be,
If gazing on her glorious face
Hath made your spirits free.

—*Maria Weston Chapman.*

The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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POETRY.

For *The Index.*

REVERIES.

Mournfully, mournfully, winter winds blow;
Far o'er the prairies wild, white lies the snow;
Time on his mighty wings
Life's sweetest memories brings;
Each round the heart still clings,
Whispering low.

High in the shoreless vast, through the bleak heaven,
Rush the dark som re clouds by the winds driven;
Wild birds on pinions strong,
As they pass sweeping on,
Tell of the summ r gone,
Winter's long even.

Loudly, triumphantly, 'cross the wide sea,—
Borne on the winged winds, wafted to me,—
Rises the wild refrain
High over hill and plain
"Tyrants can but be slain,
Man must be free!"

Nay, rather kindly judge those in that land
Who, 'neath the monarch's heel, cursed by his hand,
Crying for vengeance now,
Sound high the awful vow
That they will never bow
To his command.

Out of the balmy South, where 'neath the sun
Deeds by the traitor's hand dark have been done,
Comes now the welcome word,—
Oh, had our Lincoln he rd,
How would his heart have stirred,—
Let us be one!

Forgive thee! yes, freely, once more to our breast
We wait to receive thee, in confidence rest;
Come with us, we will be,
Weeping by Elberon's sea,
Friends, undivided, free,
One ever blest.

Swiftly but silently, life ebbs away;
Each fleeting mon ent adds to its brief day;
Still let our hearts be brave,
Still let us seek to save
Those who beneath the wave
Sink in dismay.

Through Superstition's night, borne by the brave,
May Truth's all-guiding light flash o'er the wave!
May it to others be,
Out on life's shoreless sea,
What it has been to me,—
Hope for the slave!

MONT E. COLLINS.

GLADBROOK, IOWA, January, 1883.

WHOSO, setting duty highest, speaks at need unwelcome things,
Disregarding fear and favors, such a one may succor kings.—*Edwin Arnold.*

For *The Index.*

Misconceptions of the Christian Clergy and Churches concerning Jesus.

BY C. K. WHIPPLE.

The Christian clergy teach, and therefore the members of their churches accept as certainly true, many things respecting Jesus of Nazareth which have no sufficient foundation, and some of which are contradicted by their own standards of doctrine,—the Old and New Testaments. It is taught and believed, for instance:—

1. That Jesus was the Messiah of Hebrew prophecy.

In behalf of this doctrine, it may be urged with a certain plausibility that it was the doctrine of Paul and the original apostles, and that Jesus himself, toward the close of his career, is represented as claiming it.

In reply to this, it may first be said that Paul, whose talents and labors probably did more to diffuse this doctrine than those of all the other apostles combined, had never seen Jesus except in vision or dream; that the original twelve, according to the testimony of the Gospels, failed to understand either the words or the acts or the real purpose of Jesus through his whole ministry; and that Jesus himself long resisted the importunity of disciples and others urging him to assume the title of Messiah, and consented to do it only when it seemed impossible otherwise to gain a hearing for the truths he had to tell them; and that he guarded this concession by declaring kingship, in his view, to be pre-eminence in service and helpfulness.

But, even admitting that, during the latter part of his ministry, Jesus did take the *title* of Messiah, or Christ, in this restricted manner, it is certain that he never took the *position* of Messiah, as the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah described it, and as the whole Jewish people understood it; namely, kingship *by ruling*, not by serving merely.

2. It is taught and believed that Jesus was "the son of David" (or descended from David), while at the same time he was begotten by the Holy Ghost, having no human father. Both these self-contradictory statements are assumed as true in Bible commentaries, and in orthodox sermons, tracts, and Sunday-school literature.

3. It is taught and believed that Jesus appointed water-baptism as a permanent ordinance for Christians.

All through the New Testament, *baptism with the Holy Ghost* is spoken of as something peculiar and distinctive in the work wrought and ordained by Jesus. In all four of the Gospels, John the Baptist is represented as saying, in contrast to his own baptism with water, that Jesus would baptize with the Holy Ghost. In regard to water baptism, the Gospel according to John declares that Jesus did not practise it; and Paul, writing to the Corinthians, says plainly that his commission was not to baptize, but to preach. It seems, therefore, a fair conclusion that, in the passages (only two) where Jesus is represented as enjoining baptism, he meant baptism with the Holy Ghost, and not with water.

4. It is taught and believed that Jesus appointed a periodical supper of bread and wine as a permanent ordinance for Christians.

In the four gospel narratives—our only authorities in regard to the words and deeds of Jesus—there is not a word to show that he intended or expected a repetition of that mutual partaking of bread and wine which took place at the Paschal Supper. Those who wish to see an exhaustive statement of the argument on this point are referred to the sermon preached upon it by Ralph Waldo Emerson, at the close of his brief ministry in the Unitarian Church. This sermon is printed in full at the close of Octavius B. Frothingham's book entitled *Transcendentalism.*

5. It is taught and believed that Jesus desires and requires the observance of Sunday as a Christian Sabbath.

Of this, too, it is sufficient to say that not a particle of evidence is found for it in any one of the four Gospels: all their testimony is adverse to the theory in question. Full evidence and arguments against that theory may be seen in the writings of Rev. Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin; Rev. Dr. Hessey, in the course of Bampton Lectures entitled "Sunday"; and the tract called "The Sabbath," by Henry Grew, late an evangelical minister of Philadelphia.

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6. It is taught and believed that Jesus desires and requires what is *now* practised as public worship; also the observances, periodical or other, called "prayer-meetings."

On the contrary, the testimony of the Gospels is that Jesus censured the form of public prayer existing among the Jews of his time, and not only appointed no other, but strictly enjoined that prayer should be private.

7. It is taught and believed that the injunction of Jesus, "Swear not at all," was intended only to forbid what we call "profane swearing," and not the judicial, commercial, and legislative oaths now common among Christians.

On the contrary, the connection of that passage shows that it was intended mainly, if not exclusively, to forbid oaths of the latter class. Nothing can be plainer than that Jesus intended his disciples to say Yes or No, instead of taking an oath.

8. It is taught and believed that the teaching of Jesus (as reported) was always wise.

The practice of indiscriminate almsgiving, so widely prevalent in Roman Catholic countries, and so plainly pernicious there, is simple obedience to one of the plainest and most frequent injunctions of Jesus. Modern science has shown that this practice injures both giver and receiver, both the individual and the community; and this injury is shown so clearly that in Protestant countries—where reason, however discountenanced in religious theory, is partially admitted as a factor in religious practice—indiscriminate almsgiving has not only ceased, but it is opposed by Christians on principle, and (rightly) argued against as injurious to the public welfare.

Again, the doctrine of Jesus enjoining unresisting submission to evil-doers, whether official oppressors or individual malefactors, has operated, wherever practised, as a premium on oppression. In France, before the revolution of 1789, the Christian Church helped one of the worst governments that ever existed to rob, oppress, and degrade the great mass of the people, and enjoined unresisting submission upon these latter in the name of Christianity. In the Southern United States,—not only then, but for seventy years afterward,—the Christian clergy taught that God had ordained negro slavery, and quoted Bible texts to prove it. Obedience to the precept of Jesus, "Resist not evil," would have prevented all those acts of forcible intervention for deliverance of the oppressed, which are now claimed as the noblest achievements of civilization. In fact, civilization, to accomplish these things, has had to withstand not only the chief oppressors, but the Christian Church, which championed them. In the overthrow of slavery, and in that act of our venerated forefathers which dispossessed the British power here, the better portion of American Christians have shown that they recognized as wise and right a course the very opposite of that which Jesus enjoined. And yet, while pursuing this opposite course, both in applying resistance to unjust violence and in declining the indiscriminate giving of alms, these same Christians persist in maintaining that the teaching of Jesus was always wise.

9. It is taught and believed that the teaching of Jesus (as reported) is *sufficient* as a permanent rule of life for mankind.

On the other hand, civilization and science have taught us that men possess certain rights as citizens, and are bound to the performance of certain duties as citizens, of neither of which one word was uttered by Jesus. Christians, the wisest and the best, vindicate these rights and enjoin these duties, and yet refuse to surrender their theological theory that the teaching of Jesus is sufficient as a rule of duty.

Again, all Protestant moralists insist on self-support by industry as a duty, regardless of the fact that Jesus expressly discountenanced forethought and effort in regard to food, clothing, and shelter, saying to his disciples that God might be expected to provide those things for them, *just as he did for the lilies*, without care or labor on their part. Christians now condemn systematic neglect to provide for one's own wants; that is, they condemn just what Jesus enjoined, even while holding to the theory that his teaching was a full and a sufficient compendium of human duty.

Again, in regard to marriage. That state is commended, honored, and freely put in practice by Christians, though the language of Jesus concerning it is discouraging rather than encouraging, and though his example is adverse to it. Yet they continue to marry, and continue to call Jesus "our great Exemplar." One or the other must be an error.

10. It is taught and believed that the assertions of Jesus were always correct, and that his predictions always came true.

In the Gospels, he is said to have asserted that Moses wrote of him that reference was made to him in the Psalms and in the Prophets, and that an Old Testament prophecy declared that he should be killed, and should rise again from the dead on the third day. We have the books of the Old Testament precisely as they existed in the days of Jesus; and examination shows that no such passage as the last above-mentioned exists there, that nothing in the writings attributed to Moses refers to Jesus, and that there is not the slightest reason to interpret any passage of Hebrew psalmist or prophet as intended to refer to him.

Again, as to mistakes in the predictions of Jesus. He is said to have declared that he should remain buried three days and three nights; but the gospel narratives represent him as risen after lying in the tomb two nights and one day, from Friday evening to very early Sunday morning.

Again, he is there represented as declaring that, within the lifetime of those who heard him, "all the tribes of the earth" should see him coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, to rule the earth and execute a final judgment upon all mankind. No such thing happened within the time appointed, though the recorded words of Paul and other New Testament writers show that they confidently expected it. Neither has any such thing happened since. If the gospel narratives have correctly reported Jesus, he was in error respecting this "second coming."

11. It is taught and believed that, in referring to Old Testament doctrines and precepts, Jesus always represented them as divinely inspired and authoritative. It is true that some of his reported sayings seem to bear this meaning; but it is equally true that others of his sayings unquestionably take the opposite ground, showing that Jesus used just such freedom in criticising Hebrew scripture as Colenso, Renan, and Kuenen have done in our own time. For instance:—

Moses taught that the use of certain articles of food made a man "unclean." Jesus expressly contradicted this, saying, *Not* that which goeth into the mouth, but that which cometh out of the mouth, defileth a man.

Again, Jesus flatly contradicted the Mosaic precept, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Here, his teaching goes far beyond the abrogation of worn-out customs. He treats the Mosaic doctrine of retaliation as absolutely false doctrine. He puts down one system, and sets up another totally opposite; and he plainly wished his disciples to understand that the law of eye for eye and tooth for tooth *never had been* a divine ordinance.

Again, Jesus interfered to prevent that which Moses had expressly commanded, the slaying of the adulterous woman.

Again, Jesus not only criticises and contradicts Moses, but he uses the same freedom with that code of ten commandments which is sometimes unadvisedly called "the moral law." I have referred above to his discountenance of Sabbatical observance; but, in commenting on the third commandment of the decalogue, he takes still more radical ground. That precept forbade *breaking* an oath taken to the Lord, but Jesus forbids *taking* one. Moses says, in the third commandment, When you swear, keep your oath. Jesus says, Swear not at all! And he not only forbids what the decalogue permitted, but gives a reason for his precept, which shows that in his view oaths were *always* wrong, and thus that the permission to use them could *never* have come from God.

12. It is taught and believed that the death of Jesus was the most important part of his earthly career; indeed, that he came, or was sent, into this world mainly for the purpose of undergoing a sacrificial death; that he "gave himself a sacrifice," and was born expressly for the purpose of being sacrificed.

It would be hard to find a string of assumptions more utterly groundless and irrational than the above; yet these are the very foundation of the system popularly recognized as Christian, both among Catholics and Protestants. The life of a good man is of course more significant and important than his death. The precepts and example of a teacher preëminent in wisdom and righteousness are of course more effective in the promotion of human welfare than the particular manner in which his career comes to an end. And, as to giving himself a sacrifice, Jesus did not commit suicide, or voluntarily throw away his life. He did not wish or seek to die, but took the risk of being killed for doing his duty, as tens of thousands of others have done before and since. The object of his coming or being sent into this world was to do his duty, and he seems to have done it faithfully and zealously; and he died, not from desire or purpose to die, but because those in authority chose to kill him.

13. It is taught and believed that the death of Jesus, and the manner of it, accomplished some definite object *for us*.

This, again, is an utterly groundless and irrational assumption. The *life* of Jesus, and the wisdom to be gathered from the imperfect record of his teachings, are the most precious portion of history. The man who was wise enough to see, and bold enough to teach, in opposition to the priests, the scriptures, and the popular belief of the nation in which he was born, that no holy place, no holy day, no rites or ceremonies, and no priestly mediation were needful for the worship of God, but that what God required instead of these (not in addition to them) was the persistent effort to be good and to do good,—this man is worthy of the highest veneration of the whole human race. The man who, in an age shackled by traditional superstitions, could teach his disciples that "*the truth shall make you free*," deserves honor from every lover of truth, whether religionist or scientist. But it is the life and the teaching of this man, not his death, which give him this eminence, and entitle him to this high consideration.

14. It is taught and believed that the testimony in the Gospels is satisfactory and sufficient evidence that the body of Jesus arose, and walked, and partook of food, after having been left dead in the tomb, and that that same body finally ascended into the air in the sight of men.

Those who assume these things as true overlook several points of great importance.

They neglect to notice that statements of matters commonly deemed impossible, and at any rate intensely improbable, require not only the highest quality, but the greatest amount, of evidence to substantiate them.

They neglect to notice that the discrepancies of evidence existing in this case would cause several of the witnesses to be discredited in a modern court of justice.

They neglect to notice that modern critical investigation of the original sources of the four Gospels, by scholars of the first rank in France, Germany, Holland, and Great Britain, makes it probable that not one of them was written by an apostle or by any contemporary of Jesus; and, therefore, that many of the unlikely things there stated are probably due to the gradual unconscious modification of tradition among a people not only credulous, but prone to belief in miracle, during the half-century following the death of Jesus. If these Gospels, instead of being penned by eye-witnesses, instead of being penned by anybody within fifty years of the period they undertake to describe, are really only records of tradition respecting the sayings and doings of Jesus, that fact should have its weight, and a good deal of weight, in our estimate of the probability of particular statements.

If further research shall confirm the probabilities now indicated by modern criticism, and prove that our four Gospels were written at a period much later than has heretofore been supposed, and by persons having no personal knowledge of Jesus, this result, among others, will come from such proof; namely, that some of the mistakes attributed to Jesus in these books may be referred much more probably to the natural variation and enlargement of tradition concerning him in the long period that elapsed before that tradition was written down. If what Jesus said and did was often misapprehended even by the apostles, as all the Gospels plainly declare, their oral reports of his sayings and doings would naturally grow still more inaccurate by passing from mouth to mouth during the many years preceding the record of them. Moreover, as wonders usually grow by repetition, and as the idea of miracle was accepted in those days as actual both by Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, it is by no means strange that such wonder

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workings entered largely into our records of Palestinian history.

We may feel perfectly confident that the best of the sayings attributed to Jesus were really uttered by him, since there is no reason to suppose that any other man then and there living was competent to originate them. The erroneous and superstitious ideas which find expression in the Gospels are such as naturally belonged to that nation and that period; and they were so firmly fixed in the minds of the disciples of Jesus that some of these notions stuck fast there even after the death of the great teacher, in spite of all the explanations by which he had sought to counteract them. Thus, one of the disciples sadly said, after the crucifixion, "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel," just as they had asked, before his death, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" In fact, most of the disciples continued for scores of years to be half Jewish and half Christian; and no wonder, since, after the Gentiles began to be gathered in, "the apostles and elders, with the whole church," wrote to them from Jerusalem that they must "abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled." When, years after this time, the Gospels were written, many items of Jewish error naturally found place in them; and, as I have said, more or fewer of these may have been erroneously attributed to Jesus.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON THE NATURE OF "GOODNESS."

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Potter, in his article entitled "Is Goodness only a Trick?" indicates throughout that he looks at the whole subject of morality and virtue from what I would call the religio-emotional stand-point, and according to a system of interpretation merely Christian, and therefore, as I hold, unphilosophical and fundamentally erroneous. While he has discarded the Christian theology and demonology, he retains the Christian notions concerning morals, as Mr. Herbert Spencer has also done. I am gratified that a few lines in my essay have served as a red rag to bring the horns of Mr. Potter's interposition as a defender of the ethical remnant of the Christian system. He has charged down upon me in as valiant style as an intrepid bull ever charged upon a locomotive. Those who have witnessed the disaster which ensues to a locomotive, when assailed in this manner, will appreciate the deep discouragement I feel under Mr. Potter's dire assault.

My view of ethics is that there is no more, but infinitely less, advantage to mankind from altruistic than from egoistic conduct; that no more, but infinitely less, beneficence results to the world from love to one's neighbor than from love to one's self. I regard benevolence as the casual efflorescence of a plant, of which business, industry, production, accumulation, and "wealth-getting" are the root, stalk, stem, and branches. Human life is like an account in bank: no more checks against it in favor of others can be honored than the means for honoring have been got by depositing the profits obtained from business done with others. The outgo depends on the income. The altruism is the incident to the egoism. Our ability to serve our neighbor depends on the extent, judiciousness, and wisdom with which we have first induced mankind to serve us; *i.e.*, in which we have become organized employers and promoters of production.

In this respect, the Christian system of ethics, as propounded by Jesus, is infinitely silly; and the Christian Church, for eighteen hundred years, have followed in the wake of his silliness, insomuch that even some agnostic philosophers have not force enough to get out of the rut. Jesus teaches us to check out upon our bank account, in behalf of every cut-throat, vagabond, or mendicant that asks us. But how we shall keep our bank account in a condition to honor our check he does not teach. To him that demands our coat, we are to give our cloak also; but whence we are to get either coat or cloak he omits to say. One might suppose, for aught that Jesus seems to know or care about it, that both coats and cloaks grew wild upon the bushes. Evidently, if they do not, if he wished to make his system of ethics complete, he should have begun at the beginning; namely, with production, accumulation, and egoism. How could the Good Samaritan have relieved the Jew, if he had not first, by toil, industry, business, and "egoism," made himself the owner of the ass upon which he seated the Jew, of the wine and oil which he applied to his wounds, and of the money with which he paid his reckoning at the inn? Jesus, therefore, if he had been a philosopher, would have taught somewhat as follows: "Work, produce, save; get wealth. Accumulate health, money, and knowledge, for these three are forms of power; and the man of power will do more good while he is asleep than the weak man will, though he sweat drops of blood."

In my view, the great utilities and benevolences of the world are carried on by those whom Christianity would call its bad men, gauged by the Christian standard; namely, by its captains of industry, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, sailors, stock-breeders, planters, transporters, railroaders, etc. In my view, the capital invested in commerce, manufactures, agriculture, art, navigation, and in profitable business generally, renders far greater service to mankind, dollar for dollar, than that invested in punishing crime, in works of charity or justice, or in worshipping God. I think if the world were placed in the hands of men and women who would be accounted "good" according to the Christian standard, —that is, in the hands of men and women who would set about breaking up the capitals now invested in "business," *i.e.*, in money-getting, *i.e.*, in production, and who would apply them to the immediate work of relieving the poor by dispersing them among all who would accept of them, without rendering any equivalent in labor or produce for immediate consumption, —the effect would be that famine, the dark ages, and a reign of blood would again overwhelm us for a thousand years, as it overwhelmed Christendom in the second, third, and fourth centuries, under the immediate influence of cognate errors of Christianity.

Hence, I have no respect whatever for any system of so-called ethics which calls making money bad and giving it away good. As well call a flood-tide in the ocean wicked and an ebb-tide virtuous, or the earth in its perihelion good and in its aphelion sinful. I have nothing but contempt for any philosophy which speaks of an expenditure of nerve force or of pecuniary substance or of physical labor for the relief of a sick distressed person as "good," but of the accumulation in business of such an amount of capital as will, when employed at a profit, silently give honorable prosperity, relief, health, and wealth to thousands of persons by its ordinary daily ministrations, as bad. Such a system of ethics is the concomitant of a church which sought to, and for a long time did, rule and ruin the world by substituting beggary for production. In my view, A. T. Stewart was a far greater philanthropist than John Howard; Cornelius Vanderbilt and Jay Gould accomplish infinitely more good to mankind than Beecher and Talmage or than any or all the doctrines Beecher and Talmage can teach; and Captain E. B. Ward, who established rolling-mills in the West which employed five thousand men and supported twenty thousand persons, ranks as a producer, while the Moodys and Sankeys who travel in the wake of industry, and produce only superstition, rank as parasites.

V. B. DENSLOW.

Reply.

That is a pleasant conceit about the locomotive; but the machine, however powerful, is quite off the track. Mr. Denslow vigorously belabors the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, but we are not there. Those peculiar features of the moral precepts of Jesus, which so excite his animosity and contempt, we do not accept as philosophical principles of morality more than does he: though a tolerably good showing might be made for their value in certain circumstances, as Victor Hugo has represented in the story of the Good Bishop and Jean Valjean. But, in our view, philanthropy is something very different from the indiscriminate giving away of money to those who are in want of it; and none of the illustrations in our article supported any such narrow idea. We mean by "goodness" something a great deal more than almsgiving or than even those gracious charities which are commonly embraced in the objects of a benevolent society. We mean to cover by it the whole domain of morality; and in this large sense it appeared to be used in the passage of Mr. Denslow's lecture which we criticised. Nor more than Mr. Denslow should we think of calling material enterprise, productiveness, and money-getting, wrong. In themselves, they are all right, as we have long been accustomed to maintain. They are phases of nature's effort, through the egoistic propensities, to develop strong centres of individual personality for the further accomplishment of her purposes. But there is another kind of propensities which awake later than the egoistic, both in the individual and in the race, and which must then take the reins to limit and control the egoistic, so that they may serve general rather than merely selfish ends. These are the moral propensities, reason as well as conscience and sympathy being an important factor therein.

And the root of the moral sentiments in their social bearings, according to our view,—and this is the centre of our philosophy of social ethics,—consists in the mental perception that our neighbors have equal natural rights with ourselves, and that we must respect their rights as we would claim respect for our own. This perception is not specially Christian nor Jewish nor Buddhist: it is human,—as human as the multiplication-table, and as necessary, too, when a certain stage of intelligence is reached. It is a perception that dawned early,—before Jesus, before Moses,—but until it did dawn there was no genuine morality between men, as there is none to-day where this perception does not exist or is not acted upon. Mr. Denslow's view, if we understand it, has no check for selfish aggrandizement save that which comes from the outward competition of similar self-seeking. Might becomes the measure of right. In our view, a check is developed naturally in the mental consciousness itself, just as naturally as the perception of mathematical relations. It is this moral sense that cries, Halt! to the egoistic propensities, and prevents their going on in selfish accumulation to the detriment of others' rights or the neglect of others' distresses. The Goulds and Vanderbilts and Stewarts may possibly be very useful members of society in making employment through their superior business talent and enterprise for so many thousands of their fellow-beings. But, in our opinion, they would be vastly more useful, if they would so conduct their business and regulate their enterprise as to give to these thousands of laborers, without whose help they could not carry out their plans, not a largess in charity after they have accumulated their millions, but a more equitable share of the jointly produced wealth and its advantages during the process of accumulation. At least, before making saints of these magnates of the marts of trade and the stock-exchange, we should require that they show something more than a benevolence which is merely "the casual efflorescence" of their business-productiveness: we should require that their business itself be permeated through and through with the vital sap of justice.

W. J. P.

WHO IS RIGHT?

Editors of The Index:—

During a conversation with an orthodox friend, some time since, on the subject of "external evidences" of the Christian religion, I was confronted with the passage in Tacitus (supposed to have been written about A.D. 107), wherein that historian speaks—or is made to speak—of "Christ" and "Christians." Whereupon, I immediately replied that that passage was considered spurious. To clinch his argument, my friend immediately produced a work, "written" (as he said) "by one of your own kind," the author of which admits the passage above referred to to be genuine. This was a *History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred*, by C. B. Waite, M.A., who, on page 330, says, "That the death of Jesus occurred while Pilot was Procurator is attested, not only by five extant Gospels, but by the historian *Tacitus*, who, in speaking of the Christians, says, 'They had their denomination from *Christus*, who in the reign of *Tiberius* was put to death as a criminal by the procurator, Pontius Pilate.'" And again, on page 434, "There are three good and reliable witnesses of the first century [to the fact that such a person as Jesus Christ lived at the time alleged], one [Paul] a Christian, one [Josephus] a Jew, and the other [Tacitus] a heathen."

This of course settled the question. Here was "one of my own kind"—a man who had made the subject a study—against me. I could say no more.

But now, after the lapse of several months, I am again confronted with an altogether different story. After reading through the extremely interesting volume entitled *Bible Myths, and their Parallels in Other Religions*, I at last, on page 566, came upon the follow-

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ing (the italics are mine): "The use of this passage (*i.e.*, the one in the *Annals* of Tacitus, referred to above) as part of the evidences of the Christian religion is *absolutely modern*. There is no vestige nor trace of its existence anywhere in the world *before the fifteenth century*."

This is very positive language, and certainly does not agree with what we have quoted above. My object, then, in writing, is to endeavor to ascertain who is right. It is a subject which, I think, must interest a large majority of your readers. If the author of *Bible Myths*—who seems to belong in your æsthetic city—will enlighten us a little on the subject, the information will, at least, be very gratefully received by AN INQUIRER.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 8, 1883.

[The passage in Tacitus is considered genuine by the best recent German editors; *e.g.*, Ritter, Dübner, and Nipperdey. That it is not referred to by the fathers of the church, on whose silence the author of "Bible myths" substantially rests his case, is by no means surprising, since the Christians are said in the same section, *Annals*, xv., 44, to be held in abhorrence for their crimes, to be guilty of hatred to mankind, and to deserve punishment. These phrases make a pagan authorship certain. No Christian would have said that Jesus was put to death as a criminal, without at least adding the word unjustly. The authenticity of Paul's Epistle to the Romans is unquestionable, and hence there is every reason to suppose that Nero and his contemporaries did have some knowledge of the early Christians. It is, of course, possible, though by no means probable, that Tacitus, who lived half a century later, was misinformed.—ED.]

THE INDEX AND "THE NINE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM."

Editors of The Index:—

A paragraph in the *Investigator* has come to my notice, which is calculated to convey a false impression, to those unacquainted with *The Index*, concerning its fealty to those liberal principles to advocate and serve which it came into existence.

In answer to a correspondent, who would know how many liberal papers are published in the United States, the *Investigator* says that only such papers are truly liberal as favor "the nine demands of Liberalism," and intimates that the publication of the Free Religionists—that is, *The Index*—may not be counted among that worthy few.

Although I should like to see "the demands of Liberalism" as "standing-matter" at the head of *The Index*, such constant reiteration of its principles, in set form, is not needful to enable any one who is conversant with the paper to know that in its aims and methods it is entirely secular, and so truly liberal that it can be courteous and respectful to those holding different opinions, conceding to all the right of imperfection.

While I would not accuse the *Investigator* of deliberate unfairness, it is still to be mildly censured for a want of thoughtfulness in neglecting to give credit where it is due, and encouraging an inference that *The Index* has repudiated its platform of principles, formulated with such brilliant conciseness, in "the nine demands of Liberalism," by the master-mind which made *The Index* and was *The Index* for so many years. J. A. J. WILCOX.

(The following is the article on which the above comment is made):—

THE LIBERAL PRESS.

A friend "would like to know how many liberal papers there are, and whether the Spiritualists are ahead of us in that respect."

We are not able to answer him exactly; but, as nearly as we can remember, the Spiritualists have *seven* papers and the Liberals *thirteen*, and probably more, as there are a number of papers (the Free Religionists', for instance) that may properly be called liberal, though they do not perhaps take that distinctive name.

But the papers that are thoroughly liberal *par excellence*, or by way of eminence, are those published by infidels and Spiritualists. These papers represent the liberal movement; that is to say, they are all in favor of the "Nine Demands of Liberalism." The Spiritual journals, it is true, teach about another world; but that is no particular objection to them, as such belief appears to us to be only "a flight of fancy," and everybody indulges more or less in that.

Any man who supports the "Nine Demands," which, when practically carried out, will make this world liberal, can believe in as many worlds as he likes, for all we care.—*Investigator*.

RECENT IMMIGRATION.

Editors of The Index:—

I desire to call attention to the wide-spread evil existing for some time past here and abroad, that of *the using printed matter and hired agents falsely to represent* to the laboring classes the great benefits to be obtained by immigrating to the United States, thereby inducing many self-supporting, comfortably situated families to sell their non-movable goods at a loss, and to come to a much worse condition of affairs than their worst doubts suggested even, and also inducing many, who were not self-supporting, who were not healthy and strong, to impose themselves on the taxpayers of America, improperly.

That this is done, largely in the interests of transportation and of private individuals none too honest, is easily demonstrated; but of course it is of minor importance to discover the guilty planners of this fraud, compared with the consideration of what means can be made use of to prevent or largely decrease the evil complained of. If our foreign consular system was much better than it is, we could, by the weekly furnishing of telegraphic statistics of the labor market in the United States of America (so checked and duplicated as to prevent fraud), offer to the local press in all foreign places means for the control of immigration; but since, as now, the consulates are capable of improvement, perhaps this is one of the first items to be improved. Again, the United States laws as to paupers, together with State laws to the same effect, should be so stringent, and yet plain, that a defence would also be possible on this side against fraudulently induced immigration, and resulting American paupers.

If the transportation interests as well as those of private individuals were thus made to feel themselves inferior to the rights of the States and the United States of America, much more caution would result in their combined action in this respect than now, we feel sure. And, until that time, all charity workers must be burthened with this evil which is so difficult to cope with, and which temporary relief fails to cure.

The idea of colonization of such immigrants "in the West," as is so often easily spoken of, sounds well, but is, as always in history, of doubtful utility. Expense, climate, inclination of local residents toward new comers, language, religion,—all help to form obstacles almost impassable.

We commend the subject thus briefly alluded to as a vital one for the authorities to consider at an early day. JOHN DIXWELL, M.D.

BOSTON, MASS., Feb. 13, 1883.

REPROBATION.

A Curiosity of Theological Literature.

Editors of The Index:—

Religion, the Bible, and theology are now being generally discussed in and out of the pulpit, by the religious and secular press, in the cars and on the street. There seems to be a revolution as well as a revision of creeds; and, as anything pertaining to the subjects under discussion may be of interest to some one, perhaps the following extract from Prof. C. G. Finney's *Lectures on Systematic Theology*, although very dry and dismal reading to most persons, may strike a sympathetic chord in some gloomy breast, and convince him that the theory of "eternal punishment" is the best way of "satisfying the demands of public justice."

"Now, sinner, let me ask you, Do you think you are a reprobate? If so, what do you think the reason is that has led the *infinitely benevolent* God to reprobate you? There must be some reason: what do you suppose it is? Did you ever seriously ask yourself what is the reason that a *wise* and *infinitely benevolent* God has never made me willing to accept salvation? It must be for one of the following reasons: either (1) he is a malevolent being, and wills your damnation for its own sake; or (2) he cannot make you willing, if he would; or (3) you behave in such a manner in the circumstances in which you are that, to his *infinitely benevolent* mind, it appears unwise to take such a course as would bring you to repentance. Such a *change* in the administration of his government as would make you willing *would not*, upon the whole, be *wise*. Now, which of these do you think it is? You will not probably take the ground that he is malevolent and desires your damnation, because he delights in misery. Nor will you, I suppose, take the ground that he could not convert you, if he would; that is, if he *thought it wise* to do so. The other, then, must be the reason; to wit, that your heart and conduct and stubbornness are so abominable in his sight that, everything considered, he sees that to use such *farther means with you* as to secure your conversion would, on the whole, *do more hurt than good* to his kingdom. Do you ask how I know that the reason why God does not make you willing is that he sees it would be unwise to do so? I answer that it is an irresistible inference from these *two facts*: that he is *infinitely benevolent, and that he does not actually make you willing*. Since the penalty of law, although infinite, under the wisest possible administration of government could not secure universal obedience, and since multitudes of sinners will not be reclaimed and saved by the gospel, one of three things must be done: either moral government must be given up, or the *wicked be annihilated*, or they must be *reprobated* and *sent to hell*. Now, that moral government should be given up will not be pretended: *annihilation would not be just*, inasmuch as it would not be an adequate expression of the abhorrence with which the divine ruler regards the violation of his law; *and, consequently, it would not meet the demands of public justice*. Now, as sinners *really deserve eternal death*, and as their punishment may be of *real value* to the universe in creating a respect for the authority of God, and thus strengthen his government, it is *plain* that their *reprobation* and *damnation* is for the *general good*, making the *best use* of the wicked that could be made."

There! don't that "take the cake" as being the most illogical piece of "cussedness" ever written? Well, that extract was used as a "campaign document" by an orthodox brother to convert a sceptic to the faith; but it reacted, and made him look with disgust and abhorrence upon a church or creed that could hold such an idea of God.

The italics are mine. W. H. S.

WEST SOMERVILLE.

BOOK NOTICES.

NOTES ON EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY. By J. F. Yorke. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1883. Price $1.50.

Cordially we welcome a brilliant book in which daring originality is united to profound scholarship. Chapter I., "The Development of Hebrew Morality," shows how Judaism arose out of the precious truth embodied in that most ancient of all books, the maxims of Prah-hotep, and other Egyptian writings earlier than the time of Moses, how the prophets taught a much higher standard of virtue than had been followed in the early history of the nation, and how similar and simultaneous progress was made in Persia and India, the same law of ethical evolution being everywhere in force. Chapter II., "The Ethics of Christianity," occupies more than half of the volume, and presents the principal sayings of Jesus, including some remarkably interesting ones not in the four Gospels, connected with corresponding passages from the Talmud, the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, the Epistles of the Apostles and the Apostolic Fathers, and arranged under four classes of headings, so as to show with unusual clearness what the first Christians held about God, prayer, providence, and forgiveness, about truth, justice, mercy, love, charity, importance of morality, etc., about ascetic purity, family ties, marriage and divorce, poverty and riches, non-resistance, etc., and finally about heaven and hell. The quotations are mostly from the Revised Version, and are illustrated by suggestions sometimes rather startling, but never trivial. Christ is called "the foremost leader of the world"; "but his originality consisted in the fact that he established the essential difference between formal and natural morality, and so was the great religious liberator of mankind." This, however, had been already done by the Buddha.

The third chapter, entitled "Morality is the Nature of Things," consists largely of extracts "from the works of the chief English exponents of the moral doctrines based on modern science,—that is to say, of Spencer, Darwin, Tylor, Lubbock, and others." The moral laws and conscience itself are shown to result from the necessary conditions of social existence, and to vary accordingly, the general direction being that of progress. Some statements are liable to misconception

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for instance, "Evil is a necessary condition of physical and mental development," "an indispensable factor in the divine process of evolution." "The falsehoods with which Peter began his independent career, the murder which preceded Paul's conversion," are then spoken of as instances of "sins that are simply relics of the old savage or animal ancestry breaking out." There is the important difference that Paul says he followed his conscience, but Peter did not: one acted up to the popular standard, but the other fell plainly short. We cannot always be sure that we do perfectly right; but we know that sometimes we follow the best light we have, and sometimes we do not. Now, it is only such evil actions as are wrong through the weakness of our light, but not through any unwillingness to follow it, that can strictly be called necessary conditions of development or indispensable factors of evolution. In fact, the indispensable condition of development is fidelity to all the light that has been given. Mr. Yorke would of course admit this, but he would do well to make it plainer. On the whole his moral teaching is singularly strong and good.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND PEOPLE. By Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb. Boston: W. B. Clarke & Carruth. 1882.

Next to the interest of one's own personal history comes that of contemporary relatives and such records of ancestry as may have been rescued from the obliterating hand of time. The halo of a sort of dignified antiquity thus surrounds the imagination, somewhat soothing to one's immediate sense of insignificance in the surging throng of unrelated companions. The book in question contains some account of the "Ellis, Pemberton, Willard, Prescott, Titcomb, Sewall, and Longfellow, and allied families." It presents a copious mass of material, which shows great patience and industry in its collection, but lacks the lucid arrangement and wording desirable for a quick grasp of the memory. A few tabulated pages would be reassuring guide-boards for one who roams with diligence through the necessarily confusing by-paths of inter-related family domains. There are also some inaccuracies and omissions in the matter of names. But there is much that is highly interesting and valuable to the descendants of these families.

THE IMAGE BREAKER. By John E. Remsburg, Atchison, Kan. Published by the author. 1882.

This pamphlet contains half a dozen short essays, under the following captions: "The Decline of Faith," "Protestant Intolerance," "Washington an Unbeliever," "Jefferson an Unbeliever," "Paine and Wesley," "The Christian Sabbath." The work abounds in extracts from books and papers, and gives numerous facts of interest to general readers. The author writes in a vigorous style.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for March shows no falling off from the high standard of this brilliant magazine. "The Growth and Effect of Railway Consolidation" is the leading article from the pen of Gerrit L. Lansing. Dr. Felix L. Oswald has a mirth-provoking article on natural history, entitled "Queer Phases of Animal Life," finely illustrated. R. W. Boodle's thought-awakening article on "Natural Religion" is concluded in this number. Dr. Yeo writes of "Vivisection and Practical Medicine." Dr. Parrish discusses the "Evolution of the Camp-meeting" from a method of revivalism to a sanitary arrangement. Alice H. Rhine writes thoughtfully of "Sewage at the Seaside." Capt. Shackford has something to say of "Ice and Fog in the North Atlantic." Dr. G. E. Walton gives his estimate of the "Remedial Value of the Climate of Florida." C. G. Büttner tells about "A South African Arcadia." Leonard Scott deals with "Piratical Publishers," in the interest of the international copyright law. There is "A Chapter in Transcendental Pathology," a "Sketch of Sir C. Wyville Thompson," with portrait, and other readable articles.

THE *North American Review* for March discusses in its usual vigorous manner various topics of present interest. Its writers comprise some of the most radical thinkers of the present time. The leading article of this number is by Henry George, on "Money in Elections"; Robert S. Taylor, a member of the Mississippi Commission, writes of "The Subjugation of the Mississippi"; M. D. Conway contributes a striking study of "Gladstone" as a man and a statesman; Hon. George W. Julian has an article on "Railway Influence in the Land Office"; Richard A. Proctor gives us an astronomer's view of "The Pyramid of Cheops"; Prof. W. G. Sumner shows the relation between "Protective Taxes and Wages"; and Elizur Wright, an acknowledged authority in such matters, writes on "Some Aspects of Life Insurance." The number closes brilliantly with one of this magazine's characteristic symposiums, this time on "Educational Needs," giving the views thereon of Prof. Stanley Hall, Felix Adler, Pres. Thomas Hunter, and Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi.

LONGFELLOW'S posthumous poem, "Michael Angelo," is finished in the March number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. John Burroughs has a characteristic sketch of a few days' stroll "In Carlyle's Country," and gives us some new Carlyle reminiscences picked up from among his old neighbors in Ecclefechan. One of these "had seen Carlyle many a time, 'but the people here took no interest in that man,' he said, 'he never done nothing for this place.' Referring to Carlyle's ancestors, he said, 'The Carls were what we Scotch call bullies,—A set of bullies, sir. If you crossed their path, they would murder you.'" The bit of travel "H. H." has to offer us in this number is "By Horse Cars into Mexico." G. P. Lathrop gives us his view of "The Hawthorne Manuscripts." Henry James criticises the acting of "Tommaso Salvini." J. H. Allen writes about "Port Royal," under the title of "The City of Earthquakes." H. D. Warner describes some peculiarities of Caracas in South America. There is a short story by Agnes Paton, and poems by O. W. Holmes and others. The book reviews are various and interesting.

THE *Art Amateur* for February is mainly devoted to criticisms of exhibitions and to suggestions for decorative art. We seem to feel the chill of the snow-storms of January in the notices of pictures in New York, which are generally pretty cutting. All that is said in dispraise of the "Madonna dei Candelabri," attributed to Raphael, may be true, and we heartily agree with the writer that it would help art much, if every one would say honestly what he thinks instead of pretending admiration which he does not feel; but it is as easy and as common to fail to see beauties which really exist as to prate about them when they are absent. Thackeray's flippant sneer at a picture which the world treasures may show that *he* can find "only a smirking miss" in Raphael's Virgin, but by no means proves that there is nothing more there. But it is good service to lead every one to examine carefully foreign pictures brought to this country with great names appended to them, since so many are fraudulent or worthless. Sincere, patient, intelligent, reverent, but impartial criticism is what is most needed for the improvement of art in this country.

THE *Unitarian Review* for February is at hand, with a fine table of contents. Rev. C. F. Dole has a pertinent article on "The Doctrine of Prayer." Isabel Francis Bellows writes interestingly of "The Moral Element in Mrs. Kemble's *Records*," Rev. J. H. Allen has a thoughtful paper on "Papal Reaction in the Sixteenth Century." E. P. Evans treats in a delightfully unique manner "Christian Zoo-Psychology," the meaning of which befogging title we will not explain, leaving our readers to consult the article itself for that purpose. Ella F. Mosby writes of "The Book of Life" in a charmingly unique style, explaining in the beginning that "each man is his own unconscious but enduring record, his book of life." Rev. John Hopps, editor of the English *Truth-Seeker*, gives some pleasant "Notes from England." The "Editors' Note-Book" and Mrs. Lowe's "Things at Home and Abroad" are full of interest to the general reader.

THE January number of the *Revue de Belgique* is about twice the usual size, and opens with a remarkably able essay on the various methods of Minority Representation. Among other subjects of interest are the Hawaiian volcano, Kilauea; Zachary Werner, the liberal German dramatist; and Gambetta. There is also a very full account of the various sects in England, where the Anglican Church is now estimated as including 12,500,000, but a little more than half the population, and as having a total revenue of $40,000,000. The Broad Church is said to be still in the minority, but not likely to remain so very long. British Unitarianism is on the decline, as its organ, the *Christian Life*, admitted on Dec. 3, 1881. Conway and Voysey receive full and favorable notice. And so do the two leading secularists, Holyoake and Bradlaugh.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MRS. DR. MARIA B. HAYDEN, for thirty years a practising eclectic physician in Boston and New York, died on Sunday, February 11, at her residence in the latter city.

RICHARD WAGNER, the most famous musical composer of this century, died at Venice, Italy, February 13, aged seventy. He was the composer of "Lohengrin," "Faust," and "Parsifal."

GEORGE C. MILN, the preacher-tragedian, broke one of his ribs while playing at the Phillips Opera House, Richmond; and the performance of "Hamlet" had to be postponed. He is rapidly recovering.

THE first telegram ever sent by a Chinese sovereign to a European prince was sent last week by the present Emperor of China to the Crown Prince of Prussia on the occasion of Frederick William's silver wedding.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY was to sail on Wednesday, February 21, to Europe to take needed rest. She celebrated on the 15th inst. her sixty-third birthday. A Boston lady, recently deceased, left $20,000 each to Miss Anthony and Lucy Stone, as we learn from a Rochester paper.

WASHINGTON'S birthday will be observed, as heretofore, by the Boston Young Men's Christian Union, Boylston Street. An address will be delivered in the Union Hall, Thursday evening, Feb. 22, by Rev. Robert Collyer, of New York. Subject, "The Human Life of Washington."

MR. G. H. DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., has been elected to the Plumian Professorship of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. Although only thirty-six, he has already attained distinction. He is a geologist, a biologist, and a chemist as well as an astronomer. The London *Inquirer* says he "has more than his father's power of exposition."

MR. CHARLES WATTS, of England, editor of the London *Secular Review*, delivered two discourses last Sunday in Paine Hall. The evening lecture was an exposition and defence of Secularism. The attendance was good, and the lectures were well received. B. F. Underwood will speak from the same platform next Sunday, in the afternoon at three o'clock and in the evening at half-past seven.

HON. MARSHALL JEWELL died at Hartford, Conn., on the 10th. A few hours before his death, he said to his physician, "Doctor, how long does it take?" The doctor inquired what he meant. "How long does it take for a man to die?" asked the sick man. The doctor said, "In your condition, governor, it is a matter of only a few hours." "All right, doctor," said the sufferer, as he settled back quietly upon his pillow.

MR. STUART ROBSON said at the funeral of Thorne, the actor, last week: "It was the often expressed wish of our dear friend, during the illness which resulted in his death, that no performance of a religious nature should be permitted at his funeral. In conformity with his desire, let us bid good-by to him briefly and simply. . . . Last Thursday, I saw him for the last time. He asked me, in a laughing way, if I had any clearly defined ideas in respect to a future state. I replied, as vaguely as I could, that I supposed the subject was 'rather indefinite'; that the more I thought, the less I knew, and several other current answers in popular use. He said that during his illness he had read liberally on this theme, and saw nothing more suitable to his views than the following: 'The future is a dark, impenetrable curtain, which no human being has ever drawn aside and come back to tell the tale.'" Mr. Robson then read this telegram from Robert G. Ingersoll: "Say whatever your heart prompts. A few tears, a few words, a few flowers, are all that the living can give to the dead. The tragedy is ended, the curtain has fallen, applause cannot lift it up again, but memory and hope remain. Give my sincere sympathy to those who weep." The pall-bearers lifted the coffin into the hearse, which was driven to the Grand Central Depot. The half-past ten o'clock train bore it to Woodlawn Cemetery. Here, without any words of commitment or farewell, it was placed in a receiving vault.

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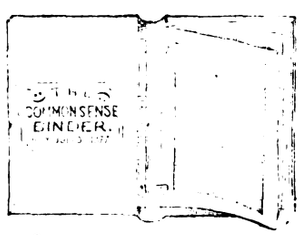

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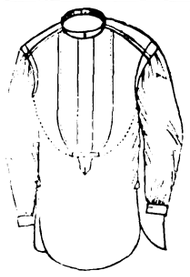

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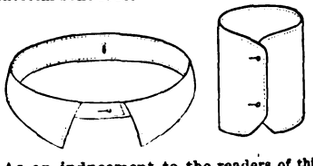

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 409

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
A Reform of the United States Indian Policy, Wm. J. Potter, ... 410
The Secret of the East, Felix L. Oswald, ... 410
An Issue in Social Science, M. A. Hardaker, ... 411
Is the Bible the Word of God? Robert C. Adams, . . . 412
Governor Butler's Proclamation, B. F. Underwood, . . 414
Free Religious Association Conventions, F. A. Hinckley, 414

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 414

POETRY.
Agnosticism, Sara W. Smith, ... 415
An Ideal Jelly-Fish, ... 419

ESSAY.
Some Uncommon Thoughts on Immortality, ... 416
Madame de Staël and Heine, B. W. Ball, ... 417

CORRESPONDENCE.
"Nature never makes a Leap," J. E. Sutton, ... 418

BOOK NOTICES.
The Complete Works of Thomas Paine, ... 418
The Official Report of the State Hospital for the Insane at Norristown, Pa, ... 418
The Elzevir Library, ... 419

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 419

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Montreal collector of customs, who seized a shipment of books from this city which contained the writings of Voltaire and Paine, after adjudging the *Age of Reason* and the *Philosophical Dictionary* immoral, told the bookseller, to whom they were consigned, that the books were fit only to be burned, and refused even to return them to Boston. He will be sued for damages; but, as the Springfield *Republican* remarks, "the priest-ridden government will probably indorse the robbery, as was done in Ontario something over a year ago. Ryan, guardian of Canadian morality, insists that the captured books are seizable under the statute against 'indecent, immoral, treasonable, or seditious books.' This is a fool's judgment. Next we know, there will be a torture-chamber in the Montreal custom-house, and all heretics will be immediately racked."

"CALVIN," one of the sprightliest, most wide-awake, and orthodox of the *Presbyterian's* correspondents, says of the new departure of the *Alliance* of Chicago: "It finally died from an overdose of Agnosticism administered by Dr. George C. Miln, under whose care it had been for about a year. Of course, the attending physician denies any malpractice in this case. In fact, he intimates that the patient is not *really* dead, after all. He says that his labors as America's, and perhaps the world's, great tragedian prevented him from taking due care of the patient; and he has, therefore, turned it over to another Agnostic physician, a graduate from Cornell University." We expect that Mr. Schumm, the editor of the *Alliance* (now the *Radical Review*), will ere long convince "Calvin" and the *Presbyterian* that, if the paper is dead, it is, to use a slang popular phrase, a very "lively corpse."

THE *Independent* says: "We do not know how far honest doubt may fail to accept, in a Christian land, the historical Christ, while yet accepting the essential Christ. Perhaps it may be more correct to say that we may hope that the essential God, that is, the qualities which make God, are accepted by some whose reason has not discovered the personal God nor accepted the revelation of him in his Son; and that to such, on what the Boston Lecturer calls the mountain summit of death, there may be such a revelation as shall point their souls 'higher.'" That is to say, if we understand the above statement, perhaps men may believe neither in Christ as a Saviour nor in God as a personal intelligent Being, and yet, if they accept the precepts and principles of morality, there may be in death "such a revelation as shall point their souls higher." Theology is improving rapidly, and may in time become rational, when, however, it will cease to be theology.

IT is certain that the extreme wing of the Tories, aided by a considerable number of nominal Liberals under the influence of theological rancor or social prejudice, will oppose the Affirmation Bill introduced in the House of Commons; but the success of the closure resolution last fall would seem to indicate that the Premier has gained strength enough since the failure of the affirmation proposal in a previous session to secure for this bill a majority of the House. The Irish members evidently abhor Bradlaugh's anti-theological views as much as they hate the Gladstone ministry. The *Nation* well observes: "One of the oddest features in the position of the Irish Nationalists is that, while politically the Radicals of the rest of Europe seem to be their natural allies, the infidelity of the English Radicals is a barrier to any real union or co operation between them. There is probably no Fenian assassin who does not secretly abhor a sceptic, and Bradlaugh's scepticism makes him more or less odious to the Home Rulers in Parliament. The prospect of a confused session is therefore very good."

THE papers report the collapse of the savings bank of the Augustinian fathers at Lawrence, Mass., a society composed of a number of Roman Catholic priests, who have been receiving the money of poor servant girls and others on deposit, paying high interest on the same, and, instead of investing their funds in secure properties for the good of the depositors, have used it to sustain churches and support parochial schools, running their institution on the same system practised, with most disastrous results, by Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati. The Augustinian fathers are compelled to announce, as might have been expected, that the bank is "dead broke." This shameful failure, they say, "has come about through bad management, and is in no sense the result of roguery." This is but poor consolation to the depositors who have lost their money. A few more failures like the saving institutions of Archbishop Purcell and the Augustinian Society may open the eyes of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens to the unreliableness of business organizations, and the dishonesty of business methods by which the people are defrauded in the name of religion and for the benefit of the Church.

THE new French ministry is composed of men of recognized ability, strong character, and pronounced republican principles. Jules Ferry has hardly a superior in France. He it was who originated the system of secular public instruction which has given such offence to the clerical party. He now takes that department as his own. Among his associates are Challein-El-Lacour, the foreign minister, an exile from the empire, but a scholar and a man experienced in public affairs since 1870; Waldeck-Rosseau, Minister of the Interior, a young man of only thirty-seven, but identified with judicial reform; Martin Feuillée, Minister of Justice, who was under-secretary in his present department and that of the interior; Charles Marie Brun, Minister of Marine, one of the ablest opponents of monarchical scheming during the war; Meline, Minister of Agriculture, who was on the temporary ministry of Marcere, on Grévy's accession to the presidency; and Cochery, who retains his position in the post-office department, and Herisson, who takes that of commerce, both men of the Revolution of 1870. These men can hardly fail to prove a strong working body, if, indeed, a thoroughly supported government can be organized without the election of a new Chamber of Deputies, which seems probable judging from the splendid vote of confidence with which that body favored the Ferry ministry last Saturday.

THE advocacy of the principles of State secularization is no longer confined in this country, as it was but a few years ago, to two or three unpopular journals. These principles are now supported by leading papers in all, or nearly all, the Eastern and Western and some of the Southern States. Even journals published in small cities and towns, and dependent wholly upon local patronage, can now, without pecuniary sacrifice, advocate the taxation of church property, the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, the abolition of the judicial oath, etc. The sentiment in favor of the "Nine Demands of Liberalism" is increasing every year. The following is an extract from an able editorial which we find in the Youngstown, Ohio, *News Register:* "Allowing church property to escape taxation does not belong to our form of government, and is an injustice to every other taxpayer. It is indirectly compelling people by law to support a form of religion, which, whether they believe in that particular form of religion or not, is wrong, and contrary to the genius and spirit of free institutions. The State has no more right to adopt all religions than one particular form. All are entitled to protection, but none to immunity. The State has no religion. It has no right to one. It is neither Jew nor Gentile, Catholic nor Protestant, Pagan nor Christian.... There is neither reason nor justice in allowing a wealthy association to own a costly church, built upon valuable ground, to go free of tax, and compel the poor widow who may own a shanty to shelter her, and who labors hard for that which keeps body and soul together, to pay."

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A REFORM OF THE UNITED STATES INDIAN POLICY.

There are healthy signs of an awakening public interest in the condition of the Indian population of this country. It is quite time there should be such an awakening, if the nation is ever to do anything for blotting out its great crime against these aboriginal possessors of the soil. Hardly second to our national crime against the negro will history adjudge our national treatment of the Indian. If fewer human beings have suffered by reason of the outrages against the Indians than there were to suffer the injustice and cruelties of slavery, yet history will testify that the United States' management of the Indian question has been attended with more sheer waste of power, with more sheer waste of resources, with more needless and resultless wars, with more blundering and inefficient statesmanship, and with vastly less of compensating advantage on the other side to show for it all, than have attended even the national management of the slavery problem.

Indeed, if the Indian could have been enslaved, most likely his condition would have been better to-day than it is. Mere contact with the white race, even through the crime of bondage, has put the negro on the way to civilization. But the Indian had too much independence of spirit, and too much ability to defend his personal rights, to be subjected to slavery. And so he has been regarded as an incorrigible savage and outcast, the implacable foe of civilization, the legitimate prey of every marauder on the frontier,— doomed to, and fit only for, extermination. It is only within the last few years that the national government, though constituting itself the Indians' guardian, has even thought of educating and civilizing them. Whatever has been done in these directions has been done by individual and missionary efforts, and has had very little support from public opinion. The government itself, the Indians' guardian, has again and again broken its solemn promises to them; has violated written treaties it had made with them; has taken their lands without just compensation; has allowed, without ever calling to punishment, its soldiers to hunt them down like wild beasts and to massacre the defenceless women and children of even peaceable tribes; has guarded their rights so carelessly that a large part of the beneficiary allowances it has made to keep them from starvation has been stolen or "absorbed" by its agents on the way; has repeatedly made war upon them for rising in defence of their own rights against lawless adventurers from whom it should have protected them,—thereby punishing them instead of the criminals who had wronged them. In the long history of government dealings with the Indians in these United States, from the earliest colonial times to the present day, there is, in fact, but one really fair, unblotted page; and that is the record of William Penn and his Quaker colony in Pennsylvania. One fair white page in the annals of two hundred and fifty years amidst the blackness of the surrounding perfidy and cruelty, made to look all the blacker because of its whiteness!

It would be easy to bring detailed proofs to sustain this general indictment. The difficulty would rather be to select the evidence so as to bring it within practicable limits. And the proofs are mostly to be found in the government's own records at Washington,—in the reports of the War and Indian departments, and in those of congressional committees of investigation. There are many of these pages of official documents that cannot be read without a sense of deep humiliation and shame at the thought that this powerful, free, and enlightened government, professedly existing for the righting of wrongs for even the poorest and weakest of mankind, should be in any way implicated in such disgraceful, inhuman, and infamous deeds as are here confessed. There have been, it is true, terrible massacres of whites by the Indians. The Indian when driven to war is a warrior who knows little of mercy. Yet the records show that he has been more than matched, even in acts of savage ferocity, by white men called civilized and wearing the uniform of United States soldiers. And there is hardly a break in the testimony which proves that Indian wars and massacres have originated in some aggression by white people or some neglect of the government in keeping its promises. General Harney testified that he had lived on the frontier fifty years, and had "never known an instance in which war broke out between us and these tribes that the tribes were not in the right."

The governmental Indian policy has in reality been hitherto chiefly shaped by the prevalent opinion that the Indian is a being incapable of civilization, and that, standing across the pathway of Anglo-Saxon progress, "manifest destiny" dooms him to inevitable extinction. Brigadier-General Carleton, who was once in command of the department of New Mexico, in sending his official and portions of his private correspondence to a congressional committee appointed in 1867 to investigate Indian affairs, volunteered also to express his pious judgment that it is "the evident purpose of the Almighty that the red man shall disappear from the face of the earth to give place to another race"; though he humbly adds, "He has reasons too deep to be fathomed by us." And this same correspondence shows that General Carleton had been making himself a very effective instrument in carrying out this inscrutable purpose of the Almighty, by giving to his subordinates such orders as these: "There is to be no council held with the Indians, nor any talks: the men are to be slain whenever and wherever found." "If the Indians send a flag of truce and desire to sue for peace, say to them you have no power to make peace, that you are there to kill them wherever you can find them." And to this theory, though it may not in general have been put into such pious phrase, the national treatment of the Indian has been closely conformed. More ordinarily, the same belief would have been summed up in the frontier dialect in some such way as this: "This continent belongs to them who can manage it. Whoever can first seize and turn its resources into wealth shall keep them; and, in this race, Satan take the hindmost." So the poor Indian has been complacently given up to destruction, because not in the current of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

But, as a matter of fact, the Indian does not die out. In spite of "the evident purpose of the Almighty that the red man shall disappear," and in spite of the much more evident readiness and zeal of the pious General Carletons and of other men not so pious to help on this purpose which they have discovered, the Indian population is not diminishing. As a matter of fact, too, the Indian is now proved to be not incapable of civilization. Notwithstanding all the obstacles thrown in their pathway, one fifth of the Indian population of the country is already well advanced in civilization; that is, they cultivate their own land, they raise good crops, they dress like whites, they live in substantial frame houses, they have schools, both day and boarding schools with teachers of their own race, they have all the institutions of orderly government, they suppress crime, they raise revenues, and are entirely self-supporting. Such results as these in the Indian Territory and among some of the tribes farther West utterly disprove the old and dominant belief that the Indian cannot be civilized.

And these results point to the true solution of the Indian problem,—as also to the national duty, the discharge of which can alone cancel the long record of national crime. Civilization, with its concomitant conditions of education and individual ownership and cultivation of the land, to the end of substituting national and State citizenship for the tribal relation, is the formula for the solution. The work cannot be a rapid one: it will have its difficulties, more especially as the whole method of the government in dealing with the Indian question will have to be reformed from the bottom. But fifty years—yes, less—of as much energy and money as have been wasted in that time on Indian wars, judiciously applied now to measures of civilization, would forever settle the question. Summed up in a sentence, the national Indian policy hitherto has been *war without mercy upon the Indian to-day,—to-morrow, charity rations for his subsistence.* This system of alternate war and the almshouse has neither repressed the Indian nor elevated him. It has done nothing but harass and exasperate him. Let the government now try justice in place of charity, statute-laws and courts in place of the sword, education to self-maintenance in place of extermination. That would be statesmanship as well as righteousness.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SECRET OF THE EAST;
OR,
The Origin of the Christian Religion and the Significance of its Rise and Decline.

CHAPTER I.
The Genesis of Pessimism.

"Woe to the Sphinx, if we can solve her riddle."—J. P. Richter.

About twenty-four hundred years ago, a religious Hindu retired to the hills of Barabar, near Gaya, to meditate upon the problem of life and the origin of evil. The Ceylon Buddhists date the advent of their religion from 534 B.C., but geographical traditions are generally more reliable than chronological records; and between Behar and Patna, on the Upper Ganges, the traveller of the future may linger in the valley of the Bar Mohânan to visit the fountain of the great Marah, the well of bitterness that has poisoned the life-springs of so many hundred nations, and still mixes its gall with the sources of our moral food.

Near Buddha-Gaya, in the solitude of the Barabar hill-forests, the mind of the brooding Hindu evolved a system which has the theoretical advantage of consistency. He proposed to solve the problem of existence on the nihilistic plan, and avoid the disappointments of life by renouncing its hopes. The hope of earthly happiness, according to the theory of Buddha Sakyamuni, is a chimera, a phantom that lures us from error to error through endless toils, and robs even the grave of its peace; for he who dies uncured of his delusion must return to earth, and continue the hopeless chase in another life. Quietism—*i.e.*, annihilation of desire—is the only hope of emancipation; and that goal of peace can be reached only by total abstinence from earthly pleasures. All worldly blessings are curses in disguise, and he alone who has lifted the veil of that disguise has entered the path of salvation. To him, self-denial becomes the highest wisdom, and self-abhorrence the supreme virtue. He must court sorrow and disappointment as others woo the smiles of fortune, he must avoid everything that could reconcile him to life and lure him back to the delusions

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of worldly pursuits. Life is a disease, and death the only cure. The highest goal of the future is Nirvana, peace and absolute deliverance from the vexations of earthly desires. All human knowledge is vain, the great object of life being the suppression of our natural instincts. Self-affliction is the only rational pursuit. The love of wealth is folly: the slaves of covetousness forge fetters for their own feet. True believers should seek temporal peace by curtailing their wants and cultivating the virtue of indifference to the vicissitudes of fortune. He who strives after higher merit must renounce all earthly possessions, live on alms, dress in rags, shave his head, and abstain from marriage, merry-makings, and the use of animal food. He must have no fixed habitation, and must even avoid to sleep twice under the same tree, lest an undue affection for any earthly object should hinder his spirit in the progress of its emancipation from the vanities of life!

According to the Indian tradition, Mahar, the prince of the earth-spirits, exhausted all his resources to prevent the promulgation of the new dogma. But, unfortunately for the happiness of the human race, the efforts of Mahar proved unavailing. Buddha Sakyamuni preached his gospel with the zeal of a divine messenger. His apostles infested all Northern and Eastern Hindostan. Fifty years after his death, the doctrine of anti-naturalism had superseded the native religions of Cashmere, Cabul, Candahar, Bactria, and Burmah; and, five hundred years later, a modified form of the Buddha gospel was preached on the shores of the Mediterranean, and the mania of pessimism spread westward and northward with all the symptoms attending the dissemination of an unnatural vice. Vices are perverted instincts, and by fastening upon the basis of a natural propensity usurp its functions and its resources. Hence their persistency. The propaganda of Buddhism owed its first success to the enthusiasm of its apostle; but what is the secret of its further progress? What innate bias of the human mind has furnished the basis of its development,—in the cultus of the eastern nations, as well as in the mind of its founder?

Gnosticism, Essenism, Sufism, and the doctrines of the New Testament, with all the various subdivisions of its votaries, are so many excrescences of the Buddhistic parent-tree; and an exegetical reference to their complex mysticism would be an explanation *per obscurius*. But like other dogmas, and nearly all the myths of the Aryan races, Buddhism has a germ in the great pantheon of Brahmanism. In the *Sanskara*, or book of sacraments, the law of Menu lays down a special code of religious ordinances for every period of life, and assigns to extreme old age the duty of certain ascetic practices, which were supposed to harmonize with the *natural quietism* attending the subsidence of the passions and vital energies.

"When a man perceives his body flagging," says the *Sanskara*, "when he sees his hair becoming gray, when he has seen the son of his son, let him leave his home and retire into the solitude of the forest. He is to live on herbs, roots, and fruits, not to cut his hair or nails, and busy himself only with the Vedas and the contemplation of Brahm, in order to approach perfection in piety and science"; *i.e.*, he is to renounce worldly occupations and retire to the solitude of the woods, as Felix Sylla retired to his Apulian farm-house, and way-worn Firdusi to the hermitage of Thuss. "Peace returns," says Dr. Zimmermann, "at an age when solitude is enough to make a hermitage pleasant." Under the influence of sorrow and infirmity, old men become instinctive pessimists. Nature practises her delusions for wise purposes ot her own. She baits her matrimonial traps with visions of Elysium, and reconciles her children to the gathering shadows of the long night by exaggerating the disappointments of the day and the recollection of its fatigues. And, even at the end of a pleasant evening, rest becomes sweet enough to be desired for its own sake.

But this quietude of the sunset hour Buddha Sakyamuni attempts to enforce in the morning of life, his disciples are to seek refuge in sleep before their day's work is done, he gathers dry leaves to bury the budding flower. Like the genius of death, he depreciates life by dwelling upon the vanity of its hopes; and the secret of his success is to be found in the circumstance that in every human breast there is a germ of this feeling which may be stimulated into premature activity. Pessimism is precocious senility. It is a reversion of the vital instincts. Even in the prime of life, the systematic suppression of all our natural desires will lead to that weariness of earth which nature had intended to deaden the sorrow of the parting hour, as we may force a plant to return as dust to dust by depriving it of its flowers and green leaves. Young pessimists resemble the fruits that rot before they ripen. Monastic tendencies imply an abnormal condition of the human mind. Only a defeated warrior, a man without hope and without courage, can find solace in contemplating the approach of a premature night.

Buddhism and its daughter-creed can flourish only in a sickly soil. Christianity developed its first germs in the carcass of the decaying Roman Empire, and still retains its firmest hold upon the degenerate nations of Southern Europe; while the manlier races of the North resisted its propaganda to the last, and were the first to free themselves from its despotism,—just as Buddhism has been expelled from the homes of the Aryan races and relegated to the moral pest-house of the South Mongol empires, for in Japan its influence is confined to the observance of a few traditional ceremonies. Disease, crushing misfortune, mental derangement, whatever disqualifies a man for the healthy business of life, qualifies him for the reception of anti-natural dogmas. Marasmus and pessimism are as concomitant as optimism and health. Crippled foxes decry the vintage. Caged murderers, like gouty libertines, generally become devout. Nearly every scaffold orator edifies his audience by the enunciation of orthodox sentiments. Superannuated coquettes revenge themselves by denouncing the illusions of a world that neglects them. Unmasked hypocrites console themselves with the hope of a better hereafter. When the gods of war rejected his appeal, Charles IV. of Spain solaced his spirit by embroidering a petticoat for the Holy Virgin. The apostles of pessimism were mostly men who had reason to revenge themselves upon nature. Rancé, the founder of the New Trappists, became devout in consequence of a domestic tragedy, Ignatius Loyola after the siege of Pampeluna where he was crippled and disfigured, Raimund Lullius' quietism dated from the infidelity of his bride, and Count Stolberg's from the death of his wife. Swift, Schopenhauer, and Hannah More were martyrs to chronic headache, Dante was an exile, and Calvin a dyspeptic.

Tradition says that Buddha Sakyamuni entered upon his mission only after he had exhausted the pleasures of wealth and luxury. The debilitating effects of superannuation may thus be anticipated; and, if the vital energies have been spent to the dregs, night and rest become the *summum bonum*. Lethe is a refuge from the weariness of surfeit as well as from the infirmities of old age; and, under the influence of that weariness, Sakyamuni perhaps recognized its remedy, and mistook it for a panacea.

"He interdicts the sweetmeats that have become indigestible to his stomach," as Voss explained the pessimism of his friend Stolberg. The gratification of our natural instincts is, indeed, a sin against the cardinal tenet of a creed which identifies nature with the origin of evil. Hence, that *worship of sorrow*, which is the distinctive dogma of the two anti-natural religions, and which has so perverted their ethics that they refuse to recognize the merit of a virtue which they cannot exaggerate or misconstrue into a duty of self-affliction.

Pessimism is essentially the creed of decrepitude. Moribund impotence pleases itself in the idea that her lot is preferable to that of the survivors, and from that idea there is but a step to the blasphemous thought that life itself is a delusion, and earth a "vale of tears," a land of sorrow and disappointments. A eupeptic boy with a sincere predilection for such dogmas would be a monster *per defectum*, a being devoid of the instincts of content and gratitude. Hence, we find that, in spite of all street missions, the name of the Young Men's Christian Association is a misnomer, its conventicles being attended chiefly by old women of both sexes. Hence, also the frequency of "sick-bed conversions,"—

"The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be."

The evils caused by our sins against the health laws of nature our ignorance, indolence, and arrogance prefer to ascribe to an inherent defect of her constitution. We find it easier to pine for the gardens of the New Jerusalem than to replant the trees of our wasted earthly paradise.

Pessimism and anti-naturalism are inseparable correlatives. Buddha saw that the healthiest and noblest instincts of the human mind were opposed to his system, and met the difficulty by the total depravity dogma. In order to justify the conclusions of his diseased imagination, he had to deny the competence of mental health, and did not hesitate to denounce our natural instincts as the sources of original sin. A declaration of war against nature was the logical outcome of his system.

Every religion reflects the moral character of its birthplace: Odin-worship, the martial barbarism of the old Northland; Judaism, the loyal faith and the stern morality of the Hebrew shepherds; Islam, the chivalrous enthusiasm of the free Arab; Stoicism and Epicurism (which had assumed the ethical functions of an obsolete mythological system), the manliness and the optimistic common sense of the ancient Greeks. Of all the countries of the earth, ancient India was the most cursed with the evils of despotism, with abject and hopeless social degradation, with fantastic superstitions, combined with a neglect of all the sciences that could have enabled an inquirer to ascertain the true cause of human sufferings and their proper remedies. India, the seed-plot of the most contagious diseases and the hope of the opium-habit, was the birthland of Pessimism.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

AN ISSUE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

The excitement of tariff revision through which we are just passing is but one of over forty similar dissensions through which we have passed since 1789, the year wherein our protective legislation had its birth contemporaneously with the Federal Constitution. It is hard for us to modify that conception of American prosperity imbibed from our teachers and from Fourth of July oratory. Can it be possible that, after all, we are *not* "the freest, the most prosperous, and the most intelligent people upon the earth"? It is a very cheap escape

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from our present trouble to hold American legislation responsible therefor. Legislation is but the recorded will of successive generations; and we are surely responsible, if we allow our own to pass away without the most zealous endeavor to enlighten the unthinking upon the actual causes of national decadence or prosperity.

Among a cloud of misconceptions, one is notable. It is the common but unhealthy ideal of the function of government. Politico-economical writers regard this, with good reason, as a pivotal question. When large bodies of men grow clamorous and aggressive toward governments like those of England and the United States, one instinctively knows that there must be a weak place in the philosophy of such mal-contents; but one is equally sure that some distortion of the province of governments has been fostered to make such claims possible. It is really no more respectable to cry out to government for protection in fortune-making than to cry out to one's neighbor. But we have so taught ourselves to look upon government as something to lean upon, as a patriarchal or paternal helper to which we might look for salvation from our own errors, that a certain reversal of the normal relations of citizenship and body politic has come about. Men are strangely willing to lean upon a government, and even to shout loudly of their right to be upheld by it in industrial and commercial undertakings, who would disdain to solicit help from individuals or from recognizable associations. But governments in republican form are but associations of one's neighbors, near and remote. I ought, by any intelligent standard, to feel ashamed to ask my neighbors for special legislation, for an arbitrary measure which they will be obliged to enforce at an enormous expense, and whereby I may thrive in my occupation. More than this, I ought to be too self-reliant to accept such a favor if thrust upon me, and too instructed to allow such a vitiated standard to go abroad in the shape of legislation, and be erected in the community as a political precedent.

Coming, then, to the plain question of the function of modern governments, what does it cover? Can it wisely be allowed to cover anything except the security of order, freedom, and peace? The security of *prosperity* (which in the American vernacular means plenty of money, or its equivalent in houses, clothes, and comfort) cannot properly be catalogued among the duties of government. The claim is not usually put in its crudest form, but it takes two veiled but recognizable shapes. Capitalists claim protection—*i.e.*, special legislation—for their industries; and laborers look to government with a blind demand for employment. Both classes stand in an unenviable attitude, both make themselves virtual suppliants to all the unprotected. By this process, governments are neatly converted into philanthropic institutions, doling out charity to those who are dependent enough to cry out for it. Why should men apply such differing standards in personal and in political claims? What a small, childish terror was that which led the ship-builders of colonial New England to stipulate for restrictive navigation laws! Nay, they held their hands from ratification of the infant Constitution until such laws were allowed, and until they were further secured in the exclusive transportation of negroes in the African slave trade. Indeed, if we unroll the historic scroll a little further, we find record of a bargain or compromise, whereby these same fathers agreed to extend federal recognition to the cotton and slave interest in consideration of these same indulgent navigation laws. Agriculture and commerce struck hands in these early days of privation and limited ideals. Manufactures were hardly in existence then; but, as they developed, they also claimed their pound of flesh.

As it stands to-day, the problem is a very large and increasingly serious one. We are expiating the mistakes of our fathers; but the re-creation of the public standard in this matter is an appalling task. Our fathers gave us freedom in documentary form; but they cancelled a part of the bequest, both by their example and by their timid, restrictive legislation. It is for us not to perpetuate the mistake. It is time that we tested the metal we are made of both as individuals and as a nation. Are we not ready, are we not strong enough, to take our place among civilized peoples in fair competition? What a pitiable figure do we present, with our tiny navy taxed nearly out of existence, and our artificial prices for sugar, silk, and cooking-ranges! Then, every four or five years, we pass through the torture of business depression, with its attendant labor agitations, its strikes, and its miserable accompaniments of impoverished and migrating families. Then, once more, as every evil is quickly voiced in newspaper and in Congress, we have the renewed discussion of causes, and the organized courage and scholarship of the country bear down once more with all their strength upon this old, deep-set fence of protection. But it does not yield. A strip is sometimes cut from the bottom of the blanket to be sewed on at the top, or a new patch is set upon a motley heap of patches. Yet the old convictions that governments must help citizens to make money, and that we are too frail to be let into the great arena of international exchange of industries, operate to keep our hands still shackled. What a humiliation! Here we stand, chained together by mutual agreement,—a kind of co-operative servitude. Our factories whistle themselves hoarse; our machinery, like ourselves, clashes itself into disuse; our products are heaped in warehouses; all the intense activity of an intense people struggles to break its chains. But we produce too much to sell to ourselves. The two millions who manufacture produce too fast for the fifty millions who consume. The markets that we might have in Canada, South America, England, India, China, Australia, and elsewhere, are only ajar, instead of wide open to us. We have no ships; and we cannot buy or hire them, because our navigation laws forbid,—*i.e.*, they impose such taxation that these purchases are unprofitable: wooden ships cannot compete with the cheap iron screw steamers of England, and so we have lost all control of the sea. If protection was once a blessing, it is certainly changing to a stumbling-block; for, suppose that home production and home markets were the great desiderata of the early days, is it not folly to hold to an obsolete legislation which cramps us in our maturity?

Finally, the one supposed unanswerable ground of protective legislation is that it raises the price of labor, and so keeps the condition of the American workman above that of the European operative. Thousands of well-intentioned people in educated New England cling to this as a sufficient reason for favoring protection. But, by the testimony of truthful figures, the wages of American factory operatives for the year 1881 averaged but five dollars a week, a little less than those of English operatives; and it is now commonly known that wages in England are nearly the same as in the United States, and yet England can undersell us in our own markets. The truth is that wages are not determined by legislation; hence, neither free trade nor protection can materially affect them. They were miserably low in protected England: they have been steadily rising under her thirty-five years of free trade. They have been exceptionally high in protected America for a half-century, and they have likewise fallen in protected America below the present average in free England. The necessary inference is that law cannot regulate the compensation of labor. It has its variable price like other things, according as it is scarce or abundant, inferior or excellent. The price of labor has been high in this country, because of the tremendous extension of business, the conquest of new lands, and of general internal development. Labor has surged hither in huge waves of immigration. While we have found an outlet for it, it has prospered and been remunerative. As soon as we are cramped in exchange, it knows not whither to betake itself, and looks helplessly to government as in some way responsible. But the duty of government ends with the gift of freedom and its permanent guarantee. Its highest wisdom is to let its citizens alone, capitalist and laborer alike. Both should be protected only in the right to buy and sell, go and come, traffic and exchange in any market which individual enterprise can open.

M. A. HARDAKER.

IS THE BIBLE THE WORD OF GOD?

Criticism of the Bible is considered to belong to an elementary stage of rationalism, and is scarcely tolerated by many advanced thinkers who have far outgrown discussion upon so trite a theme. But a book that has an annual circulation of three million copies is still deserving of attention; and it is possible there are some readers of *The Index* to whom one more statement of reasons which led an inquirer to the rejection of the inspiration of the Bible may be no less beneficial, and possibly as interesting, as the discussions upon the existence of supersensible matter that largely occupy the thoughts and pens of abler contributors.

The Book of Genesis gives an account of the creation of the present condition of the world and all its forms of life in six days, man being formed complete and "grown up" out of the dust, and woman being made from the man's rib. Science proves this to be entirely untrue, and history shows the record to be on a par with various other legends of creation, which other races of men have made, though it is superior to most in one respect, the recognition of only one God. Theologians are desperately trying to save the Bible by ingenious theories, none of which, so far, will bear the scrutiny either of science or common sense. They make the days long periods, though this is in contradiction to the plain words of Scripture, and even then fails to solve the difficulty.

The second chapter of Genesis contains another legend of the creation, differing from the first in important particulars, but no more reconcilable with facts. It is now established in the opinion of scholars that the world is of immense age, and that man has existed upon the earth for a much longer period than the story in Genesis makes possible. The records of the earth itself contradict this legend. The nebular hypothesis, though still only a theory, accounts for the formation of the universe in accordance with all known facts; and science discovers many uncontroverted evidences of the gradual progression of the earth and its inhabitants to their present form. Prof. Huxley asserts that the chalk cliffs of England, which are composed of the minute shells of sea animalcules, must have been at least ten thousand years in forming at the bottom of the ocean. They have slowly risen to the surface and subsided four different times, remaining exposed such long periods

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as to collect vegetable and animal life, whose remains tell their own story. A pious lady, to whom this was mentioned, excitedly exclaimed, "It was all made by God in one night." When asked if it was either reasonable or honest in God to create old bones, fossil plants, the rock débris from icebergs, and then cover them up in four successive layers to deceive man as to the earth's origin and to contradict his own story in Genesis, she was speechless. But the next day she said, "God says so, and I believe him."

There is a marvellous succession of forms in vegetable and animal life, and a connection between each grade so close as to suggest the probability and almost certainty that the higher forms have sprung from the lower. Anatomists tell us that the embryo of man appears successively to be identical with that of a plant, an animalcule, an oyster, a fish, a quadruped, a high form of mammal, an ape. If the individual passes through these forms, is it not probable that the race has likewise developed from these lower races? Anatomists also tell us that men have rudimentary tails, and it is observed that the disuse of an organ in animals tends to its disappearance. Why should God take the trouble to make a useless tail bone, when he formed Adam out of the dust? Is it not more likely that man has developed from a tailed animal? This theory is considered revolting by many, who think it less honorable to be an improved animal than a degraded God; but taste should not be an arbiter in the judgment of truth, though it is usually deemed nobler to ascend than to descend.

But leaving the question of creation, as one proceeds through the Bible, he is confronted on nearly every page with statements which offend either his reason or conscience. If any one wishes to see a statement of Biblical errors, let him read Paine's *Age of Reason*, and with it let him take Bishop Watson's *Reply to Paine*, and read what is considered by the orthodox an unanswerable defence of the Bible. Or, for a smaller work, let him take the *Lecture on the Bible*, by Rev. Charles Voysey, published by the Index Association, Boston. It would be sufficient to read the Bible alone, to discover the falsity of the claims its friends make for it, were it not that educational prejudices are so strong one cannot easily treat the book as he does other literature. But let one take up the Bible as he does any modern book, and judge of its contents according to the impression made upon his faculties, and it seems impossible not to reject its claim to be the infallibly inspired word of God, and perceive it to be a compilation of Hebrew tradition and poetry made by men in darker ages than the present.

All the phenomena of witchcraft are now believed by scientists to be the products of natural laws. If they are right, is not God proved guilty of ignorance when he gave the edict, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and was it not a wicked ignorance which through this command has caused such countless murders and persecutions? Dr. Sprenger, in his Life of Mohammed, estimates that nine million people have been put to death as witches during the Christian era. Blackstone said that to deny witchcraft was to deny revelation. How can the inspiration of this law stand the light of the present day? The issue is avoided only by denying the facts of scientific research and reviving the old belief in "being possessed of the devil." Prof. Phelps, of Andover, has consistently avowed this solution.

The atrocities of the Hebrew armies, done in the name and by command of God, the absurd wonders of Balaam, Gideon, Joshua, Samson, Elijah, Hezekiah, and Jonah, and the incomprehensible rhapsodies of the prophets, out of which learned and ima g inative men can invent any theory they choose, are to a reflecting mind strong means of breaking down an inherited belief in the inspiration of the Bible.

But, admitting the Old Testament to be a human compilation, some think the New Testament can stand alone as the word of God. One of the first things that excites distrust here is the discovery that all the prophecies claimed as referring to Christ are found to be uttered about people or events of the times in which the writer lived, and that the application of them to Christ is either fraudulent or the use of an excessive poetic license. The story of the temptation in the wilderness is as hard to accept as that of the temptation of Adam and Eve in paradise; and, if one begins to admit that any Bible stories are mere symbols, there is no end to the extent to which its text can be symbolized away.

A comparison of the different accounts of the resurrection of Jesus reveals discrepancies that no honest harmonizing can blend into consistency with the idea that God has told us the story. Nor would any English-speaking judge accept a fact upon such testimony in a court of law. Let each write out the stories in parallel columns, and decide for himself. The different genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke; the incidents of the miraculous conception and birth; the star in the east; the slaughter of children by Herod, mentioned only by Matthew and unnoticed in history; the differing accounts of Saul's conversion; the miracle stories; the fact that Jesus is not mentioned by contemporary historians; the uncertainty as to who wrote the Gospels and when they were written,—all these things, and multitudes that it would be tedious to mention, prove the New Testament to be the word of man, and of less enlightened man than exists to-day.

The study of prophecy occupies many minds. Writers upon these subjects glean many disjointed passages, which, ingeniously matched together, make a wonderful testimony; but, when these passages are read in the Bible in their proper connection, they tell a different story.

If God inspired the writers of the Bible, it would also be necessary to the fulfilment of his purpose that he should superintend the compilation of its books by councils, its translation by scholars, and its interpretation by commentators. But the facts do not show that this has been done, as new versions would not be needed, nor would doctrinal quarrels exist. Has God allowed men for eighteen hundred years to accept the plain words of his revelation which teach future endless punishment, and is he now going to accommodate his *truth* to the culture of this century, and let up a little in the severity of the doctrine? Has the Holy Spirit, who came to guide into all truth, led men to believe error for eighteen hundred years because it was best for their minds; and, now that their mental calibre demands something different, is he going to reveal "a new phase of truth," and allow men to modify the severity of the doctrine of hell? Will theologians admit that God gave a written revelation of the future destiny of men, which could not be understood till eighteen centuries of development evolved their own brilliant intellects? We can conceive of God as revealing truth progressively, as a child is taught at school, but not as teaching what is untrue, in order to prepare the way for the truth, centuries after his dupes have died.

It is a common saying, "You can prove anything by the Bible." Coincidences and far-away resemblances in different portions of the text have been made to do duty by expositors, as showing "the mind of the Spirit" in making the disjointed Scriptures an harmonious whole. At a Bible reading, I heard Harry Moorhouse explain the meaning of Christ's riding into Jerusalem on an ass's colt, after this manner: "In Job xi., 12, we read, 'For vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt.' The wild ass's colt is therefore an emblem of man. In Exodus xiii., 13, we read, 'And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break his neck.' Here, again, the ass's colt is the emblem of sinful man, who must be redeemed by the Lamb of God, or else perish forever. So, in Christ's entry into Jerusalem on an ass's colt, we see a symbol of the Redeemer and the redeemed entering into glory." This is making comparison "go on all fours"; but many hear such things, and exclaim: "Wonderful! how the parts of the Bible fit into each other! Only God could have inspired writings in different ages which would display such a unity of design."

An intelligent Swedenborgian tells me why Jesus was laid in a manger. It was not because there was no room for him in the inn, but because God deliberately chose the manger to illustrate a truth. The horse is used in Scripture as an emblem of the understanding. He gets his food from the manger. God therefore put Jesus in the manger, to teach the world that he was the truth upon which the understanding must feed. The Bible is only an allegory. The story of creation and the formation of Adam is merely a figurative account of the condition of the Church at a certain period. The Bible is of no value to the Swedenborgians as a literal narrative, while to the Plymouth Brethren every word has a literal import in relation to some fact. Calvinists use both methods. If their doctrine can be supported by a spiritual interpretation of the text, that is clearly the right one; but, if it brings stronger evidence as a literal statement, that is clearly its true meaning. Often, they combine both systems, and make the text work both ways, by using its primary meaning as literal, and its secondary signification as spiritual. Of course, we are at liberty to find spiritual significance and suggestion in every one of nature's facts or author's words; but it is another thing to declare the author's true spiritual thought in an ordinary statement of fact, then found a doctrine upon it, and call it by the author's name, as though he intentionally founded it. This acceptance of the Bible as supernatural and these different systems of interpreting it are the foundation of all sectarianism. The learners in every other department of knowledge dispute as to the truth of the statements made by the writers in those sciences, but they do not differ materially as to what the writers intended to teach. In medicine, one author asserts the truth of allopathy, and another maintains homœopathy: disputes are vigorously carried on as to which is right; but there is no controversy as to what each writer intended to teach. Here is where the Bible differs from all other books. God is said to have written it, and the world is divided as to what it meant to teach; but every human writer on earthly knowledge succeeds in giving his readers an understanding of what he means to assert. If we were told God had given a revelation on medicine, would we receive it as divine, if it divided up the world into two hundred medical schools, many of them utterly opposed? Would not the real meaning of God's message about medicine be understood substantially alike by all? Would any man be respected who could not tell his own mind upon medical subjects, so that his meaning could be perceived? When God writes on theology, Trinitarians, Unitarians, Swedenborgians, and all other sects, will find their occupation gone; and, when he writes on medicine, doctors will agree.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

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GOVERNOR BUTLER'S PROCLAMATION.

The proclamation of "His Excellency Benjamin F. Butler, Governor and Commander-in-Chief" of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, appointing April 5th as "a day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer," is a remarkable document, extremely orthodox in doctrine, and, to use one of Beecher's expressions, "so pious as to be utterly intolerable." He calls upon the ministers and people of the State "to assemble on that day in their several places of worship, that we may unitedly humble ourselves in the presence of Almighty God and acknowledge with deep contrition our manifold sins and transgressions, that we may devoutly deprecate his judgments and implore his merciful forgiveness through the merits of our blessed Lord and Redeemer."

No consideration is here shown for the religious belief of the Jews nor even for that of unorthodox Christians like the Unitarians, who do not rely for forgiveness on the "merits of our blessed Lord and Redeemer." The fact that no small number of intelligent men and women in Massachusetts, including some of his intimate friends, are unbelievers in all forms of Christianity, is of course beneath the notice of our pious Governor.

The "example" and "principles" of "our fathers" are referred to in the proclamation in the following language: "And, inasmuch as we have disregarded their (our fathers') example, and neglected those principles by which they obtained and transmitted to us the inestimable blessings of the Christian religion, of law and of liberty, let us earnestly beseech Him to heal our backslidings, and to restore us to that temper and conduct by which alone we can hope to be happy in this world and in that which is to come."

When we consider the treatment which Roman Catholics, Baptists, and Quakers received from "our fathers," and contrast it with the religious liberty which people of all sects and beliefs now enjoy in the Commonwealth; and when we consider that the principles of "our fathers," which were those of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, the common law being regarded as binding so far only as it agreed with the "judicial laws given to the Israelites of old," and contrast their "principles" with our bill of rights,—it is difficult to understand what our erratic Governor means by requesting the people of Massachusetts to beseech the Lord to "heal our backslidings," and restore us to that "temper and conduct" implied by the example and principles of "our fathers."

Governor Butler wants the people of the Commonwealth to ask God to "relieve our commerce from the embarrassments with which it is burdened, and grant that prosperity may again distinguish our navigation and fisheries, so that they who 'go down to the sea in ships' and do business in great waters may have abundant reason to praise his holy name." The most direct way to respond to the Governor's request in regard to fisheries would be to ask the Lord to send the fish to the localities visited by those who "go down to the sea in ships" or fishing-smacks, and that the fish be inspired or impelled to get on the hooks or into the seines which are dropped into the sea by the fishermen of this country. Why not if a fish was inspired in olden time to perform the kindly office of rescuing one of the Lord's prophets from a watery grave?

His Excellency further requests that the people of the State call upon Almighty God to "bless all means used for propagating true religion, and promote the pious purposes of those who endeavor to disseminate a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, that all may learn his will and obey his commandments." Furthermore, he exhorts the ministers of the gospel "to feed their flocks with the Divine Word, and not discourse upon political and other secular topics which may divert the serious thoughts of the people from humble worship of the Father." Although Governor Butler may be a very devout man, which we never suspected before, he evidently regards religion as something apart from common daily life; something necessary to fit men for heaven, but of no use in political and secular matters, such as civil service, temperance, schools, prisons, etc., which relate to our earthly well-being.

But since his office is secular, not spiritual; since his official business is to execute the laws of the State, not to dabble in spiritual matters,—why this official impertinence in telling the people what to pray for,—more ships, fish, etc.,—and exhorting the clergy to abstain from the discussion of "political and secular topics which may divert the serious thought of the people from humble worship of the Father"? Governor Butler professes to be an ardent admirer of Thomas Jefferson. His attention is, therefore, respectfully invited to the following extract from a letter written by Jefferson during the first term of his presidency of the United States, when he was urged to appoint a day for fasting and prayer: —

> I consider the Government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from meddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or *exercises*. . . . But it is only proposed that I should *recommend*, not prescribe, a day of fasting and prayer. That is, that I should *indirectly* assume to the United States an authority over religious exercises, which the Constitution has directly precluded them from. It must be meant, too, that this recommendation is to carry some authority, and to be sanctioned by some penalty on those who disregard it,—not of fine and imprisonment, but with some degree of proscription, perhaps, in public opinion. And does the change in the nature of the penalty make the recommendation less a *law* of conduct for those to whom it is directed? I do not believe it is for the interest of religion to invite the civil magistrate to direct its exercise, its discipline, or its doctrines; nor of the religious societies, that the general government should be invested with the power of effecting any uniformity of time or matter among them. Fasting and prayer are religious exercises; the enjoining them, an act of discipline. Every religious society has a right to determine for itself the times for these exercises, and the objects proper for them, according to their own particular tenets; and this right can never be safer than in their own hands, where the Constitution has deposited it. . . . Every one must act according to the dictates of his own reason; and mine tells me that civil powers alone have been given to the President of the United States, and no authority to direct the religious exercises of his constituents.

Some persons are uncharitable enough to intimate that the proclamation is not to be taken as an expression or even an indication of the real thought of Governor Butler, but is to be regarded rather as part of the policy of a shrewd and unscrupulous politician to get the good opinion of the orthodox element in this country to help him to the nomination for and election to a higher office than the one he now holds: Whether this be so or not, we leave our readers to judge. Meanwhile, those Liberals who have shouted so lustily for Butler may see reason in his recent proclamation for modifying their estimate of him as a representative of progressive and advanced ideas.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

ON the evening of the 23d, Director Swift, of the Warner Observatory, discovered a comet about two and a half degrees north of the star Beta, in the constellation Pegasus, having a tail about half a degree in length, and a slow, eastward motion. It promises to be a conspicuous object in the western sky.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION CONVENTIONS.

The Free Religious Association will hold a convention in the Universalist Church, New Haven, Conn. (the use of the church having been kindly tendered for that purpose), Tuesday afternoon and evening, March 6, and Wednesday afternoon and evening, March 7. The Tuesday afternoon session will open with an address of welcome by Rev. M. H. Houghton, of New Haven. The President of the Association, Wm. J. Potter, will follow with an address on "The Religion of Humanity." At the Tuesday evening session, Wm. M. Salter will speak on "Religion and the Social Ideal," and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer upon "Ethical Unity and the Nation's Life." Wednesday afternoon, Miss Emily J. Leonard will read a paper on "The Union of Church and State in Connecticut," and B. F. Underwood will speak of "The Outlook upon the Field of Liberal Thought." Wednesday evening, addresses will be given by Wm. H. Spencer on "The Christ of the Gospels and our Moral Ideal," and by Frederic A. Hinckley on "Mystery." In addition to the above speakers, the Convention will be addressed by Rev. John C. Kimball and others.

The Association will also hold a convention in Van Vechten Hall, Albany, N.Y., on Thursday afternoon and evening, March 8, and Friday afternoon and evening, March 9. Among the speakers at Albany will be Wm. J. Potter, Anna Garlin Spencer, B. F. Underwood, Wm. H. Spencer, F. A. Hinckley, and others to be announced next week.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

AN article in the February number of *Macmillan*, entitled "Churchyard Poetry," contains a number of curious epitaphs, among which is the following from a tombstone in the Isle of Wight, which seems to have been written with an eye to business:—

> "Here lies the landlord of the Lion,
> He's buried here in hopes of Zion:
> His wife, resigned to Heaven's will,
> Carries on the business still."

A ROMAN CATHOLIC writer in the *Contemporary Review* tells a story of an old Irishwoman who went to her confessor much excited, declaring she had seen St. Peter: "'Had you had anything to drink, Biddy?' asked the priest, who knew his penitent. Biddy owned to a little drop of whiskey. 'Well, Biddy,' said the prudent divine, 'to-morrow take two little drops, and sure you'll see St. Paul as well.' The ecclesiastic evidently possessed the gift of discerning of *spirits*, and so a promising 'apparition' was nipped in the bud."

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Independent* writes for an explanation of the following words used by a Dr. Dobbs: "But just as these seeds of pride are bursting into a flame which might lay the foundations of a deluge that would with its fangs envenom my soul," etc. The editor replies: "Dr. Dobbs saw perfectly well what our correspondent regards as a mixing of metaphors. But it is not; for, when Dr. Dobbs wishes to confound a reader, he writes from the altitude of quadridimensional rhetoric, where the laws of ordinary tridimensional rhetoric do not apply."

THE Legislature of California has passed, by a vote of forty-five to twenty-six, a bill which provides that a murderer for whom a plea of insanity is entered shall first be examined for insanity alone; and, if the court finds him sane, he shall be tried for murder, the false plea to be entered as an "aggravation of the offence"; but, if the plea of insanity is sustained, the accused shall be sent to an insane asylum to remain there till death,

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unless it shall be proved that he was insane at the time of the murder, in which case he shall be tried on the original charge. The ease with which murderers secure acquittal on the plea of "emotional insanity" clearly calls for some such legislation as this.

A LARGE number of our subscribers are in arrears in their payments. Some of them, as we happen to know, are persons of wealth, to whom the paying out of three dollars, and, in some instances, of a hundred times that, would be nothing. And here we, in *The Index* office, are planning and contriving how to make the ends meet. "Brethren, these things ought not so to be." If you who are thus at fault would only send to *The Index* its just and legal dues, the ends would not only meet, but lap beautifully over on the right side. Let then every one who means to be honest look at once at the mail-tag on his paper, and act as it and an honest conscience shall direct. A word to the *just* is sufficient.

WILL our esteemed contemporary, the *Woman's Journal*, please inform us how it stands on the subject of State secularization? Its views on temperance and many other subjects not directly related to its main object have been clearly stated; but whether it is in favor of the complete secularization of the State, of extending to all classes equal rights and privileges without regard to religious belief, we are left in doubt. Can the free thinkers who are advocating woman's suffrage reasonably expect, when the success of this movement has been achieved, that the women will use their votes to help the secularization of the State as expressed in "the Nine Demands of Liberalism," or will they oppose it? As many Liberals are apathetic on the subject of woman suffrage,—whether reasonably or unreasonably,—because they believe women are willing and anxious to use the ballot in opposition to State secularization, this question is one, our esteemed contemporary will perceive, of no little importance.

THE *Independent*, on the authority of Joseph Cook, repeats the story that Dr. George M. Beard, when dying, in response to "a devout Moravian," who said, "Trust in Jesus," answered, "I do: I am higher, *higher*," "and in a few moments had passed into that trance from which man nor angel could recall him." The *Independent* adds: "It is a thrilling story. We are glad that if faith came late, yet it came to the soul of him who doubted whether he had a soul." In the first place, the statement of an inaccurate and sensational lecturer like Joseph Cook that Dr. Beard made any such response to "a devout Moravian," as is stated, is entitled to but little credence; in the second place, if the response were made, the probability is that between the meaning of the question and the answer there was no conscious connection in the mind of the dying man; and, in the third place, the alleged utterance, even though made consciously in response to the pleading of a religious enthusiast, who availed himself of the weakness of a dying man to make a convert to his faith, is not of the slightest significance, nor would it be so regarded, did it relate to anything admitting of verification, or to anything of practical interest, the truth or wisdom of which would need to be determined in a court of justice by the laws of evidence or by the principles of common sense.

THE Boston *Herald*, commenting on Gov. Butler's proclamation, observes:—

We always knew that, when His Excellency got away from the courts, he was in danger of getting logically muddled, and of staggering, in consequence, into strange inferences, and sometimes impotent conclusions; but we cannot understand how, with the knowledge of law he must possess, he can accuse the present generation of legislators of backsliding from the example of their fathers. Our fathers, it will be remembered, muzzled Roger Williams; they banished all who were loud in uttering heterodox opinions; one Nich Knopp was fined £5 for curing scurvy by water; Philip Ratliffe was whipped, had his ears cut off, was fined £40, and banished for uttering "scandalous speeches" against the government; only church members could vote; they did not believe in a "natural right of suffrage"; voters in those days were obliged to be "of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, with £20 ratable estate"; and, moreover, they held slaves after the manner of the ancient Jews. This was the "liberty" of our fathers. And yet the Governor asks us to beseech the Maker of us all "to heal our backslidings." We do not understand it, we repeat. For has not the Governor on the stump, and with sceptre in hand, declared for manhood suffrage, and for woman suffrage as well? And is it not the hospitality which the State has extended to the people of other lands, and the prodigality with which she has distributed her ballots, that has rendered it possible for him to sit in state under the gilded dome? Certainly, the Governor would not have the Legislature to repent, and be converted again to the restricted suffrage of our fathers, and so prevent the State from again honoring him with a re-election.

THE part of Senator Ingalls' eulogy on the late Senator Hill is the introduction, which we here reproduce:—

Ben Hill has gone to the undiscovered country.

Whether his journey thither was but one step across an imperceptible frontier, or whether an interminable ocean, black, unfluctuating, and voiceless, stretches between these earthly coasts and those invisible shores,—we do not know.

Whether, on that August morning after death, he saw a more glorious sun rise with unimaginable splendor above a celestial horizon, or whether his apathetic and unconscious ashes still sleep in cold obstruction and insensible oblivion,—we do not know.

Whether his strong and subtle energies found instant exercise in another form, whether his dexterous and disciplined faculties are now contending in a higher senate than ours for supremacy, or whether his powers were dissipated and dispersed with his parting breath,—we do not know.

Whether his passions, ambitions, and affections still sway, attract, and impel, whether he yet remembers us as we remember him,—we do not know.

These are the unsolved, the insoluble problems of mortal life and human destiny which prompted the troubled patriarch to ask that momentous question, for which the centuries have given no answer,—"If a man die, shall he live again?"

Every man is the centre of a circle, whose fatal circumference he cannot pass. Within its narrow confines he is potential, beyond it he perishes. And if immortality is a splendid but delusive dream, if the incompleteness of every career, even the longest and most fortunate, be not supplemented and perfected after its termination here, then he who dreads to die should fear to live; for life is a tragedy more desolate and inexplicable than death.

THE daily papers state that the late Hon. William E. Dodge disposed by will of $5,000,000. The *Congregationalist* says: "It was stated at the funeral of the late Hon. William E. Dodge that it was his invariable custom to devote the first hour of the morning to communion with God. This is perhaps the chief key to the problem of his pre-eminent success in life. Having begun each day by reading from his heavenly Father's message to him, by reflection upon its meaning, and by the reverent yet real and free intercourse of prayer, with what assurance of the divine favor was he enabled to enter into the business or pleasure of the succeeding hours!" Now consider that Jesus, in the plainest and most unmistakable language, spoke of wealth as the greatest obstacle to the Christian life and to the salvation of the soul. He denounced the accumulation of wealth as a crime, and extolled poverty as a virtue. "Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation." "Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God." "The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up; what lack I yet? Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful; for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." The early Christians sold their possessions and had all things in common. Their kingdom was not of this world. The requirements of their master are such that, if complied with, Christians must remain poor, and indifferent to whatever makes this life attractive and diverts the mind from heavenly things. And yet the *Congregationalist*, an orthodox Christian journal, says that the custom of communing with God every morning was "perhaps the chief key to the problem of his [a millionnaire's] pre-eminent success in life,"—a success represented by $5,000,000! Was this wealth acquired by contemplating spiritual things, by thinking of heaven, by following the example of the Galilean, or, by fixing the mind on this world, studying profit and loss, driving sharp bargains, manipulating the products of labor, and engaging in projects and enterprises that required forethought and calculation, energy and persistence in gathering and keeping and increasing a great fortune?

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

AGNOSTICISM.

The sun low in the bright horizon shone,
The glowing sky over the water threw
The rosy shadow of her canopy;

While, motionless upon the river's breast,
Lay the dead leaf that fell all silently,
A stray waif from a wind-forsaken shore.

The current of the water turned, and through
The purple veil there gleamed a climbing stem
That reached the air and rose—a lotos plant.

All wide the leaves were spread, and from the midst
A snowy blossom opened her great heart,
And from the centre came the type of man.

O wondrous mystery of Life and Mind!
Upon the brow unshadowed, knowledge grew,
And left her seal upon its magnitude;

And into eyes that gazed unconsciously
She flashed the messengers that work her will,
Ambition's two,—the human power and pride.

He looked in ecstasy upon the heaven,
Upon the fair green earth that round him bloomed,
Upon the flood that slow beneath him stirred.

Great was this glassy world from whence he rose:
The trembling current and the deep blue floor
Awakened a wild longing in his breast.

What lay beneath those depths so wonderful?
Were sea and sky forever to be mute,
And the wide earth itself a mystery?

"Yet shall not man deserve his doom of fate,
If idle he shall stand and idly wait
The unknown opening of the radiant gate?

"Did knowledge ever give—ever withhold—
Without some meaning in the page's fold?
And shall not victory crown the effort bold?"

Perplexed, he gazed, then raised his arms aloft,
And, gazing still, stepped from the snowy throne,
And into the blue darkness sudden sank.

Dark fell the pall of night o'er all the earth;
In mist and rain, the evening long came on;
Hope from the living world seemed far withdrawn.

Yet shall the elements be ministers
To wake the dormant energies of men,
And add to strength of vision strength of deed.

SARA W. SMITH.

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The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index.*

Some Uncommon Thoughts on Immortality.

BY L. G.

Man cannot help speculating on his origin and his destiny, especially on his destiny, how fruitless soever it appears to him, how conscious soever he may be that life is not more than sufficient for practical duties.

The writer of this has embraced a theory which to him seems a more reasonable solution of the problem, and moreover, wherever accepted, more fruitful in practical results than any other hypothesis,—a theory by no means new, but which has been surprisingly neglected by modern thinkers. Others, very likely, have laid hold on the same theory. Such may feel more confident, when they learn that they are not alone in their conclusion. A man's belief gains infinitely to him from the moment any other human being of his own time begins to believe the same.

Of course, if those philosophers be right who teach that the soul is nothing but a function, whether of certain bodily organs or of the organism, and thus extinguished on the dissolution of that organism, there is no problem to solve at all. But the vast majority of our race, certainly, shrink back from this doctrine, thoughtful and instructed people as much as the rest. To them, the consciousness of their own personality is a refutation of it. To them, that argument for the immortality of the soul, which is as old as Plato, seems without a flaw: that just as a pear-tree is incapable of bearing anything but pears, *i.e.*, anything but what is of the essence, the nature of itself, except when an apple-twig has been inoculated into it, and then apples have become a part of its nature,—so, since the soul of man is competent to grasp, to *conceive* of eternity, it must itself partake of that eternity. They think it self-evident that, if the soul were mortal, the idea of immortality, from its strangeness, its incompatibility with the nature and existing furniture of that soul, could never have presented itself to it; and they are right in holding to that opinion, *until science puts its veto upon it.* The time for that has not yet arrived. The science of mind, psychology, is yet in its infant stage, knows as yet next to nothing about mind; and what it knows is, we should judge not very favorable to the materialistic doctrine. The well-accredited instances of the often astonishing influence of the mind over the body and of the still more wonderful control of one mind over the bodily and mental states of another tend to prove that mind is more than a "function" or an "effect." Again, by the study of cataleptic patients, it has been demonstrated that the soul has extraordinary capacities, *independent of the orderly agency* of the bodily organs, and that its perceptions in that condition are as much realities as those of its ordinary state. We, therefore, contend that, with the light before us, the doctrine of the mind's being a function, either of bodily organs or of the organism, is untenable. We shall assume, for the purpose of this argument, that the soul is an independent existence. If that is a fact, and if the conservation of energy which science predicates about material forces is true in the spiritual sphere,—and it would be a curious irregularity in nature, if it were not,—the soul must persist to all eternity, *must be immortal.*

But the sort of immortality which is offered us by the popular religion, as it by courtesy may still be called, is not satisfactory. Simply this, that it denies persistence to the intelligence and fidelity of the dog, while claiming it for the reason and affections of man, makes its dogma rather rickety. It has a weaker point, though. To say that an immortal soul has a *commencement* in time, has continuity at one end and not at another, is absolutely opposed to reason and contrary to the analogy of persistence of force in the material sphere. It further involves the acceptance of one of two other absurdities. Either a creator *must* be prepared to create a soul whenever a new body arises, or the parents transmit the soul to the embryo, on which supposition a soul whose essence is unity would have two sources.* The logical defect, the incongruity in the dogma, however, is in itself enough to discredit it; and it alone has given materialism much of whatever strength it has. But let *pre-existence* be joined to posthumous existence, and we have a *complete*, conceivable theory. That is to say, if the soul persists after the death of the body, then *it lived before the body was vitalized.* Shelley very properly remarks, "If there are no reasons to suppose that we have existed before that period at which our existence apparently commences, then there are no grounds for supposing that we shall continue to exist after our existence has apparently ceased." Pre-existence, in other words, is as certain as immortality: they are not two doctrines, but two sides of the same doctrine, a doctrine at one and the same time of the soul's origin and of its destiny,—on one side revealing an illimitable background, on the other opening a magnificent foreground. It preserves the number of spiritual existences without increase or diminution, while the prevailing religion daily adds great crowds at one end by a miraculous increase.

This accumulation of souls specially leads to a tantalizing difficulty when we come to the question, Where is the habitation of these souls without number? In that connection, David Hume sarcastically observed, "How to dispose of the infinite number of posthumous existences ought to embarrass the religious theory." There is no such difficulty for us who accept the hypothesis of pre-existence, if we add, as we logically must, that of *soul-migration: we existed in other human bodies prior to birth, we shall exist in other human bodies subsequent to death.* It was of this very theory of soul-migration that this same acute philosopher, Hume, affirmed it was "*the only system of immortality that philosophy can hearken to.*" It is, then, no new theory. Rather, it may be said to be the most wide-spread and permanently inferential of all speculative theories of human life. Multitudes of men, as numerous as Christendom, have held it and hold it at this day in a modified form; and some of the noblest and most penetrating minds of our own race in ancient and mediæval times have favored it, as also in more recent times philosophers and poets like Lessing and Wordsworth. The writer of this for years was fascinated with the idea, but not until he happened to read in the *Fortnightly Review* an essay upon it by Prof. Knight† did he venture to yield to the fascination. On seeing in a magazine of such positive thought this hypothesis pronounced "quite as remarkable a solution of the mystery which all admit as the rival theories of creation, traduction,‡ and extinction, by a writer of his own age, who, in his own words, was not "defending," but "merely restating," the argument, he seemed to feel solid ground under his feet. Yet it should here be emphatically said, that it is put forward as *nothing more than an hypothesis.* At the same time, the writer of this decidedly thinks, with Prof. Knight, that it is an hypothesis which "is quite as likely to come to the front as any rival theory, when decay overtakes those that are recognized now." Yea, more than that, he *believes in* it in the sense that he verily thinks it is the *only* hypothesis that has got any chance of being generally accepted by those who come after us. And first,—

(1) Because it is every way *more tenable* than any other theory whatever. It seems, simply from the considerations so far advanced, more probable than the extinction theory of materialism, and far more sensible than the illogical "immortality" doctrine of the prevailing religion: not the less, because it allows us to suppose that the minds of animals also pass and repass in endless cycles through the brute creation. But something more can be said in support of our hypothesis, and on this point we shall draw freely from Prof. Knight's essay. Very many can testify, before their own consciousness at least, to the following experience: Quite suddenly, a thought is darted into the mind, which cannot be traced back to any source of this life's experience. We hear a sound, see an object, or suffer a sensation, which takes us directly out of the circle of sense-perception possible to us in the present existence; or, as the poet expresses it:—

> "Full oft my feelings make me start,
> Like footprints on some desert shore;
> As if the chambers of my heart
> Had heard their shadowy steps before."

Are we not entitled to interpret these feelings, thoughts, and sensations to be shadowy revelations of a prior existence? Supported by them, we even may change the most obvious objection that can be made to our theory into a persuasive argument in favor of it. For it will naturally be said that the fact that we have no clear, verifiable remembrance of a single experience in a former existence ought to be a conclusive argument against such a hypothesis as ours. But this body, the organ of sense-perception, may be quite as much a hindrance as a help to memory. As was said of old, matter is the true river of Lethe: immersed in it, the soul forgets everything. In Wordsworth's language,

> "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting."

In that case, casual gleams of memory, giving us sudden, abrupt, and momentary revelations of the past *are precisely the phenomena we should expect to meet with.* Again, every person of mature age will know that it is only the merest fraction of his experience during the years that lie behind him that he remembers: whole years of his tender childhood are probably a perfect blank to him; and yet he has no doubt that he existed as the same person continuously from his birth. George H. Lewes even relates of Faraday, whose mental gifts were certainly of no mean order, that he prepared and delivered a course of lectures, which were so entirely obliterated from his memory that the next year he prepared and delivered the same course once more, without a suspicion that it was not a new one. But the writer of this thinks the theory has a future before it, mainly—and this is a point altogether unnoticed by Prof. Knight—because

(2) It is an incomparably *better working hypothesis* than any other. It is well-known that hypotheses have often been accepted as true, and still are accepted, in the various sciences with the happiest results, when they explain phenomena, even if there is no way of verifying them. Now, our hypothesis can account for many things that lie shrouded in mystery, as the recurrences of family traits, the so-called "innate" ideas, that have been such a bone of contention between philosophers, the wondrous progress which children make in the first years of their infancy. It even can explain in a quite satisfactory manner ghostly and spiritistic phenomena, if there be any real "ghosts" behind them,—as many, and those sensible people too, cannot help believing,—since, if the migration-theory be true, between every two incarnations we are truly *ghosts*, and as such cannot be expected to do much better than the "spirits" whose inane utterances so disappoint investigators of spiritism. Of more importance is the immense ethical leverage, as Prof. Knight felicitously terms it, of the doctrine. The ethical puzzle which perplexes so many—how, in this life, suffering comes to be allied to nobleness, and enjoyment to rascality—is to some extent unravelled, when this life is considered a drama whose first and last acts are alike wanting. Yet perhaps this "puzzle" ought not to perplex us. We have hardly been put into this world *for the purpose* of being happy. It seems to be more reasonable to say, with De Tocque

* Query: Is it so very whimsical to suppose that, in all organisms, the female transmits matter and its forces, and the male vitality, organic force, on which organism then, in the animal world, a soul is superimposed?

† "The Doctrine of Metempsychosis," by William Knight, *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1878.

‡ Transmission of the soul by the parents.

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ville, that "life is neither fun nor a calamity, but a serious business intrusted to us, to manage and conclude in such a manner that we do not have to be ashamed of it."* This precisely is why it seems to the writer of this of *far greater consequence* that our hypothesis furnishes us with a splendid motive for right conduct, supplies us with *the strongest possible incentive to useful living*. This is the special concern of every religious theory,—of every theory regarding the mystery around us; and this exactly has been the weak point of the prevailing religions in Christian and Mohammedan countries, and it is just here that they fail to satisfy mankind in our times. These religions centre the attention on another world, *make that other world the real one*. They consequently induce their votaries to consider the present existence as vain and all affairs of this world petty and worthless. Here is to be found the real reason why the Middle Ages were so unenterprising: mankind then was so sure of another world that they did not think this worth improving. The migration-theory, on the contrary, makes *this world* the real one. If you know, beyond a reasonable doubt, that you are to live in this world for countless existences, would you not try to make this a better world, even at the risk of having this one life brought to an abrupt end? Such an all-powerful incentive is, moreover, especially needful now, when moral injunctions are losing the authority derived from their supposed sacred origin. Man must have *some* theory of the relation of this existence to the mystery around him, in order to give purpose and vigor to active life. The prevailing scepticism and indifference, euphoniously called tolerance, is, from that point of view, a very great *evil*, and only by considering it a transition state from one belief to another can we justify it as a *necessary* evil. The migration-theory seems to be the only one that can secure for itself a general and sincere acceptance,—either it or universal Agnosticism.

You, however, will probably object that the Buddhists—the multitudes we referred to—have held and hold that belief, without being moved by it to improve this world much. Ah! but there is a difference between Hindus and our hardier race. The former have modified the migration-theory very characteristically by adding thereto their *Nirvana*,—final, absolute rest and extinction of all desire, for the simple reason that this is something congenial to the Oriental mind. We, on the other hand, who measure the fulness of existence by the amount of energy put forth, value rest only as the condition for renewed activity. Or you may say, What are those future existences to me, where I shall not recognize, where I shall even absolutely and entirely forget my family and all those who are near and dear to me in this life, where I shall even lose the memory of my own personality? Yes, but your *affections* and *personality* survive. Memory is, as we saw, not necessary to personality: you may every day, by experimenting upon yourself, convince yourself that personality is an underground river, meandering through the hidden world of the unremembered or even the unconscious. And who knows but that, when you, one existence after another, have been educated in the belief of soul-migration, memory may not preserve for you all worth remembering of ante-natal experiences, instead of the vague glimpses now vouchsafed to some? And as to the beloved objects of your affections here? Well, may it not be a condition for our mental advancement that *those personal attachments shall give way to regard and concern for humanity?* Is not that the tendency of our civilization? Is not, in fact, the irresistible democratic movement here and in Europe, at the bottom, a revolt and protest against *family selfishness* and *family exclusiveness?* James Mill, it is said, led his friends to regard the cultivation of individual affections and sympathies as destructive of lofty aims and indubitably hurtful to the mental character. Such a sentiment may sound harsh to you, but is there not a good deal of truth in it? If there is, that truth must, certainly, be best for humanity, and in the long run for your beloved ones, too. Spencer says the same thing in his philosophic language: "The life of the social organism must, as a rule,—[ought it not always?]—rank above the lives of the units." Does not the history of our civilization teach us that *our highest good is identified with humanity at large*,—that all we do is vain, indeed, if it does not benefit society? Take a few striking examples. Jewish monotheism and Christianity itself played no rôle in the world's history until, first, St. Paul, and, centuries afterward, Mohammed applied it to all the races of men; and the teachings of Quakerism, on the other hand, at the time almost revolutionary in their character, have had hardly any effect on account of the exclusiveness of the teachers, their peculiar manners, peculiar habit, peculiar speech,—in short, on account of their making themselves into a *peculiar people*. Is it not reasonable to suppose that we shall, by and by, unanimously come to acknowledge that *Self-ness*, whether related to the individual or to family, *is the Satanic element of our nature?* But a religious hypothesis, such as the one under consideration, vindicating this tendency of our civilization, may be necessary to make us feel and appreciate it. This it is which has made the migration-theory really precious to the writer of this, who is one of those who believe that the age we are living in is a transition point, not merely between two beliefs, but between one social system whose motto is, "Each for himself," and a new, a brighter social order whose motto will be, "Each for all, all for each,"—precious, because there is reason to hope that this new belief will serve as a key to open men's hearts for the reception of that new social order. The religion of positivism has tried to move men's hearts, and has failed. Why may not our hypothesis succeed better, even fully? Why may it not in time become a living truth to our race? For that is true which all accept and no experience contradicts. Of course, if science once should prove that the "I" within you is, indeed, like the flame of a candle, which may be extinguished by a breath of air, or *if* in the future it shall appear that the total of human beings increases perceptibly from century to century, *of which as yet there is not a shadow of proof*,* then the hypothesis will have to be reckoned among the illusions. But, with the light we at present possess, soul-migration seems the best gospel to be preached to our fellow-men as the religious basis and preparation for social co-operation in practical affairs.

*"La vie n'est pas un plaisir ni une douleur, mais une affaire grave dont nous sommes chargés, et qu'il faut conduire et terminer à notre honneur."

*It is true that most of the nations of the continent of Europe and those of Anglo-Saxon blood everywhere have increased remarkably during the last century, but to infer therefrom that the whole population of the earth has perceptibly augmented is jumping at conclusions. The greater part of Asia and a great part of Africa, certainly, were in former times far more populous than now: that America once sustained vast empires, we know, but how vast we probably shall never know.

For *The Index*.

MADAME DE STAEL AND HEINE.

BY B. W. BALL.

The first French writer to discover intellectual Germany for her Latin countrymen was Madame de Staël, who, with Sappho, her own countrywoman George Sand, and George Eliot, constitute a starry choir, so to speak, of feminine genius, whose names and words and thoughts the world will never let die out of its memory. Though Madame de Staël was a true Frenchwoman, still her intense emotional nature made her clairvoyant and capable of appreciating the Teutonic mind, which is so widely different from that of the Latin nations. Madame de Staël appreciated the German race as thoroughly as Tacitus had done so many centuries before her day, when that race was running wild in woods, but still, to the keen eye of the great Roman historian, giving signs of its future intellectual and moral grandeur and political predominance over Europe. Madame de Staël saw at a glance that Germany was *modern* in a sense that Latin Europe, with its old Roman civilization and old Latin Church and State, could not be. Germany, she saw, had fortunately remained barbaric and intact, while the countries of Southern Europe had been thoroughly Romanized, so that they remain pagan to this very hour. Madame de Staël appreciated the deeper inward sight and the tougher moral fibre and unconquerable individualism and spirit of personal independence of the Germanic peoples when contrasted with the Latin nations. She saw that the reformation of Luther was the great initial step of modern popular progress, freedom, and enlightenment,—a step which Latin Europe, with its slavery to old Roman ideas, was incapable of taking. She also saw that the eighteenth century poets, thinkers, philologists, and *savans* of Germany were geniuses of a nobler and loftier kind than the Voltaires and Rousseaus of her own country. The fruit of her discoveries in Germany she gave to the world in her book of that name, which was published in the brutal, mindless era of the first Napoleon's military despotism. The great authoress was accused of depreciating her own country to exalt Germany, by Bonaparte and his minions. But her *Germany* constituted a great event in the mental history of Western Europe. It in effect announced the decline of France in the realm of mind, and her relegation to a secondary position. It opened the eyes of the world to the fact that Germany had come to the front in matters of thought, science, philology, and poetry.

Meantime, in the first year of the current century, there was born at Hamburg a great genius, who has not been properly appreciated until of late years. I refer to Heinrich Heine, whom Carlyle called a "blackguard," instead of recognizing in him the intellectual successor and inheritor of the genius of Goethe as he ought to have done. Mr. Charles Grant, a competent critic and judge of Heine's merits, says: "Since Goethe's death, Heinrich Heine has been the only German man of letters who has exercised a wide and direct influence on the literature of Europe. His books are read and admired in France, studied and imitated, as I hear, in Russia, and they have powerfully affected the taste of the rising poets of Italy." In fact, Heine is the most brilliant writer of prose and verse, both, whom Germany has produced; and I know not his equal in brilliancy, incisiveness, and weird, demonic power in modern literature. He was a strange spiritual combination, so to speak. He was a Jew by race, a German by birth and education, a Frenchman, a Parisian, by long residence in the gay capital of pleasure, and an old Greek pagan into the bargain; and his poetry and prose both attest the manifoldness and complexness of his spiritual nature.

Heine, during his residence in Paris, published a work on *Religion and Philosophy in Germany*, in the French language, to supplement Madame de Staël's work on his Fatherland, and give the French still more insight into the German mind. This work was published as long ago as 1833, and in it Heine distinctly and *in totidem verbis* appeared in the rôle of prophet. He knew very well that Germany's predominance in the world of thought would speedily be followed by a like predominance in the realm of statesmanship, militarism, and politics. He foresaw, with his keen, clairvoyant eye, that the Kants, Goethes, and Humboldts of his day would sooner or later be succeeded by such Teutonic conquerors and statesmen as Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Von Moltke. In other words, he distinctly foretold, in 1833, the humiliation at the hands of Germany which France suffered in 1870, long after Heine's remains had been committed to the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise. Heine explains in the work of which mention has been made why Germany has been so slow in reaching a *political revolution*. Luther's reformation and Kant's philosophy first gave to Germany spiritual emancipation from the superstitions and mental bondage of the past. Kant, according to Heine, was an infinitely greater revolutionist than Robespierre or Danton, for they only abolished mere human kings and despots; but, in the crucible of Kant's all-dissolving philosophy, the old god of history, orthodox dogma, and ecclesiastical hierarchies and traditions, is dispersed into thin air. Speaking of Robespierre and Kant, who were both in their habits and style of living of the type of the narrow-minded citizen, Heine says: "Nature had destined them for weighing out sugar, but fate decided that they should weigh out other things; and into the scales of the one it laid a king [Louis XVI.], and into the scales of the other a God.... And they both gave the correct weight."

Of course, Kant's philosophy only annihilated the old-fashioned, extra-mundane priests' God, but not the immanent, ineffable Power, who is "the splendor of all things gathered into unity and expanded into infinite totality." Kant's philosophy reinstated the pure, impersonal reason in man, which is the veritable voice of immanent Deity, on its throne, making its judgments superior to all mere tradition, authority, and mouldy dogma. Meantime, Germany is no longer full of dreamers and abstractionists. She now rules the solid land, as she did formerly the air. Heine, in the work which I am considering, says that the hour of political revolution will at last come in Germany. "There will be played in that country," he wrote in 1833, "a drama compared to which the French Revolution will seem but an innocent idyl." "As on the steps of an amphitheatre," he says, "the nations will group themselves around Germany, to witness the terrible combat. I counsel you, ye French, keep very

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quiet, and, above all, see that you do not applaud. We might readily misunderstand such applause, and, in our rude fashion, somewhat roughly put you to silence. For, if formerly, in our servile, listless mood, we could oftentimes overpower you, much easier were it for us to do so in the arrogance of our new-born enthusiasm for liberty. Ye yourselves know what in such a case men can do; and ye are no longer in such a case. Take heed, then! I mean it well with you: therefore it is I tell you the bitter truth. Ye have more to fear from a free Germany than from the entire Holy Alliance, [this was written, as has been said, in 1833, in the days of said Alliance], with all its Croats and Cossacks. For, in the first place, they do not love you in Germany, which is almost incomprehensible [sarcastic], since ye are so amiable, and during your stay amongst us took such pains to please at least the better and fairer half of the German people. But, even though this half still loved you, it is precisely the half that does not bear arms, and whose friendship, therefore, would be of little help to you." * Heine of course alludes in the above sentences to the infernal outrages and exactions which Germany suffered during its occupancy by the first Napoleon, and which it paid back in part at Waterloo and wholly at Sedan. In the political revolution which is impending in Germany, according to Heine, the old Teutonic God, Thor, will awake, and, rubbing the dust of a thousand years out of his eyes, smite in pieces with his hammer the domes of the mediæval cathedrals.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"NATURE NEVER MAKES A LEAP."

Editors of The Index :—

"There is no use talking. I can never believe that mind has been developed out of matter, nor even that vegetable and animal life has been evolved out of such inert, nebular gas."

So said our friend W. B. F.; and very many opponents of the evolution philosophy seem to have the same views. They imagine that evolution is a sudden metamorphosis, a change at one leap from matter to mind; and, this being contrary to all experience, they infer that all evolution is a monstrous absurdity. If the oak is developed from the acorn, if the animal originates from an ovum, if mind is a product of matter, then it is concluded the acorn must have contained the oak, the ovum included the mature animal, and the nebular gas must have contained the genius of a Milton and a Newton.

To one unacquainted with the forces of nature, more especially with the principle of the "conservation of force," it seems quite natural to infer that the germ of any organism, whether vegetal or animal, must contain all the qualities of the future being. Having no conception of the chemical and mechanical forces of nature,—which are always operating on every organism through the medium of the atmosphere, the soil, solar heat and light, etc.,—it is concluded that all the qualities of the mature being must have been contained in the primitive germ, and that the soil, or environment, has only been the means of developing in some mysterious way the *latent qualities* which were all there in the beginning. We are gravely told by these critics that the nebular gas must have contained life and mind,—even the mind of a Newton, if evolution be true.

Herbert Spencer, in his reply to F. E. Abbot's criticism some time ago, shows that evolution never makes such monstrous leaps, but that "every kind of being is a product of modifications wrought by insensible gradations on a pre-existing kind of being." Balfour Stewart, in his *Conservation of Energy*, shows that the forces of nature, such as gravitation, solar heat, molecular motion, chemical affinity, electricity, etc., have the *power to raise matter, step by step, from one plane to the next higher*. He represents material existence as consisting of four planes, one above the other, thus:—

4. Animal Kingdom.
3. Vegetable Kingdom.
2. Mineral Kingdom.
1. Elements.

1. The plane of elementary existence, such as the nebular gas; 2. The plane of chemical compounds, or the mineral kingdom; 3. The plane of vegetable existence; and, 4. Animal existence.

He says, "It is a remarkable fact that there is a special force whose function it is to raise matter from each plane to the plane above, and to execute movements on that higher plane. Chemical affinity raises matter from 1 to 2, and so forms the mineral kingdom. Vegetable force alone can lift matter from 2 to 3. Animal force alone can lift matter from 3 to 4. But there is no force in nature *that can raise matter in one leap* from 1 to 4 or from 2 to 4. Plants cannot feed on elements, but only on chemical compounds in the soil and atmosphere. Animals cannot feed on minerals, but only on vegetables and animals."

Spencer, again, in his *First Principles*, says "that it is proved that no germ, animal or vegetal, contains the slightest rudiment, trace, or indication of the future organism; the microscope showing that the first process set up in every fertilized germ is a process of repeated fissions, ending in the production of a mass of cells, not one of which exhibits any special character. So that the partial organization at any moment subsisting in a growing embryo is transformed by external agencies acting on it into the succeeding phase of organization, and this into the next, until the ultimate form is reached."

Each higher stage of development supplies a force for still further progress. This is especially conspicuous in the mental kingdom. The mind itself becomes a most important force in aiding further evolution. By mechanical inventions, steam-power, railroads, printing-press, mind coming in contact with mind, etc., an incalculable impetus has been given to mental and social evolution. What Spencer terms the "multiplication of effects" and the successive stages of higher development as they are reached supply additional forces to accelerate human development. Discoveries in one science aid discoveries in other sciences. Optics have greatly aided astronomy, chemistry has helped physiology, etc.

"The same germ may be evolved into different forms, according to circumstances. Thus, during its earlier stages, every embryo is sexless, becomes either male or female, as *the balance of forces acting on it* determines.

"It is well known that the larvæ of a *working*-bee will develop into a *queen*-bee, if before a certain period its food is changed to that on which the larvæ of queen-bees are fed." The ovum of a tapeworm getting into the intestines of one animal unfolds into the form of its parent; but, if carried into other parts of the animal's system, or into the intestines of some unlike animal, it becomes a cysterci,—a creature extremely different from the tapeworm in aspect and structure. Each advance in embryonic complication results from the action of incident forces on the complication previously existing. The germ, no doubt, has certain unknown properties, which, when *subject to fit external influences*, produce the special organism; but it has been proved that external forces are most important in the evolution of all organic beings. That mind has been developed by these insensible gradations, step by step, from primitive elements, through the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal kingdom up to man, seems to be almost *demonstrated*. Yet we do not call matter *mind*, until it has passed through these different transformations, any more than we call an acorn an oak or an ovum an animal until they have passed through the embryo stage and reached their mature forms. What these forces of nature are which we call chemical, electrical, magnetic, etc., it seems impossible now to tell; but we do know that these forces are persistent, unvarying, and are never interfered with by any outside power. That this "persistence of force" will ultimately develop mankind to perfection seems also quite certain, the survival of the fittest being the inevitable consequence of such persistence of force; and why there should be a general development from a lower to a higher stage seems to be accounted for by the same principle.

Those interested in the evolution of organic life will find the question fully discussed in Spencer's *Biology*, and the transformation of matter from a lower to a higher stage in Balfour Stewart's *Conservation of Energy*.

J. E. SUTTON.

Dec. 23, 1882.

THE Century Co. will revise the revised *Imperial Dictionary*, and give it the name of *The Century Dictionary*. This task will occupy several years, and will be under the direction of Prof. W. D. Whitney.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE. In three volumes.
THE POLITICAL WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE, Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the American Revolution. To which is prefixed a brief sketch of the author's Life. A New Edition with additions. Vol. I. and II.
THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE. The most complete edition ever published. Vol. III. J. P. Mendum, Investigator Office, Boston. 1878. Price $7.

These three handsome volumes with which we have been favored by the publisher constitute the most complete edition of the works of Thomas Paine that has ever been published. They contain not only *Common Sense*, *The Crisis*, *Rights of Man*, and *Age of Reason*, his principal works, but all the smaller published essays, correspondence, and miscellaneous pieces, with a few unimportant exceptions, known to have been written by Paine. Among these minor productions are "A Dissertation on Government," "The Affairs of the Bank and Paper Money," "Prospects of the Rubicon," "Address to the Addresser," "Agrarian Justice opposed to Agrarian Law and Agrarian Monopoly," "Liberty of the Press," "A Discourse to the Society of the Philanthropists," "Essay on Dreams," "Thoughts on a Future State," "Reply to the Bishop of Landaff," "Origin of Free-masonry," Letters to Washington and Samuel Adams, Poetical Pieces, "The Will of Thomas Paine," etc.

Paine was the pamphleteer of American independence; and he applied his mind and his powerful pen to every subject, the treatment of which, during and after the Revolution, seemed to be demanded by the interests of the country. The value of his political writings to the cause of American liberty is sufficient to insure for them an interest among intelligent students of our Revolutionary history. The simplicity, directness, and vigor with which he wrote give to his writings on the affairs of a hundred years ago a readableness that belongs to but few works of that time on the same subjects. His ablest political work was *The Rights of Man*, a reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. It remains to-day unsurpassed as an attack on the monarchical principle of government, and a defence of the right of the people to form their own governments and elect their own rulers. The theological works of Paine are still read by thousands; and, although better criticisms on the Bible than the *Age of Reason* have since appeared, that work contains a vast amount of common sense and good argument, and is vastly superior to much of the cheap so-called liberal literature now in circulation.

No library can be considered complete without the works of Paine, the political and religious reformer; and Mr. Mendum is entitled to the credit of having published them in the best form in which they have ever been presented to the public.

THE OFFICIAL REPORT of the State Hospital for the Insane at Norristown, Pa.

This document is admirably arranged, and furnishes some interesting information. The ratio of recoveries to admissions is about thirty-two per cent. for men, while it is only about twenty per cent. for women. The physician gives it as his opinion that even cases of very long standing are not necessarily hopeless. The department for women is under the charge of a woman physician, who was formerly a student at the New England Hospital; and the trustees say "that they have no longer any doubt in reference to this system." "It has worked most satisfactorily, and greatly to the benefit of the inmates." They "have given the resident physicians the largest liberty in their management, throwing the entire responsibility on them." The trustees and both of the physicians speak of the benefit resulting from the introduction of various employments for the insane. "I am convinced," says Dr. Robert H. Chase, "that employment and non-restraint are twin sisters that must go hand in hand in the upward march of improvement in the treatment of the insane." The manufacture of scrubbing-brushes has been introduced; and "this shop has not only paid expenses this year, but has gained quite a little surplus. The printing-office and scroll-saw shop have also given satisfactory results." Dr. Alice Bennett says, "I believe the use of mechanical restraint to be absolutely incompatible with any influence for good." The same work in the brush shop, and scroll-sawing with knitting and fancy sewing, besides the housework and plain sewing, have occupied

* Vide *Religion and Philosophy in Germany*. A Fragment. By Heinrich Heine. Translated by John Snodgrass. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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the women, greatly to their advantage. The causes of insanity are very various among men. Religious excitement, overwork, and want of employment have each produced the same number of cases.

Among women, four cases are traced directly or indirectly to overwork, and three to religious excitement, while want of employment is not mentioned. Out of four hundred and fifty-seven cases, in one hundred and forty-nine there was no insanity in the family, and one hundred and eighteen in which it had occurred in various relations, while in one hundred and ninety cases the condition was unknown.

All these statistics, though not conclusive, help to form a valuable fund of knowledge on this important subject, from which we may yet learn practical wisdom.

THE first number of the *Elzevir Library*, a semi-weekly magazine devoted to cheap reprints of choice standard literature, gives the story of *Rip Van Winkle*, by Washington Irving, in its first number. It is in paper covers, good type, and is sold at the low price of two cents. The price will vary from two to four cents per number, according to amount of matter printed. It is published by John B. Alden, 18 Vesey Street, New York.

AN IDEAL JELLY-FISH.

A jelly-fish swam in a tropical sea,
And he said: "This world it consists of ME:
There's nothing above and nothing below
That a jelly-fish ever can possibly know,
Since the highest reach we can boast of, sight,
Is only the vaguest sense of light;
And we've got, for *the final test* of things,
To trust to the news which one's feeling brings.
Now, all that I learn from the sense of touch
Is the fact of *my feelings* viewed as such;
But to think these have an external cause
Is an inference clearly 'gainst logical laws.
Again, to suppose, as I've hitherto done,
There are other jelly-fish under the sun,
Is a poor assumption that can't be backed
By a jot of proof or a single fact.
In short, like *Fichte*, I very much doubt
If there's anything else at all without;
And so I've come to the same conclusion,
If the question be only set free from confusion,
That the universe centres solely in me,
And if I were *not* then *nothing* would be!"
Just then, a shark who was passing by
Gobbled him up in the twink of an eye,
And he died with a few convulsive twists.
But, somehow, the universe still exists!

—*Grant Allen, in Popular Science Monthly.*

PERSONAL ITEMS.

PETER COOPER, the practical philanthropist of New York, recently celebrated his ninety-second birthday. He still attends to his business, but does not go to his office every day.

PASTEUR, the French scientist, is described as a man of low stature and powerful frame, spare, angular, and weather-beaten. He is a man of few words, abrupt, but clear in speech, and of quick, impetuous gestures.

MR. CHARLES WATTS, who spoke so acceptably at Paine Hall two weeks ago, will again speak at the same place next Sunday, at three o'clock in the afternoon and eight in the evening. Mr. Watts is one of the best known of the English representatives of Secularism, and is an able and eloquent lecturer.

THE friends of Mr. B. P. Shillaber will read the record of the death of his estimable wife with feelings of deepest sympathy. She passed away after a week's illness of pneumonia. She was a helpmeet in the truest sense; and her loss befel her husband while he was unable, through rheumatism, to stir hand or foot from his bed. She was sick about one week.

AT least, one rich woman understands how to make her surplus wealth conduce to her true happiness, Mrs. John Jacob Astor, of New York. She has for several years interested herself in finding homes in the West for the friendless children of New York. She has so far expended nearly $15,000 in this laudable work, and takes a personal interest in the children thus cared for, visiting them and giving them advice before their departure for the homes she has provided for them.

MR. LORING MOODY, of Malden, died last Saturday, aged sixty-nine years. He was born in Harwich, and was sent to the Legislature from there several successive years. He was a warm adherent of the anti-slavery cause; and, when the occasion for his services in that direction ceased, he followed other reformatory movements. He was an active member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and of that for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the latter society being organized in this city through his efforts.

THE Cleveland *Leader* says: "In a letter written a few days since to a gentleman in St. Paul, Minn., Herr Most explained his method of operation; and that gentleman, disgusted with the man and his scheme, has given it to the public. According to the terms submitted in this letter, Most asks for every speech or lecture delivered $250, 'with travelling expenses, hotel expenses, demonstrations (such as bouquets, receptions, entertainments, etc.), to be paid by the societies asked to invite him to any city.' He, however, proposes to be liberal with those who will make a season engagement with him by offering to deliver three lectures for $600."

A. SCHELL writes from Albany, N.Y., as follows: "On Sunday evening, February 18, Mrs. Clara Neymann delivered an address upon 'The Aims of Liberalism,' at Van Vechten Hall, to a crowded house, before the Albany Liberal Association. On the evening of February 20, at the Assembly Rooms of the Old Capitol, she spoke in most eloquent strains on the woman's suffrage question, to a very large audience. She was enthusiastically received, and frequently applauded at both places. She is a woman of decided ability and pleasing address. She certainly has made herself a favorite with the people of our capital city. She has to be heard to be properly appreciated."

THE Springfield *Republican* says of Susan B. Anthony, who has just gone to Europe to take a rest, the first in thirty years' labor, that "she can look abroad upon the field she has worked in, and be, if not satisfied, yet well assured that the labor of her hands has prospered and will prosper. She had her share in the freeing of the negro race, and has a larger share in that great enlargement of the rights and responsibilities of women which is so steadily and swiftly increasing, that she may reasonably hope to see the logical political equality reached before she is translated. The fools may scoff and the old fogies protest, but their ranks are lessening and their voices feebler than they once were."

EX-GOV. MORGAN of New York was one of the highest and best types of the business man in politics which this country has produced. He carried into the public service the high sense of honor, the exact methods, the scrupulous observance of all obligations, and the balanced judgment and executive ability which had made him successful and honored in his private business. He was an admirable governor for the war-time, when great executive capacity, sterling patriotism, and thorough business knowledge were required. As a senator, his sagacity and experience made him almost equally valuable. In every relation of life, as citizen, merchant, and servant of the people, Edwin D. Morgan was a credit to his ancestry, an honor to his adopted city, and a representative product of our institutions.

HON. PAUL A. CHADBOURNE, of Amherst, Mass., died last week in New York. He had long been known as an educator and political reformer. Some years ago, after holding a professorship in Williams College, he became President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, which position he resigned to take the presidency of the Wisconsin University. Subsequently, he was President of Williams College, and again of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, holding that position at the time of his death. By degrees conferred, he was doctor of divinity, doctor of medicine, and doctor of laws. He had travelled extensively at home and abroad, pursuing his investigations even in Greenland and Iceland. He was an impressive speaker, and gave many addresses and platform lectures on a variety of topics, and found time besides to write books which have considerable merit. He was, however, more versatile than profound. He was born in Maine in 1823. His life was a busy and useful one, and his death is a loss to Massachusetts and to the entire country.

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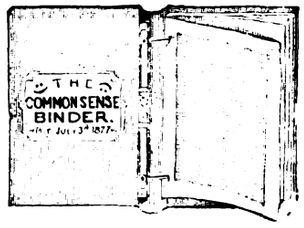

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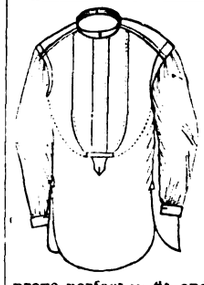

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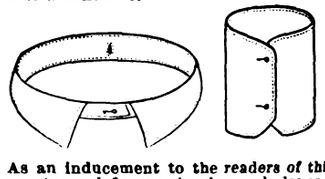

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 421

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Ecclesiastical Banking, Wm. J. Potter, ... 422
Liberalizing of Opinion in the English Universities, William Clarke, ... 422
The Bible a Human Book, Robert C. Adams, ... 423
Education Leaflets, E. D. C., ... 424
Joseph Cook's Charges against Kuenen and Leyden, B. F. U., ... 425
The Albany Convention, F. A. Hinckley, ... 425
Notice to Subscribers, ... 426

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 426

POETRY.

Whisperings, Horace L. Traubel, ... 426

ESSAY.

Humanity as the Supreme Being, William Frey, ... 427

CORRESPONDENCE.

What is the Meaning of the term "Agnostic"? David Newport, ... 430
What does the word "Religion" mean? I. H., ... 430
Mr. Charles Watts, D. K., ... 430

BOOK NOTICES.

The Unending Genesis, by H. M. Simmons, ... 430
The Catholic World, St. Nicholas, Wide Awake, Pansy, 431

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 431

CURRENT TOPICS.

REV. JASPER, the astro-theological crank, recently preached another sermon to his congregation in Richmond, to prove that "the sun do move," to deny which he insists is to give up the Bible and Christianity.

THE Shah of Persia has issued an edict exempting the fire-worshippers from the special tax hitherto levied on them, and granting complete political equality to all his subjects, without distinction in regard to creed or race.

THE New York *Sun* says that "many Butlers have become famous for their writings," but thinks it is doubtful "whether for hardpan devoutness any of these clerical or clerico-legal Butlers have produced anything eclipsing Gov. Ben Butler's Fast Day Proclamation."

THE *Herald* of this city, commenting on the continued appeal for subscription to the fund for a pedestal to the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," to be erected at the entrance of New York Harbor, gives some facts and figures which are not very pleasant reading for an American citizen, and asks, "Wouldn't it be both modest and appropriate if the statue should point its torch toward the land,—signifying that the enlightenment is needed at home?"

SAYS the Springfield *Republican:* "The Salvation Army, notwithstanding the condescending favor of Church of England prelates and professors, will have to be pronounced a nuisance everywhere. It is certainly that in New York, where the organization seems to consist of low-class Englishmen, who make religion as vulgar as any pot-house affair; and their parades are the signal for noisy and disorderly crowds of the worst part of the population, from among whom the policemen are constantly obliged to make arrests."

THE *Independent* is certainly sound on the taxation of church property, which, it says, "should be taxed for the support of government, unless the *religious use* thereof furnishes a good reason for its exemption," and "that, if we assume such use to be such a reason, then, to be consistent, we must also assume that it is one of the functions of the State to support and regulate the religion of its citizens, which is contrary to the fundamental principles of our political system. Exemption is indirect support; and, if we have exemption for the reason alleged, we may just as well have regulation for the same reason. There is no escaping the consequence without bad logic." True, and there is no refusing or ignoring the demand for the taxation of church property, without palpable injustice and disregard of the fundamental principle of religious liberty, of equal and exact justice for all, irrespective of religious beliefs.

THE *Nation*, referring to the "Methodist Mine" swindle, which found a dupe and writer of puffs in the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, says "that it is well known that religious newspapers are a favorite medium for swindlers and charlatans desirous of getting rid of worthless stocks. For some years after the war, they were the chief agents in promoting the sale of good-for-nothing railroad securities, to the great scandal and loss of the religious world. The editors of the *Advocate* ought not, therefore, to have been taken unawares when Dr. Spence came gleaming and smiling into their office. They ought to have met him with the unalterable rule that no journal, and above all no religious journal, ought to recommend an investment under any circumstances or for any purpose. It is not the business of a newspaper, or one for which any editor is fit. If there be no canon of the Methodist discipline forbidding stock-puffing by newspapers, one ought to be promptly adopted; and it ought to operate whether the stock turns out well or ill."

THE Boston Sociologic Society was formed in this city last Thursday evening, with a membership of ten persons, men and women. This organization is affiliated with the New York society, a notice of which appeared lately in these columns, and its objects are similar to those of the parent society; namely, to study, spread a knowledge of, and advance as far as possible with the means at its command, the principles of co-operation. This they aim to accomplish by meetings, essays, lectures, discussions, the collection of statistical information, correspondence, and the use of the press. By the term "co-operation," the society does not mean any one or more of the various systems of store-keeping with which the word is so often associated, but that economic principle which forms the basis of the most valuable portions of the most civilized society. It is thought that a still further application of this principle will supersede competitive measures and harmonize conflicting social elements. All interested in the proposed work of the society are invited to communicate by mail with C. H. Codman, 34 Bromfield Street, Boston, or with Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, 52 7th Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y., of the New York society.

THERE are some religious monomaniacs in England, known as the "Peculiar People," who believe they are the inheritors of the promises, and in sickness refuse to have the services of a physician, on the ground that for them to look for aid from medical science would be to distrust the Lord whose word they believe to be true. A mother and a three-year-old child belonging to one of these families having lately died, a coroner's court investigated the case, and found that death resulted from a complication of diseases, and that the woman and child had had no doctor or such attention as was needed, and could easily have been given. Whereupon, the jury found the father, who was a clerk in the war office, guilty of manslaughter, and handed him over to the police. In vain do the members of this sect declare that they are disciples of Christ, and that they are following the directions and relying upon the promises of the Holy Scriptures. The requirements of civilization demand that they find new interpretations of the Scriptures, and move on with the great mass of Christians, or that they be regarded as fanatics and cranks, and be punished even for the evils to society that result from their adherence, however sincere, to "the letter of the Word."

DURING one of his recent lectures on "The Sun and Stars," before the Lowell Institute, Prof. S. P. Langley threw upon a screen a series of brilliant lunar views. In explanation of the black portions of the moon's surface, the lecturer said, in substance, that it was formerly supposed that they represented oceans, but that there are no oceans, no water, not a drop of moisture, not a green thing, not even any weather to discuss. The moon is beyond the stage of habitation. It is not certain that the moon ever had an atmosphere; but it may be believed with confidence that one day in the past she had, and that oceans filled the enormous caverns now visible. The curious radiating lines on the lunar surface were discussed in connection with the theory that the moon has shrunk from a larger to its present size. The lunar Apennines were expatiated upon, and their resemblance to the Sierra Nevadas pointed out. Some of these lunar heights reach an altitude of 20,000 feet, which is enormous for the moon, equalling a mountain 80,000 feet high on the earth. Some of the lunar craters are sixty miles in diameter; and there are cracks or fissures one and one-half miles across, ten miles deep, and one hundred miles long. The temperature of the moon is at least two hundred degrees below zero. The moon is a far different creature from "the pale orbed maiden" which the poets have pictured her. Her surface remains in tenantless and eternal cold and solitude. Objects one hundred feet across can be seen on the surface of the moon with the best telescopes, but nothing smaller than one thousand feet with distinctness. The highest practicable telescopic power brought to bear upon the moon thus far is one thousand, so that she is brought within two hundred and forty miles of us.

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ECCLESIASTICAL BANKING.

The Catholic population of America will probably learn in time, through the severe school of experience, that, however necessary as spiritual advisers their priests may be, they are not safe bankers. Their Church may be an excellent institution in which to invest all their hopes of a future life; but, as a place of investment for the weekly savings of their scant wages against the rainy day of sickness and old age in this life, many poor people are discovering, to their surprise and sorrow, that it is a shaky reliance. Four years ago, a large number of the hard-working Irishmen and Catholic washerwomen and seamstresses in Ohio, who had intrusted their savings to Archbishop Purcell and his priestly brother, awoke one morning to find that the bottom had fallen out of this arch-episcopal banking company, and that there was no money left with which to pay back to them either the interest or principal of their deposits. The funds had been faithfully invested in building churches and in vigorously pushing Catholic missionary operations in Ohio, but churches and missionary operations do not pay dividends in dollars and cents; and so, when the poor depositors came for their hard-earned money, all the satisfaction they could get was that of being told that their savings had helped to make the prosperity of the Church, and would be remembered to their credit in the future world. And, to this day, no other payment than this has been made to these confiding depositors, who put their money into the hands of Archbishop Purcell with the expectation of receiving it all back, with interest added for the use of it. But this is a kind of payment that will not buy food nor fuel nor clothing for this world's needs; nor will the priests themselves receive it in discharge of their fees for burials, marriages, masses for the dead, and other ecclesiastical services. Ecclesiastical banking deals in "futures" only. It is not adapted to meet this life's pressing wants.

And what happened in Ohio has just happened again in the city of Lawrence, Massachusetts. In the latter city for a number of years there has existed an organization of Roman Catholic priests known as the Augustinian Society. It, too, has had great zeal and distinguished success in missionary operations. It has invested largely in eligible city lots, erected costly churches, built parochial schoolhouses, and sustained parochial schools. But where did the money come from for all this work? Perhaps some of it was donated specially for these purposes. But most of the money has come from deposits intrusted to the society by servant girls and the operative class, who put it there for safe keeping on interest. For, as collateral to its missionary enterprises, and, it now appears, as furnishing the capital for conducting them, the Augustinian Society has also done a savings bank business. Trusting the integrity of their priests and allured by the promise, and, for several years, by the payment of a larger interest than the regular savings institutions were paying, the poor people carried their spare earnings to the Augustinian Fathers, and made them their savings bank. But church property is not an investment that pays in cash in Massachusetts more than in Ohio. The result is, as was related in *The Index* last week, the Augustinian Society has financially collapsed. It owes to its victimized depositors nearly a half million of dollars, and has hardly anything left with which to pay them. The churches and school-houses it has built with their money do not belong to it, but to the bishop of the diocese in trust for the universal Catholic Church. One who should look at the matter from a mere business point of view might be inclined to say that the universal Catholic Church, having regard to fair and honorable dealings with its members, would allow the depositors to receive a legal mortgage bond on the church property which they have helped to create, to the full extent of the debt due to them, and with annual payment of interest. But the universal Catholic Church in the Purcell case did not take this view. Ecclesiastical banking appears to be managed by different rules from those recognized in honest banking among the world's people.

The New York *Tribune*, in an excellent article on the subject, points out the folly of trusting to "clerical financiering," but says, "No one alleges any dishonesty" against the managers. We doubt whether so much as this can be conceded. The priests did not apply the money to their own personal uses, nor waste it in wild-cat speculations. This much may be granted. But how they expected honestly to pay back to all the depositors both principal and interest according to the depositors' expectation, while they were investing much the greater part of the funds, as fast as received, in entirely unremunerative property, is a puzzling question. Catholic priests are generally pretty shrewd men. And we cannot believe that the Augustinian Fathers were so simple-minded as to suppose that they were going to pay all dues to their creditors from the very small portion of their funds which they invested in interest-paying property. The interest thus received was not even enough to pay the annual interest on the deposits, and this they very well knew. But their expectation was that, as long as they kept up the delusion that the funds were safe in their hands, and that the depositors might, when duly calling, receive them all back with interest, so long a large part of the principal would not be called for, and fresh deposits would continue to be made, more than enough to meet all yearly demands for interest and occasional demands for the principal. It was by fostering this delusion among their parishioners that the priests obtained money for their bank and for their missionary operations at the same time. Had they told their confiding parishioners the honest facts in the case, the bottom would have dropped from their bank and from their plans of ecclesiastical propagandism long ago. And behind this method of ecclesiastical financiering, which strongly resembles in some of its features the notorious Mrs. Howe's Woman's Bank, lies not a little of the chronic recklessness with which the Catholic Church violates individual rights, if only the Church is the gainer. We are sorry to believe that the Augustinian Fathers would not count it a very great wrong to secure money for purposes they deem so excellent as building churches and parochial school-houses, by expressly cultivating the delusion of their simple parishioners, and that the Catholic Church would not reckon it a very heinous crime to keep the money thus obtained on false pretences, since it was being devoted to so good objects.

It is reported that, for several years, ten thousand dollars of the funds in the Augustinians' keeping have been used up in sustaining parochial schools, and that these schools will now be closed, and their pupils sent to the public schools. The reason which Catholics have given for instituting schools of their own is that the public schools teach neither religion nor morals. When the Catholic children who have been attending these parochial schools learn that the schools were maintained on the money of hard-working men and women, perhaps their own fathers and mothers, who had intrusted it to the priests, not only for safe keeping, but for earning an income, and that this money is now gone, so that its owners, however much they may suffer for the want of it, cannot recover it, we wonder what these children will think of the religion and morality of the transaction.

WILLIAM J. POTTER.

LIBERALIZING OF OPINION IN THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

No observer of the many signs which indicate radical changes in opinion can fail to remark the progress of thought in the universities of England, —by which I mean the two ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge. England proper (excluding Scotland and Ireland) has five universities; but, of these, London is a mere examining body, and not a university at all in any genuine sense of the word, while Durham is mainly a clerical institution, and the Victoria University is composed of a group of colleges, the most important of which is Owens' College, Manchester, and has scarcely yet developed a culture of its own. Oxford and Cambridge were regarded at one time as the chief centres of a stagnant and even bigoted conservatism. M. Renan, in his interesting essay, "L'Avenir Religieux des Sociétés Modernes," said with truth of the former of these places, "Oxford, till the remarkable movement of these few years past, rivalled Rome in the absence of criticism and the stubbornness of its bigotry." Prof. Huxley, about twenty years ago, with equal truth, spoke of these venerable institutions as barren and unfruitful, as far as original investigation, able criticism, or great work in science, literature, or speculation was concerned. Matthew Arnold praised his "sweet city with her dreaming spires" for having always resisted the formidable onslaughts of the Philistines, but admitted that she was "the home of lost causes"; *i.e.*, the one place peculiarly impenetrable to that very criticism of which Mr. Arnold is so sweet and lucid an exponent.

The great names of modern English literature and science have not been the names of Oxford and Cambridge men. Grote, Faraday, Mill, Tyndall, Huxley, Spencer, were not even university men at all; while Darwin and Lyell derived no perceptible impulse for their life work from their early connections with Cambridge and Oxford respectively. And yet, were we to name the greatest representatives of the English intellect during the last half-century, these are precisely the men we would be certain to mention. And not only have these two famous institutions produced few men of note, but they have too often stoned their own prophets. Prof. Jowett was for years excluded from the university pulpit at Oxford, and a vigorous attempt was made not many years ago to exclude the late Dean Stanley. Froude's *Nemesis of Faith* was solemnly burned in the quadrangle of Exeter College, Oxford, by the learned head of that institution. Even as late as 1872, a popular evangelical preacher, who had "answered" Colenso, was elected to the chair of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge over one of the ablest philosophical teachers (and they are few indeed) whom Cambridge has had for years, because the views of the latter were supposed to be "dangerous," while the former was both Tory and orthodox. But "the old order changeth, giving place to new"; and this fact is conspicuous both at Oxford and Cambridge. The change which had taken place at Oxford was widely commented on in the English press, when Prof. Jowett was appointed last year Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University. By a singular irony of fate, his nomination was made by Lord Salisbury, the Tory leader, who happens to be also Chancellor of the University. Lord Salisbury's utterances are usually to be taken with several grains of salt. But his lordship always professes

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the most rigid and unbending High Church principles. He had not long before been delivering a solemn testimony against the increasing scepticism of the times, which he associated with the growing democratic principles, conveniently ignoring the awkward fact that his own nephew, a prominent Tory member of Parliament, is well known as a practical and theoretical sceptic, the author of a *Defence of Philosophic Doubt*. It was curious that the Tory and Anglican peer should be called on to nominate to a high post the foremost representative of liberal thought in Oxford.

The death of Dr. Pusey not only deprived the ritualists of their most eminent champion in the English Church, but it also deprived Oxford University of its Hebrew professor; while the retirement of Canon Liddon from the professorship of Biblical Exegesis in the same University gave a further opportunity for another appointment. And it is significant to observe that the two new professors are very different men from their distinguished predecessors, both of them having studied and in some respects embraced the critical results of the modern liberal school. When the vehement controversy raged some seven or eight years ago round the book called *Supernatural Religion*, Dr. Sanday, who is now Canon Liddon's successor at Oxford, made some admissions and stated some facts which the representatives of the old-fashioned, uncritical, and orthodox views could hardly regard with complacency. The sister University of Cambridge has just filled up two vacancies in her professoriate in such a way as to show how the current is running there. Ignoring her own graduates, she has gone out of her way to appoint to the professorship of Arabic (rendered vacant by the murder of Prof. Palmer in connection with the Egyptian expedition) the celebrated Scotch scholar, Dr. Robertson Smith. In his annual address to the University Senate, the Vice-Chancellor congratulated that body on having secured the services of so able a man. It would be interesting to know what the divines of the Free Church of Scotland think of this reception of their rejected heretic by the great English seat of learning.

The second vacancy in the Plumian Chair of Astronomy was filled by the election of Mr. George Howard Darwin, son of the great naturalist, out of a number of eminent candidates. It is true that Mr. Darwin is not known as a heretic; but it is also equally true that his distinguished father is now known by his own admission to have been a distinct unbeliever in the popular theology, and the probabilities are that the son shares the general views of the father. In this connection, it may be said that every scientific teacher in Cambridge with perhaps one exception is a pronounced Darwinian, accepting generally the doctrines of evolution as alone explaining natural phenomena. A further criterion may be sought and found in the recipient of the honorary degrees which the universities confer from time to time. Not very long ago, it was a just ground of complaint against the two universities that they singled out chiefly colonial bishops and not very distinguished peers for this honor. *Mais nous avons changé tout cela.* Modern thought and modern science are now duly recognized in the persons of their leading representatives by the English universities. It is true that Darwin had to wait until he was seventy years of age, and when his name had become familiar as a household word all over the civilized world, before his own university set her seal to his fame. But his reception in the Cambridge senate-house in November, 1879, was something more than a personal tribute. It symbolized the triumph of a principle, the established recognition of a new intellectual method. Prof. Tyndall has received a similar honor from Oxford; while both Lyell and Huxley have been decorated with the Cambridge doctorate, and this year the latter will deliver the Rede lecture before the university. It may also be noted as a significant fact that Glasgow University, one of the principal seats of learning in orthodox Scotland, has conferred its honorary degree upon one of our ablest radical thinkers, Mr. John Morley. Surely, Mr. Spencer's turn will come next.

What is vaguely but perhaps conveniently termed the modern movement consists not in the substitution of one set of facts and beliefs for another set, but rather in the wholly different attitude of the mind toward the problems which man is called upon, or thinks himself called upon, to solve. The propelling forces of this movement have been mainly philosophy, historical criticism, and natural science. The first has not contributed any definite result in the form of increased knowledge of facts; but it has powerfully stimulated man's thinking faculty, and rendered him profoundly dissatisfied with any belief not in accord with reason. The second has so keenly scrutinized legend, myth, tradition, that they have vanished from the modern mind, "like wrecks of a dissolving dream"; and the prophets, heroes, lawgivers, and warriors of the past emerge from their canopy of fable, and are seen in just proportion and as related to their age and country. And the third has given us a new cosmogony, which by no ingenuity of reasoning can be reconciled with the old theology. Now, the changed aspect of the English universities is due to the growth therein of these three great branches of human learning. Cambridge is now the chief centre of scientific teaching in England, especially of physiology and experimental physics. The number of scientific students there increases by leaps and bounds, although it is scarcely more than thirty years since natural science was first formally recognized in the university curriculum. Indeed, it bids fair one day to take the foremost place hitherto held by mathematics.

What science is to Cambridge, philosophy is to Oxford; and, in both universities, the study of history according to the comparative and critical method is gaining ground every year. It is only necessary that this method should be applied in the domain of Hebrew history and religion in order to effect great results; and, though this will be the last outcome of the modern spirit, we need not despair of its accomplishment. Last year, the able and learned lectures of Dr. Kuenen on the development of the religion of Israel were delivered at Oxford as well as in London; and this year the new Hibbert lecturer, Mr. Beard, will follow Dr. Kuenen's example. The founding of the Indian Institute at Oxford will give a most powerful impetus to the study of comparative religion. All these facts point in the same direction: they indicate an intellectual revolution in England more powerful perhaps than any that has gone before, especially when we add to all this that the teaching and government of the university are to be taken out of the hands of the Anglican clergy, and to be given to those who will have no inducement to enter on the clerical career. I do not think that this intellectual change necessarily or even probably implies a general speedy abandonment of old forms and "time-honored" institutions. The English genius works in a different way. Rather may the proximate consequences even seem to be in some respects conservative; for criticism tends toward a *laissez faire* policy as far as action is concerned. It is a time for the removal of rubbish, the fashioning of instruments, the consideration of methods, rather than for the immediate raising of a new structure. "The native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." But the ultimate consequences will be vast indeed.

WILLIAM CLARKE.

THE BIBLE A HUMAN BOOK.

Why is it that differences of opinion upon earth-knowledge are regarded so much more leniently than differences upon theology? Bitter words certainly are waged between scientists, but social ostracism and denunciation of personal character seem to belong especially to religious controversy. The reason is that scientists know that all knowledge is the result of human research, but theologians claim a direct revelation from God to man about their doctrines. When they admit that knowledge of the unseen world has no other key than that which unlocks the secrets of visible matter; that all departments of learning are on an equal footing, each open to the full, free, and fearless investigation of man; that no supernatural information has ever been given by any supreme being upon any subject, but that all the attainments of man are the result of progressive steps,—then the earnest searcher for spiritual and religious truth will be no more despised than is the inventor, the chemist, or the electrician. They may still see God as the inspirer of matter, the wondrous power which enables man to take his toilsome, progressive steps into the realms of knowledge, even though they admit that he never revealed morality all at once from Sinai, nor his scheme of mercy in one dogma from Calvary, any more than he revealed the railroad in England or the telegraph in America. All have grown from man's gradual experience through the ages; and yet this is no less truly "of God," if by that name we mean the principle of action that pervades nature. God spoke as truly to Stephenson and Morse as he did to Moses and Paul. He said, Let railroad-trains run, and, Let words be telegraphed, just as truly as he said, "Thou shalt not steal." And he said it in the same way; namely, by working through matter in nature and in man's organism, until experience and observation made man perceive that theft was injurious to society, that steam could move carriages, and electricity repeat motion.

If the Bible is recognized as a human book, it will become of more real value to man. Now, it is by many worshipped ignorantly, as a sort of fetich. Others injure their intellectual powers and lose their common sense in attempting to make the works of different writers in different ages tell one harmonious story, as though written by one being. Others, who find some repulsive and incredible things in the book, spurn the whole, because obliged to consider the book as a whole. If they were allowed to read the Old Testament as a record of the traditions, history, and poetry of a distant age, it would become an intelligible, interesting, and valuable book to them. If the New Testament could be admitted to contain the best portrayal of human excellence ever written by man, and the philosophies and theologies of the early centuries of this era, it would then be prized by such men for what it is worth; and no one will honestly deny its real value. Men find there eternal punishment for the many and salvation for the few. They are told it is God's Book, and they must accept every word; but they revolt against these words, and throw away the whole.

One of the most noted authors of our day told a friend that he grew up with very little knowledge of the dogmas of religion or acquaintance with the Scriptures. Marrying a Christian woman, he yielded to her entreaties to read the Bible. He perused it from Genesis to Revelation, then shut up the book, and said, "If you wish me to have any respect for your religion, never show me that book

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again." Its supernaturalism offended his reason and instincts; and, as he was told it was all God's truth and must be taken as a whole, he would have none of it. This man's books are read in every Christian family in the land, and his unbelief does not seem to disqualify him for pleasing and instructing others.

Another great difficulty in receiving the Bible as the word of God is the manner in which its books have been chosen. A large number of apocryphal books are known to have been excluded from the Old Testament, though quotations from some of them appear to be used by the apostles; and the New Testament is the result of the votes of councils, some Gospels and Epistles having been rejected, while other Epistles were retained by a bare majority, but all henceforth is the infallible word of God. When we revolt against inconsistency and error in it, we are told the finite must not judge the infinite, reason must give place to faith. But it is faith in the Christian Fathers that is needed.

Again, if God is God of the whole earth, and will have all men to be saved, even though he did not make Christ known until four thousand years after Adam sinned and brought doom to his race, why was not this word, which proclaims the fact, made intelligible to ordinary men, that they might not be the intellectual slaves of the learned hierarchy, who alone are professedly able to make a consistent story out of it? As it stands now, it is in no true sense a "revelation" to man; for scarcely two people can understand it alike. A God who had the intellectual powers of a modern college graduate could make a revelation that would not set all the world at variance in attempting to explain it; and he could find a way of making it known to the world, instead of confining its manifestation to an obscure and semi-barbarous people in a corner of the earth, leaving vast multitudes to perish ere the saving tidings could reach them. It is derogatory to infinite intelligence to call the Bible its "revelation."

Christ is said to have spoken in the Aramaic tongue, a language now extinct. His words were reported from mouth to mouth, were probably written in Hebrew, and after many years were translated into Greek. Their record was transcribed repeatedly; and the manuscripts, written several hundred years after the death of Christ, are now rendered into the English language. These words, passing through four languages, and subject to all the changes that gossips and copyists may have wrought, are now presented to us as the word of God, which determines our eternal welfare. Such a revelation is unworthy of an omnipotent being, who is conceived to have infinite perfection and who desires to convince men of truth; but it is a consistent act on the part of a God who hardened Pharaoh's heart, who is said to create evil, who said, "Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed" (Isa. vi., 10), and of whom it is said, "God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie" (II. Thess. ii., 11). It is conceivable that such a God should give a revelation that would be incoprehenmsible.

Literary research is constantly throwing light upon the human origin of the Bible and the pagan sources of its doctrines. The *Bible for Learners* revolutionizes the chronology of the Old Testament and its reputed authorships. Kuenen's *Religion of Israel* gives a masterly exposition of the details of these subjects, which is condensed in a work with the same title by Knappert. The oldest books are said to be Amos, Hosea, Zechariah (ix.–xi.), and the first twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah. The principal part of Deuteronomy was written about 620 B.C. Then, at about the time of the captivity in Babylon (586–538 B.C.), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the rest of Isaiah were written. After the return, Ezra brings to light (444 B.C.) "God's Law which was given by Moses." The Psalms and Proverbs are gradually collected together, histories and prophecies are compiled and written, nobody knows by whom. The apocryphal books follow, and the book of latest date in the Old Testament is thought to be Daniel. (See *The Growth of the Hebrew Religion*, by W. C. Gannett, *Unity* office, Chicago.)

The author of *Supernatural Religion* proves the spuriousness of the Gospels. Draper, in *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, shows the Oriental origin and human development of Christianity. Greg's *Creed of Christendom* and Taylor's *Diegesis* do the same. All the Christian dogmas are found in previous creeds in Egypt, Persia, and India, or in classic mythology. The miraculous conception dogma was common among the ancients. Romulus was the son of Mars; Plato, of Apollo; Alexander, of Jupiter Ammon; Sosiosh, the Persian saviour, was born of a virgin, and will come to regenerate the world, preceded by two prophets. The Persians taught the doctrine of the resurrection, that the good will inherit the earth, and Ahriman and his angels will be purified in a lake of molten metal. One author says: "Every Christian dogma has its origin in a heathen rite.... Christian theology is only a *potpourri* of pagan mythologies." Renan says, "Nearly everything in Christianity is mere baggage brought from the pagan mysteries." In his latest work, *Marcus Aurelius*, he considers the Jewish prophets, especially Isaiah, as the founders of Christianity, saying that all Jesus did was to repeat, in popular charming language, what had been said seven hundred and fifty years before in classical Hebrew. The coincidences in the lives and teachings of Jesus and Gautama Buddha have been remarked upon by many writers. Taylor says, "Everything of Christianity is of Egyptian origin." The fables of India and Persia were brought to Egypt, and recast.

Many of our interpretations of Scripture and much of their authority rest upon the assertions of the "Christian Fathers." If any one would gain a true estimate of the value of the testimony of these worthies, let him read of their lives and writings and superstitions, and he will be slow to accept their dicta about "God's Word." If one would see how legends originate and spread, and see a plausible suggestion for the existence of many of the Bible stories, he should read John Fiske's *Myths and Mythmakers*, and S. Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* and *Legends of Patriarchs and Prophets*.

Modern research is throwing great light on the manner in which the present Bible was compiled. How a majority of one in a council of "Fathers" could make one book the infallible word of God, and a small minority condemn another to be the word of man, is a mystery which it needs the authority of an infallible Church to make one believe. Pappus, in his *Synodikon* says all the Gospels were put under the communion table, and the inspired ones got up on the table, in answer to prayer. Stanley, in his Eastern Church, alludes to this "tradition." But, whether this story is true or not, can it be that God's Word has been left by its author to drift about the world, subject to human alteration, to be finally rescued from a mass of literary rubbish by a council of men in a dark and superstitious age? This is not God's way, or at least not the way of a God whom this century can worship.

What a terrible waste of intellect there is in the world, arising from this assertion that the Bible is the word of God and contains a harmonious system of final truth! When the powers that are now used to defend theories concerning the Scriptures are directed toward positive explorations of nature's secrets, how the world will spring forward! When theological seminaries become science schools, and look for truth in living facts, they will be greater boons to the world.

To my mind, the true theory of the Bible is that, on the principle of the survival of the fittest, the best and most helpful writings of men have been preserved; and the book is to be prized as an evidence of the working of the secret power of nature in men's minds, and also for whatever of truth it contains, according to present perceptions of the good. It is the bad use men have made, and are still making, of the Bible that has done harm. Interpreting men's sins and crude ideas as revelations of God's mind debases man. If men now find the Mosaic beginning and the Christian ending of the world, as portrayed in the Bible, to be opposed by science and sense, is it not more honoring to God and creditable to man to admit that there is no revelation save what men have slowly and painfully learned for themselves from nature's operations, while the race has been "toiling upward in the night" of ignorance and superstition? One revelation pervades all nature; and the students of this revelation have recorded their observations in Bibles, works upon natural history, and histories of man. The "Books of Moses," Hume's, Gibbon's, and Macaulay's histories, Humboldt's *Cosmos* and Darwin's *Origin of Species*, contain men's perception of revealed facts. The Psalms of David, Bryant, and Longfellow, the Proverbs of Solomon, Æsop, Cervantes, and Franklin, the prophecies of Isaiah, Carlyle, and Emerson, —all contain "the word of the Lord"; and the latest is the truest and the best, because most in accord with known facts and present needs.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

EDUCATION LEAFLETS.

The National Bureau of Education has issued a number of very interesting leaflets and pamphlets bearing upon education here and in Europe. No. 5 gives an account of what are called "Maternal Schools in France." These are established to take care of children under six years of age who have not sufficient family training. Without the elaborate and somewhat fanciful system of the kindergarten, these schools aim at the same object,—the development of all the faculties of the child by a broad, genial exercise under the guidance of superior minds, or, in other words, "consists in imitating as closely as possible the process of education adopted by an intelligent and devoted mother." Object lessons, familiar talks, singing, drawing, reading, and arithmetic, etc., bodily exercise, games, and plays of all sorts, and simple gymnastics fill up the hours. The effects of such a school on a child should be "sound health; hearing, sight, and touch somewhat trained; ... *clear although infantile ideas of the rudiments of what will subsequently be the subjects of primary instruction*; ... a taste for gymnastics, for singing, and for drawing; an eagerness to observe, to listen, question, and answer; *the power of attention*; a generally quickened intelligence and a mind open to receive good moral influences." If these results can be accomplished in the first six years of life, as we believe they may be in a well-ordered school or family, the value of the next period of school life would be very much enhanced; and the pupil would be much better fitted to enter upon the work of life at the early age at which the majority must leave school. The minute

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directions in regard to the school buildings are worthy of careful study, showing the admirable good sense which the French generally apply to practical questions. No. 3 gives an account of the University of Bonn, which will be valuable to those wishing to decide upon a course of study in Germany.

No. 4 is a lecture on Industrial Art in Schools, by Charles G. Leland, of Philadelphia. He takes the ground that "man develops the ornamental during the infancy of every race before the useful," and he thinks that the same course should be pursued in industrial education. Without deciding upon the correctness of this maxim, we may say that the lecture contains many valuable suggestions in regard to decorative and industrial art. We especially commend the following caution: "The teacher should beware of letting pupils choose too freely what they will do. Left to themselves, all the silly ones, and not a few of the wiser, would elect 'to paint,' probably to paint pretty little posies in water color, oil, or china, which would be the positive end of all practical or useful art industry with them. If you would keep a girl from becoming an artist, set her at flower painting."

A small leaflet gives an account of high schools for girls in Sweden. Gen. Eaton says: "Among the most engrossing topics of educational interest at the present day are the numerous questions connected with the improvement of the education of women. I am called upon to give the experience in this connection in every part of the civilized world." The total number of girls' high schools in Sweden is now between sixty and seventy.

Another leaflet describes the National Pedagogic Congress of Spain. It is very satisfactory to see with what earnestness the best minds of Spain, especially among the working classes, are considering the great problems of education. These were the questions discussed at one session: "What should be the organization and general conditions of public education? Should the education be gratuitous or paid for, obligatory or voluntary? What dispositions and means should be taken to diffuse education among the people, and increase the attendance of scholars at primary schools?"

E. D. C.

JOSEPH COOK'S CHARGES AGAINST KUENEN AND LEYDEN.

We recently had occasion to note, in *The Index*, the pleasure which some of our Catholic exchanges appear to feel whenever they can glean from the newspapers an incident in the life of any person in France, whose name has been connected with liberal principles, which reflects upon his character; and the quickness with which they adduce it as evidence of the need of the old theological faith to keep men in the path of moral rectitude. We could but think of the frightful immorality of the Catholic Church a hundred and fifty years ago, and of the notorious manner in which, up to the very present time, while the Church has been in the ascendency in France, the French government has hushed up the offences of lascivious priests and monks. We observed, at the time, that we were not accustomed to allude to the moral delinquencies of theologians as any proof that their teachings are false. But they should be reminded, we added, that, in assailing the character of free thinkers, they employ an argument which can be used against themselves with terrible effect by any one who chooses to retaliate, although this is a kind of warfare, whether it be offensive or defensive, for which we have no taste.

This thought is very naturally suggested again by the recent passage between Joseph Cook and Mr. Edwin D. Mead in relation to the morality of the theological students of Leyden. The University of Leyden, as most of our readers very well know, has become recognized, in these latest years, as the principal seat of advanced Biblical criticism in Europe. The labors of Kuenen and his colleagues in Holland have almost created a new school of criticism,—a school which Mr. Cook chooses to denominate the "raw school," although we believe its conclusions are substantially accepted by almost all liberal scholars, are taught in Dr. Martineau's college in London as well as in the Harvard Divinity School, and are looked upon with favor and sympathy by such critics as Robertson Smith in the nominally orthodox world.

Mr. Cook, in his recent lecture upon Old Testament criticism, made a violent attack upon the Dutch school. He did not attempt to refute or to state its positions, but thought it sufficient to intimate to his hearers that the immorality of the theological schools of Holland, and Kuenen's hall in particular, was so notorious as to relieve them of the duty of looking into any books that might come from there. Men sometimes come from their studies there, he said, "with the filth of the pit upon them"; and he implored his hearers to join him in sending forth a breath of moral dignity "to sweep out of sight all theology that does not come from a pure heart as well as a clear head." On reading in the *Independent* the corrected and authorized report of this lecture it seemed to us that the charge of immorality against the Dutch school, as published, was weak compared with the language and manner of the attack as we heard it made from the platform, but as it appeared in print it was bad enough, and upon reading this astonishing impeachment, Mr. Mead addressed the following letter to the *Independent*:—

According to the report of Rev. Joseph Cook's last lecture, which appears in the *Independent*, Mr. Cook made the following statement: "I was told by a German professor, whose name is known throughout Christendom, that it is believed that more than a few theological pupils in Holland are immoral men. Nobody pretends to doubt that, in some of the theological schools of the Netherlands, and especially in the hall at the head of which Kuenen stands, morality is not indispensable to membership of a theological class. On a topic like this, only a whisper can be uttered. I said to my informant: 'If the facts were known in the United States that theological students in certain schools are believed, on credible evidence, to be immoral men, we should no more take our theology from that style of school than we should take our drinking water from these gutters.'"

Permit me, through your columns, to ask Mr. Cook the following questions:—

Does he mean to assert that there are more immoral men among the theological students of Leyden than among those of "ultra orthodox" Leipzig?

Does he mean to assert that morality is indispensable to membership of the theological classes of Leipzig, and will he state wherein the test of character for admission to the lecture rooms and *seminars* of Luthardt, Kahnis, and Delitzsch differs from that for admission to Prof. Kuenen's classes?

If credible evidence be given that there are immoral men among the theological students of Leipzig, will Mr. Cook reject Delitzsch's views of the Old Testament? And, if evidence be given that the average morality of the theological students of Leyden is higher than that of the students of Leipzig, will Mr. Cook join the "raw school"?

Will Mr. Cook please give his evidence of the conspicuous immorality of Prof. Kuenen's students, as compared with the Leipzig students,—which "nobody pretends to doubt"? I am that nobody; and, on a topic like this, a "whisper" is precisely the thing which *cannot* be uttered unchallenged, and which, I am sure, Mr. Cook will see, on second thought, no man should wish to utter.

To this communication, Mr. Cook pays attention in his last lecture, and this is what he says:—

"I weighed every one of the few words which I thought it my duty to utter on that subject, and need not say that I have abundant evidence to justify them all, though, for evident reasons, I cannot put it before the public. If my questioner has been casting a drag-net into the life of the students in the theological departments of European universities, and has gathered matter of scandal, and wishes to open his net in the face of the public, I cannot forbid him from doing so; but he shall not have my assistance in this procedure." He then repeats his assertion that the fact of the flagrant immoralities in question is "notorious."

Mr. Cook has certainly placed himself in a very unpleasant predicament. He has made the most serious charge which it is possible to make,—impeaching, in the most sweeping and offensive manner, the general moral character of a great religious school. He has proclaimed his charge upon the house-top, although admitting that it is a matter upon which only a whisper should be uttered. He is asked to give an account of himself, and has nothing to say, contenting himself with repeating his charge, and implying that there is no way of substantiating it but an indecent one. And, then, he vents himself upon his critic by insinuating, forsooth, that, since he is charged with throwing mud himself, it must be because his critic is dredging some puddle. Is this manly or honest?

We think that Mr. Cook very much mistakes his man, if he imagines him to stand for any principle which he would ever find it necessary to defend by "abusing the plaintiff's lawyer"; and we should be very much surprised ourselves, if this is the end of the episode, and if a very sharp moral does not yet remain to be pointed.

In this general connection, the following note in the last number of the *Independent* is rather significant:—

As Mr. Cook's "whisper" has been challenged, perhaps it is our duty to give the following extract from a letter from the scholarly and careful writer of the article upon the University of Leyden, which was published a few months since in *Harper's Magazine*,—the only person we recall who has studied in both Leipzig and Leyden, and perhaps as competent as any American scholar to speak upon this subject:—

"I have no reason to suppose that any difference exists, in point of morals, between the theological students of Leipzig and those of Leyden. So far as my acquaintance extended in Leyden, my impression is altogether favorable of the vigorous intellectuality of the theological students there, and of their high personal character. I did not know all or even the greater number of the students, but some I knew intimately. At Leyden, as in the German universities, students of theology pursue their studies as they would in any department of science or philosophy, and I think with equal ardor and desire to know the truth.

"Prof. Kuenen is a noble and winning personality, and I cannot conceive of his influence as being anything but elevating and pervaded by a true humanity. The high standard of scholarship required for university degrees and church preferments would, I should judge, be favorable to thorough work, and thus indirectly to a regular and studious life. There may be students at Leyden, as elsewhere, whose work is perfunctory, and who do not rise to the full dignity of those who are studying to be moral and religious teachers of men; but this is an experience found in other countries and in all communions." B. F. U.

THE ALBANY CONVENTION.

The Convention of the Free Religious Association in Albany, N.Y., will be held on Thursday afternoon and evening, March 8, and Friday afternoon and evening, March 9. The Thursday afternoon session will open with an address of welcome, followed by the address of the President, William J. Potter, on "The Religion of Humanity." Dr. M. Schlesinger, of Albany, and others, will also speak at this session. Thursday evening there will be an address by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Charities

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and Reforms"; and B. F. Underwood will speak of "Liberal Thought and Practical Reform." Friday afternoon, Mrs. Imogene C. Fales will read a paper on "Co-operation and Progress," Rev. E. P. Powell will speak of "Our Heredity with God," and William H. Spencer of "The Christ of the Gospels and our Moral Ideal." Friday evening, F. A. Hinckley will speak on "Mystery," and an address will be made by Miss Mary F. Eastman.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

A large number of our subscribers are in arrears in their payments. Some of them, as we happen to know, are persons of wealth, to whom the paying out of three dollars, and, in some instances, of a hundred times that, would be nothing. And here we, in *The Index* office, are planning and contriving how to make the ends meet. "Brethren, these things ought not so to be." If you who are thus at fault would only send to *The Index* its just and legal dues, the ends would not only meet, but lap beautifully over on the right side. Let then every one who means to be honest look at once at the mail-tag on his paper, and act as it and an honest conscience shall direct. A word to the *just* is sufficient.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THOMAS PAINE'S abhorrence of slavery is well known to those familiar with his writings. Edward Rushton, in 1809, in a letter to a friend, wrote: "In 1791, Thomas Paine, conversing with a gentleman on the subject of the slave-trade, wondered that God Almighty did not send a thunderbolt, and blast the damned town of Liverpool."

A WRITER in the London *Secular Review* observes: "A certain similarity of temper, it has often been observed, pervades the extremes of theism and atheism. Turn them as you will, suffuse them equally with the hue of liberal thought and culture, the dogmatic affirmation of the one and the equally dogmatic negation of the other cannot be hidden."

AT the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association in 1876, Mr. Frothingham, then its President, said:—

The Association began its existence in a departure from the Unitarian body, which it was felt at the time —perhaps with an exaggerated feeling—was lapsing into the rigidity of a sect. Therefore, the word "free" was put first. A religious association it hardly is. It recognizes religion as an institution of society, it recognizes religious doctrines as existing in the community, it recognizes the religious sentiment as an element of human nature; but it has no doctrine of its own. It propounds no dogma, and resents the imputation of dogma; it sets up no ecclesiasticism, it builds no church, it has no definitions; it does not even define religion, and the members of the society attempt their own definitions to suit themselves; but any liberty of this sort is freely conceded.

THE *Christian Register*, in refutation of the statement of Rev. Dr. Ward, a missionary, who declared that, "after a residence of twenty-five years among the heathen, he had never known there *one moral man*," quotes the following from the *Laws of Life*, by Dr. Albert Leffingwell, a man of education, who has travelled extensively:—

Not only are laws better obeyed in Europe than with us, but we are surpassed by people whom we are accustomed to regard as only half civilized. "Better not go down that street this time o' night," said a London policeman to me one evening, within sight of Westminster Abbey: "it isn't safe for strangers." Yet I have wandered afoot and alone throughout the by-ways of Tokio and Osaka late at night, without the least apprehension of danger, though surrounded by a people who could hardly understand a single sentence I might say. Even India, with a population the most poverty-stricken on the face of the globe over which a civilized flag floats, is one of the most law-abiding countries in the world. In proportion to numbers comprising the population, the criminals of India are far more often foreigners than natives, strange as that may seem. While in Bombay, I learned that the authorities had discovered the strange fact that increase in criminality was almost exactly in proportion to adoption of European ideas,—in other words, the heathen were more law-abiding than the whites who governed them.

WE have to thank Louis Prang & Co., of this city, for a number of beautiful samples of their Easter cards for this season. This well-known and deservedly popular firm, who have done so much for the encouragement and advancement of art and æsthetic culture in this country, have seemingly surpassed all previous efforts in their Easter cards for this year. In looking over these exquisite designs, poetically and artistically emblematic as they are of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, —a religious doctrine of which Easter is the outward symbol and embodiment,—we feel tempted, for the moment, to exclaim with Agrippa, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." The services of the best and most original American artists have been secured for these cards, and Messrs. Prang & Co. deserve the thanks of the American public for their work in this direction. The tastes and needs of all classes have been consulted by them; and they have an endless variety to select from, suited to the varied wants and means of all lovers of the fine arts.

MR. CHARLES WATTS, editor of the London *Secular Review*, to whose lectures in this city a correspondent calls attention in another column, is a gentleman of ability and character, and is the most active and, next to George Jacob Holyoake, the fairest and best living representative of English Secularism. His lectures in this city have elicited praise from all who have heard them. He is a forcible, earnest, and eloquent speaker; and his discourses are marked by candor, a generous spirit, and perfect courtesy toward those whose views he criticises. In his own country, he has done good service with tongue and pen for the cause of liberal thought; and he stands deservedly among the foremost advocates of Secularism in England. He will give two more lectures in Paine Hall next Sunday afternoon and evening, after which engagements take him to Canada. His business requires his early return to England, but he informs us that he hopes before many months shall have passed to revisit this country. He will receive a cordial welcome from those who have heard him or know of the good work he has done and is doing.

MR. THEODORE STANTON, who is now residing in Paris, and who has attracted to that city his distinguished mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton (we trust not for permanent expatriation in either case), had recently an interesting article in the *Nouvelle Revue* on the Cornell University, of which he is a graduate. The article has won the attention of M. Francisque Sarcey, who is famous in French journalism for his attacks on "clericalism," and who devotes a column to it in the conservative Republican and anti-Church Parisian journal, *La XIX^e Siècle*. The two points of Mr. Stanton's article that particularly attracted M. Sarcey's notice are those in which he speaks of Cornell's solution of the problem of co-education of the sexes, and of its effort to be an entirely unsectarian university. Both of these features strike the French journalist as something wonderful,—something which almost separates the American people from the French as a distinct race. In one matter, however, he detects an old acquaintance. After quoting Mr. Stanton's statement that, though Cornell has no chaplain, nor stated prayers, nor exercises in the interest of any one religious denomination, it yet invites to conduct Sunday services distinguished preachers of all denominations, and that all have accepted these invitations *except Catholic preachers*, M. Sarcey adds: "This refusal of the Catholics to come into an arrangement where they would be treated as if on the same level with the Protestants of every sect or with the Israelites,—do we not recognize in this trait the intolerance of *our* priests? Everything or nothing: that is their device."

MR. A. B. BRADFORD, in the Pittsburgh *Despatch*, says:—

But another fact adds to our surprise at the seeming ignorance of Darwin on the subject of religion, and the war which was going on between it and that branch of science called the Evolution Hypothesis. He did not know the meaning of the word "atheist," but confounded it with the word "anti-theist." Now, a theist believes, from what he sees in nature, that there is a God outside of nature, who produces all the phenomena we see. But an atheist is one who simply says that to his mind the proposition is not proven. He does not say there is no God; for this would be doing what he condemns in the theist,—speaking positively where the evidence is not conclusive. He is simply an agnostic, with his mind ever open, waiting for more evidence. The Greek letter, alpha, when prefixed to the word theist, is, what the scholars tell us, only privative, not negative; and this defines an atheist to be one who sees no satisfactory proof of God's existence, instead of an anti-theist, who most unscientifically would affirm that there is no God at all. The confusion in the public mind on this subject has arisen from the fact that, when a sceptic fights against the idea of the Jewish Jehovah, the Church people imagine that he is disbelieving in the true God,—the intelligent force in the universe who makes for righteousness.

Mr. Darwin's "seeming ignorance" may be explained by the reasonable supposition that he used the word "atheist" as commonly understood; *i.e.*, as implying dogmatic denial of Deity. It is thus generally defined in the dictionaries, and used by leading writers, especially by theological writers. The substitution of the word "agnostic" seems to have been made with the desire to guard against the popular misapprehension in regard to the position of the atheist,—a misapprehension due in part, no doubt, to the writings of some of the atheistic writers who have combated theism. But why does Mr. Bradford represent that a theist must believe in "a God outside of nature," when many theists do not believe in "a God outside of nature."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

WHISPERINGS.

A Question.

We who send our hopes afar,
With the untaught flight of birds,
O'er the untrod wilds that are
Richer than a poet's words,—
Dare we, if the years return
Burdenless, o'er wasted fields,
Happiless, with jests men spurn,
Faithless of the promised yields,
Tread as once familiar ways,
Or upon the hearth of home
Find sweet days like olden days
Ere the restive heart could roam?

The Living Age.

Ye fathers, old
With wiseman's gold;
Ye children, fleet
With wayward feet:
We pluck unseen
The flower between.

Out of throned wrong
Thoughts holy throng,
And winnowed needs
From fruitless deeds
Are light and fire
To new desire!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 8, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

Humanity as the Supreme Being.

BY WILLIAM FREY.

To prove that humanity is a concrete, living, and supreme being, is important to an explanation of the Religion of Humanity, because on the efficiency of the proofs depends the acceptance of the new religious forms, as shown in a previous article (*The Index*, Aug. 3, 1882).

The present article, therefore, is a careful collection and arrangement of the scientific arguments which may sustain this assertion. We have now an abundance of scientific material unknown at the time of Auguste Comte. Consequently, we regard it both as advisable and necessary to set aside the historical method, so brilliantly used by Comte, and depend chiefly on the methods used by modern thinkers, especially by those who oppose Positivism. And Herbert Spencer, being one of these, will supply us with the most powerful arguments in our favor.

At the very start, we must agree that all nations, kingdoms, and tribes which exist on the earth, are organisms in a more or less advanced stage of development. Herbert Spencer has proved this with ability and erudition. Any one having the least doubt about it should read his admirable essay on "Social Organism," in which can be found the most detailed enumeration of all points of resemblance between a society and an individual organism. He will learn there that all seeming differences, which strike the common mind as the very essential ones, are, after due analysis, but farther points of resemblance; or, to use the words of Herbert Spencer, that "ALL these differences are scarcely greater than those which separate one half of the organic kingdom from the other." Herbert Spencer compels us to agree with him that "society, under all its aspects and through all its ramifications, is a growth, and not a manufacture."

And yet there is a point in the article referred to which requires our especial attention. After having worked so much to prove Comte's idea, Herbert Spencer does not wish to become a Comtist. Basing his dissent on one of the differences which he had refuted, he says that society does not resemble a living organism. And why? Because "the community as a whole has no corporate consciousness. And this is an everlasting reason why the welfare of citizens cannot be rightly sacrificed to some supposed benefits of the State, but why, on the other hand, the State is to be maintained solely for the benefit of citizens."

Basing himself on this one argument, Herbert Spencer stands against the crushing array of all other facts which he so industrially gathered in his essay. He has a right to do so. No matter how many points of resemblance there may be, this point of difference alone, if true, will annihilate the strength of all others.

We must therefore closely analyze this objection of Herbert Spencer, as it is the only obstacle in our way to the otherwise unavoidable recognition of a Supreme Being.

First of all, we cannot help noticing that the concluding words of his argument are in strange contradiction to the facts known by everybody. Herbert Spencer says that the State exists solely for the benefit of citizens; but history shows that societies, in their struggle for existence, constantly emerge into wars, involving a great loss of individuals; and individuals, therefore, are sacrificed to some supposed benefits of the State. What moves the individuals to such a sacrifice? What moved Americans to participate in the last bloody war? The feeling which prompts a man to sacrifice his life for the benefit of his country is neither a dead nor an obnoxious feeling. Patriotism was strongly imbedded into human nature long before man began to reason about it. To this feeling, we are indebted for our civilization. Patriotism relates to a social organism in the same way as the instinct of self-preservation relates to an individual organism. As without self-preservation there would be no organic life, so, without patriotism, we of this nineteenth century would roam like wild beasts.

The instinct of self-preservation exists in every organism, social as well as individual. And as an arm, unconsciously to the man, will rise and expose itself to danger, in order to save more vital organs, so multitudes of men will arise, without the least enforcement, in order to save their country in a moment of danger.

After dismissing this preliminary error of Herbert Spencer, let us consider the very stronghold of his argument. He asserts that society possesses nothing which corresponds to the individual consciousness. But the following quotation from his own essay flatly contradicts this assertion.

"Those," says Herbert Spencer, "who regard the histories of societies as the histories of their great men, and think that these great men shape the fates of their societies, overlook the truth that such great men themselves are the products of their societies. Without certain antecedents, without a certain average national character, they could neither have generated, nor could have had the culture which formed them. They were both before and after birth moulded by their society, were the results of all these influences which fostered the ancestral character; they inherited their own early bias, their *creeds, morals, knowledge, aspiration, which are products of the general developmental process.*"

Now let us ask, To which object must we ascribe these "products of the general developmental process" of a nation? Who possesses the traits of national character, creeds, morals, knowledge, and aspiration? Evidently, not individuals. Although each member of society contributes something toward their development, none possesses them all. And yet these national traits exist beyond any doubt: they are tangible facts, subject to the investigation of a socialist as much as the moral and mental traits of an individual are subject to the investigation of a psychologist. The traits of German nationality of today are as distinct from those of English or French as one individual is distinct from another. To whom do these traits belong?

The only rational answer is that these national traits, being a depository, a summing up of all that was developed by the past and present members of a society, belong properly to the social organism regarded as a unit. They represent the soul, the mind of a social organism, exactly in the same way as the summing up of all capacities of a man represent *his* individual soul, *his* mind, although it is produced by the co-operation of the past and present cells constituting his body.

We know that the change of the cells is a necessary condition for the development of the individual consciousness; that, although the body of a man is constantly changing, his consciousness preserves the experiences of the past cells for the benefit of the present ones. In the same way, the change of individuals in a society is a necessary condition for the development of its corporate consciousness, which carries within itself the experience and knowledge of the past for the benefit of the present generation.

The opinion that society resembles other organisms, not only as a material body, but as a being endowed with high moral characteristics, is held by persons of high standing in the scientific world and not at all connected with Positivism. Renan, for instance, in his essay on "Nations," says: "A considerable accumulation of men creates a *certain moral conception. This conception alone must be called a nation.* And as long as it induces the individuals to self-sacrifice for the benefit of society, so long it is legitimate and has right to existence."

Thus, both our reason and the authority of scientists equally affirm that Herbert Spencer's point of difference which he takes as a basis for individualism is a still farther point of resemblance and a basis for the recognition of a Supreme Being. True, social organisms, even the most advanced of them, have not yet reached the perfections of the human body; but, when we take into consideration the moral conceptions represented by either, we see at once that a society is far superior to the individual men composing it.

No man can possess all that is developed by the society in which he lives. No matter how great intellectually, morally, or religiously he may be, he cannot represent in his person the full amount of knowledge, devotion, and morality diffused among the other members of his society. He may be superior to all other men, if compared one by one, but much inferior to the society as a whole. Truly, says Herbert Spencer, that man is the product of his society. Yes, man derives everything from the society which surrounds him,—*physically*, because, if left alone, he would die immediately; *mentally*, because the greatest bulk of what he knows was discovered by the past generations, and every acquisition of his own is possible only by and with the co-operation of others; *morally*, because he inherits "the organic morality" which saves him from the necessity of beginning anew the experiences of the past, and because every moral improvement can be realized only by the living with others. And when the time comes for him to die, to give his place to the younger cells of the society, his body will go back to the earth which fed him materially; while all his achievements in knowledge, all good influences, his noble aspirations, will go into the same depository which fed him spiritually. The soul of each man becomes the inheritance of the soul of society, and will forever play its parts in the future development of the social organism.

Some may ask, What would become of the evil actions? They will count and tell exactly in the same way. The principle of the conservation of forces teaches us that no action is lost, that everything has a certain influence on others. Among the multitudes of forces which operate on the social depository and determine its development, good actions, thoughts, and feelings represent positive forces which contribute to its advancement; while evil ones are negative forces, retarding its progressive movement. But the existence of evil by no means diminishes our obligations for the good which we enjoy. Once we put ourselves in a filial relation to the society in which we live, feelings of deep gratitude will take the place of pride and self-conceit, and the existing faults and vices will only stimulate us in our efforts to remove them.

Being merely cells of society, men, from time immemorial, have been building up social organisms. Unconscious of their destiny, men are always under the sway of the imperative law of nature which commands that the life of the parts of an organism is subservient to the life of the whole. Regardless of their theory of individual sovereignty, in spite of their selfish propensities, men were constantly driven into co-operation. Against their wishes, they were compelled to build up better life for the future generations. And this conflict, between the stern demand on one hand and the personal inclinations on the other, *is the* source of all our miseries. Up to this time, men have been working out the destinies of nature like "dumb, driven cattle"; but now, with the new light before us, every one of us can see his duty, and "be a hero in the strife." Our work becomes now a voluntary offering from our hearts, independent of any compulsion; and the more cheerfully we submit ourselves to our duties, the more chances we have to enjoy happiness, because happiness, after all, is but living in accordance with the laws of nature.

The study of social organisms brings us to another result, which must be shown in a most conspicuous

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way. As long as individuals were regarded as superior beings, it was impossible to explain why each successive generation takes up the achievements of its predecessors, and continues to develop them in a certain definite and determinate way toward a certain end, why each society represents a continuous development of certain specific ideas. To explain this phenomenon by a mere influence of great men is a too vague and too shallow attempt to reveal the mystery. A more powerful agency was needed to unite into a harmonious whole the multitudes of men with various temperaments, dispositions, and abilities. And no wonder that men, from the lack of a better explanation, were inclined to see in history a manifestation of God's providence.

Now, we are able to make one step toward the solution of the enigma. We know that the continuous development within each society is a result of its being a living organism. We can now read Draper's *History of Intellectual Development in Europe* with great delight. His graphic representation how each society was developing certain specific ideas gives us a strong support to our conclusion that societies are beings endowed with high specific characteristics. But, after all, such conception does not fully explain the mystery in the development of the whole human race. In fact, societies themselves cannot progress perpetually, and must have their time of decay. Like men, they appear to develop certain ideas, to perform a particular part in that great mysterious drama called human history, and then dissolve themselves. Yet through all changes, successions, and co-existences of different societies, we see the same steady, uniform, and continuous development of industry, science, arts, morals, and religion, as though all societies existing in a certain time continue the work of the preceding ones in a certain predestined way.

Historians explain this phenomenon by the commingling and mutual influence of men and nations. But it is a childish explanation. It may possibly explain the rapidity of the development of the human race and the complexity of its pursuits, but never its continuity. As the continuous development within a society could not be explained by a mere contact of individuals, so the continuous development of mankind cannot be explained by a mere contact of societies. And to Auguste Comte belongs the immortal honor of solving this problem. He was the first to discover that all the varieties of historical facts are the results of the organic growth of another still larger organism, which grows out of the combinations of societies exactly in the same way as each society is growing out of the combination of individuals.

Those who see only differences in various societies, their seeming incoherency and independence of each other, fail to recognize the nations as parts of another organism. But the discovery of Auguste Comte is based on the same facts and on the same method of reasoning which were used by Herbert Spencer in his recognition of social organisms.

Let us look closer at the facts. Although each State has its well-defined boundaries, its rulers, army, and its own industry, yet all States are bound together by the chains which are unaccountable by many, but apparent to all. We see this bond of union: 1. In the growing idea of brotherhood, which strengthens daily from the contact and intercourse between the men of different nations. The fusion of customs, arts, sciences, and literature of different nations makes a deep impression that we all help each other in the struggle for the better life.

2. Wars between the States, intense as they are now, are of less occurrence to-day than ever before. The States begin to recognize the necessity of international congresses and tribunals to settle their disagreement.

3. Since the introduction of rapid communications, the dependence of one nation upon the others becomes more and more conspicuous, and every little disturbance in one corner of the world affects more or less the welfare of all. Finally,

4. Industry, in spite of all efforts of protectionists, has already laid its channels irrespectively of the boundaries of kingdoms; and the warlike spirit of ambitious rulers is already checked by the growing commercial intercourse between the nations.

The mutual dependence of nations is rather frail at present; but this fact does not diminish the strength of the arguments that nations are the parts of another larger organism, because a great many organisms, acknowledged by all as such, have the same frail dependence of their parts. Take, for instance, the animal kingdom. We have there a great sub-kingdom of articulate animals. In the lower stages of development, these animals consist of numerous segments, each segment being furnished with all vital organs. Such organisms may be cut in parts, and each part will live and even multiply itself independently from others. But, with the farther evolution, among the highest types of articulate animals (well represented by centipedes), the segments are completely fused together, and the internal organs are no longer uniformly repeated in all the segments; and, although the skeleton and the muscular system never lose all traces of segmentation, the internal organs do not conform to the external division, but penetrate the organism independent of them.

The same phenomena are seen in every social organism during its feudal period. A nation, then, was divided into distinct communities alike to each other in their organization. Each of them had its boundaries, its soldiers and laborers, its traders and rulers. They were held together nominally by fictitious submission of their respective rulers to some sovereign. They were in constant war with each other. But in time, along with the growth of central power, the demarcation of these communities disappeare, their separate organizations merge into the general organization of a nation. And, although the division into counties and parishes remains long after their fusion, the industry, which carries on the nutrition of society, wholly ignores these divisions, exactly in the same way as the internal organs of the centipede ignore the boundaries of segments or as the international commerce of our time ignores the boundaries of kingdoms.

Now, if we recognize an articulate animal as an organism, if we say that a society during its feudal system is an organism, nothing prevents us from the recognition of another, still larger organism, which embraces all mankind, and in which all the states, nations, or tribes are but different segmentations. And the same power of evolution which, during a feudal period, fused together the parts of a nation,—the same power will unite closer the parts of this mighty organism, and will develop a better division of functions, a stronger dependence of parts.

We can prove the existence of this organism in another way, by extending the other method used by Herbert Spencer.

Herbert Spencer demonstrates that each society is an organism, because it always passes through the same succession of phenomena which invariably appear in the development of all organisms, irrespectively of time, place, or surrounding circumstances. With wonderful learning and acumen he illustrates this order of evolution; and for those who never read his admirable essay on "Social Organism" it is necessary to restate his arguments, even in "condensed form."

He tells us that in the simplest organisms, such as yeast plants or sponges among the individual organisms and bushmen among the social ones, there is no division of functions: each cell lives for itself, and their union is affected more by external causes than by the internal ties. And yet even these simple organisms must necessarily pass through a certain developmental process, which begins by the separation of organs controlling the movement of the body from organs devoted to its nourishment. We see this fact in the separation of the peripheral layer of each animal germ into two layers. From the outer, serous layer are formed nerves, muscles, and bones; while the inner layer absorbs the nourishment from the yolk. A corresponding phenomenon is seen in the appearance of ruling and governing classes in each social organism.

At first, this differentiation is not stable. Hydra, for instance, may be turned inside out; and the stomach will perform the duties of the skin, and the skin the duties of the stomach. In the same way, a chief of a primitive tribe very often becomes a common warrior; while the function of ruling is assumed by another member of the tribe. But, with the farther evolution of organic life, this differentiation becomes more stable and distinct; and then presently arises a third set of organs. Between the two layers of a germ there appears a third, vascular layer, out of which is developed a system of vessels to transfer nourishment from the places where it is absorbed to the places where it is needed for growth and repair. The same phenomenon repeats itself in every social organism, when, in addition to the existing classes of slaves and masters, there appear a class of merchants.

A still farther stage of development brings us to the formation of articulate animals, which, as has been shown previously, so wonderfully corresponds to the formation of a feudal system in each society.

All these facts allow Herbert Spencer to say that each society passes through the same order of evolution which exists for individual organisms. And this conclusion gives, therefore, an additional proof that each society is a living organism.

Now, let us apply the same method to the development of mankind.

In the earliest periods of human history, we find only a mechanical agglomeration of societies, each of them living by itself. Their union is affected either by common origin or by the mutual aid in joint attacks or defences, and was not stronger than the union of monads of a sponge or the union of bushmen savages. Later, we find the ascendency of a certain society over others; but this crude differentiation was not stable and definite. Athens and Sparta alternately held supremacy over the other societies of Greece: their relation to each other was similar to that of skin and stomach of a Hydra. But, amid the confusions and tumults of war, there arose a distinction between the metropolis and its colonies, corresponding to the distinction between serous and mucous layers in animal germs or to that between nobles and serfs in a society.

Out of the relations existing between colonies and metropolis grew the international commerce whose functions and the time of appearance perfectly correspond to those of the vascular system in the individual organism or of traders in a society.

With the increase of the number of societies coming in contact with one another, the same conflict for the supremacy was going on all the time, only on a larger scale and with more lasting effects. The Romans subdued the world, and were living at the expenses of the conquered nation. Still later, Western Europe took the ascendency over the other parts of the world, and everywhere planted its colonies. But, with every step in this direction, the differentiation of parts was getting more stable and definite, the predominance of one part of the world over the others became an established fact, and the international commerce grew in its complexity and dimension to such extent as to become a necessity for the existence of the different parts of this mighty organism, whose degree of development may be well compared with that of a society during the feudal period.

These facts are sufficient to show that mankind as a whole has undergone the same changes which constitute the evolution of all organisms; and, thus, we acquire an additional proof of the existence of the organism including the whole human race.

Having established the material existence of such organism, let us turn our attention to its spiritual aspect.

We have shown that each social organism has a depository of its peculiar characteristics; that this depository, developed by the co-operation of all dead and living members of the society, belongs to the society as a whole, and determines its individuality and its continuity. Now, having admitted the existence of a still larger social organism, we must admit also the existence of another still higher and broader depository of all human achievements. It arises as a result of the work of all past and present societies. It is unthinkable without the co-operation of societies, yet it does not belong properly to either of them separately, but to all of them united into one organism. In this depository, nothing is national: everything becomes human. From this depository, each nation draws and develops certain ideas in its particular way; but, when the time comes for its dissolution, the work does not perish, but goes into the same common treasury as an inheritance of all and as a permanent element in the future development of mankind.

This depository of all human achievements explains the steady growth of mankind, and secures the continuity of human progress. Because, while individuals, easily influenced by little disturbances, are constantly tossed to and fro, while societies, being altogether steadier in their development, still sometimes represent retrograde movement, only this mightiest of all organisms,—which includes all men and nations, which carries within itself the experiences and achievements of untold ages, which represents a resultant of all inward and outward forces operating on

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societies,—only this organism can move steadily and unflinchingly on the mysterious sea of the Infinite, regardless of the tumultuous waves tossing around it. A temporary suppression of truth and virtue may exist in one or another country, but it cannot be found in this Supreme Being. Great are our obligations to the society in which we live, but they are trifling in comparison to our obligation to the Being in which societies are mere transient phenomena. The superiority of social organism over individual becomes insignificant before the grandeur and sublimity of this highest organism, real, not fictitious, and yet so much superior that man can hardly conceive it, that it overwhelms our intellect and arouses our highest emotions.

Auguste Comte named this Supreme Being HUMANITY. We must always bear in mind that Humanity is his word, that we must accept it in his meaning, and cease to use it in a loose and meaningless way.

A few additional thoughts are necessary to complete this discourse.

Humanity as a living being may be regarded in two aspects. As we speak sometimes of the inner and outer man, so we may speak of the inner and outer humanity.

The inner humanity is one of the highest spiritual conceptions which can possibly be formed by man; yet, owing to its close resemblance to a human soul, it may be easily and correctly understood by every one. It is that agglomeration of traditions, knowledge, aspirations, morality, and religion which is slowly developing from the untold ages, and which is transmitted from one generation to another, to enrich the living with the experiences of the dead, and to be enriched by the contribution of the living. It is *the* mind which grows in its extent and ability exactly in the same way as grows the mind of every man. It constantly passes from easy to hard, from simple to complex. Its great discoveries and inventions, made through one or another individual, are never accidents, but always results of the past achievement. And, when this collective mind is ripe enough to discover new laws, the same discovery is very often done simultaneously by different persons. Newton and Leibnitz (differential calculus), Kant and Laplace (nebular theory), Darwin and Wallace (origin of species), are but few examples out of hundreds recorded in the history of science.

It is more difficult to form a clear conception of the outer, material humanity. By that, we must understand the organic agglomeration of all societies living on the earth in a given time. It matters not that some nations or tribes seem to be insignificant: they influence humanity by affecting more civilized nations. Besides, the races which we regard as worthless and degraded now grow stronger and better and may play, at some distant time, a very important part in human history. Remember that our own ancestors were insignificant barbarians two thousand years ago. To say that only a few chosen nations represent the outer humanity would be as correct as to say that only nervous system constitutes the material man.

Some Positivists go still farther, and include in their conception of material humanity the domesticated animals which help us so much in the improvement of the earth and in the progress of humanity. It is not an exaggeration to say that, if the world was deprived of the service of oxen and horses during one spring and summer only, the crops would be diminished tenfold, at least, three-quarters of us would die from starvation, and the rest would pass through unspeakable miseries. Auguste Comte, realizing our immense indebtedness to the domesticated animals, regards them as a part of humanity. Some laugh at this idea, but men of heart and brain regard this deduction of Comte as one of the best he ever made. It encloses into the religion of humanity all that is touching, sympathetic, and worthy of praise in Buddhism; it will prompt in a most efficient way the kind treatment of our dumb co-workers; it will impress on European nations the idea already recognized by Hindus and Japanese, that the killing and eating domesticated animals is a sacrilege, an outrage on human feeling, only a trifle better than cannibalism.

It may be said: Why, your humanity, which includes cannibals and domesticated animals, does not amount to a great deal; it is not a great object of reverence. Now, let the objectors decide what they value in a man. When they regard a man as praiseworthy, they do not apply their praises to the cells or parts of his body. They know very well that some cells are useless, some may be affected with disease, and many of them are necessarily in a state of decay. They praise the inner man, his soul, which alone and forever stands as his representative amid the continuous changes of matter. The same must be applied to humanity. When we consider its worth, we worship the inner humanity, its soul, not its outer embodiment. We know very well that some of its parts are degraded, some are decaying, some are almost useless, while some [as animals or cannibals of the Pacific Ocean] are much inferior to us; yet all these parts of the great organism are mysterious agents designed to perfect its soul and to transfer it to the succeeding generations for farther development. This soul is the only proper representative of humanity amid the continuous changes of societies and nations; and, when a Positivist speaks of humanity, he always means its inner nature, the humanity under its spiritual aspect.

But some may say, as long as humanity is influenced by so many defective and degrading parts, it will necessarily contain many brutal and disgusting characteristics which may mar its beautiful traits.

True, there are some faults and imperfections in humanity; but they do not play a conspicuous part in it. We all know the fact that humanity is gradually advancing from animalism toward humanism. As a young and fully developed organism, it *must* grow up. Progress ceases to be a sentimental word: it is a vital necessity, because the power of evolution is embodied into every living organism. But the progress is impossible, unless the good predominates over the evil. Hence, the minority, representing the best achievements of the human race, must have a decided influence over the majority. Good actions, great discoveries, lofty aspirations, coming from the few, will suppress or check the filth and ignorance coming from other sources. It matters not how numerous are the societies ejecting negative influences: they are insignificant in comparison with the influence of those who radiate light and warmth for all, and are the propellers in our progressive movement.

Besides, a great mischief is done by the supposition that only perfection may inspire in us sublime feelings. There is no such thing as absolute perfection: anything which affects a man affects him by those particular traits which find response in his own soul. Christianity, for instance, impresses the purest souls with its sublime conception of universal brotherhood, of self-denial; while the great multitude of to-day regard Christianity as a mere idolatry of saints and Bible. The Bible itself, being a compound of the noblest and coarsest utterances, remains to the present time as daily spiritual food for millions of Christians of the most diversified tastes, inclinations, and intellects. And why? Because every one of them takes from the Bible the best that he can digest, bows in admiration before the highest ideal which he is able to conceive; and, in attempting to imitate that ideal, he undoubtedly improves his life.

The same arguments, only with more force, must be applied to humanity. The grand and complex idea of humanity can affect every living soul. The chords which may vibrate in response to the appeal of humanity may vary in each individual in their firmness, sensitiveness, tenderness; but the vibration will be beneficial for every one, because it is the surest sign that man has found his ideal and is striving to attain it.

Who sees in every thing only the dark and gloomy side proves only that he himself is devoid of bright and cheering elements. For the good and grateful, humanity ceases to be a mixture of evil and good. It represents the finest emotions, the noblest deeds, the greatest accomplishments of intellect which ever were produced during the existence of the human race. It is the embodiment of their hopes and aspirations. It is their protector during life and the comforter in time of sorrow and trials.

Humanity not only guides men toward happiness, it conquers their hearts. And, as love for a pure and noble woman may rectify and cleanse the most degraded person, so love for this Sublime Being gives the strength and ability not only to learn the laws of morality, but, what is more difficult, to practise them.

Some persons think that such a vast and indefinite Being cannot impress us with the intense feeling, but they may be defeated with their own weapon.

Family, nation, and humanity are like three circles, one within the other, which circumscribe every man's activity and affection. Most of the individuals are aware only of family ties. In the family, man nurtures his sympathetic feelings: there, he is in constant and intimate relations with persons nearest to his heart, on whom he bestows his care and affection; there, he receives his strongest impressions both on his body and mind. But, nevertheless, the love of the family gives way to the love of country. The nation, although a less tangible object and far from being in need of the immediate care and service of an individual, instinctively impresses every man with such a force that he is ready to sacrifice the good of his family to the good of the country. History of all nations, and at all times, abounds with the facts sustaining this assertion. From these facts, we may suppose, *a priori*, that man's attachment to humanity—which is the object more difficult to comprehend and less in need of an individual service—ought to overpower patriotism as much, at least, as patriotism overpowers the family ties; and the history of the past sustains this conjecture. Although humanity was not at all understood as living organism, it was ever existing, ever growing, ever needful of our assistance. The moral codes, which necessarily accompany every religious creed, were but expressions of the most urgent needs of humanity; and the religious enthusiasm with which men adhere to these codes can be explained only by the impetus of the supreme law compelling individuals to serve humanity, whether they recognize it or not. As patriotism is aroused by the instinct of self-preservation in each society, so the religious feeling, which forces persons to adhere to moral codes, is but an outburst of the instinct of self-preservation common to humanity. And humanity, by the very fact of its being vast and almost incomprehensible, arouses in us the most powerful feeling of attachment, before which patriotism itself becomes pale and insignificant.

The recent discovery of humanity does not increase the intensity of religious feelings: it only clarifies them. It points clearly at that which was dimly seen through the fantastic pictures of the past religions; it drives away the fog and mist which surrounded us before; it gives us a right conception of the only Being able to excite in us the religious feelings. And we, untrammelled by the superstitions and mistakes of previous religions, but animated with the same spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, may assist humanity with a great deal more efficiency than ever before.

Those who still suppose that love for humanity can never reach the intensity of a religious feeling may well refer themselves to the history of Judaism.

The primitive conception of God at the time of Moses was necessarily a very childish one. But Judaism did not remain a stationary faith: it gradually adapted itself to the more advanced view. In the time of the Talmudists, the Hebrews already regarded God as incomprehensible by mortal men. They tacitly agreed that the time of prophets was gone forever, but the necessity of attachment to something human and superior to individual man remained in them; and the more mysterious their God became, the more obliterated became the memory of ancient prophets, the stronger they attached themselves to the collective body,—to Israel. Israel is for them a depositary of all wisdom inherited from the past, and a preserver of the highest religious idea. As long as Israel lives, Hebrews have their comfort and consolation. Love for Israel and hope that it will triumph at last is the most prominent and essential trait of mediæval and modern Judaism. And how strong the feeling which could support the Jews during the persecution of the Middle Ages, and unite in one brotherhood a nation scattered upon the surface of the earth, deprived of fatherland, of political organization, of common language!

And, if love for one part of humanity was sufficient to keep up a religious enthusiasm, how much grander may be the attachment to the Being in which Israel is but transient phenomena,—to the Being which is a real, not presumptive, depositary of all wisdom, which through the trumpets of science declares to the world that IT LIVES as the only guide and supporter of individuals, and that it must triumph in spite of scepticism and individualism of the present time!

Let us recapitulate all that was said in this and previous articles.

We know that every religion must include a recognition of Universal Power, a necessity to obey its laws, and a need of mediators to explain or teach these laws. It was shown that man's sense of help-

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lessness forces on him the attachment to somebody superior to himself; and that the more his God recedes into mystery, the more he is attached to the mediator standing between him and God.

We know that the past religions, although including these ideas, greatly distorted them. The Inscrutable Power was degraded into a fictitious anthropomorphic God; its laws were presumed to be fully revealed; and mediators, being individual men, were necessarily surrounded by exaggerations and false stories.

We outgrow these fables. Our God, whose existence is so well proven by Herbert Spencer, will forever remain for us as Mystery; and its laws, though constantly operating on us, may be disclosed only little by little. But religion, deprived of its human element, loses its hold on human hearts: hence, the present state of infidelity, anarchy, and immorality; and only Positivism, by the recognition of humanity, can revive a dormant religious enthusiasm.

Humanity, as defined by science, is the Sublime Being, endowed with the highest, truest, and noblest achievements of the human race, and, therefore, is able to excite our highest emotions without the slightest falsifications. Humanity, possessing only human attributes, is the only being which can influence us through sympathetic feelings. It discovers the laws of nature, increases the amount of happiness among individuals, and thus becomes the true mediator between us and the Infinite. It is the only being which can fill in our hearts the place left vacant after the expulsion of menlike gods and godlike men. So the very same science which destroyed the forms of previous religions, now, by the discovery of humanity, completes the structure of the New Religion, and ends the painful transitory passage from the old religious conceptions to the better, nobler ones. And the same religious enthusiasm which produced wonders in the past will, with the help of science, produce still greater wonders in the near future.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE TERM "AGNOSTIC"?

Editors of The Index:—

For one, I rejoice in the indication that the subscribers of *The Index* are made up "of many men of many minds." In fact, it is understood that its editorship is of this category, the senior editor being a believer, and the junior editor being an agnostic. Now, as a subscriber, I belong to the former class. I believe that the mind of man was made to know, and that which it knows is a reality. In other words, I am a Free Religionist,—a cause which I understand *The Index* was established to champion.(1) Now, what is religion? I do not know of a more comprehensive exposition of the term than that given by Benjamin Disraeli (Beaconsfield),—"Religion is civilization, the highest; it is a reclamation of man from savageness by the Almighty." Again, he says: "All things that are good and beautiful make us more religious. They tend to the development of the religious principle in us, which is our divine nature." Disraeli was a man of genius, as these quotations go to prove.(2)

But I set out to inquire of *The Index*, What is the signification of the term "agnostic"? If I understand its meaning, it is "I don't know." It is not a condition of negation, but is simply one of a lack of knowledge,—a belief, if you can call it such, in the unknown and in the unknowable. And I inquire, Can an agnostic say, "We do not believe in a personal God"? I think not: he should say, I do not know whether such a God exists or not.(3)

It would be perfectly proper for me as a believer, one who knows, to say that I believe in the infinite God, and that in Him we live and move and have our being, as even certain of your poets have said; for we are His offspring. It would be perfectly proper for me to say that He has reasoned with me and I with Him, and that He is nearer to me than any man.(4)

I also believe in Jesus, but no doubt differently from R. Brinkerhoff, judging from his last communication. I believe in the man Christ Jesus, and do not place him on the pedestal of some heathen God.

But I would inquire of our Friend Underwood how he can classify R. Brinkerhoff's views as "wild assumptions," in relation to what he says in regard to the spiritual sense? It seems to me that an agnostic should be the most modest of men, as he is one who doesn't know.(5)

Now, mankind believes in the spiritual sense, and have believed in it for thousands of years. The ancient Chaldæans believed that we were His offspring, in common with the Greek poet Cleanthes whom Paul quoted. It is therefore no "wild assumption" thus to believe (know). It is the common thought of all humanity. And no great man ever lived in this world who did not thus believe; that is, who did not believe in the eternal, not ourselves, who makes for righteousness.(6) An agnostic should, above all things, keep from dogmatism. His philosophy, as I understand it, keeps him from knowing, even from knowing that other men know. If I am wrong, I wish to stand corrected.(7) DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, PA., Feb. 16, 1883.

Reply.

(1) A "believer" is no more a Free Religionist than is an agnostic. Many of the members of the Free Religious Association are agnostics; and its late President, Prof. Adler, was an agnostic.

(2) If Disraeli had no other claim to genius than the above definition of religion, his genius would, in our opinion, have a very frail foundation. Considered fundamentally, religion may be defined as the expression of man's relation to the source of all phenomena. Shelley defines it as "man's perception of his relation to the principle of the universe." Religion may be theistic, agnostic, or even atheistic. "As to atheistic religions," says Max Müller, "they might seem to be perfectly impossible; and yet the fact cannot be disputed away that the religion of Buddha was from the beginning purely atheistic. The idea of the Godhead, after it had been degraded by endless mythological absurdities which struck and repelled the heart of Buddha, was, for a time at least, entirely expelled from the sanctuary of the human mind; and the highest morality that was ever taught before the rise of Christianity was taught by men with whom the gods had become mere phantoms, and who had no altars, not even an altar to the Unknown God."

(3) Agnostic is a word now applied to those who admit that they do not know whether there is a Deity or a future conscious state or not. But belief or lack of belief is permissible where knowledge is unattainable. Knowledge excludes both belief and unbelief. Belief begins where knowledge ends.

(4) It would be "perfectly proper" for one who *knows* to say that he knows, and not simply that he believes. But it is proper for one who does *not* know, and who from lack of evidence cannot believe, to admit that he does not know, and to say honestly that he does not believe. Furthermore, it is proper for one who does not know, but has strong convictions, not to mistake the strength of his convictions for the certainty of knowledge, and not to assume an air of superiority over those who may know quite as much, but believe differently.

(5) Our statement was as follows: "That there is a spiritual sense which is active in those who accept Christianity, and dead or dormant in those who do not, is another of Mr. Brinkerhoff's wild assumptions." We cannot modify the statement in the least.

(6) We are not sure that we understand what our friend means by "the spiritual sense." If he means that it is something by which men may *know* that there is a personal intelligent Deity, we certainly do not believe in it. By this same sense, Mr. Brinkerhoff thinks that men may know that Christ was the Lord and Saviour. By it, the Mormons claim that they know Joseph Smith was a prophet, and the golden Bible a revelation from God.

(7) An agnostic should "keep from dogmatism," but only as all men should. There is nothing in his philosophy which prevents his knowing anything that others may know, anything that is knowable, or forming and expressing opinions where knowledge is impossible. Because he declines to say that he knows concerning matters which admit of doubt, it does not follow that, whenever he expresses his views, they should be disredited on the ground that he says he "don't know," when in fact he may know *as much* in regard to them as those who positively affirm, while questioning his right to say, "I do not believe." —ED.

THE ornamentation of language by oaths is inexcusable vulgarity.—*Seymour Times.*

WHAT DOES THE WORD "RELIGION" MEAN?

Editors of The Index:—

On page 338 of *The Index*, Jan. 18, 1883, in an article by Mr. Potter on "Science and the Religious Sense," the following occurs: "Liberalism is apt to assume that religion necessarily implies a definite belief in a personal Deity or Deities." Webster says: "*Religion.* The recognition of God as an object of worship, love, and obedience." Now, if that is the established meaning of the word "religion," the aptitude of Liberalism, as stated above, should hardly be called an assumption. Of course, the meaning of words is constantly changing: and the word "religion" may, by use, be made to convey a sense not in accordance with former usage. But why not give to a different thought a different form of expression, and let the old ideal have its old clothes? In the article alluded to above, the expression "Rational Philosophy" occurs. That is comprehensive, as expressing the powers of the universe and man's relation thereto. And, in that Rational Philosophy, religion enters as a factor just in proportion to its influence, past and present, on man's relation to his environments. I. H.

EAST PORTLAND, OREGON.

[Webster also says: "*Religion.* . . . A system of faith and worship." But dictionaries are not the final authority, especially in regard to words of such large meaning. Our correspondent himself appears to depart in his last sentence from his own quoted definition from Webster. When he says that "religion enters as a factor into Rational Philosophy," he seems to use the word in much the same sense that we should.—W. J. P.]

MR. CHARLES WATTS.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Charles Watts, of London, who, a fortnight ago, lectured in Paine Hall, again, by special request of numerous secular friends, appeared before the Boston Free-thinkers' Association last Sunday. His lectures —in the afternoon on "Martyrdom, Secular and Christian," and in the evening on "The Spirit of the Age" —gave great satisfaction to the large audiences that greeted him upon his second visit, which is doubtless accounted for by the able manner in which all his discourses have been delivered. His logic and eloquence have done much toward the propagation of the principles which he represents. His lectures next Sunday afternoon and evening in Paine Hall on "Immortality from a Secular Stand-point" and in the evening on "The Causes of Civilization" will afford the last opportunity for him to be heard before his departure for Canada, where he will speak in Montreal, Toronto, and other places, previous to his return to England. It is well to note here that Mr. Watts is the first secularist from England who has lectured in this country on Secularism, and from a secular stand-point. We are pleased to know that, encouraged by the warm reception which has been given him in the United States, he will probably make another visit to us in the near future. D. K.

BOSTON, March 5, 1883.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE UNENDING GENESIS; or, Creation Ever Present. By H. M. Simmons. Chicago: The Colegrove Book Company. 1883.

This charming little book is of the same size and has the same fundamental idea as Wm. C. Gannett's *Year of Miracle*, to which it makes a fitting companion volume. It gives, however, a wider illustration of the idea, tracing the working immanence of the eternal Life-Power through various processes of nature, according to the theory of evolution, up into the mental and moral life of man. If it has somewhat less of poetic expression than Mr. Gannett's four discourses, it has a not less complete and facile grasp of the facts both in their material and ideal import, and a style that is adequate to the thought. It does not stop to deal in criticisms and negation, but gives the positive side of the evolution doctrine in its bearing on religious problems. The key-note of the book is struck in the first chapter, thus: "But science, if ruining the old story [of the Biblical Genesis], is reading us a grander one from writing old as the rocks, yet fresh as the raindrops, vast as star systems, yet delicate as snowflakes. . . . All the work of the old legend is still done before our eyes; not once alone, as there,

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but continually repeated, and often not merely done, but outdone. We are learning to see all around us this more wonderful *Genesis*, this Creation infinite and eternal. The aim of these pages is to trace this unceasing creation; to show how much more marvellous are the real facts than that writer's fancies, how that wondrous week is still here in this week, and those six divine 'days' are repeated in every day; and how the new story, even better than the old one, begins a Bible, and furnishes a foundation for reverence and religion."

THE *Catholic World* for March opens with "The Eschatology of Origen, Part II.," by Rev. A. F. Hewitt, who is trying hard, but not very successfully thus far, to vindicate the Orthodoxy of the illustrious Alexandrian. An interesting article, although intensely Catholic, is "Modern German Religious Poets," by R. M. Johnston. "The Location of the Earthly Paradise" is a somewhat fanciful paper by Rev. James H. Defouri. Arthur Featherstone Marshall contributes an article on "The English Lower Orders," which contains much truth and many wise reflections. "Dr. Pusey: his Life and Doings," is a contribution well worth reading by Oswald Keatinge, D.C.L., from which we quote the following sentence: "Those who recollect the immense stir caused by the appearance of *Supernatural Religion* and the violent denunciations of Dr. Pusey will be astonished to know that, when the papers of his son Philip were examined after death, it was evident that, if he was not the author, he had a considerable share in the work." "Was it Love of the Truth made M. Renan an Infidel?" is the title of an article containing extracts from Renan's story in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of his casting aside the Levite's garb and the Christian faith. The writer endeavors to show by a kind of reasoning which can satisfy nobody but a devout Catholic that Renan "did not love the truth as it ought to be loved, and therefore he lost it." Rev. I. T. Hecker, in "The Impending Issue of the School Question," protests against the translated paper from the French on "Moral and Civil Instruction," which has been issued by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior. Rev. Hecker objects to taxing the people of this country, in order to reduce illiteracy by a merely secular education. The other articles are "At Tracadie, New Brunswick," by A. M. Pope, and "Mountain Legends of Auvergne," by M. P. Thompson, and a number of book reviews.

THE frontispiece page of *St. Nicholas* for March is adorned with a charming picture after the celebrated painting by Greuze, entitled "The Broken Pitcher"; and Mrs. J. W. Davis gives an interesting short sketch of that painter. Among the writers for this number are Rose Terry Cooke, Lucy Larcom, Celia Thaxter, Archibald Forbes, J. T. Trowbridge, Lucretia P. Hale, Frank R. Stockton, and other noted writers. A peculiarly interesting feature of this number is the article by Joel Stacy, in "Work and Play for Young Folks," on "Shadow Pictures and Silhouettes," with nearly four pages of illustrations of how to make pictures on the wall. These will prove a delightful source of amusement to young people during the long winter evenings.

"WIDE-AWAKE" for March is bright enough to atone for the dreariness of the month to which it belongs; and its illustrations are in no way behind previous numbers, the full-page ones being especially fine. Among these is one from a French painting illustrative of George Eliot's poem, "Oh, may I join the Choir Invisible," which is given on the opposite page. In the series of articles entitled "Our Business Boys," Rev. F. E. Clark tells about "Rocks of Danger"; E. E. Hale talks about "Gambetta and Chanzey." "Leigh Hunt," the poet, is the author treated of in this number, and Felix Oswald describes "A Brazilian Forest." We have only space to mention these attractions as specimens of its numerous contents.

FROM D. Lothrop & Co. the publishers of *Wide-Awake* and *Baby-Land*, we have received also specimen copies of the *Pansy*, a pictorial weekly paper, whose stories, poems, etc., are illustrated in the high style of art characteristic of this firm of children's publishers. Its price is only 75 cents per year.

"Labor Parties and Labor Reform," "The Law of the Blessed Life," "Gain in Loss," "The Search for God," "Fate," "Living by Faith," "The Duty of Delight," "Transcendentalism." The compiler, A. M. Haskell, while endeavoring to make selections that would present the different sides of Mr. Johnson's thought, has found himself able to gratify the wishes of his friends in regard to the selections. Almost every article has been named by some friend who had heard it. A general desire has been expressed for something giving his profound religious insight and faith. The sermons on "Gain in Loss," "The Search for God," "Fate," "Living by Faith," and "The Duty of Delight," have been selected with special reference to this demand. The volume will be rich in thought, with great beauty of expression and sweetness of spirit.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, who, although a chronic invalid for fifty years, has been the most unique figure in American political life, died last Sunday, when he was just past his seventy-first year.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak at Fredonia, N.Y., March 16, 17, and 18; at Magadore, Ohio, 20, 21, 22; at Chicago before the Philosophical Society the 24th, and before the Ethical Society the 25th.

ERNEST RENAN'S "Reminiscences," which have appeared in the Paris *Revue des Deux Mondes*, will shortly be published in book form; and an English translation will be issued by Chapman & Hall.

THE most learned woman in the world, says the *Young Ladies' Journal*, is Miss Ramnabel, a young lady of twenty, who is now in Paris. She is a native of India, and can read and write and talk in twelve languages, having a wonderful gift that way, besides being up in mathematics, astronomy, and history. She is studying medicine, and will go to India to practise, where she says thousands of her countrywomen die every year because they will not consult male physicians.

RED CLOUD'S formal address before the committee on appropriations last week was carefully drawn up in writing, signed by the Sioux chief, and witnessed by Laramie. It read as follows: "Law chiefs, I am an Indian! Look at me! My name is Red Cloud. I have sense. The government through General Crook in 1876 took wrongfully six hundred and five horses from me and my people. I have sense: so have my people. I represent them. I am in debt, and have a large family. Secretary Teller asks me to take cows for my horses. If the government gives me all the cows they have already promised, I will have more kine than we can milk. I am a man of sense. I want money to pay my debts. Law chiefs, pay me not in cows, but cash. I am at peace. Let me remain thus."

"NATURE" says: "The subscription for the Darwin memorial has awakened so much enthusiasm in Sweden that the local committee there formed has received subscriptions from no less than fourteen hundred persons, including 'all sorts of people,' writes Prof. Loven in a letter to the English Committee, 'from the bishop to the seamstress,' the sums varying from five pounds to twopence. The English Committee, which has its head-quarters at the Royal Society, London, has now received (inclusive of subscriptions from abroad) four thousand pounds, but the number of subscribers in the United Kingdom is only about six hundred. From this, it would seem that an interest in science is not nearly so widely spread in Britain as it is in the more thinly peopled land of Sweden."

IN introducing recently a lecturer who was to speak on Lincoln, Robert G. Ingersoll said: "Lincoln's education was derived from men and things, and hence he had a chance to develop. He was a many-sided man. He was smiles, as well as tears. He was not afraid to seek for knowledge where he had it not. When a man is too dignified to ask, he ceases to learn. Lincoln was a logician. Logic is capacity. It is the child of a good heart and a good head. He was always honest with himself. He was an orator; that is, he was natural. If you wish to be sublime, you must be close to the grass, you must sit closely to the hearth of human experience. Above the clouds, it is too cold. The difference between the orator and the mere elocutionist is nowhere better seen than in the speeches of Lincoln and Everett at Gettysburg. One came from the heart, the other was born only of the voice. Lincoln's speech will be remembered forever. Everett's no man will remember."

POPULAR BOOKS

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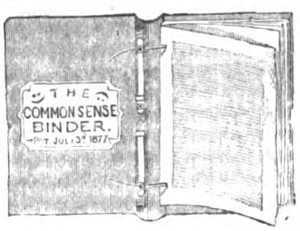

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 433

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Free Religion Practical. Wm. J. Potter. 434
Free Thought and its Merits. F. M. Holland. 434
Digest of "Progress and Poverty." W. S. Kennedy, . . 435
The Passage in Tacitus, B. F. Underwood, ... 436
Notice to Subscribers, ... 437

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 437

POETRY.
Isis, Howard Worcester Gilbert, ... 437

ESSAY.
Practical Deductions from the Religion of Humanity, William Frey, ... 438

CORRESPONDENCE.
The Historical Evidences of Christianity, ... 441
The Sunday Question in Literature, H. E. A., ... 441

BOOK NOTICES.
The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, edited by Charles Eliot Norton, . 442
Figures of the Past, by Josiah Quincy, ... 442
Te Deum, by Vincenzo Cirillo; The Century, ... 442
Revue de Belgique, ... 443

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 443

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE death penalty has been restored in Maine.

THE Memoir of Samuel Johnson by his friend Samuel Longfellow, mentioned in another column, will be published this week.

THE Spanish Senate last month provided a new form of oath, which allows the members, if they are Catholics, to swear, or, if they are dissenters, or profess no religious creed, to affirm under the pains and penalties of perjury.

MR. W. M. SALTER has taken charge of the Ethical Society of Chicago. He is eminently fitted for the work to which he has been called; and we hope for grand results from the new movement, under his direction, in that city.

HUXLEY says that "the clergy are at present divisible into three sections: an immense body, who are ignorant and speak out; a small proportion, who know and are silent; and a minute minority, who know and speak according to their knowledge."

A DESPATCH to the New York *Tribune* says: "Earl Granville, the British foreign secretary, has instructed Mr. Adams, British Minister at Berne, to insist upon the annulment of the decrees expelling the leaders of the Salvation Army from Switzerland."

ONE of the noteworthy events of last week was the publication of Dr. R. Heber Newton's series of sermons on the Bible, which excited so much hostile criticism when they were delivered a few weeks ago. It is stated that the author will certainly be prosecuted for heresy.

THE *Christian Statesman* says: "The number of students, graduates of colleges and universities, who enter the Christian ministry, is gradually decreasing. Sad as this may be, it is, nevertheless, a fact. It is well supported by the statistics presented. It is a fact which means something. It is a fact hard to explain."

CONVENTIONS of the Free Religious Association were held in New Haven, Conn., and Albany, N.Y., last week, essentially according to the programmes as printed in *The Index*. Though the attendance was not very large, the occasions were interesting and profitable. The tone and spirit of the meetings were excellent. We shall print a full report next week as prepared by the Secretary of the Association, containing an abstract of the essays read and of the discussions.

A DESPATCH states, that "The Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature" in England proposes to get up cases against Profs. Huxley and Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, the publishers of John Stuart Mill's works, Mr. John Morley, and others, who, "by their writings, have sown widespread unbelief, and, in some cases, rank atheism." This is of a piece with the recent harangues in Berlin, of Pastor Stocker, leader of the "Christian Socialists," in which he denounced Dubois-Reymond and Haeckel as "dangerous scholars, who undermine the morality of the people," and advocated the passage of a law excluding Jews from high positions in the government.

"IF," says the Boston *Sunday Herald*, "the public schools, as Bishop McQuaid asserts, are the breeders of vice, they are not worse in this respect than our churches, our politics, and our amusements. Religion survives, politics are effective in government, and social life is enjoyable, in spite of terrible corruption; and our religious and social institutions are a clear reflex of the people whose children are in the public schools. The talk about special vice in the schools is simply nonsense. Vice is everywhere, and the children in the schools carry into them the demoralization in which they are bred. The truth in this discussion lies between the extremes of those who maintain half truths. Our schools are no better than the people who support them; and neither religion nor intelligence is to be advanced, in the long run, by sectarian schools."

ONE of the rules of the House of Representatives requires that "no spirituous or malt liquors or wines shall be offered for sale, exhibited, or kept within the Capitol; and it shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms of the two Houses, under the supervision of the presiding officers thereof, to enforce the foregoing provisions. Any officer or employé who shall violate or connive at the violation of this rule shall be dismissed." Yet a member of the House, speaking of the drunkenness that disgraced that body on a recent Saturday evening, says: "I went to Speaker Keifer Saturday night, and told him that whiskey, gin, and champagne was being sold openly in the house restaurant in large quantities, and considerable drunkenness was resulting. I asked him to order the sergeant-at-arms to put a stop to turning the restaurant into a common bar. He answered, 'I have no time to attend to that.'" The revelry was allowed to go on.

NOT only simple-minded fishermen in whom the superstitious element is traditionally strong, but thousands of other people in this country, were greatly disturbed by Wiggins' prediction in regard to the weather. "Is this Wiggins' storm?" was a common question last Saturday, and many who asked it exhibited not a little nervousness and fear. As the New York *Tribune* observes: "The world does so love quackery and humbug! 'Who was the mother of his country?' asked the schoolmaster. 'Liddy Pinkham!' shouted the smallest boy in the class, who was a reader of the current literature of this epoch. There are thousands of people who are on the lookout constantly for universal panaceas, telephone connection with the next world, and prophets of all kinds. To them, the Pinkhams, the Wigginses, and the Compound, Cathartic, and Anti-bilious pills are always boons to be welcomed with open arms. It matters not to them how often they are deceived."

REFERRING to a recent convention of the anti-polygamous Mormons at Sandwich, Ill., a correspondent of the *Presbyterian* says: "They seem to be increasing in Illinois, and are everywhere considered as exemplary citizens and good neighbors. We have about twelve thousand of them in the State. . . . Organizations at the following places were represented at the late conference: Plano, Sandwich, Braidwood, Streator, Leland, Pecatonica, Amboy, Marengo, Batavia, Piper City, Mission, Chicago, and Janesville, and Burlington, Wis." Some of the preachers are "men of marked ability." Among the topics discussed were the following: "What is 'Mormonism'? What are its Claims and its Objects?" "The Book of Mormon: Is it worthy of Belief?" "The Plan of Salvation"; "The Order of Christ's Church upon the Earth"; "The Second Coming of Christ"; "The Resurrection from the Dead: Different Glories, and who enjoy them"; "Eternal Judgment, Righteousness Rewarded, and the Punishment of the Wicked."

MANY of the orthodox clergy have commented, in their characteristic manner, on the death of the late Charles R. Thorne, who desired the presence of no minister while living, and directed that there should be no preaching by one at his funeral. We quote two of these references. Rev. Philip Germond (Methodist), of New York, said: "His mission was a laugh, he acted a laugh, and when he came to die asked his friend in a laughing manner what he thought of the hereafter. Think of that awful question at such a moment, and what a frame of mind must that lost man be in to ask such a question when he had reached an age of more than twoscore years! And then his bosom friend answers him vaguely, for he considered the subject of the hereafter somewhat indefinite, he said." Rev. Dr. George E. Strobridge, another Methodist minister of the same city, expressed himself in the following fashion: "We are told that an infidel can meet death as fearlessly as a Christian, and cases are cited. Just at present, the death of Charles R. Thorne is in every mouth. We are told that he always feared death as the worst of evils, yet, when it came, met it bravely, as his noble nature prompted. Yes, so long as the lash of fear may avail to enforce repentance, God does not spare to lay it on." When there is no longer hope, he says, 'Let him die in peace'; and this easy death of the unbeliever is the most hopeless of all." Comment is unnecessary.

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FREE RELIGION PRACTICAL.

Even if the Free Religious movement were concerned only with problems of pure thought, we should not concede by any means that the movement is impractical. Thought is really one of the most practical things in the world. Most of the great inventions rest on hard thinking. Social and philanthropic movements need sound thought for their guidance, and, other things being equal, will be more effective in proportion to the amount of thought that goes into them.

In religious reform, thought is a necessity. Calvinism is a system of theology which has had a powerful influence in the religious world, because it presented a clean-cut logic to back up its doctrines and vindicate the emotions to which it appealed. And the new view of religion, which is to overthrow Calvinism and all its kindred creeds, must have a logic just as keen and clear, only resting on a wider range of thought and a much larger basis of knowledge. There is a good deal of thinking, it is true, on religious and philosophical problems, which seems to go round and round the treadmill of physical and metaphysical speculations and to arrive at nothing. And there is just about as much fruitless philosophical speculation on the ground of physics as on the ground of metaphysics. On both sides there is a dogmatic shutting of the eyes to large sections of facts, and a consequent seeing only of half-truths. But, nevertheless, not less, but more thinking is what is wanted,—a broader grasp of all the facts and a logic clear and profound enough to knit them all systematically together. And the Free Religious movement will not culminate in its highest practical efficiency without a distinct philosophy,—a philosophy broad and comprehensive, yet clear to and easily comprehended by the average common sense of practically thoughtful men and women.

But the Free Religious movement is also concerned directly with practical problems of human amelioration. It is interested in everything that pertains to the well-being of man. If the practical purpose of the movement could be stated in a single sentence, the sentence perhaps would be this: It is an effort to emancipate the human mind from bondage to superstitions and ecclesiastically imposed creeds, in order that religious sentiment and thought may be free for direct service in the uplifting of humanity,—free for all wise work toward the establishment of a juster, purer, and more fraternal order of society.

This fact was illustrated anew in the conventions of the Free Religious Association, which were held last week in New Haven and Albany. A more detailed report of the proceedings of these meetings will be given in the columns of *The Index* next week. We only allude to them now to show the point that the Association deals with topics that are practical. The subjects discussed at these conventions were of wide variety. But, whatever the subjects treated,—whether those that considered the history and philosophy of religion, or those that traversed the regions of destructive criticism which must needs still be traversed, or those that defined the agnostic limitations which necessarily attend all religious thinking, or those that attacked directly the social and ethical problems of the day,—all alike terminated in enunciating a higher moral ideal for human conduct, and in emphasizing those efforts which aim at the improvement of man's condition, here and now, on this earth. It was also noteworthy that a considerable portion of the time at each of the conventions was given specially to the thoughtful discussion of such topics as "Co-operation and Social Progress," "The Relation of Free Religion to Charity and Reform," and "The Need of Further Amendment of Statute Law, in order to secure full and effective Guarantees to Free Thought." No one, certainly, could have attended these conventions as an impartial observer, and gone away with the idea that the Free Religious Association is only a company of people with speculations to air, and does not concern itself with the practical interests of mankind. WM. J. POTTER.

FREE THOUGHT AND ITS LIMITS.

Free thinkers are men and women who wish that thought should be free. Thus the name was first used nearly two hundred years ago; and we who bear it have still work to do. Let us see what are the existing restrictions on the liberty of thought to express itself, which we should fight against.

With the State we need not quarrel here in Massachusetts. The laws which hinder those who think Sunday no holier than any other day from acting according to their belief are fast becoming obsolete, and the statute against blasphemy would probably not be used anywhere in the United States to check rational and deliberate expression of unbelief. Such a check was actually imposed in England as late as 1867, when the Court of Exchequer annulled a contract, giving a lecturer the use of a room to teach "that the character of Christ is defective, and his teaching misleading, and that the Bible is no more inspired than any other book." This is blasphemy by the law of England,* where Mr. Bradlaugh is still kept from his rightful seat in Parliament to punish his confession that he is an atheist. There is nothing like this in the United States, except in Pennsylvania, whose judges say to the unbeliever, when he claims his right to be a witness, "You must pretend to believe as we do, otherwise we shall not protect you against crime."

Our great enemy everywhere is still the Church. No one can think freely who has the slightest respect for the Athanasian Creed, which begins thus: "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith. Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." I quote the version which is published by the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society in New York, for circulation among American Episcopalians, who thus give it a tacit, though not a strictly formal recognition, and which is formally recognized and publicly used as part of divine worship by the whole Anglican Church, numbering nearly thirteen million. The Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics, who together form nearly one half the population of those countries where English is spoken, as will be seen from the table in another column, support this creed; and its adherents are in the majority in other Christian lands. Those Episcopalians and other Protestants who do not use this creed are most of them committed to similar views of the liability of unbelief to be punished by everlasting torture. These creeds, covenants, and articles have lost much of their original force, but all they have left is exerted against freedom of thought. What is worst of all is that the Bible has driven man away again and again from the tree of knowledge, constantly treated sincere expressions of independent belief, such as idolatry and heresy as among the worst of sins, required faith in Christ as necessary to salvation, and threatened those who do not believe on him with the wrath of God. (See Genesis ii., 17; Exodus xx., 4, 5; xxiii., 13; Deuteronomy xii., 30; xiii., 9. 15; xvii., 5; xx., 16; Matthew x., 15; xviii., 17; Mark xvi., 16; John iii., 18, 36; xii., 48; xiv., 6; xv., 6; Acts xvi., 31; Romans i., 18–32; Galatians i., 8, 9; v., 20. 21; II. Thessalonians i., 7, 8; ii., 11, 12; II. Peter ii., 1; II. John, 10; Revelations ix., 20; xiv., 9; xxii., 15.) I give all these references, because they justify the hostility to the Bible as well as to the Church, into which free thinkers have been forced. We are heartily grateful to those clergymen, especially the Unitarians, who have opposed persecution, and maintained, as Jesus did in the Sermon on the Mount, that salvation depends on morality, not theology. We cannot, however, forget, that even Unitarian pulpits are not altogether free, or that their supporters are often frightened away from thinking for themselves, by being told that they must think as their neighbors do about the future life, or they will not be able to make profitable and acceptable use of this. We would make all due exceptions in favor of friends and non-combatants, and treat individuals with all possible courtesy; but the sects and churches in general we must look upon as foes.

And, third, we claim the benefit of the law of courtesy, which forbids opprobrious epithets, angry discussions, contemptuous demeanor, or insinuations of immorality. We say that society has no right to work this rule like a valve, so as to let anything pass through in one direction, but nothing in the other. I know we ought not to call a doctor of divinity names; but neither should he call us infidels, perverts, apostates, or Judas Iscariots, as I have heard him do, when we invited him to address us in his own church. No more ought one of a party of young people to have spoken as follows, and by name, of an absent lady to whom she was under obligation: "Oh! I heard Mrs. A. make such an *outré* speech the other day: she said the Bible was not a proper book to put on a parlor table," and then to have sharply silenced one of Mrs. A.'s friends, who tried to defend her. It was a bad place for a controversy, and especially so for letting only one side be heard. Why, again, should church-goers, who do not like to hear us say a word against Christianity, expect us to listen to parlor lectures on the immorality of scepticism, and thus force us to keep silence, or be considered impolite? These social restrictions enforced against free thinkers, but not against their assailants, are simply persecutions. And is it really any better for our well-meaning friends to compel us to do violence either to our affections or our convictions, by insisting on our participation in public worship, and showing pain when we refuse? Our friends like to have full liberty to do as they please in such matters. Will they not let us have it likewise? Have my neighbors any more right to say, "You ought to go to church" than I have to answer, "You ought not to go"? Even the authority of parents over children has more narrow limits here than anywhere else. Nothing is better for young people than to learn to think for themselves.

But the worst intolerance in this country is that of our politicians. Is that really a free land where a hundred thousand office-holders have been forced to contribute, vote, and electioneer for every candidate the party in power chose to set up? The Massachusetts officials had scarcely ceased working for our pious Governor, when they had to begin working against him. Every free thinker should strive to have service reform carried out thoroughly; for this is the only way to give the servants of the people leave to think for themselves and vote as they think, as well as to put men who are intelligent and energetic enough to do this into our post-offices, custom-houses, and

*While these lines were in press, the editor, proprietor, and printer of the *Free Thinker* have been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor for blasphemous libel. Tyndall, Huxley, and Spencer are said to be threatened with prosecution.

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similar places of public trust, instead of stupid, cowardly, or unscrupulous slaves. Equally are we bound to insist on the right of every private citizen to vote as he pleases, without being called renegade, turn-coat, or traitor,—epithets I have known applied to a respectable and intelligent man in a public meeting, with such distinctness that his young wife sat there weeping bitterly. Of course, I ought to form my opinions deliberately and honestly; but no one has a right to take it for granted I do not, even if they lead me over the fence. What helps most to keep our country safe is the number of independent voters who will not go with their party when it is in the wrong.

All these restrictions in the interest of particular parties, sects, and religions we free thinkers are bound to work against; but there are some checks on liberty of thought and speech which I think we ought to help keep up.

For instance, the propriety of laws against slander and libel, as well as against public meetings and other appeals likely to cause riot and sedition, is expressly admitted in J. S. Mill's Essay on Liberty. Such laws are in full harmony with the principle laid down by Herbert Spencer in *Social Statics*. "The liberty of each limited only by the like liberty of all." This would not be a free land, if fanatics had full license to publish false charges and stir up mobs against any man they disliked. Here, in the United States, it is so easy for us to protect ourselves legally from oppression that we have no right to encourage violent resistance to the laws. In Russia, it is very different. Another class of laws, designed to check the circulation of indecent publications, do not come within the range of Mill's and Spencer's principles, and have called forth widely differing opinions among American Liberals. My own opinion is that such literature is so pernicious to the welfare of society that its diffusion ought to be restricted by law. Perhaps the Comstock laws are not the best possible for this purpose; but they seem to answer it reasonably well. They might possibly be improved, but we should oppose their repeal. Of course, care must be taken to prevent the abuse of these laws, for sectarian purposes; and the same may be said of those against slander, and instigating sedition, as well as against blasphemy.

Of the right and duty of public opinion to discountenance down loose talk, and reckless denial of moral obligation, I have not the slightest doubt. Society is founded on morality, and its disparagement ought to be put under the social ban. Honest and intelligent differences as to whether this or that is right or wrong should certainly be encouraged; for the moral standard of society cannot be improved otherwise, or even kept from degenerating. I insist on the right of free discussion; but I insist also on the right of society to maintain the moral laws, on which social existence and progress depend, against reckless, ignorant, and vicious attacks. I would gladly join in sending to Coventry a man like one I once knew, who used to delight in puzzling and shocking people by saying, "Jesus was a thief," "Vices of rulers are public benefits," etc. The latter proposition, I may add, is about half true in a despotism, but wholly false in a republic.

But I must go on to restrictions which are very properly put on some expressions of thought not particularly vicious. I have no right to tell a falsehood even ignorantly, if it is in my power to find out the truth. When that is within my reach, I am morally bound to get at it before I speak. When I know it is not within reach, I am equally bound to keep silence, or speak only with proper moderation. Writers for the press and speakers in public are especially under obligation to hunt up facts and authorities, and take pains to state them accurately. Failure to do this is defrauding our readers and hearers of the truth they have a right to expect. I am sure that no organization of free thinkers would publish books so full of blunders as two I speak of here, because I fear they will not have justice done them by any other journal; namely, *The Book and its Story*, which has been kept in type for thirty years by the British and Foreign Bible Society, who have just issued the one-hundredth thousand, and *The Brief History of the Christian Church*, recently published under the sanction of several Episcopalian bishops, and already in use in their Sunday-schools, where the children, besides such minor errors as that a witch was burnt at Salem, or that Savonarola's bonfire, ably described in *Romola*, was made of relics of the saints and other popish paraphernalia, which, in fact, he believed in devoutly, are taught to call the humanitarian school of Unitarians "a most heretical and blasphemous branch, who ridicule the Divinity of our Lord." So writes a rector in Washington, whom no free thinker is likely to imitate. We are all too ready, however, to criticise authors we have not read, propose plans of whose working in past history we take no heed, censure conduct under circumstances we do not understand, and espouse philosophic and economic theories of which we know only what is said in their favor by our friends. We must expect censure for such infidelity to truth.

Thus, we are bound to keep ourselves with the utmost strictness from uttering falsehoods ignorantly, as well as from weakening the authority of the moral laws, and hindering the working of legislation in their support. And we are all the more bound to do this, because we are thus enabled to speak with more authority in favor of the rights of free speech, fair discussion, and liberty of the press, as well as against any sectarian perversion of the blasphemy and obscenity laws, all tyranny of politicians over voters and office-holders, every attempt of society to silence free thinkers, and the whole hateful system by which the Church is still frightening people away from thinking about her creeds.

F. M. HOLLAND.

DIGEST OF "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

With Comments.

Political Economy is generally considered to be a dry subject. The average reader usually skips the article on that topic in his newspaper. And the obscure and meaningless jargon and savage inhumanity of the pseudo-science of the college text-books are enough to disgust anybody. The reaction against the Ricardo school of Political Economy had begun before Henry George wrote his *Progress and Poverty*; but he appears to have given the school its *coup de grâce*. He has given to an abstruse and subtle science the fascination and brilliancy of a romance, and at the same time has written a work which, for solid, severe thought, breadth of scholarship, and beauty of illustration, takes rank with works like Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. *Progress and Poverty* has been translated into nearly all European languages; it has been received with dismay, fear, welcome, joy, by great economists, by mechanics, and by statesmen of Europe and America. Moncure Conway writes to the Boston *Advertiser* that thirty thousand copies have been sold in three months in Great Britain, and that the great critical journals and quarterlies there are discussing it; and yet no adequate reply has been made, no adequate refutation of it been published. The truth seems to be that the gist, or substance, of the work cannot be refuted, simply because it is a mass of solid fact. The law of gravitation cannot be refuted. Neither can a true science of society be overthrown. George's book seems to be an epoch-making work, like Darwin's *Origin of Species* or the Copernican system of astronomy. Doubtless, the fact that he lived for years in California—on the margin of the world, where he saw society crystallizing around him—was a great piece of good fortune. For he has thus been enabled to unravel the complexities and perplexities of economic questions as he could not have done in an older community. That his particular remedy for the unequal distribution of wealth may not be the cure-all he thinks it is, and that he may have given too little credit to other plans for the amelioration of social wrongs, is true. But he has pointed out these wrongs; he has thrown such a glaring light upon the subject that there can be henceforth no blinking of the truth. But let me get at once to the point, and show as well as I can what he has done.

The problem that he undertakes to solve is this: Why has poverty not decreased, but increased with the advance of material progress? Why have the wonderful labor-saving inventions and rapid exchanges of the age served only to crush the lowest classes into still deeper poverty, while the advantages have all accrued to a favored few? We had expected a golden age: we are confronted with bitter suffering. Societies are cursed with unequal distribution of wealth. There is a terrible scramble for the means of subsistence. Men live all their lives in torture because of the spectre, poverty. In such a state of things, there can be no real happiness and prosperity. The worst passions are called into play,—greed, fraud, peculation, merciless extortion, etc. But what is the matter? Where does the wealth go that is produced in such vast quantity? Why this fearful struggle for life? The answer is, that nature is bountiful enough, but that the artificial customs and laws of society interfere with her almonry. Look at a coral bank: there each insect has free room,—air, water, an assigned space, and lives and works in peace. Why should not men do the same? Evidently, they could, if all were agriculturists, and to each man were allotted a fair share of the soil. For from the soil—from nature, from the land—comes all food, all wealth. Land is a natural opportunity. But how if one man is allowed to put a fence around ten, twenty, ten thousand times as much as others of this natural opportunity, this surface of the globe intended for the support of all, and, calling it his, withhold it in speculation or by caprice from being worked for its wealth? Evidently, his action is no better than gigantic robbery. What every man *is* entitled to call his own is the result of his own labor, or the results of other people's labor which have been given or bequeathed to him. But to seize upon vast districts of the globe itself, and hold them at speculating prices in advance of emigration and development, or to hold them as deer preserves, or in any way to hinder them from being developed, is to proceed upon the theory that he has rights against the rest of humanity, that he has a better right to exist than they. He is like the man who should go first into a railway car and claim all the seats as his own, or to a banquet and turn back all the chairs, and compel the other guests to make terms with him. On this principle, one man could claim a whole county, a whole State, a whole continent. As a matter of fact, individual men have appropriated vast tracts of land in different countries and times. Thirty thousand men now own five-sixths of the soil of Great Britain, and legally have the right to expel all the other millions from the country. In this country, too, the same process is going on. Vast

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tracts of land are held against cultivation for speculative purposes, while men are suffering abject poverty for the want of that land. Such is the injustice of private property in land.

But the worst has not been told. The great law which George has discovered, elucidated, and lifted into prominence, is that the wages of *all* laboring classes are kept, and always will be kept, at a minimum (*i.e.*, the bare subsistence point) by those who, by hook or crook, have succeeded in getting the valuable land of the community into their private possession and ownership. There is a correlation and interdependence between all industries, and they all require land for their operation; and what is true of one is true of all, as respects the law we have just mentioned. But agriculture is the great standard, or typical industry. Let us see how it is that the land-owner is enabled to grind the face of the poor. Suppose his hired man John or his tenant strikes for higher wages, or a reduction in rent: the land-owner says, No, if you don't like my wages, you can go and work land of your own. But all the good land has already been taken up. John could get no more from such poor land as is left than his employer or landlord would pay him: he is therefore obliged to accept his offer of mere subsistence wages, or starve. So it is with city land: those who have inherited it or purchased it may live in idleness all their days on the income from their city lots. They grow fat on their unjust monopoly; they cripple industries by holding their land at exorbitant rates, or holding it against occupation for speculative purposes. Moreover, all improvements in the arts, all new labor-saving devices, enrich not the laborer, but the land-owner. He has the monopoly. If more wealth is produced on his estate, the tenant is not allowed to enjoy it; for the landlord has but to raise the rent to appropriate it all to himself. The tenant, again, must submit, because there is no other land that he can get for himself (in Europe at least, and there will soon be none here). And this law of rent governs all wages of all laborers in whatever industry. For all wealth comes out of the soil; and as agricultural wages are, so are all wages.

The remedy for this hoggishness, this robbery, is to make all the land of the community the property of the community. To prevent this terrible inequality of privilege, says George, "we must make the nation the landlord of its land. We must destroy these gigantic monopolies, which condemn our fellow-men to deepest suffering." George does not propose that the government confiscate or purchase the land of private owners. Let them continue to buy, sell, bequeath, and devise it; let them have all the benefits of a life lease. In order to make land common property, it is only necessary to confiscate the rent; and the cheapest and best way to do this will be to take it in the shape of taxation. In this way, the real value of land will decide as to the amount it is to be taxed. Land can then no longer be held against use by speculators; for the taxes will be regulated so as to be about the same in amount as could be got by renting it at its true value. And, as the future will never disturb this ratio between taxes and rent, there will be no object in not renting at once. George further proposes to abolish all taxes except those on land, and he gives his reasons therefor. Finally, he claims that, the result of making land common property being to throw it all open to use at its just value, a great and glorious amelioration of the condition of the poorest classes and of all classes would ensue; all wages would rise, everybody would be assured of the ability to procure enough for his wants; all natural opportunities would be thrown open to labor and capital; the whole social system would be readjusted on the basis of equality of privilege (whereas, now, the poorest classes are abjectly enslaved); greed, extortion, the building up of vast and useless fortunes, and, in short, nearly all the ills of society, would disappear; and co-operation (which is the condition of all progression, by allowing division of duties and by permitting the release of mental power for noble work) would take the place of the present wrangle and scuffle for existence. Co-operation, and not conflict, is the condition of the stability of a nation's life. If we wish to perpetuate our institutions, we must beware of the mistake of past nationalities that perished as soon as internal conflict supplanted co-operation, or mutual assistance.

This meagre outline utterly fails to give any adequate idea of the glowing humanitarian spirit of George's book, of its extreme lucidity, the resistless march of its logic, and the way in which the whole literature of Political Economy and a wide range of solid general reading is drawn upon by its author for the refutation of the old political economists. I must ask for another opportunity to try to get a little closer to the details of the work, and give the proofs of the remarkable laws which George advances. All I hope to do is to get others to read the book itself. It is an easy book to read, and a second running over it will fix its principles firmly in the mind. The book is sold in editions costing 20 cents, 75 cents, $1, and upwards.

W. S. KENNEDY.

THE PASSAGE IN TACITUS.

On another page of this number of *The Index* will be found a communication from the author of *Bible Myths*, attempting to prove that the passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, referring to Christ and the Christians, is a forgery. In the many public discussions we have had with theologians on the Bible and Christianity, we have always conceded the genuineness of this passage; and, after reading what is presented by our able correspondent, our opinion on this subject remains unchanged.

The author of *Bible Myths* repeats the statement of Robert Taylor, the author of *Diegesis*, that no reference is made to the celebrated passage before the fifteenth century. It is, nevertheless, true that Sulpicius Severus, a Christian Father, the genuineness of whose writings is universally admitted, quotes, word for word, some portion of the section in Tacitus that Jesus was executed by Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius. We give the whole passage in English, putting in italics the phrases quoted.

By no "human means, either by liberal gifts or expiatory ceremonies, could the emperor free himself of *the charge of having commanded the conflagration*. Therefore, in order to suppress this rumor, Nero threw the guilt on others, and punished with the most far-fetched torture those people hated for their crimes, whom the populace called Christians. The author of this name, Christ, was executed during the reign of Tiberius, by the governor, Pontius Pilate. Though thus repressed temporarily, the hateful superstition broke out again, not only throughout Judæa, the source of the evil, but even in Rome, whither all that is wicked and abominable flows together from every quarter. Therefore, some were first brought to confess; and then by their testimony a great multitude of others were convicted, not perhaps so justly of burning the city, as of hating the human race. Their death was accompanied with insults; *for some were covered with the skins of wild beasts and lacerated by dogs, or fastened to crosses or burned alive, being lighted up, when day declined, like the nightly lamps.*"

The first phrase we have underlined is given in Tacitus as "quin jussum incendium crederetur," and in Severus as "quin ab eo jussum incendium putaretur." Then Tacitus says, "ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur." Severus gives it, "ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatur canum interirent. Multi crucibus affixi aut flamma usti. Plerique in id reservati ut cum defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur." Thus, out of twenty-one consecutive words in Tacitus, seventeen are to be found in Severus. That the latter did not quote the mention of the crucifixion is perfectly natural; for he was writing a chronicle, and had already spoken of this event at the proper date, one page earlier. Tacitus, however, put all he had to say of the Christians in one place, without regard to chronology. It is plain that the beginning and end of the passage in question are at least as old as 400 A.D. And there is not a scrap of positive evidence against the opinion of nearly every scholar, that the whole passage is much older, and that all we have quoted was really written by Tacitus. It is not strange that testimony so unfavorable to the early Christians, which affirms nothing essential was called in question by Pagan opponents, should not have been generally appealed to by the Christian Fathers. That Tacitus was but little read, in ancient or modern times, may be due in part to his hatred of tyranny and superstition, and in part to some difficulties of style which would make it very unlikely, if we had no evidence to the contrary, that the *Annals* were forged by Poggio Bracciolini, their professed discoverer. Tacitus was a mannerist, a graphic and sublime mannerist; and any spurious addition to his peculiar narrative would be noticeable for its incongruity. Tacitus, like Thucydides, is *sui generis*. Carlyle, in his famous essay on Voltaire, asks: "For who has ever forgotten those lines inserted as a small, transitory, altogether trifling circumstance, in the history of such a potentate as Nero? To us, it is the most earnest, sad, and sternly significant passage that we know to exist in writing." And, then, he goes on and quotes the passage in the original Latin. This passage in the original scholars are agreed is a good specimen of the peculiarly compressed style of Tacitus, and has as little appearance of being an interpolation as Hamlet's soliloquy, or the passage in the "Tempest," beginning 'The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces," etc., has of being an interpolation in the text of Shakspere.

Moreover, the forty-fourth chapter of the fifteenth book of the *Annals* of Tacitus contains a sufficient reason for its occurrence, where it is found in the historian's most graphic account of Nero's reign; and without it there would be a noticeable gap in the account of the great fire at Rome, which raged for several days, destroying the old historic Rome of the Kings and of the Republic, with all its priceless mementoes, monuments, trophies, and treasures of art and opulence, leaving, of the fourteen sections of the primitive city, only four entire. All that time, Christians were looked upon much as the better classes of European society at the present day look upon Nihilists, Internationalists, Anarchists, Communists, and other enemies of the existing political and social order. Of course, the masses of the Roman Empire knew nothing about Christianity, except that it was the religion of a peculiar class of people, who treated with hatred and contempt the established usages, beliefs, and institutions of mankind at large. Such conduct was enough to make them outcasts, and objects of constant suspicion, jealousy, and hatred on the part of the rabble and aristocracies alike. They

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were thus exactly the sort of scapegoats for whom Nero was seeking, because the world was ready to believe them capable of any outrage. Accordingly, he proceeded to unload his guilt upon their shoulders, and to punish them so cruelly that even the Roman populace felt compassion for the victims. It is not impossible that multitudes of converts to the new religion should be found in Rome in the time of Nero, when we consider how rapidly Christianity spread, and the circumstances which had attracted to that city both Jews and Christians, who were generally confounded in the popular mind.

The statement of Tacitus in regard to London is admitted to be accurate by Hume, Knight, the Encyclopædia Britannica, and other well-known authorities. Indeed, all the historians of the great metropolis have been proud of the fact that their city dates back, as an important mart and centre of traffic, far enough to be noticed by the great Roman historian. Tacitus, in the 33rd chapter of the 14th book of his *Annals*, says: "Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster, marched through the heart of the country as far as Londa, a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants and the great mart of trade and commerce." Any one who reads the context will find that this mention of London occurs in the most natural manner possible, and it was probably true; for, even in barbaric times, the locality of the city was resorted to for purposes of trade, and it is not wonderful that it should, a century after the invasion of Julius Cæsar, have become a residence of merchants. This passage in Tacitus referring to Christ is regarded as genuine by scholars generally who have investigated the subject. Gibbon, who does not hesitate to say that the passage concerning Jesus Christ in Josephus "may furnish us with an example of no vulgar forgery," declares that "the most sceptical criticism" is obliged to respect the integrity of the passage in Tacitus. We will only observe in conclusion that nothing is to be gained by employing against Christianity a method of argumentation, which, if generally adopted, would destroy the value of all historical testimony.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

A large number of our subscribers are in arrears in their payments. Some of them, as we happen to know, are persons of wealth, to whom the paying out of three dollars, and, in some instances, of a hundred times that, would be nothing. And here we, in *The Index* office, are planning and contriving how to make the ends meet. "Brethren, these things ought not so to be." If you who are thus at fault would only send to *The Index* its just and legal dues, the ends would not only meet, but lap beautifully over on the right side. Let then every one who means to be honest look at once at the mail-tag on his paper, and act as it and an honest conscience shall direct. A word to the *just* is sufficient.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

"THE INDEX" will contain next week a lecture given in New York last month by Prof. Felix Adler, and contributions from Dr. Felix L. Oswald, Mr. Chadwick, and other able writers.

THE proclamation of Gov. Waller, of Connecticut, for a Fast Day, is commendably brief. He simply says:—

> In recognition of the religious character of the people of this Commonwealth, and in conformity to a revered custom of our pious forefathers, I designate and set apart Friday, the 23d day of this month of March, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

BLACKSTONE, in the first volume of his Commentaries, which appeared in England in 1765, seventy-two years after the Salem folly and fanaticism, declares (book 4, chapter iv., 6) that "to deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages both of the Old and New Testament."

IT has been well said that the rude fisherman of the northern seas labors for the highest interests of his race, because he helps to feed the scholar's lamp. It may also be said that the scholar over his lamp labors to lift the rude fisherman's children to a higher plane of comfort and culture, by preparing the day when they will not need to follow their father's hard life, and when they, as well as the scholar, will sit by better lights than whale oil can supply.—*Nation.*

A LIBERAL thinker, well known by reputation to our readers, writes in a private letter from London: "*The Index* is becoming known here. . . . Mr. Mead has just sent me a copy (Feb. 8) with his article on Cook. It is as you say in the same number an admirable one, though I think he lets the charlatan with whom he has to deal off too easily. Such people require stern treatment. I must confess to some surprise that Mr. Cook gained such celebrity and attracted such attention in Boston. Here, I understand, he simply attracted dissenting Philistines."

THE following table of the estimated strength of religious sects in all countries where English is spoken—the United States, Great Britain, Australia, etc.—is taken from the *Revue de Belgique*:—

Episcopalians	20,000,000
Methodists	15,000,000
Catholics	14,000,000
Presbyterians	10,250,000
Baptists	8,000,000
Congregationalists	6,000,000
Unitarians	1,000,000
Free thinkers	1,000,000
Other sects	1,750,000
Other religions	8,500,000
	85,500,000

IT is believed that a considerable number of Liberals are inclined to become man worshippers. It is not quite becoming in people who won't worship God to worship men. There is a point in praise and puffery beyond which adulation and blarney become insipid and vulgar. A just meed of praise bestowed upon the great and the good—the benefactors of the race and the soldiers of principle—is commendable and proper; but, where it would convert glaring defects into virtues and degenerates into snivelling sycophancy, it becomes insufferable. It is this kind of slobber that has filled the world with Saint Johns, Saint Peters, Saint Patricks, and saint this and that and the other, till there's no turning a corner without running against a monument or a church dedicated to a dead saint. —*The Age.*

THE Boston *Herald* says, "The admirers of Walt Whitman, who quote Ralph Waldo Emerson as another admirer of their idol, will not be pleased by the newly published letter of Emerson to Thomas Carlyle, in which he speaks of Whitman as 'a nondescript monster which yet had terrible eyes and buffalo strength,' but 'wanted good morals.'" The *Investigator* quotes this paragraph, and adds: "We never could understand why Liberals should go wild over Whitman; but perhaps we don't possess the true poetic temperament." The *Investigator* is not without respect for the literary judgment of those who hold in high esteem Walt Whitman as a poet; but it is not in sympathy with those who have called special attention to the most offensive passages in his works, and sought to identify them with liberal thought. And, in this position, we entirely concur with our esteemed contemporary.

THE *Congregationalist*, in reply to an editorial note in *The Index*, says that it does not hold that Hon. W. E. Dodge's "permanent success in life consisted in his accumulation of wealth, but in the attainment and use of his wealth in such a manner as to convince people of his sincere Christian character, his unvarying purpose to do good by means of his riches as well as his example, and his victory over the usual temptations to which such wealth exposes its possessor." But Mr. Dodge could not have acquired his millions except by applying his mind to the things of this world; and in doing this, it seems to us, he disregarded the example of him who had not where to lay his head, who said, "Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation," and "Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," and whose earliest disciples, they who listened to his words as they fell from his lips, sold their possessions and had all things in common. However, our readers will note the *Congregationalist's* explanation of what it meant by referring to Mr. Dodge's "permanent success in life."

IT is not strange that Col. Bundy is hated and denounced by a certain class of "mediums," when he thus speaks in his paper, the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, of the "dark circle": "Physical phenomena must be judged by the physical senses, and those senses must be at their best and acting in concert, in so far as the case demands, or the observations made are worthless. The condition of darkness and the ever accompanying noise of 'music' destroy the value of the evidence by lessening the competency of the witness. The lack of scientific value attaching to the average dark circle, as usually conducted, is, however, not the only or the greatest objection. Were it so, we should care but little, as the evidence of the continuity of life and the ability of spirits to return and manifest is proven by a wide range of phenomena otherwise obtainable. Promiscuous public dark circles are an abomination: they are moral pest generators, where both the medium and sitters are liable to [be], and in too many cases are, thoroughly demoralized. On this point, we do not care at this time to further expand; but we challenge successful denial, and stand prepared to prove our assertions by an overwhelming array of irrefutable evidence derived and derivable from leading lecturers, mediums, and writers who stand acknowledged as among the brightest, purest, and ablest Spiritualists, and whose past and present devotion to the cause is universally known in the movement."

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

ISIS.*

I am whatever was and is,
And also all that is to be:
No magian wise, with magic his,
Hath e'er unveiled the Mystery.

* "I am that which is. I am all that is, all that was, and all that shall be. No mortal man hath my veil uplifted."
This sublime inscription on the pedestal of the statue of Isis was kept in a frame, lying on the table before him, by that greatest of all composers, Beethoven, whenever he was engaged in the composition of those imperishable symphonies and other great musical productions which have rendered his name immortal. Appended to the inscription was the following sentence:—
"He is One,—self existent,—and to that One all things owe their existence."
Schindler, Beethoven's intimate friend, who probably knew him better than any other person, expresses the belief that, although he had been bred in the Romish Church, he was a deist,—an opinion which the perusal of this sentence can hardly fail to render a conviction.

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They name me with unnumbered names,
In every age, in every land,—
On snow-fiel is red with polar flames,
And on the barren desert sand.

By widely sundered tribes, my praise
Beneath both sun and stars is sung;
They chant of my mysterious ways
In every clime, in every tongue.

The bard, lone musing by the sea,
Hears, in its vast and wandering swell,
A whisper of the Mystery
He dimly feels, but cannot tell.

And, musing thus, he strives in vain
To grasp the thought that baffles him:
A wider, more mysterious main
Spreads out before him vast and dim.

And, baffled in the end, he stands
On the last mountain-top of mind,
Seeking o'er glimmering seas and lands
The mere-stone which he cannot find.

In depths unknown, in worlds unseen,
That in your language have no name,
'Mid starless night or solar sheen,
I am, through every change, the same.

The grass that, creeping, robes the ground,
Renews through me its emerald warm;
The oak with crown of leafage crowned,
So manifold and multiform.

The winds their changeful rounds that keep
But hint to you my boundless range:
The mist far in the azure deep
Is symbol of mine infinite change.

The iris, trembling in the sun,
Or, paler in the moon's white ray,
A type of forms through which I run
By night no less than glowing day;

And the green billow of the sea
Dissolving on the winding shore,—
A changeful symbol is of me
In endless round forevermore.

And though forever I return
Again, yet is it not to stay;
And though for me ye ever yearn,
Still from your grasp I haste away.

Preluding, with grave murmurings,
Through melodies that need not words,
I touch, with hands unseen, the strings,
And rise through higher, grander chords,

And wandering on through infinite themes,
And varying infinitely still,
I chant my changes, as of dreams,
Which all the soul with longing fill.

These symphonies through life that roll,
Whose meaning ne'er hath been divined,
Leave, in the tranced and listening soul,
A music vague and undefined.

Thus, waking deathless longings deep,
Which are the soul's immortal breath,
I ward away the fatal sleep
Which were the spirit's final death.

And though I leave unsatisfied,
Yet is it all without annoy;
For, wandering through mine empire wide,
Ye find a calm, perpetual joy.

And thus I stir within the soul
The striving sweet withouten strife
Your aspirations deep control,
I am, indeed, your proper Life,—

The Life that fills all space, and sways
The Evil with its Justice strong,—
That, moving on through hidden ways,
Serenely overthrows the Wrong;

The Life that strengthens all who know
The Right and in its name have bled;
Who overthrow the Wrong, that so
The Right be stablished in its stead.

I am the Truth that was and is,
And shall throughout all æons be:
No magian grand, with magic his,
Shall e'er unveil the Mystery.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, September, 1882.

TRUTH, when it is won, is the possession of the whole nature. By the action of the whole nature only can it be gained. The king must go with his counsellors at his side and his army at his back, or he makes no conquest. The intellect must be surrounded by the richness of the affections and backed by the power of the will, or it attains no perfect truth. —*Phillips Brooks.*

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 15, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

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For *The Index.*

Practical Deductions from the Religion of Humanity.

BY WILLIAM FREY.

It was shown in preceding articles that the Religion of Humanity is but the latest development of the same ideas and forms which necessarily constitute all religions. But, if we wish to prove that this new religion is a legitimate heir of all past religions, we must go farther than that.

In fact, every religion is a philosophy, explaining our relation to the universe and to one another. The importance and vitality of every religion depend on the degree of satisfaction with which it answers the burning questions: Whence came I? Whither do I go? For what purpose do I live? What shall I do? Every great religion of the world has been the best and most advanced philosophy for its time and place. Each of them, therefore, has directed the mental and moral capacities of men during long periods of time, has created a specific civilization, has wrought deep changes in domestic, political, and social relations. And, to complete our exposition of the Religion of Humanity, we must show:—

1. That humanity, discovered by inductive science, is a source of many important deductions in religion;

2. That, out of these deductions, grows up the best and the most advanced philosophy of the nineteenth century; and

3. That the acceptance of the Religion of Humanity must necessarily produce many important changes in our domestic, social, and political life.

To condense all the variety of topics involved in such a vast programme into one short article is a difficult task, and the reader will find here only hints instead of detailed discussion. He may therefore misunderstand many points; but misunderstandings are far easier to bear than the complete ignorance which prevails in the public at large in regard to this far-reaching and most important subject.

The Religion of Humanity is based on Reason and Tolerance.

To begin with, the new religious forms and ideas are not based on faith: they can stimulate religious enthusiasm without any fictitious representation. The grand conceptions of Inscrutable Power and Humanity are based on scientific inductions, and may be verified and strengthened only by science.

The revealed religions claim to receive absolute truth and supreme wisdom directly from God; and, as such, they cannot favor a farther inquiry or farther progress. We see the proofs of such tendency in the burning of the Alexandrian Library and in the fires of the Inquisition.

But the Religion of Humanity has outgrown this childish and ominous belief. It disclaims any direct connection with the Unknown. It says that humanity itself is not a perfect being, and is far from possessing all truth. The New Religion insists on obedience to the laws already discovered by humanity and recorded in science; but, as to the farther disclosures, it suggests only to increase our devotion to the mediator, whose noble mission depends on the efficiency of our service.

Revealed religions are stationary: this religion is necessarily progressive. The former exacts obedience and uniformity of opinion: the latter says that a conflict of different opinions must necessarily precede a disclosure of every law, and thus protects liberty and diversity of opinion. True, the Religion of Humanity announces that diversity of opinion is an excellency *per se*: it teaches us that each disagreement is an indication of our ignorance; but, no matter how painful the disagreement may be to all, or how injurious it is to the erring ones, so long as none of the individuals possess the absolute truth, the diversity must continue until humanity arrives at an unchangeable conclusion. The only way to shorten this period of uncertainty and pain is to encourage the utmost diversity of pursuits and explanations, and to institute a perfect freedom of the methods of inquiries, because from the conflicts of extremes must come the pure golden truth.

Thus, tolerance is as necessary an attribute to the Religion of Humanity as intolerance is a part of the revealed religions. More than this, science teaches us that mind itself is a matter of growth, that ideas which are easily understood by a man in a certain stage of mental development are not acceptable to him while in a preparatory stage; and thus we learn to extend the meaning of tolerance far beyond its present meagre conceptions. Above the conventional tolerance which is practised when doubtful opinions clash, Positivism* points at another nobler tolerance, which forbids the enforcement of already demonstrated truth on those who are not ready yet to accept it. The best illustration of such tolerance we see in the friendship and respect with which the Religion of Humanity extends brotherly love to all existing and past religions. Compare the insulting language of Ingersoll with the words of Auguste Comte, so well restated by Herbert Spencer (in the last pages of chap. ii., *First Principles*), and see what a vast difference there is between the tolerance of the New Religion with that of the so-called Liberals.

Let no one entertain a fear that such tolerance will diminish zeal in advocating new, progressive ideas.

"Whosoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. . . . It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles, and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities and aspirations and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that, while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future, and that his thoughts are the children born to him which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and, when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorized to profess and to act out that belief." The Religion of Humanity, possessing no absolute truth, fully indorses these words of Herbert Spencer. It advocates the strongest possible *individuality, i.e.*, originality of pursuits, methods, and actions; but it is in deadly opposition to *Individualism, i.e.*, to the spirit which makes man perfectly satisfied with his small circumstances, perfectly indifferent to all that lies outside of him. The Religion of Humanity cannot enforce a unity in contesting opinions; but, instead of that, it gives a unity of moral purposes, and constantly refers us to the common thoughts, common laws, common purposes, common sympathies, common aims, and common duties.

Individualism, the widely spread disease of our age of anarchy and decomposition, will be considered afterward in all its bearings: here we will show only how the extreme tolerance, advocated alike by Posi-

* Positivism and the Religion of Humanity are the names which we shall often use to express two aspects of the same thing. The Religion of Humanity is positive philosophy regarded as affecting our emotions, while Positivism is the Religion of Humanity addressed to our intellect. Humanitarians are the devotees of Humanity as the Supreme Being.

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tivists and individualists, will work under the sanction of religious sentiment.

First of all, the beautiful image of humanity reveals to us the common origin of all men and their common working for the same end. We see now that we all are bound together stronger than by a family tie. And the brotherhood of men, which on the lips of individualists is a meaningless expression, becomes for Positivists a reality, and as such will allay the bitterness of the conflict. Humanity teaches us to bear each other's differences, not with the hate of contesting enemies, not even with the restraint practised within each decent family, but with mutual respect due to co-operators in the same cause.

Again, with the recognition of humanity, the moral centre of gravity is moved from the individual man to the collective one. Those who know of no superior are naturally proud, self-willed, and supposing that the diversity of opinions is the *desideratum* of the social life; while those who see in humanity the highest court of appeal become more docile, more open to truth, more apt to curb their propensities. They see that the amount of human happiness is in direct proportion to the numbers of laws agreed upon. Unity of opinion is their ideal, and they uphold the existing diversity, not for the gratification of personal ambition, but as a temporary evil, as the best means to attain the unity. Preserving their own individuality to its fullest extent, humanitarians will look to others for the proofs and verifications of their individual opinions. Instead of being teachers, they will become pupils. Above the strong adherence to personal opinion, they recognize a higher virtue in the capacity to accept new truths, no matter whence they came and whither they may lead. Thus, men, influenced by the Religion of Humanity, are able to carry out the utmost freedom of opinions with the least possible fiction. And the religion based on science and tolerance, instead of hindering the intellectual pursuits, will give them a new and powerful impetus, because it points to the scientists a nobler aim and more important duties. Individualists may delight themselves in the pursuits of meaningless and purposeless specialization, but humanitarians will direct their mental energy toward the solution of vital problems directly affecting human happiness and human welfare.

The Religion of Humanity as Inducement to Perfection.

The grandest function of every religion is to lead men toward perfection. And the best way to show the superiority of the Religion of Humanity is to compare it with other religions in regard to this most important function.

Christianity urges men to be perfect from the fear of punishment, or from the desire of reward in the fictitious future. This method is good enough, as long as men act from personal considerations and believe in conscious existence after death. But religion, destined to bind men of the nineteenth century with their higher intellect and loftier aspirations, must present a better inducement for self-perfection.

Adherents of Cosmic Philosophy (misnamed sometimes Cosmic Religion) abandon all the attempts at the personification of the Inscrutable Power; but they do not hesitate to ascribe to it a tendency toward perfection, and boldly assert that individual man as a particle of the perfecting universe must live in accordance with its laws, and hence strive for self-perfection.

Let us see now on what ground they build this assertion. They see the improvement of human beings on the earth; and from this local observation on one of the trifling specks of the universe, and during the infinitely small period of time (as our three or four thousand years of historical time are but a moment in comparison with eternity), they come to the conclusion that the whole universe is striving toward Perfection! Such deduction is like the one made by the man, who, seeing only an infinitely small portion of a curved line, would assure us that the whole line is straight, because such is its visible particle. Cosmologists, ascribing to the infinite certain human purposes, commit a coarser error than Christians who ascribe to the Infinite certain human attributes, because it is generally understood that the disclosure of intention is a more difficult task than the disclosure of personality.

Some of the Agnostics feel how shaky and uncertain is such a foundation for morality. "Where is the proof that there is a progressive development from the less perfect to the more perfect?" asks Prof. Adler, in one of his discourses. "Whether the forward movement which we observe is more than temporary who will prove? Now, I grant that the fact of progress cannot in the strict sense be proven from experience." Prof. Adler rejects the erroneous method of Fiske; and yet he commits the other error of the past religions, because he bases everything on intuition. With all the energy and eloquence of the ardent apostle, he urges his hearers to self-perfection, because, says he, every man has an assurance of it within himself.

Is this assertion a proof? Can ethics be scientifically based on such an intuition?

Now, after disposing of the attempts of pure Agnostics, let us show how easily are avoided all difficulties, when once we recognize humanity as a living being.

Positivism, as a scientific philosophy, neither denies nor affirms the grand and ennobling deduction of cosmologists. No matter how probable or how desirable may be this deduction, the Religion of Humanity points to the necessity of perfection without committing the errors of the past religions. It starts from the fact that humanity (in end by whom we all live) is, comparatively speaking, a young organism, and, consequently, millions of years are open to its progressive development. It says farther that we, being particles of the universe, are at the same time particles of humanity, and only by working for humanity can we act in harmony with the mysterious purposes of the Unknown. But, to assist a perfecting humanity, we must perfect ourselves and perfect the life that surrounds us. Hence, perfection is a duty assigned to us by Inscrutable Power; and, by fulfilling this plain duty of ours, we perform a part of the uncomprehensible work of the universe!

The inspiring influence of such a revelation becomes still stronger, when we take in consideration a belief in personal immortality,—a belief by no means rejected by the Religion of Humanity, but only corrected of its blunders and purified from its debasing influences.

Personal Immortality.

Positivism, to be consistent, neither asserts nor denies the existence of ethereal matter capable of preserving the individuality and consciousness of man after his death. This question will be settled by scientific investigations. But millions of our fellow-men go farther than this. To the belief in the existence of the personal and conscious spirits, they add a belief in their immortality.

To convince others of the truth of this assertion, the Spiritualists must pull down the strongest acquirements of science. In fact, science teaches us, that every phenomenon is but a transformation of one form or energy into another, is a link in the circle which enters into the same source from which it started. Bodies of animals, for instance, which are fed by the earth, must at the end return to the earth, in order to feed other organisms. The water evaporates from the surface of the earth, forms clouds, and thence descends back in the shape of snow or rain to moisten the earth and to feed the springs. The theory which says that our ethereal spirits will remain forever in one form without a further transformation and final returning to their source denies the law of rotation of life, and is an uncomprehensible and suicidal theory. It must be classed together with the statement that our material body will never decompose itself, or that water, after evaporation, will forever remain in the form of clouds. In either case, the source which produced these phenomena must eventually exhaust itself, and the life (which believers in immortality are so anxious to prolong) on the earth becomes impossible. Besides, we cannot conceive the existence of anything which has its beginning, but no end; and, unless Spiritualism is a modern revival of the old Egyptian theory of transmigrations of souls (which is the end of personal immortality), it is inconceivable, and we repeat Spiritualists have a hard work before them, if they wish to prove a conscious personal immortality.

Humanitarians avoid all difficulties by striking off the word "conscious" and proving merely personal immortality. The principle of the conservation of forces teaches us that no thought, act, or feeling of ours may be lost without producing several effects, which, in their turn, become causes of many other effects, and so on without end. Humanity, as the resultant of all past effects, takes them all in as soon as they are produced, and preserves the thoughts, feelings, and actions of each individual for the further use. Thus, humanitarians may rightly say that individuals will live and work in humanity even after the death, even after the loss of consciousness.

This new scientific conception of personal immortality preserves the inspiration and sublimity of the old, time-honored belief, but does not accept its imperfections.

Old religions and modern Spiritualism lead men to think that earth is a temporary abode, that suffering and miseries here are but trifles in comparison with the glory of the everlasting life. Hence, the indifference to injustice done here; hence, the increase of selfishness, because even good acts are committed merely for the sake of personal reward. How different is the Religion of Humanity! It reveals also the existence of a hereafter; it satisfies the deeply rooted assurance of future life; but, at the same time, it directs our attention toward this earthly life, because only here we can control our activities, only here we can make our lives fit for the future. The religion teaching such views of immortality will make men nobler and purer, because it prompts them to do their duties from the impulse of love, hope, and gratitude, but never from the base selfish desire of personal reward or from the fear of personal punishment.

Nobody can attack the invulnerable position of the Religion of Humanity in regard to immortality, but many try to belittle it. They sneeringly say that poor humanity is doomed to freeze, and consequently the existence in humanity is but a poor substitute for Eternity. These imaginative persons are troubled by the event which may happen after millions of years; but they may be fought with their own weapon. Let them count all the achievements which have been already accomplished, add a childish stage of our development, and then, by the much safer stretch of imagination, they will find that the dreams of Jules Verne are not far from realization, that the inhabitants of the earth will establish a communication with the inhabitants of other planets long before the natural death of the earth. And, when the time shall come for humanity to dissolve or perish, all her experiences, achievements, and influences will be taken up by other beings, and continue to participate in the development of the to us unknown destinies of nature.

To the positive knowledge that we shall live and work as long as humanity exists, we may safely add a belief that humanity will not be lost in the universe, and that, through humanity and by it, each of us will live forever.

Thus, the short and insignificant life of individuals reaches the magnitude of the Infinite! And the sublime serenity and inspiration which flow from this scientific conception of immortality will only increase the religious enthusiasm for humanity and strengthen a desire to do our duty here in the best possible way.

Next in order is to show how humanity reveals to us this "best way" amid the contradictions and conflicts of different opinions.

Oligarchy vs. People.

A grand conception of humanity as a living organism, of which we are but building cells, forever settles the strife between the aristocratic and democratic tendencies. The conflict which was going on through the whole history, and which could not be prevented by any previous philosophy, is put to the end by the New Dispensation.

We know already that differentiation of parts and specialization of functions increase in every organism with the advance of the evolutionary process; that, at the beginning of this process, the energy of every part of an organism is directed toward various duties; but, at the end, each part is assigned—only to one duty! We conclude, therefore, that the ideal of perfection, the goal to which humanity is drifting, must be found in such adjustments of its parts as will enable each cell to perform a duty to which it has more affinity, and to occupy a place in which it may serve society in the most effective way.

A logical deduction of this law was made by Auguste Comte in his positive polity. He told us how, with the farther development of humanity, the boundaries between the kingdoms will gradually disappear, and, instead of non-essential political divisions, will come a substantial and permanent division of functions.

He depicted how women of the future will abandon all side issue and devote themselves to the elevation of morality among men, and especially in the young ones placed under their care and instruction.

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He said that only a few men will devote themselves to science, and thus become the spiritual teachers of the people, without any material power to enforce their teaching. Only a comparatively few men will apply their administrative talents and their business abilities to the organization of industry, and thus become the providers of our material needs; but the vast majority of mankind would voluntarily place themselves under the guidance of the ablest men, and, enjoying all that is necessary for the physical, mental, and moral perfection of man, presenting a powerful embodiment of morality as thought by scientists and inculcated by women, they will prevent an aggrandizement or injustice on the part of the temporal rulers, by the moral force of public opinion.

The enemies of Positivism can very easily make a laughing-stock of this picture by distorting it with disconnected quotations and their own shallow arguments. A society, pictured by Comte, which has no room for individualism and distrust, for suffrage and intolerance, for competition and poverty, remains rather incomprehensible in our age of anarchy and egoism. Hence, it is denounced alike by the great and low, by the sage and ignorant, by the Liberals and Orthodox. Some regard it as an attempt to return to the old caste division, forgetting that castes are impossible in the society which gives to all men and women an equal, complete, and superior education, so as to enable them to select their occupation and to perform successfully their duties. Some have gone so far as to declare Comte's representations as Utopia, as the product of an insane mind.

But the alarm and prejudice against "Comtism" are not altogether the results of wickedness or ignorance of the public. Auguste Comte himself has done some harm to Positivism. He firmly believed that, with the discovery of humanity, men could build at once a new scientific order of life. A transitory period necessary to unite order with progress could last, according to his own opinion, not more than two hundred years. And, consequently, the picture which he regarded as a typical representation of the final evolution of society was impressed on the minds of his readers as something which must occur almost immediately. Positivists must correct this impression. Seeing in humanity a living organism, they are convinced that all sudden changes in societies are injurious and abnormal. Humanitarians do not denounce any institution, any aspiration inherited from the past: they are certain only that all these forms and opinions will gradually adopt themselves to another higher state of society similar to that pictured by Auguste Comte. The evolutionary process may last during a long period of time: a final state of equilibrium cannot be realized, unless the moral and mental condition of mankind shall insure the good results of the forthcoming change. But humanitarians are sure that such a change will come; and they base this assurance not on the words of Comte, but on the fact that humanity is an organism and must inevitably come to such solidification of parts and specializations of functions which characterize all highly developed organisms.

Humanitarians see the ultimate triumph of "Comtism" in a far future; and, instead of insisting on its immediate realization, they look at it rather as at the beacon which keeps them from running ashore in this age of false and Utopian theories, as at the guiding light which helps them to approach the inevitable goal with the least amount of friction.

A great many socialists, reacting against the aristocratic tendencies of our time, cannot perceive the necessity of Comte's division in classes. They think that such division is not compatible with progress and true brotherhood. But those who look at the beautiful image of humanity for their guidance and advice see at once that every part of the organism is equally needed and equally important; that specialization of duties by no means includes a superiority of one kind of work over the other; that every avocation of life, if honestly performed, is equally important and honorable.

Under such revelation, the humblest street-cleaner becomes as important a servant of humanity as Herbert Spencer. Suspend the work of one, and the other will perish from malaria or typhoid fever. Nay, more: the very honor of producing a modern philosophy of evolution must be ascribed not to Mr. Spencer alone, but to the millions of his contemporaries and predecessors who fed, protected, and helped him during his work. Thus, the Religion of Humanity does not encourage hero-worship, but rather abates this relic of fetichism. It teaches us that every person who honestly performs his or her duties is a hero, and equally participates in all great achievements of the age. And men, under the influence of such sublime religion, will concentrate their admiration and worship on humanity as the only being to whom all honor is due, regarding themselves as equally necessary for the exchange of mutual obligations, as equally needed for the welfare of humanity, as equally humble in their service to it.

The Religion of Humanity cures the sickly notion that one occupation is more honorable than another. It puts to an end the restlessness, discontent, and jealousy so largely displayed in the struggles for a better place. More than that, this religion is adequate to support the unfortunate and to improve the conditions of the poor.

It is pre-eminently the Religion for the Oppressed.

Auguste Comte said that the Religion of Humanity will find its most ardent apostles and most numerous followers, not among the privileged classes, but among the laborers and women who are down-trodden, and so much in need of effective consolation and support. Experience and reason fully verify this wise statement.

We all know with what ease a man carries the burden of his life, when animated by religious enthusiasm. Hardly any one will deny a comfort derived by the suffering from the Christian religion. But, unhappily, the number of true Christians becomes less and less. Even the poor classes begin to despise the religion which is evidently unable to improve the present conditions of life. Thrown on their own meagre resources, these poor men naturally succumb under the weight of their cross; they revolt against the society which oppresses them; they defy the laws and morality; they are moved only by hate and hunger.

But the Religion of Humanity can lift them from the gutters of degradation. It gives a new meaning, a sanctity, to the humblest occupation; it brightens the gloomiest life; it cheers the poor in their miserable hovels, and enables them to work with increased trustworthiness, because it teaches them to work for humanity, not for employers; it tells them that, as every stone laid in the walls of a temple is a necessity to produce the impression of its beauty, so every honest life becomes a necessity in the perpetual development of the true, beautiful, and good in humanity, —so every man may become a real participator in all great and noble achievements of his age.

The Religion of Humanity arouses in the poorest of its followers a sense of dignity and manliness unknown to the dollar-worshippers. And this dignity, coupled with the conceptions of immortality, is able to thrill and comfort the humblest worker under the most trying circumstances.

Labor and Capital.

So far, we see only that the Religion of Humanity abates the spirit of despondency, discontent, and despair; that it imparts to the oppressed a spirit of endurance and patience; that it exercises the same pacifying influence as all other religions.

But there is one vast difference between the new and old religions. Others sanction the existing order of things, and thus, by pacifying the poor, secretly play into the hands of the oppressors; while the Religion of Humanity not only allays the pain, but denounces the very causes of misery and distress,—strikes at the very root of the evil.

The political economy of individuals is based on the assumption that a personal exertion displayed in obtaining a certain thing gives a right to own it. But every one who is thoroughly imbued with the grand conception of humanity must come to the opposite view. For him, any theory of personal property is a delusion and a snare, because all the elements of production, such as industrial abilities, energy, skill, and knowledge, are transferred from the past as free gifts of humanity; and no work of an individual can ever pay for these gifts, which have been accumulated and prepared during thousands of years and by innumerable minds of men. Hence, it follows that the more a person is endowed with such gifts, the more deeply he is in debt (if we use mercenary language), the more he is under obligation to fulfil his duties toward his benefactor.

Once a capitalist becomes a humanitarian, he would easily see that riches, accumulated in his hand, have been produced not only by his hired laborers (as it is falsely asserted by the social-democrats), but by the myriads of men who built up the present civilization, and made possible such an accumulation of wealth. He will regard himself as a trustee, holding in his hands the resultant of the work accumulated through the ages; and, as such, he is under obligations to produce the greatest amount of good with his trust. He may use for himself only such a part of the accumulated wealth which is strictly necessary for his healthy and vigorous activities; and when he dies, or becomes unable to do his duties, the capital must go, not to his children or relatives, but as a sacred trust, transferred to the ablest man capable to manage it for the good of others.

If a laborer becomes a humanitarian, he will turn in disgust from demagogues claiming that to the laborers belong the fruits of their labor. As a true servant of humanity, he will work not for the wages, but for the satisfaction of his sense of duty and gratitude. He knows very well that all his work during all his life cannot equal the amount of toil and suffering spent by millions of his fellow-men in producing even a small piece of bread.

True, laborers, alike with capitalists, are entitled to that share of wealth which is necessary to make them healthy, intelligent, and moral servants of humanity; but, in taking such a share, they must take it as a free gift of humanity, and thank it by redoubling the energy and efficiency of their work for the future generations.

Positivism sees in every organic life that nutrition belongs to the whole organism, and is always distributed so as to keep every cell in the most favorable condition for the work. It infers from this fact that all wealth produced by men belongs properly to humanity, and must be equitably distributed among its various organs. But the most ingenious schemes of rational distribution of wealth must fail, as long as men regard the produced wealth as their own personal property. Positivism is not dogmatic: it does not prescribe a future order of society; it does not give a universal panacea for all miseries. But it gives a deadly blow to the present system of economy by denying *in toto* the rights of inheritance and personal property in any form or shape. It breaks down the barrier which has kept wealth from an equitable distribution, and points at the much dreaded communism as the highest law of nature.

How few radical reformers can cope their contrivances with the breadth and width of this grand economical revelation, sanctioned by the Religion of Humanity! Many, appalled at this radical deduction, say that such a reform can be realized only on a small scale, in small communities of select persons; that it is impossible to apply it to the people at large. And, here, we must repeat what was said before. Life can be improved only gradually. Those who are selfish need a disciplinary school of the present hireling system. Coopers and Godins of to-day will transgress their duty, if they would give their wealth into the hands of those who support bar-rooms and tobacco stores. This commandment may be realized at present only by men who are ready to accept all the duties involved in it; *i.e.*, who are pure, unselfish, and loving servants of humanity.

The grandeur of the Religion of Humanity is that it does not sanction the present order of things, but regards it as the unavoidable heritage of the past, and a preparatory step toward something superior in the future. This religion takes up the radical deduction of Positivism, and impresses it on the hearts of men. It puts all of us in the awkward position of men who discover that money, which was supposed to be their own, belongs now to somebody else. The religion makes us ashamed of luxurious and even comfortable living while so many are poor and destitute, and prompts us toward the realization of a better order of things. Any reform which speaks to the human heart will be realized in a more efficient way and a great deal quicker than any intellectual effort of demagogues, which leads to hatred, jealousy, and bloodshed.

Under the peaceful and ennobling influence of the Religion of Humanity, the social reforms will be realized in another way. Instead of the few philanthropists of to-day, we shall have hundreds and thousands of them in the future. In the same rate will increase the number of industrious, trustworthy, and honest laborers. Life will gradually lose its bitterness,

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economical difficulties will dissolve themselves in the growing bond of mutual respect and dependence which will unite capitalists and laborers, and people will find that the only true and peaceful solution of the labor question lies in strict adherence to the teachings of the Religion of Humanity.

Elevate our sense of duty toward humanity, and you will speed a millennium: teach self-gratification, arouse bitter feelings and hatred, and you will only retard the desired end.

Governmental Reforms.

Some have great confidence in reforms imposed by governments. But forcible changes cannot be applied to social organisms, with their slow and gradual development. A man can retard or spoil the natural growth of a tree, but he cannot enforce it. No matter how good may be the intention of men in power, they cannot enforce their ideas on those who are not ready to accept them. It is time for rulers to understand that selfishness, vanity, greediness, deceit, and brutality cannot be exterminated by law; and, as long as these sources of evil-doing exist, the evil itself cannot be eradicated by any political reform. We may suppress evil in one form, but it will certainly appear in another. Life becomes better only in proportion as men get less brutal and selfish; but the improvement of morality belongs properly to religion, not to law.

The legislation may facilitate or retard the work of moral improvement; and, in this respect, it is an important element in the general developmental process of society. We object only to the folly of those who think that legislation, instead of being a result of moral improvement, is the cause of it.

As a new school of medicine teaches us to abstain from the use of drugs as long as there are doubts about their *modus operandi*, so new ethics, given by humanity as a living being, is against all legislative interferences, as long as there are doubts about a proper solution of involved problems. Hence, the folly of the rule by the majority of votes. Both tolerance and science—those two pillars of the New Religion—denounce this rule as a relic of barbarism. It may be of some use in our transitional stage of development, but it never will find a place in the better order of things. And, if the rule by ballots is far from being perfect, how much worse is the rule by bullets!

Revolution.

No organism can live healthily, when its organs are on a strike against one another. The mission of the Religion of Humanity is not to arouse one class of society against the other, but to establish a harmonious co-operation between all grand subdivisions of humanity.

Its head represented by *savants*, its heart represented by women, its sinew and bones represented by laborers, its vascular system represented by middlemen, and its nervous centres regulating the animal life represented by government, all these organs are needed, and each of them can successfully perform its duty only in co-operation with others.

An excessive and abnormal development of one organ may sometimes produce a commotion among the other organs: hence, the phenomena of a terrible social disease called "revolution." We must regard revolution as an inevitable result of the past transgressions, as a punishment for not adhering to the laws of nature, as a warning for the future, but never as the best and desirable way to reach a happy, brotherly life. When the vitality of a social organism is wasting in the struggle between its parts, the progressive movement is much retarded and sometimes becomes impossible.

Revolutionists say that disease may be beneficial, when it instructs us to avoid past errors. But even this benefit cannot compensate the injury wrought by disease. Against France, which in this century alone has passed through eight revolutions, we can put England with her wonderful progress without any revolution. And, above all, against a man who learns the laws of health through the painful process of sickness, we put a man who learns and obeys these laws.

I FIND that people who have really touched the bottom of any one subject are very modest, even upon that; and much more so in regard to giving opinions upon subjects of which they really know nothing.—*W. M. Hunt.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

Editors of the Index:—

In your edition of February 22, under the head of "Who is Right?" a Philadelphia "Inquirer" wishes to be "enlightened" in regard to a passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus. Although you have answered his query, I feel that it would not be out of place to offer a few words relative thereto, particularly as the "Inquirer" has requested the author of *Bible Myths* to do so.

After quoting from Mr. Waite's *History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred*, for the purpose of showing that the author considers the passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, which refers to "Christ" and the "Christians," to be genuine, he says that he is confronted with an altogether different story on page 566 of *Bible Myths*, and wishes to know "who is right."

The only difference, that I can see, between the statements made by Mr. Waite and myself, is that he considers the passage alluded to to be genuine, and *I do not*. What reasons Mr. Waite may have for coming to his conclusion is, of course, unknown to me; but, with your permission, I will give a few of the reasons for taking the position I do in the matter, feeling at the same time unwarranted in taking the space in your paper that is really necessary to do the subject justice.

In the first place, the passage is not quoted by *any* of the Christian Fathers, though some of them quote the works of Tacitus, and though all of them sadly needed such passages in support of their statements, particularly St. Clement of Alexandria, who set himself entirely to the work of adducing and bringing together *all the admissions and recognitions* which pagan authors had made of the existence of Christ Jesus or Christians before his time; but, in spite of all his research, he failed to find or mention this passage, which, if it existed at that time, I have no doubt he would have found and mentioned.

2. It has been nowhere stumbled upon by the laborious and all-seeking Eusebius, whose keen eye I do not believe it would have escaped had the passage then been in existence, and whom it would have saved the labor of forging other passages in support of the "cause of Christ," for which, he avows, it is lawful to lie and cheat. (*Ecclesiastical History*, viii., 21.)

3. Tacitus has in no other part of his writings made the least allusion to "Christ" or "Christians."

4. No reference whatever is made to this passage by any writer or historian, monkish or otherwise, before the fifteenth century, which, to say the least, is very singular, considering that after that time it is quoted, or referred to, or commented upon in an endless list of works, which by itself is all but conclusive that it was not in existence till the fifteenth century. From that day to this, the counterfeit coin has passed current, only a few having noticed the absence of the *true ring* of the genuine metal.

5. The age in which this—to me—glaring forgery appeared was one of imposture and of credulity so immoderate that people were easily imposed upon, believing, as they did, without sufficient evidence, or on slight evidence, or no evidence at all, whatever was foisted upon them. Among the numerous reasons which might be cited to show that either the *Annals*, or part thereof, could not have been written by Tacitus, is the fact that, although Julius Cæsar when he visited Britain found the inhabitants, without an exception, *thorough barbarians*, the best of them living in places that were fortified woods, yet the author of the *Annals*, who is placed only a century after this wild state of things in the barbarism of the inhabitants and the rudeness of their abodes, is made to speak of London, in the reign of Nero, in the year 60, as if it were the chief residence of merchants, and their principal mart of trade in the civilized world. Whereas, it is certain that centuries after—in the middle of the fourth—the people of London were only exporters of corn, and carried on no other kind of commerce, except it might be doing a little business in dogs, and slaves whom they captured from neighboring barbarians, their imports being polished bits of bone, toys, and horse-collars. But any one living in the fifteenth century, especially in Italy (to which circumstances point as being the place where the forger lived), and hearing a great deal of the wealth, greatness, and immense antiquity of London, might easily fall into this mistake; but any one living about the time of Nero, as Tacitus did, could never have described London as in this flourishing state of commercial greatness and prosperity. The statement, then, found in the *Annals*, that London had "the very greatest reputation for the number of its merchants and commodities of trade" in Nero's time, is utterly unfounded, nothing more nor less than outrageously absurd. The picture, however, is quite true, if London be considered during the fifteenth century.

That the Fathers of the Church—or, as we have seen, *any writer*, monkish or otherwise, until the fifteenth century—did not quote or refer to this passage, because, in the same section, the Christians are said to be held in abhorrence for their crimes, etc., does not have any weight from the fact that they have referred to passages in the writings of *others* which speak of Christians in a similar manner. Why, then, should they quote one, while overlooking another? And that "these phrases make a pagan authorship certain," and that "no Christian would have said that Jesus was put to death as a criminal, without at least adding the word 'unjustly,' I cannot allow. On the contrary, it seems to me that these are just the words they would be apt to make use of. Knowing that the person who forged the passage in Josephus rather *overdid* the matter, it was the object of the writers of this and other such passages to speak of the Christians as their enemies might have been supposed to have spoken of them, reviling and decrying themselves in as strong terms as their enemies would have been likely to use against them, believing that it would be better to be spoken of in any way than not to be spoken of at all. To show that this has been the case in one instance at least,—though others might be cited,—I will mention the *Inscription to Nero*, so called, said to have been inscribed on a public monument, and to be found in Gruter's *Inscriptions*. It is as follows: "To Claudius Cæsar Nero Augustus, Supreme Pontiff. In honor of the Province having been purged from *thieves*, and from those who were endeavoring to teach mankind a *new superstition*." Now, this, as Mr. Gibbon remarks, "is a manifest and *acknowledged* forgery," made by a *Christian*, who calls the followers of Christ "thieves" and teachers of "a new superstition," yet it was grabbed at and paraded as "external evidence" for centuries; while the passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, which speaks of the Christian religion as being "spread over Judea," and of "vast multitudes" of Christians being in Rome in the days of Nero, A.D. 60, about thirty years after the crucifixion of Jesus,—an utterly absurd statement, and certainly not detrimental to Christianity,—is altogether overlooked!

These, then, are some of the reasons for believing the passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, which refers to "Christ" and "Christians," to be one of the many Christian frauds: and, until some evidence stronger than that which has heretofore been given shall be presented us, I must continue to believe so.

Very respectfully yours,

AUTHOR OF "BIBLE MYTHS."

THE SUNDAY QUESTION IN LITERATURE.

Editors of The Index:—

I have noticed that, in discussing the Sunday question in the newspapers here, writers on both sides quote from authorities ancient and modern, without mentioning the place in their works where the quotation may be found; often quoting, I suppose, at second or third hand, and not having looked up the original. Although I believe in taking "truth for authority," not authority for truth, yet in a case like this, where authorities are quoted, it is well to go back to the originals once in a while; and the following list has been compiled to serve as an aid to the intelligent discussion of this question. The writers mentioned vary in opinion from those favoring what is called the Puritanical observance to those desiring merely a secular holiday for rest and recreation. The list of references to magazine articles may be greatly extended by consulting the new edition of Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*.

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H. E. A.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS CARLYLE AND RALPH WALDO EMERSON, 1834 to 1872. Edited by Charles Eliot Norton. Jas. R. Osgood & Co. 2 vols. $4.00.

As we might have expected, the correspondence of two such men as Carlyle and Emerson is full of interest. We get nearer to the heart of each. We inhale the perfume of a noble friendship. We are strengthened by a nearer view of the strength of these great men. Carlyle shows the stronger nature, Emerson the sweeter disposition. There are many pleasant glimpses of the inner and home life of each; and there are many execrations, or deprecations, on both sides, concerning the slipperiness and untrustworthiness of publishers. The first letter in the correspondence is that of Emerson, dated May 14, 1834; the last is Carlyle's, written in 1872, nine years before his death. The letters are one hundred and seventy-three in number. There is an introduction by the editor, Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, and excellent notes by the same careful hand. Beautiful portraits, one of Carlyle and one of Emerson, accompany the volumes; and there are very full indexes and tables of contents.

The style of Emerson's letters is stately and dignified. Indeed, they seem to belong (and in truth they do) to another age than this era of rushing powers and overturnings of thought. When this correspondence was begun, the epoch of railroads was just beginning. Letters and books took months to pass to and from England. A voyage was something serious. The distance that separates that day from ours is very well marked by one sentence of Emerson in the correspondence. He says that at the date of his writing (about 1835) nothing literary had yet succeeded in New York City. But we must give a few extracts from the letters, that the reader may judge for himself of their worth. In criticising Carlyle's style, Emerson says: "Evermore thanks for the brave stand you have made for spiritualism in these writings. But has literature any parallel to the oddity of the vehicle chosen to convey this treasure? I delight in the contents; the form, *which my defective apprehension for a joke makes me not appreciate*, I leave to your merry discretion." The sentence we have italicized is a key-note to Emerson's character. Emerson asks Carlyle for a theory of his rhetoric; is offended by it. In the second epistle, Carlyle responds: "My view is that now at last we have lived to see all manner of Poetics and Rhetorics and Sermonics, and one may say generally all manner of *Pulpits* for addressing mankind from, as good as broken and abolished. . . . I know no method of much consequence except that of *believing*, of being *sincere*: from Homer and the Bible down to the poorest Burns's Song, I find no other Art that promises to be perennial."

The great contrast brought out by the correspondence is between the priestly Puritanism of the gentle Emerson and the nobly universal, shaggy, non-priestly, Scotch Calvinism of Carlyle. Emerson is shocked at Goethe's and Shakspere's universality: he is in love with Milton and Socrates and Swedenborg and all preachers. Yet he says, "We can tolerate vice in a splendid nature whilst that nature is battling with the brute majority in defence of some human principle." But Whitman's coarseness displeased him, and he writes to Carlyle that in sending him a book by a certain journeyman printer in Brooklyn, named Walter Whitman, he warns him of the lack of morals he will find in it, and tells him he can light his pipe with it, if he pleases! In another letter, Carlyle advises Emerson to learn the German language, that he may study Goethe. And so Emerson did. Of the Unitarians, Carlyle says: "To speak with perhaps ill-bred candor, I like as well to fancy you *not* preaching to Unitarians a Gospel after their heart. I will say farther, that you are the only man I ever met with of that persuasion whom I could unobstructedly like. The others that I have seen were all a kind of half-way house characters, who, I thought, should, if they had not wanted courage, have ended in unbelief; in 'faint possible Theism,' which I like considerably worse than Atheism. Such, I could not but feel, deserve the fate they find here; the bat fate: to be killed among the rats as a bird, among the birds as a rat." There is space for but a single other extract,—a glimpse into the domestic life of Emerson. He says: "I occupy or *improve*, as we Yankees say, two acres only of God's earth; on which is my house, my kitchen-garden, my orchard of thirty young trees, my empty barn. My house is now a very good one for comfort, and abounding in room. Besides my house, I have, I believe, $22,000, whose income in ordinary years is six per cent. I have no other title or glebe except the income of my winter lectures, which was last year $800. Well, with this income, here at home, I am a rich man. I stay at home and go abroad at *my own* instance. I have food, warmth, leisure, books, friends. Go away from home, I am rich no longer. I never have a dollar to spend on a fancy."

FIGURES OF THE PAST. From the Leaves of Old Journals. By Josiah Quincy. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883. Price $1.50.

This book is much more interesting than its title would indicate, and this the public seem to have soon discovered, since the third edition of it is already in the market. The recent death of the distinguished author may in part explain the demand; but, to those interested in New England history, this book is especially entertaining. It is one of the few good results of keeping a journal by men and women of literary ability and keen power of observation, as it was from his old journals, mainly, that Mr. Quincy collected the materials for this pleasantly gossipy volume. To the readers of *The Index*, his reference to such acquaintances as W. E. Channing, Emerson, Lafayette, Harrison Gray Otis, Wendell Phillips, Elisha R. Potter, and others, will be of especial interest. It is rather amusing to read at this date that Emerson, a classmate at Harvard with Mr. Quincy, was asked to accept the position of class poet only after seven others of presumed superior ability had been asked, and refused. In the senior year of their class, Mr. Quincy and Emerson, competing with others for prizes in English composition, won the two prizes offered; but Mr. Quincy took the first prize! Writing of Emerson at that time, Mr. Quincy says, "He was quiet, unobtrusive, and only a fair scholar according to the standard of the college authorities." Under date of July, 1821, occurs this entry in Mr. Quincy's journal: "Attended a dissertation of Emerson's in the morning, on the subject of Ethical Philosophy. I found it long and dry." Mr. Quincy wrote in an amiable and genial, but quietly critical spirit, and at no time does his narrative grow prosy, dull, or caustic.

TE DEUM. By Vincenzo Cirillo. Issued by J. M. Russell, 59 Bromfield Street, Boston. 50 cts.

The author is the basso of the choir of the Church of the Unity, and in this vigorous musical composition has conformed to the wishes of the minister of the church, Rev. M. J. Savage, by employing words that so modify the customary phrase as to make them palatable to liberal doctrine. Mr. Savage remarks respecting it, "The attempt is here made to preserve all the main features and the traditional power of the *Te Deum*, while making such slight alterations as shall prevent its seeming to set the pulpit and choir in direct opposition to each other." Leaders of liberal church choirs have had no slight perplexity arising from the dearth of such musical effort as this.

THE *Century* for March opens with a fine full-page portrait of the dead French leader, Léon Gambetta: there is also an interesting sketch of his life, written previous to his death, by one who for years had excellent opportunities for knowing him and studying his career. The opening article is one of George Cable's historical sketches of the South, "The End of Foreign Dominion in Louisiana." Under the title of "A Good Fight Finished," Leonard Woolsey Bacon pays a filial tribute of respect to the life and character of his father, Rev. Leonard W. Bacon, D.D. H. H.'s sketch of "The Village of Oberammergau," the birthplace of the celebrated Passion Play, will be read with

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much interest, in view of Salmi Morse's recent determined efforts to exhibit the play in New York. John Burroughs' "Signs and Seasons" is one of his delightful studies of nature. Lucia Gilbert Runkle, apropos of the recent demand for the admission of women to Columbia College, which she calls "A New Knock at an Old Door," writes strongly and sensibly of a higher education for women. Edward Eggleston's "Migrations of American Colonists" is accompanied among other illustrations by portraits of Peter Stuyvesant, Lord Baltimore, John Davenport, John Locke, Gen. James Oglethorpe, and William Penn. Roger Riordan has a profusely illustrated article, "The Architectural League of New York." Mrs. Foote's "Led-Horse Claim" is finished in this number, Howells' story increases in interest, and Mrs. Burnett's seems to be nearing its end. Two poems in this number are of more than usual interest,—"Jones Very," by Wm. P. Andrews, and an unfinished poem hitherto unpublished of W. Cullen Bryant's, addressed to his dead wife. "Yatil" is a short, rather weird story by Frank D. Millet. The editorial departments are filled with excellent and timely notes.

THE principal article in the *Revue de Belgique* for February relates the dictatorship of Gambetta during the Franco-Prussian war, and then his experience during the administration of Thiers in carrying out the programme which the people's orator announced thus, on June 20, 1871: "It is necessary to complete the revolution by emancipating the artisan and the peasant intellectually." A valuable series of articles on Russia, by an able author long resident there, commences in this number by a picturesque account of St. Petersburg.

WE have received a catalogue of a library provided by the Rumford Chemical Works, of Providence, for the use of the operatives. The books are carefully selected, and must afford much valuable instruction and entertainment. Of course, tastes will differ as to the proportion given to different subjects and authors. We should like to see Emerson more largely represented, and Theodore Parker not wholly forgotten; but perhaps theology is intentionally avoided, as neither Channing nor Beecher finds a place. Such libraries do a great deal toward forming the minds of the working classes, and we commend the wisdom of the Rumford Corporation in providing such good food for their workmen. Others wishing to do likewise will find this catalogue useful as a guide. It contains a small collection of German and Swedish books.

MANY readers of *The Index* will be pleased to learn that the Memoir of Samuel Johnson, by Samuel Longfellow, his bosom friend for forty years, and companion in travels at home and abroad, with some of Mr. Johnson's lectures, essays, and sermons, will be published on the 17th inst. The brief memoir with letters occupies about one hundred and fifty pages. The rest of the volume, about three hundred and twenty pages (four hundred and seventy in all), will contain lectures, etc., with the following titles: "Florence," "The Alps of the Ideal, and the Switzerland of the Swiss," "Symbolism of the Sea," "Fulfilment of Functions," "Equal Opportunity for Woman," "Labor Parties and Labor Reform," "The Law of the Blessed Life," "Gain in Loss," "The Search for God," "Fate," "Living by Faith," "The Duty of Delight," "Transcendentalism." The compiler, A. M. Haskell, while endeavoring to make selections that would present the different sides of Mr. Johnson's thought, has found himself able to gratify the wishes of his friends in regard to the selections. Almost every article has been named by some friend who had heard it. A general desire has been expressed for something giving his profound religious insight and faith. The sermons on "Gain in Loss," "The Search for God," "Fate," "Living by Faith," and "The Duty of Delight," have been selected with special reference to this demand. The volume will be rich in thought, with great beauty of expression and sweetness of spirit.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

REV. DR. R. HEBER NEWTON, of All Souls' Episcopal Church, New York, has been dangerously ill at his home in Garden City. He is now out of danger. Dr. Newton had been greatly overworked in issuing his new book, *Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible.*

MR. CHARLES WATTS addressed good-sized audiences at Paine Hall last Sunday afternoon and evening. His discourses were able and eloquent, and awakened an interest amounting to enthusiasm. He speaks next in New York, and then goes to Canada to meet engagements in Montreal and Toronto.

DR. CLEMENCEAU, the distinguished leader of the extreme left in the French Chamber of Deputies, was not only teacher of French literature in a Hartford boarding-school between the summer of 1867 and the fall of 1867, but he won as a wife one of the pupils, Miss Plummer, of Durand, Wis., who is said to have left this city with her parents while a child. He returned from France to marry her in 1869.

THE students of the Dallas Academy, Alabama, having set apart a day to be observed in honor of John G. Whittier, the poet wrote to the teacher of the school: "Say to the dear young people under thy charge that, while I loved liberty and hated slavery, I had never any but the kindest feelings toward the people of the South. I believed that they would be more prosperous and happy if slavery should cease; and I think it is already evident that the South has now started on the road to a higher degree of prosperity than it has ever known, and no one can more heartily rejoice in your welfare than myself. We are now one people: we have a common interest in the Union. Let us forget the unhappy past in the brightening prospects of the future."

A SHORT time ago, a visitor who had gone to see the famous house in Cheyne Walk where lived and died the "Sage of Chelsea" was driven by a storm to take refuge in a neighboring shop. The shopkeeper was an imposing-looking man, who might have been a royal ambassador or a lord chancellor. Curious to know what so great an individual in a small shop thought of his illustrious neighbor, the visitor questioned him upon the subject. "Why," was the reply, "we thought northinks of 'im 'ereabouts. He never spent northink at any shops in this street; and, as for temper, you should 'ave 'eard 'im slam 'is door to. But" (with a pitying sigh) "the last year or two a few people in carriages did come to see 'im, so I suppose he was recognized at last."

MR. TABOR, of Colorado, managed to get considerable fun out of his thirty days' term in the United States Senate, and to give his colleagues much amusement, too. Not the least interesting of his exploits was his personal quest—an entirely unprecedented performance—after the autographs of prominent men. His pursuit of senatorial signatures was enacted on the floor of the Senate during the last few hours of the session. The sight of a millionnaire Senator trotting from desk to desk, with an album in one hand and a blotting-pad in the other, was enough to summon a grin to the most saturnine visage. Every now and then, according to a Boston *Transcript* correspondent, he would go to his desk and check off on a tally-list the names he had secured, and then set out for the others. He repaid his colleagues for signing their names by pointing out to them his handsome new wife, who sat in the gallery.

PRINCE GORTSCHAKOFF, the oldest of the small number of distinguished European diplomats who have won a measure of fame extending far beyond the limits of his own country, is dead. He was in his ninety-fourth year, and had outlived his political importance. He was the foremost diplomat of a nation whose diplomacy is especially astute. He was the most successful foreign minister that Russia has ever seen; for he came upon the stage after his country had lost her predominance on the Continent, and his dexterous management twice regained for her much of the influence which she had forfeited by failure in the field. He was a typical Russian, devoted, heart and soul, to his master, the Czar,—imperious, mysterious, fearless, and subtle. Gortschakoff was a good friend to this country throughout the Civil War, and this fact should cause his memory to be cherished for a long time by Americans. If the Russian government had listened to the French proposition of a joint intervention with France and England to stop the contest in 1862, American affairs might not now be in the condition that they are. Gortschakoff defeated the scheme. Compared with Bismarck, he was an unsuccessful man in one sense; but it remains to be proved which has done the most for his countrymen, notwithstanding Bismarck has the German Empire passed to his credit.

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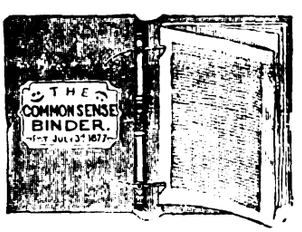

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 445

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Amending History, Wm. J. Potter, ... 446
An Easter Homily, John W. Chadwick, ... 446
The Secret of the East, Felix L. Oswald, ... 447
The Salvation Army, B. F. U., ... 448

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 449

POETRY.
Crossing a Moor, Xenos Clark, ... 450

LIVE THOUGHTS, ... 450

ESSAYS.
The Extension of the Ethical Movement, Felix Adler, 450
Free Religious Association Conventions, F. A. H., . . 452

CORRESPONDENCE.
Who is to Determine which is the Right Conscience? W., 454
Philadelphia Quakerism Defended, David Newport, . 454
Eusebius and Pious Frauds, ... 452

BOOK NOTICES.
An Original Lecture, by James Parton, ... 454
The Art Amateur, North American Review, Unitarian Review, Our Little Ones, ... 455

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 455

CURRENT TOPICS.

ANOTHER human form has been found among the ruins of Pompeii. It is that of a man, and very perfect.

IN the Connecticut Legislature last week, a bill was passed repealing the bill relating to the letting of vehicles on Sunday. As it stood, it was in conflict with the revised law of 1882.

THE dynamite explosion at Westminster on the 15th reminds us of the gunpowder plot of 1605, when Guy Fawkes with several other conspirators intended to blow up James I., the ministers, lords, and commons by gunpowder stored in vaults under the parliament house.

THE Lessing Association of Free Thinkers at Leipzig, having offered a prize of five hundred marks for the best essay upon the "moral laws based solely upon unquestionable facts in the natural experiences of man, which are fitted to furnish a guide for human action in the various relations of life," has now awarded the prize to an instructor in philosophy at the University of Berlin. The judges in this contest were Dr. Hermann Grimm, Dr. Lasker, and Prof. Scherer.

WOMEN are to have a department of their own at the coming Mechanics' Fair in this city. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe and some other Boston women have the matter in hand, and are sending out circulars to New England women, urging them to co-operate. Women who have invented any device for household or other purposes are expected to send in their work. Some of woman's industries which are to be represented are floriculture, bee culture, raisin culture, the making of dresses and children's clothes, carpets, wall-paper designs, art needlework, and botanical collections. An acre of space is to be given this department in the fair.

THE *Presbyterian* says: "Bishop Bedell, of Ohio, has written an article on the 'Decline of Religion,' which he admits, and gives some weighty counsels as to its recovery. The methods he suggests are 'renewed confidence in revelation as the absolute source of eternal verities; revived confidence in the apostles, and outspoken reverence for them as the embodiment of saving truth; revived confidence in the sacraments, in their simple, eternal purity, as spiritual realities; revived faith in the divine personality of the Holy Spirit; and a revival of confidence in prayer, and in the use of constant, earnest, believing prayers as the means that will bring the answer men need.'" We have no doubt whatever that, if the bishop's prescription be strictly followed, orthodox religion will also be "revived," the only drawback to his prescription being that "if."

THE *Examiner* (Baptist) freely concedes the point we have pressed in regard to the damnation of the vast majority, at least of the adult portion, of the race. It says: "The idea of a probation in this life does imply the possibility of salvation, but the possibility may never be realized. As a matter of fact, we believe that, for *the vast majority of the heathen, this possibility never is realized*, and we never yet heard of an orthodox theologian who held any other belief than this." This is meeting the issue fairly and squarely. The *Examiner* does not seem to be afraid to show its colors. Now let it print its weekly edition on black paper with a small margin of white, and its color will correspond with its doctrine. We are glad, however, that the *Examiner* is consistent. In these days of word-twisting and mental reservation, consistency is a notable virtue.—*Christian Register.*

THE London correspondent of the *Catholic Review*, a gentleman of distinction, writes: "Free thinking is now so demonstrative that it would be unwise to 'cast the pearls before the swine.' As an example of this last truth, an event occurred a few nights since which at least showed the boldness of free thinking. At one of the theatres in the metropolis, the Marquis of Queensberry rose from his stall in the pit, and protested before the audience the disrespect to the free thinkers which had been implied by certain passages in the play. Now, I have myself witnessed plays in which a travesty on Catholic priests, or a most truculent distortion of Catholic history, was put before the audience as plain fact; but no one rose from his stall to protest."

THE New York correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* says, in a recent letter: "The new Nineteenth Century Club in New York City got into a red-hot wrangle the other evening. Prof. Sumner read a paper on Sociology, showing the existence in society of forces that tend to the elimination of the weaker members and the survival of the fittest. The inference from the paper was that the humanitarians and sentimental reformers were often engaged in a worse than useless work. They undertook to keep alive the unworthy at the expense of the worthy members of society. This philosophy appeared to be very repugnant to Prof. Rice of Columbia College. He waded into evolutionists and sociologists in general, and Herbert Spencer in particular, accusing that philosopher of ignorance and inaccuracy. Prof. Boyesen took up the cudgel in Mr. Spencer's behalf, and for a time the conflict of words was sharp, if not exactly acrimonious. Prof. Sumner closed the discussion with a defence of sociology. He contended that sociology had for its object the determination of the forces at work in society, that mankind may take note of them and act in accordance with the laws of nature. Its object was neither moral nor immoral, neither benevolent nor unbenevolent."

IN New York on the same day last week were carried to the grave the bodies of the murderer McGloin, who had perished upon the gallows for his crime, and Elliott, a prize-fighter, who had been killed in Chicago by another ruffian of his own class. The funeral of each was an ovation. All the roughs of the neighborhood in which the murderer had lived turned out, the streets were lined with people, many of them sympathizers, a long line of carriages followed the hearse, a profusion of flowers and floral mottoes of elaborate construction graced the bier, and the religious ceremonies were full and auspicious of a glorious eternity for "the absent but not forgotten one." The display at the obsequies of Elliott was even greater. It was a sort of apotheosis of ruffianism. It is stated that along the line of march fully three hundred thousand people were out of doors to see the great funeral of the murdered pugilist. Of these, many were boys. It was impossible to number the carriages in attendance. In the procession were politicians, aldermen, prize-fighters, Thugs and thieves, burglars, gamblers, and a plentiful supply of bedizened women of the town. No such demonstration of the sort, the New York papers state, had been seen in the city since the funeral of Bill Poole, which occurred some twenty-five years ago. We hope this display over the bodies of a murderer and a prize-fighter, if it have no other good effect, will tend to discourage among thoughtful and self respecting people all display at funerals as manifestly out of place, as positively unseemly and vulgar. On account of the disgraceful scenes accompanying the burial, the New York *Herald* suggests that the Legislature of that State be petitioned to order the burial of murderers in the jail-yard. A reporter of the paper mentioned called upon Mr. Andrew Martin, the Treasurer of the Trustees of the Calvary Cemetery, to ask his opinion concerning the complaints of many Catholics that murderers were allowed to be buried in the cemetery. Mr. Martin said (see New York *Herald*, March 14): "Elliott sent for a priest after he was shot. McGloin, before his death, satisfied all the requirements of the Church, and died repentant, so far as we know. They were within the pale of the Church, and how could they be refused [Church] burial? . . . There is a part of the cemetery set aside for the burial of such as die without the rites of the Church. This is unblessed ground; and here are put the bodies of suicides, of still-born infants, of infants who die before the rite of baptism has been performed. —in fact, of all who do not die *as the Church decrees they ought.*"

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AMENDING HISTORY.

A few weeks ago, the Boston *Daily Advertiser* celebrated its removal into its new building and its seventieth birthday by issuing a sheet of twenty pages containing copious biographical matter pertaining to itself and much historical matter pertaining to its period of seventy years. It was an occasion on which it might well congratulate itself; and it knows truly that, in spite of the proverbial laugh against it for its slowness and for its cautious grandmotherly regard for its respectability, it has won a solid credit for character which is worth possessing and worth preserving. But there are, doubtless, some things in its life of threescore years and ten which it might now wish otherwise. Even newspapers are not infallible. And the *Advertiser*, in the old days of the Abolitionists' struggle and of the Fugitive Slave Law, was, like most of the newspapers of that time, very derelict in its duty, if duty be judged by any higher standard than the law of the land. It was among the chief supports of the mob, composed of "gentlemen of property and standing" (largely its own subscribers), which broke up the anti-slavery meeting in Boston in 1835, and dragged Garrison through the streets. It denounced and reviled the Abolitionists, and sustained the Fugitive Slave measures. On all these things, it might, naturally, be expected to keep silent on its congratulatory day, unless it was ready to make a manly confession of error; and then other people would have graciously remained silent also, even though remembering these shortcomings of a bygone era.

But, unfortunately, one of the writers for the *Advertiser's* celebration number was not content with silence on these points, but threw in a little paragraph intended to defend the *Advertiser's* course in the anti-slavery struggle as right, and to show that of the Abolitionists to be wrong; and, in this six-line paragraph, he contrived to manifest not a little of the old venom by a needless fling at Hon. George Thompson and Miss Harriet Martineau as "foreign carpet-baggers," who intermeddled in our domestic problem of slavery, and of whom the old *Advertiser*, as this writer says, "was pitiless in its denunciation." This paragraph has called forth from William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., a vigorous article in protest, which was printed in the Boston *Herald*. The article shows that the son inherits a good portion of his father's power for terse, logical statement. It does not leave much of the *Advertiser's* six-line sophistical attempt to better its history. Mr. Garrison closes thus:—

> It seems to be taken for granted, in these days, that memories are short, and tarnished ancestral reputations can be reconstructed by a careful biographer. The anti-slavery agitation has receded to such a distance that, to the youth of to-day, a simple relation of what was common in Boston streets a generation ago is as incredible as the cruelties of the inquisition. Unutterably rejoiced that the curse of slavery has been removed, the anti-slavery survivors of the conflict have no disposition to open old wounds. It is only when some injudicious friend of a former transgressor, trusting to the security of forgetfulness, attempts a vindication by staining the memory of freedom's heroes that it is necessary to produce the record in defence of historical truth.

This attempt of the *Advertiser* to set these disagreeable facts of its history in a better light is an illustration of a too general habit. People, fortunately, progress, and often in spite of themselves. The logic of events is a vigorous teacher. New positions which are taken condemn those which have been held. And, thus people are tempted to try to reverse the decree of history by a kind of *ex post facto* resolution of amendment. Sometimes, they deny that they ever held the abandoned positions; and sometimes, like the *Advertiser*, they endeavor to conceal what their real positions were, or to make it appear that, whatever they were, they were at any rate better than their enemies' positions. No fact, for instance, was more notorious or more shameful than that, in the great anti-slavery conflict in America, the churches and clergy stood on the side of the slaveholder. There were honorable exceptions, a few churches and more ministers being faithful to the rights of the slave. But, as a rule, the enormous ecclesiastical power of the country in that issue was with slavery and was one of its mightiest bulwarks. And this fact it was which drove thousands of persons, to whom moral conviction was more than ecclesiastical conformity, outside of all churches, and even into positions of scepticism as to whether the Church can ever become a leader in moral and social progress. And yet, in spite of this record which the American churches wrote out for themselves, the attempt has again and again been made, since the slaveholders' rebellion was ended and sealed by the slave's emancipation, to cheat history into recording a judgment precisely the opposite.

The same thing is evident in religious progress. It was Emerson who said, as wittily as truly, that one of the most encouraging signs of advancement of thought in our time is that most of the sects are denying that they hold the opinions they are charged with. No matter what the catechisms or the statements of synods or the Andover creeds may say, there is a "substance of doctrine" always at hand for covering up or explaining away the hard points which over-critical enemies assail. And the Unitarians adopt essentially the same procedure with regard to the treatment which Emerson and Parker once received from their body. No Unitarian association or conference, it is claimed, ever excommunicated Parker; which, though it may be literally true, is so only because there was no conference or association which had authority to register the manifold acts, official and personal, by which the Unitarian denomination of the time gave Parker and the public distinctly to understand that he was an outcast from the denominational fold. And, when the Unitarians took charge of Emerson's funeral services, few persons not acquainted with the circumstances would have supposed from anything there said, or from the general obituary notices of him in their pulpits and publications, that he was ever ostracized from their respectable body as a heretic. In the Catholic Church, one motive of the strong desire for retaining the education of Catholic children in the hands of the priesthood is to insure that the innocent eyes of their youth shall only read certain dark pages in the history of the papal church through spectacles of modern Catholic manufacture.

Now, the wish, thus variously shown, to secure the approving judgment of posterity, is most commendable. But the methods which we have here noticed for attaining this object are delusive and ineffectual. No record actually made can thus be permanently expunged or amended. The best light to throw back upon any questionable point in one's past is, where it can honestly be done, frankly to confess that one erred, yet acted according to one's own honest judgment and conscience at the time. To try to explain away the point, or to newly interpret it in the light of later knowledge, amends nothing, but rather betrays a lurking consciousness that the best thing possible even then was not done, but that motives of selfish timidity and a cowardly compromising conscience had too much to do with making the record. An honest record needs no apologetic *post factum* interpretations or improvements, and never has cause to shun the impartial verdict of history.

WM. J. POTTER.

AN EASTER HOMILY.

The Easter of the churches is a celebration of the resurrection of *a* body. The fact of such a resurrection is doubted or denied by many thoughtful persons. But the Resurrection of *the* Body is a fact these persons cannot doubt and have no inclination to deny.

The human body, as an object of thought and feeling, has experienced some strange vicissitudes. The antithesis of body and mind, matter and spirit, has often been asserted in the baldest fashion. It manifests itself in our own time in the accent with which the word Materialism is invariably pronounced in theological circles, in the ill-natured concession of the most obvious facts implying any intimate connection between the body and the mind, in the still more ill-natured insistence on the irruption of some supernatural force into the material order of the world to account for the beginnings of life, the genesis of species, and so on. The signs are many of this sort. Nevertheless, they are but eddies whose uneasy bubbling and gyration mark the force of the main current and its direction toward an ever freer, fuller recognition of the spiritual significance of material things, and especially of the material body. By this sign the present time is distinguished as by no other. Various are the attempts to name aright the age in which we live. It is called the age of comfort, the age of steam, the age of science, the industrial age, and so on. But, above all things, it is the age of matter's elevation into harmonious unity with the eternal Spirit of the World and of the human body's resurrection and ascension into honored partnership with the human mind and heart and will.

Materialism is a bugbear which frightens many timid people; and, in good sooth, there is a materialism at which men may well be frightened. This is the materialism of coarse and sensual modes of life. There is, too, a theoretic materialism, which would be alarming, if science or philosophy showed any signs of accepting its statement. This is the materialism which conceives, or thinks it does, of matter as at first wholly without life, and yet ultimately producing life without any intervention of a higher power. But this materialism is only the materialism of men who do not think. Every man who thinks knows that, if there is in matter "the promise and the potency of all terrestrial life," there must be life in matter as such from the beginning, a divinity in the atoms adequate to the production of everything that has been produced. "If life and thought are the flower of matter, then any definition of matter which omits life and thought must be inadequate, if not untrue." So Tyndall puts the case. From such materialism we have much to hope; little, if anything, to fear. If matter were, indeed, "a datum objective to God," something outside of him, not of his own creation, what would become of his infinity? Infinity plus matter, plus any thing, is absurd. God must be all in all, or he is not an infinite God. But all the suggestions of science are opposed to any dualistic conception of the world. Our word Universe is not a great misnomer. It harmonizes with the fact. It means *turned into one.* The world is this, but only in virtue of an Eternal One, who does the turning, not from without, but from within. The correlation of physical and vital forces, the unities of nature and of life,—so innumerable, so wonderful,—do they not all report a central and abiding oneness at the heart of things?

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The Resurrection of the Body! Matter, the Body of the Universe, is rising from the grave of dualistic thought. No contemptuous word concerning it is in order now. It is so full of mystery, so full of life, so full of deity, that we speak of it with bated breath, almost as if we dared not utter the Ineffable Name! And man's material substance shares in all the newly acquired dignities and honors of the material world. Robert Browning voices the new doctrine in his "Rabbi Ben Ezra" thus:—

"Then let us no more say:
Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole.
As the bird wings and sings
Let us cry, All good things
Are ours: nor soul helps flesh more now than flesh helps soul."

This is the new gospel of the mutual relations of the soul and body. It is resented by the majority of men and women who still think it something fine to speak disparagingly of the body, and even to treat it somewhat unhandsomely. The mental physiologist has collected thousands of facts showing how intimate is the relation of the body and the mind, how far a man's tissues go to determine his thoughts and his morality. Whereupon, good men and women put their fingers in their ears. They will not listen to such blasphemy. It is materializing mind, materializing morals, they insist, to admit such a relation. Well, this is one way of looking at it; and, to those who are not very particular about names, perhaps as good a way as any. The fact is the great thing; and the fact is that thought and morals are conditioned to an immense degree by physical conditions. But there are two ways of reading this fact, if the good people did but know it. It can be read as the materialization of intellect and morals. It can be read as the spiritualization of brains and stomachs, nerves and muscles, air and light, clothing and food. Why not read it this way, if you do not like the other? This materialism, as men call it, imparts a transcendental significance to every circumstance of physical well-being. Mind and morals are exactly what they were before. Only the body of man, his physical life, through the perception of its intimate connection with his mind and heart and will, is mightily advanced in dignity and honor.

For it is not as if, as men once thought, the only influence of the body on the mind were prejudicial to its highest good. Men have always, or for many centuries, allowed the influence of the body on the mind. Only they have conceived of this influence as being wholly evil. It remained for modern science to demonstrate that it is not oftener for evil than for good; that either possibility implies the other.

Many and powerful are the implications of this modern doctrine of the relations of body and mind. What sanitary reformation finds its motive and its inspiration here? What individual faithfulness? Seeing that in our physical being lurk such possibilities of evil or of good, how earnestly we ought to go about to make our physical life a clean and holy thing! Henceforth is not every bath a baptism into the name of Truth and Purity? Is not every meal a sacrament whereat it is quite as possible now as it was in ancient Corinth for a man to eat and drink to his own condemnation?

What various expression the new Resurrection of the Body will find in human life the future must decide. It may not express itself in sculptured forms, as in the Greece of Pericles, nor in glorious paintings, as in the Italian Renaissance; but it will express itself. Already it has done so in many a poem of Browning and Whitman an Swinburne. If sometimes the resurrection has been insurrection, it surely is not strange. But it will yet find other and nobler expression than any it has found so far. And the best expression it can find, better than any Venus of Milo or Apollo Belvidere, is a desire to know and a resolve to do that which is best for us as physical men, if haply we may attain to higher spiritual things and to a manhood and a womanhood that is rounded and complete. Surely, to believe in this Resurrection of the Body and to act accordingly is better than to believe that eighteen hundred years ago a certain individual body rose from the dead; and the thought of it is more appropriate to that Easter festival which celebrated Nature's wide renewal for many centuries before it took the impress of the Christian doctrine.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE SECRET OF THE EAST;

OR,

The Origin of the Christian Religion and the Significance of its Rise and Decline.

CHAPTER II.

Buddha and his Galilean Successor.

"Ex Oriente Lux."

In the morning hour of reawakening reason, when men tried to explain religious traditions without questioning the infallibility of their truth, it must have sorely puzzled many an honest inquirer to reconcile certain dogmas of the Church with the daily evidence of his senses; for instance, the innate purity and candor of young children with the doctrine of natural depravity, or the mental and moral degeneration of the most orthodox communities with the dogma of regeneration by faith.

But, wherever indoctrination had not yet utterly deadened the instinct of truth, the most perplexing of all tenets must have been the theory which considers the two books of the Christian Bible as consistent and mutually confirmatory parts of a harmonious revelation. Unreasoning faith may have repeated the conventional formulas of that dogma, but only wilful blindness could ever defend it upon the internal evidence of the facts. Jean Bodin, a French mystic of the sixteenth century, wrote a book in which he bemoans the growing scepticism of the age, and, after demonstrating the reality of witchcraft by a long list of prodigies and ghost-stories, gives his reasons for enforcing the penal code against heretics, with full instructions for their discovery and torture. If that book had been published as an appendix to the philosophical works of Lucius Seneca, and under the name of the great pagan moralist, the absurdity of the mistake could not have been more glaring than that of the orthodox Bible theory.

As a continuation—a second part, as it were—of the Hebrew Scriptures, the New Testament would be utterly inexplicable. Perhaps no other two books ever published are more dissimilar in their tendencies. Here, the chronicle of a brave and simple-minded nation of shepherds and husbandmen and the code of their manful law-giver, an honest system of morals, rustic and somewhat austere, but with a realistic basis and a practical purpose; there, a compilation of contradictory miracle-legends and anti-natural dogmas: here, an honest silence on the unknowable mysteries of a future existence, a consistent avoidance of the immortality tenet; there, a constant *petitio principii* of that dogma: here, a stern inculcation; there, a constant violation of the first commandment: here, health laws, Samson traditions, and pastoral poetry; there, indifference to health, to manly strength, and the gifts of our mother earth. Here, nature, agnostic candor, optimism and realism; there, supernatural and anti-natural dogmas, mysticism, sophistry, and gnostic phantoms. The ethical characteristics of the two books would be a sufficient proof against the alleged origin of the New Testament, but there is an equally strong presumption that the so-called historical elements of that work are almost wholly fabulous. The committee of the church-council that made the "four Gospels" the canons of their faith had to select them from fifty-four contradictory versions. The evangelists themselves contradict each other on many essential points; and their chronicles can hardly have been written before the end of the second century, as not one of the earlier fathers (before Irenæus) ever quotes a single passage of their text, while they relate many events which seem to have been recorded in the apocrypha. These apocrypha, like the arbitrarily excepted works, originated in a century so prolific of spurious prophecies, forged epistles, and biographies, that it has justly been called the age of pious frauds. The four Gospels, as well as the larger part of the Pauline Epistles, were repudiated by the Socinians, and others of the more intelligent sects of the early Christians. It is equally certain that the stupendous events supposed to have attended the appearance of the new prophet are not recorded by any contemporary pagan author, and that the short passage in the seventh chapter of Josephus is a clumsy forgery. Josephus, who describes the reign of Herod in its minutest details, never mentions the miracles of Bethlehem, the appearance of a new star, the massacre of the innocents, or the prodigies of the crucifixion.

Besides, the rhetoric of the New Testament is throughout *illustrative* rather than *persuasive:* it is the eloquence which distinguishes the communication of transmitted from the introduction of original ideas. And, as Feuerbach well observes, the testator's strange neglect to insure the record of his revelation by committing it to writing is a strong presumption that he delivered his gospel as a pre-recorded doctrine.

But all such discoveries led only to negative results, and increased the obscurity of the main question, when the study of the Oriental classics, that had shed a flood of light upon the etymology of the West-Aryan languages, began to elucidate the mysteries of Biblical exegesis. Dark words were traced to their origin, occult passages assumed a meaning, perplexing contradictions became suggestive analogies. Buddhism not only explained the doctrines of the New Testament, but harmonized them by revealing the root-dogma which forms the connecting link of their logical correlation. The doctrine of Pessimism is the master-key to the ethical enigmas of the Christian creed. If the blessings of earth are curses in disguise, it behooves the wise to renounce his material possessions, and despise the precautions by which the worldly-minded seek to protect themselves against want and misfortune. If our natural instincts are wholly evil, it would be meritorious to love our enemies and hate our father, mother, sister, brother, and children, "yea, and our own life." If God has created a world the sorrows of which so far exceed its blessings, it would be perfectly consistent to expect in a future life a similar proportion of good to evil. Heaven for the elect, ten or twelve out of ten thousand; for the rest, an eternity of frightful tortures. If the pursuit of earthly happiness is a chimera, the children of light should prove their freedom from that delusion by the mortification of their desires and natural impulses: fasting, passive submission to injustice, sackcloth and ashes, and celibacy.*

*Matt. xix., 12, etc. Referring to this passage, Strauss, in his "Life of Jesus" (Vol. I., p. 618 of the first edition), says, "In order to defend Christ against the charge of

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The *anti-cosmic tendency* of the Christian doctrine distinguishes it from all religions except Buddhism. In the language of the New Testament, the "world" is everywhere a synonyme of evil and sin; the flesh, everywhere the enemy of the spirit. And, when the first Christian missionaries reached the sacred cities of Thibet, they were astounded to recognize in the sacraments and ceremonies of Buddhism all the essential features of their own cultus. The *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. II., p. 491) mentions the "celibacy of the Buddhist clergy, and the monastic life of the societies of both sexes, to which might be added their strings of beads, their manner of chanting prayers, their incense and their candles. Confession of sins is regularly practised."

Father Huc, in his *Recollections of a Journey in Tartary, Thibet, and China* (Hazlitt's translation), says, "The cross, the mitre, the dalmatica, the cope,—which the Grand Lama wears on his journeys, or if he is performing some ceremony out of the temple,—the service with double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer suspended from five chains, and which you can open or close at pleasure; the benediction given by the Lamas by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful, the chaplet, ecclesiastical celibacy, religious retirement, the worship of the saints, the fasts, the processions, the litanies, the holy water, —all these are analogies between the Buddhists and ourselves."

The analytical methods of comparative mythology have since been applied to the study of the Buddhistic scriptures and the writings of the early Gnostics; and, considering the results of that comparison, it can no longer be doubted that Schopenhauer's conjecture* will soon become an established fact; namely, that *the Prophet of Nazareth was a Buddhistic emissary, and preached his gospel in the name of Buddha Sakyamuni.* Myths have a curious metamorphic tendency. In a large number of indubitable instances, the sayings, doings, and adventures of legendary heroes (or myth-shrouded historical personages) have been attributed to representative men of a later period: the exploits of a Persian archer, first to a Danish soldier, and afterward to a Swiss patriot; the dicta of Zoroaster, to several of his followers; the attributes of the old Wood-god, Woden, to Barbarossa, the entranced cave-dweller of the Kyffhäuser; the adventures of the Indian Dawn-Spirits, to the heroes of Troy.

By a similar metastasis of myths, the traditions of the old Hindu Krishna legend were transferred, first to the founder of Buddhism, and afterward to the person of his western apostle. Krishna, like Buddha, was a parthenogenitus, a virgin-son. Krishna was crucified; and the sculptured Pantheon of Brahmanism includes the image of a virgin, called the "Queen of Heaven," holding an infant and cross in her arms. Krishna, like Buddha, astonished his teachers by his precocious wisdom. Both were born with a fully developed power of speech. According to the "Gospel of the Infancy" (attributed to St. Thomas), *Maria* holds a conversation with her new-born son, who informs her of his origin and his divine mission. The name of her Buddhistic prototype was *Maja.* Both Krishna and Buddha were of royal descent. A chorus of celestial singers celebrated the moment of their birth. The ruler of Krishna's birthland is frightened by a prophecy, and resolves the death of the infant. The boy's parents save his life by a timely flight, and conceal him for several years. The baffled despot commands the massacre of all male children of his kingdom. The "Gospel of the Infancy" relates the miraculous achievements of the Christ-child, his combats with serpents and dragons, the fate of persons who insult him and are stricken dead, a council of young boys who choose him as their king. The boy Krishna, according to the Bhagavat Purana, subdues a fiery serpent, strikes dead persons who insulted him, and in his plays with other boys is chosen as their king. Krishna, like Buddha, is tempted in the wilderness by the devil, rejects all proposals, and rejoices with a host of ministering angels.

In the constellation of the Pleiades, six larger and forty or fifty smaller stars are crowded together within a space that could be enclosed by the apparent circumference of the moon. Either these stars form a correlative system, or their aggregation in the field of our vision, as well as the nearly uniform size of the larger ones, must be ascribed to the strangest kind of coincidence; and the astronomer Olbers calculates that the probability of the former hypothesis exceeds that of the latter about twenty-five million times. With a similar degree of assurance, the student of the Hindu scriptures must reject the belief in the *accidental* analogies of the above-named traditions; and an equally untenable theory is the conjecture of the Jesuit missionaries, that the Buddhists derived their legends from the Christian sect of the Nestorian heretics. We might as well be asked to believe that Homer borrowed his epic from the Iliad of Alexander Pope.

Together with the unmistakable* doctrine of Buddha Sakyamuni, the prophet of Galilee probably disseminated the current tradition about the miracles and adventures of his master; and, when in the oral traditions of the next century the records of Buddha and Christ had coalesced, the East Indian legend was transferred to the soil of Palestine, while the myth-making faculty of the monastic historians supplied the details of the local coloring.

The history of Krishna fades in the cloudland of primeval traditions, and seems to be largely blended with astronomical myths. The historical existence of Buddha Sakyamuni, on the other hand, can hardly be doubted, nor that of his glowingly eloquent West-Asiatic apostle. The records of the earlier Gospels are too fragmentary and contradictory to reconstruct a trustworthy biography of the Galilean Buddhist, but his system of ethics proves that it was the main object of his mission to graft the doctrine of Buddha upon the optimistic theism of the Hebrew law-giver. Hence, the dogmatical contradictions of the Old and New Testaments; the prominence assigned to the (ante-Mosaic) paradise legend,† the penitential psalms, and all passages that could be made to assume a pessimistic significance; the open rejection of the Mosaic health-code (as absolutely irreconcilable with the gospel of anti-naturalism), the sophistry of the Patristic writings, and the forced interpretations of the Hebrew prophecies. Hence, also, the old but ever new controversy of the Pelagians and Gnostics, the former leaning toward the rational, manly, and realistic part, the other toward the mystical, pessimistic, and puling part of our heterogeneous Scriptures.

Like the votaries of Zoroaster, the Hebrew Unitarians preserved the purity of their religion; but the seed of the East Indian upas-tree did not perish. In the superstition-loaded atmosphere of Egypt and the effete vice-centres of Asia Minor, it found a more congenial climate, where it flourished, and finally betrayed its origin by bearing fruits after its kind, though its roots are still encrusted with the soil of the land that rejected it.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

unpractical principles, the Christian apologists have made haste to smuggle in the idea (*den Gedanken einzuschwärzen*) that Jesus recommended celibacy only to his disciples, and in anticipation of the peculiar difficulties of their apostolic mission; but the truth is that in this as in other passages the spirit of asceticism reveals itself too plainly to be mistaken."

*"I cannot get rid of the idea that the Christian creed will yet be traced to a Buddhistic source."—*Die Welt als Wille*, Vol. II., p. 716.

*Even in the modified form of the canonized Gospels. But, besides, there is no doubt that the Church eliminated a large number of *unpractical* dogmas. Nine-tenths of the early "heretics" were too literal Buddhists to suit the purpose of the shrewd and compromising hierarchs. The Encratites abstained from wine, animal food, and marriage. The Marcionites denounced all "worldliness,"—the pursuit of wealth, office-holding, fine houses, and clothes, etc. The Montanists tried to purify their souls by fasting and long vigils, and often took a "vow of solitude," like the Cingalese Buddhists, and retired for years to the lonely highlands of the Phrygian Mountains. The Valentinians practised communism, and subjected their novices to all sorts of ascetic ordeals. The Cassianites professed doctrines which resembled those of the modern "Shakers."

In refuting these heretics, it is curious to notice how Clemens Alexandrinus uniformly appeals to the Old Testament, and quietly ignores the precepts of the ascetic appendix. The third book of the *Stromata* is a perfect *reductio ad absurdum* of Christian pessimism, which, nevertheless, gained ground wherever the belief in the new revelation was sincere enough to turn theory into practice.

†"The essence of the Christian religion is the centre dogma of Buddhism,—the doctrine of the worthlessness of terrestrial life. With this difference only, that Christianity dates that worthlessness from the transgression of our apple-eating forefather. This modification implied the fiction of a *liberi arbitrii indifferentiae;* but it was required by the necessity of grafting the doctrine of Buddha upon the mythological dogmas of Judaism. The myth of the Fall offered here the only basis for the insertion of the scion from the East Indian parent-tree."—Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille*, Vol. II., p. 694.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

A copy of the *War-Cry and Official Gazette of the Salvation Army*, published in London, has fallen into our hands. It is a decidedly unique paper. It claims to have a weekly circulation of many thousands. Exclamation points, italics, and capitals are bestrewn through its columns very liberally. Among its advertisements is one headed in large letters "Awful Calamity!! Hundreds Lost!" And then it goes on to state that "since the last *War-Cry* appeared, the Devil has, alas! succeeded in leading vast multitudes of wretched sinners TO HELL!" We give the titles of a part of its contents: "A Day and Night Battle in Hereford," in which "a few stones were thrown,... and one of the Lieutenants got a nasty cut on the head. The Commodity known as 'rotten eggs' was also conspicuous by its presence, and bags of flour and soot were thrown at the [Salvation] Army.... Some of the Army received black eyes, and got their hats and bonnets knocked off.... Blows were at one time plentifully exchanged.... I was told that one woman—a member of the Army—had her clothing terribly pulled about, and was for the most part in *puris naturalibis* [*sic*] when taken into the Barracks." After this attack by the mob, they held an all-night meeting, at which the writer of the account "couldn't help thinking, as I looked at the Lieut., with his blood-besmeared face and collar, that he showed forth the Lord dying as nothing else could do. O, may we all live ever 'beneath the shade of the cross' this way!" Another article is headed "Latest from India. 900 At First Knee-drill — Major and three Officers in Custody." A report from one town is headed "Our Cavalry Charge," and begins thus: "Hallelujah! We are fighting ahead here. Collections and *War* Crys going up. Souls at every meeting." "Heroic War-Cry Selling at Guildford," "Grand Reviews in Scotland," "A Fight with the Police," "Then I Hit her, now I Kiss her!" "About the Lass who came to Laugh," are among the titles of short articles. One, headed in capitals "Latest Telegram" from Capt. McKie, Hull, reads: "Sunday, tremendous day, crowded house. Morning, 800 for Baptism of Fire; glorious marches. Night, past description; lots of souls saved, Hallelujah!" From Nottingham, Capt. Pamela Shepherd writes: "On Sunday in the afternoon one big sinner cried for Mercy. Praise the Lord! We had six more at night. One dear woman, who had been a backslider for ten years, came, and with her apron full of beans, cried for

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Mercy: Hallelujah!" Three hymns are published in this number: one, "We'll Shout Aloud," to the tune of "Champagne Charlie." "The Lord's Brigade" is accompanied by the music. We give one verse:—

"It rose from one God-sent Man, who some seventeen years ago,
In the East End of London, the powers of hell did overthrow:
For some time, single-handed, he sought to stem sin's flood,
Since then he's been surrounded by an Army filled by God."

In an acknowledgment of donations for the week, we notice several "Sales of Jewelry": one woman gives "a gold thimble"; others, "gold scarf pin," "gold locket," "a silver watch," an "ivory brooch," "a gold watch key," etc. Among "Salvation Hits" is the following: "I never thought," said a soldier at York, "of being knocked down by a little woman, but I was; a Hallelujah Lass sent such a rivet home to my heart that I fell flat at the Mercy-seat." And this is a specimen of the literature evolved by a religious organization which meets the approval of many of England's High Church dignitaries, and which, it is reported, has the sympathies of Dr. Benson, the Archbishop elect of Canterbury, who is said to have recently told "Gen." Booth, the leader of the "Salvation Army," to "go on, do all the good you can; Get at the people. We rejoice, only we would like it to be done somehow or other in harmony and in unison with the Church of England." B. F. U.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A BIBLE agent who recently made a tour through Fair Haven, Conn., said there were two hundred families in which there were no copies of the Scriptures, and the members of which did not care to be supplied.

FATHER BJERRING of the Greek chapel which the Russian government supported in New York for several years, but from which it withdrew its support some months ago, has become a Presbyterian. It is stated that the merits of Presbyterianism did not appear to him until his position and salary as pastor of the Greek chapel disappeared. He had belonged to some other faith before espousing the Russo-Greek, and getting an appointment in New York.

IN a discourse at the opening of the new chapel at Princeton, Dr. McCosh said:—

The leading philosophic and religious error of this day is not Unitarianism, which, in fact, is dead and laid out for decent burial. It is not Rationalism, for thinking men now see that human reason cannot construct a religion. It is not exactly Atheism. Few are so bold as to assert or argue that there is no God. They claim, "We do not deny the existence of God, we are not so presumptuous as this: we make no denials, we simply maintain that we have no evidence." The most influential error of the day, the one underlying every other, is what is called Agnosticism.

MRS. L. H. HOPKINS, *née* Sarah Winnemucca, in a letter to Hon. John A. Logan, writes thus:—

I have been connected with Indian agencies from childhood, and I know whereof I speak, when I say the system of schooling Indian children, as now practised, is a farce of the first water. I can recall a half-dozen agencies where I have been, and where teachers with fifty children on the books and five in the school are drawing their pay, and scarcely a child can be found who knows a word of English, unless it is Moody and Sankey's hymns, which seem to be used for spelling-books, reader, arithmetic, geography, and everything else. I know of one agency in particular in Washington Territory that has been under Christian rule for twenty years, and yet the children sing and pray in Chinook jargon; and the few who speak English do so mechanically, and have no idea of the definition of a single word.

THE following from the Boston correspondent of *Unity* will be read with interest by many of our readers: "The Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Theodore Parker—the one rationalistic Unitarian congregation of the city—is also steadily growing in numbers under Rev. Mr. Applebee's preaching. The society has now run over twenty years under the momentum given it by its great founder. In all this time, it has had but three settled ministers—Rev. D. W. Wasson, Rev. J. V. Blake, and Rev. J. L. Dudley, the two latter now living in the West—for an aggregate time of about seven years. The residue of the period, the pulpit has been transiently filled. Yet many of the old parishioners are constant in attendance; while hundreds of others are interspersed among the other churches of the city, notably Messrs. Savage's, Horton's, and Hale's."

MR. M. K. SCHERMERHORN, formerly minister of the Church of the Unity, Boston, and more recently of the Unitarian church at Newport, is trying to organize a new society in New York City on a somewhat broader basis. He calls it the "Third Unitarian (Theistic) Church." Though distinctly theistic, it is not exclusively Christian, but especially emphasizes the idea of the "Sympathy of Religions." The initial services were held last Sunday. The objects are stated as follows: 1. "For the spiritual worship of one only God, Creator of the Universe and Father of Mankind. 2. To honor and seek all that is *reasonable* in every religious faith in the world. 3. To extend *impartial* fellowship to all of every name and nation 'who revere God and work righteousness.' 4. To advocate that *faith* in Infinite Wisdom and Goodness which alone can save from the hopelessness and despair alike of agnostic and of atheistic unbelief."

THE *Presbyterian* admits:—

There is no doctrine of the Church's creed that is not questioned to-day, and no scheme which she forms and tries to execute that is not opposed or derided. Literature, science, and philosophy are furnishing weapons against her. Unbelief is fashionable. A young man from London assured us two weeks ago that agnosticism was the short but acknowledged creed of most of the educated young Englishmen; and the president of a college, competent to testify on the subject, assured us a little later that it was rife among the same class in this country. Orators of skill in travestying the gospel, and bold in their blasphemies, gather crowded audiences who shout and laugh as the faith of their fathers is assailed. Critics, whose "much learning" has made them self-confident and arrogant, are reconstructing the Scriptures and allowing some of the leaves to fall out. Men of science say that forces in nature are working out fresh results, and that a new religion must come. The array of antagonists is formidable, and they do not conceal their purpose to destroy the Christian faith.

AN author of reputation, and a radical Liberal, in a letter to the junior editor of *The Index*, writes: "You would greatly oblige me, if you could send me a copy of your debates with the mythology-mongers. It would help to give me a clew to their favorite sophisms. Your artillery practice has driven them into the back corners of their forts, but it can do no harm to aim a few shots at their loop-holes. I fully agree with Mr. Potter, that free thought has a positive mission, and that it is a mistake to suppose easy-going indifference could compete with galloping superstition. We cannot afford to whisper *sub rosa*, while our adversaries use a foghorn. Perhaps I go too far in the opposite direction, but I cannot help seeing that religions have never been unhorsed by scepticism, but only by stronger religions; and I hold that for the evils of our own age the best, because the only effective, remedy would be some kind of fanatical nature-worship to clean out the fanatical enemies of nature."

THE *New Church Life*, the organ of the Swedenborgian faith, is very much exercised in spirit over the recent discourses on the Bible by Rev. R. Heber Newton. It says that "these discourses are an evidence of the ever-increasing tendency in the Christian world toward a total rejection of even the letter of the Word. Mr. Newton holds that the Bible is not a 'book let down from heaven, whose real author is God,' and which was 'dictated to chosen penmen and written out by their amanuenses under a direction which secured them against error on every subject on which they treated.... Much may be tradition and myth.' Like Prof. Swing, he advocates the use of an expurgated edition of the sacred Scriptures, and thinks that 'the Bible ought not to be set in its entirety before all classes and all ages.'... New Churchmen, knowing that the Word is ineffably holy and divine down to the very jots and tittles, must regard such irreverent and even flippant language with feelings of mingled sorrow and aversion.... But what does the *Messenger* mean when, referring to Mr. Newton's sermons, it says, 'The only instruction he gives relates merely to the *appreciative study* of the letter [of the Word], and tells us little how to reach and be benefited by its spirit'? Surely, the *Messenger* does not consider that Mr. Newton's sermons have anything to do with an appreciative study of the letter of the Word!"

"VENNOR hit it this time!" We hear this said a thousand times, when the Canadian makes a lucky guess, while the dozen failures get no attention at all. Any one can foretell the weather right occasionally; and so the man who does it with an air of mystery and quantities of scientific jargon gets a reputation, just as his unnumbered guessing predecessors got theirs. Wiggins' prophecy was not received with the general faith which might have been given to it centuries ago, to be sure; but the wonder is, from any rational point of view, that it got any attention at all. Why should anybody give a second thought to such stuff? There is plainly no reason, except the tendency to superstition; and that is nearly universal. Ignorant Jack Tar is the most superstitious of beings, and it is perhaps not strange that the commotion made him afraid to take the ships to sea, and the hard-headed business men who own the vessels cannot complain very forcibly without taking the horse-chestnuts from their own pockets. Newspapers and the telegraph spread the commotion; and it may be said that with the best journalism Mr. Wiggins would have been left in his proper obscurity, but it is at least true that the papers in giving columns of space to the nonsense supplied a clear demand of the public which has always existed and is likely to for some time to come.—*Springfield Republican.*

REV. JAMES DE NORMANDIE said in a recent sermon delivered in this city: "At first, infidelity was a departure from paganism. For the first two centuries of Christianity, the correct name for Christians was 'atheists,'—disbelievers in the gods. Their infidelity afterward became disbelief in ecclesiasticism. To the Roman Catholic Church, the reformers in Luther's time were infidels. So, in later times, departures from the current belief, though really only wisdom and frankness, have been stigmatized as infidelity. Historically and as a conception of theological views, infidelity has been merely the taunt of the majority who have been ready to apply the stigma to the minority. But the real infidelity has been the evil heart of

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unbelief which has lost all confidence in man's honor or woman's purity, which has a sneer for the heroism of self-sacrifice, which gives equal credence to all systems, because it really cares for none." We are here reminded of Thomas Paine's definition of infidelity. "Infidelity," he says, in his *Age of Reason*, "does not consist in believing or in disbelieving: it consists in professing to believe what he does not believe. It is impossible to calculate the moral mischief, if I may so express it, that mental lying has produced in society. When a man has so far corrupted and prostituted the chastity of his mind as to subscribe his professional belief to things he does not believe he has prepared himself for the commission of every other crime."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

CROSSING A MOOR.

Crossing a moor in the fine weather,
I met a priest and quest him whether
Maids' new-wed joy taught not that Heaven must be.
His eyes they gleamed in the fine weather:
Right soon quoth he,—as a priest ever,—
"Fair Maid, by reason man may God e'er see."

Crossing a moor in the bleak weather,
I passed a priest and cried him whether
My dead child's death-white face were Heaven's decree.
His teeth they shook in the bleak weather;
But soon quoth he,—as a priest ever,—
"Poor Maid, by reason man did God ne'er see."

XENOS CLARK.

LIVE THOUGHTS.

By no means in desert waste,
Nor in heaven high,
Nor at confluence of streams,
Search for sanctity.
If thou art not pure of mind,
Think not the pure God to find.
No pilgrimage makes him a saint
Who was not one before he went.
—*Rachel Pomeroy, from the Hindu.*

TRUE religion! 'tis not blindly prating what the gurus prate;
But to love, as God hath loved them, all things, be they small or great.
And true bliss is when a sane mind doth a healthy body fill;
And true knowledge is the knowing what is good and what is ill.—*Edwin Arnold.*

HARD it is to conquer nature: if a dog were made a king,
'Mid the coronation trumpets he would gnaw his sandal string.—*Edwin Arnold.*

BEAUTIFUL it is to see and understand that no worth, known or unknown, can die, even on this earth. The work an unknown good man has done is like a vein of water flowing hidden underground, secretly making the ground green. It flows and flows, it joins itself with other veins and veinlets; and one day it will start forth as a visible perennial well.—*Thomas Carlyle.*

IF the pages instruct you not, they will die like flies in an hour. The way to speak and write what will not go out of fashion is to speak and write sincerely. He that writes to himself writes to an eternal public. The writer who takes his subject from his ear and not from his heart should know that he has lost as much as he seems to have gained; and when the empty book has gathered all its praise, and half the people say, What poetry! what genius! it still needs fuel to make a fire.—*Emerson.*

WHAT men want is not talent, it is purpose; in other words, not the power to achieve, but will to labor. I believe that labor judiciously and continuously applied becomes genius.—*Lytton.*

I BELONG to that church which has no name, but of which the members recognize each other wherever they meet.—*Provost Paradel.*

The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

The Extension of the Ethical Movement.

A Lecture before the Society of Ethical Culture, New York, Feb. 18, 1883.

BY FELIX ADLER, PH.D.

I come to you to-day as a messenger of glad tidings. We stand no longer a single society for ethical culture. A sister society has been founded. A second society exists in the great city of the West,—that city which is a gateway leading to the new and virgin lands of the continent; that city whose influence upon the future civilization of the Republic is destined to be so great. The friends in Chicago have been deeply stirred. They have determined that the district nursing system shall be set into immediate operation in Chicago.

They have determined that an ethical school for the children shall be founded. They have agreed, above all, that a leader—one whose whole soul is devoted to the new principles and aspirations—is necessary for the guidance of the movement; and William M. Salter, the friend whom we all love, in whose noble heart the ethical idea has struck deep and permanent root, was unanimously elected to be their head. But, if a promising and fruitful beginning has thus been made in one city, I may add that Chicago is not the only place which is ripe for an ethical movement. The same conditions which prevail there we have observed in many other places. The minds of our Western fellow-citizens have been thoroughly liberalized: the soil has been broken, the furrows have been drawn, and men are waiting expectantly—aye, anxiously—for new seed to be sown. I do not say that any great number of persons have a clear conception of all the difficult aims which an ethical movement must propose to itself. The necessity for beginning the work of reform at home, for a thorough process of self-reform, has not yet become fully apparent. The prospect that the ethical movement will lead to ethical beliefs with regard to the universe, that it will generate a new confidence in the good tendency of the world; the conviction that it is indeed a new religion, for which we must lay the foundation,—has not yet fully come home to them; but they do feel an intense dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. They feel dissatisfied with the religion of the churches. It does not meet their wants. It does not fill their hearts. They ask for bread, and it gives them a stone. They feel equally dissatisfied with the so-called liberal movement. They have begun to see that the ethical movement is as distinct from what is commonly called Liberalism as it is distinct from what is called Christianity or Judaism. They find no comfort, no strength, in mere Liberalism, with its wrath, its bitterness, its denunciations, its negativism. They want a positive and constructive movement, which will build up rather than tear down, which will give rather than take away. They feel that private morality and public morality need strengthening, need purifying; and that the disorders from which society is suffering require the most serious, the most religious, attention. They feel the need of doing good, they feel to some extent the need of being better than they are; but, especially, they feel the need of giving to their children the advantages of a moral training such as they themselves have not had. And, indeed, all other motives being set aside, it is the importance of a wiser and better provision for the moral education of the young that is most felt by the Western communities, and that makes them especially favorable to the reception of our ideas.

I have said that societies are wanted. But the questions rises from your lips, Why, if the need is felt, should it not be satisfied? and why is the movement not extended more rapidly? The answer is a very simple one, Because we have no leaders.

I have often spoken of our work: let me speak for once of those who are to be the workers. Naturally, in every new movement, leaders are slow in developing: they cannot be made, they must grow. Yet the point for us to consider is whether we cannot in some way facilitate their growth, and whether we cannot bring to the front those who would be ready to embrace the work, but now hold back for lack of encouragement And here, of course, we are brought face to face with the other question,—What are the qualifications that the leader of an ethical society should possess, and what is the line of preparation by which he should fit himself for his novel and difficult career?

In the first place, the leader of an ethical society, like every teacher of religion, must have a high moral character: this is, indeed, the one indispensable condition. He must have an awe-inspired sense of the majesty of the moral law, and must take a firm though humble resolution to be its servant, its exponent to men. He must adore the glory of the idea that shines for him, and yearn to spread its light to others that stand in need of it. He must have an intense moral conviction, an intense and passionate desire to spread his conviction. This is the central qualification. This is the starting-point from which he must go forth, and to which he must ever return. If he has this qualification, though others may be lacking, he can make good his deficiencies. Though his voice may be weak, though his power of imagination be feeble, though walls of outward obstacles stand between him and his fellow-men, the spirit within him will pierce these walls and break them down, the spirit within him will create its own organs of expression; and the depth of his purpose will project itself as a vital force into his surroundings.

In the second place, the leader of an ethical society must have the gift of initiative: he must be able to originate lines of action and enterprise. I remember that a young and earnest student, who is interested in our work, was advised against it by an older friend on the ground that, after he should have finished his preparation, there would be no place ready for him to enter, the Society for Ethical Culture here being the only institution of its kind. But a young man who prepares to devote himself to this great work must not look forward to occupying a position: he must look forward to making a position for himself; he must carve out his own career; he must have that dominant will that will compel circumstances to do his bidding. He must remember that men, as a rule, do not clearly understand what they need. He must take the place of a physician to them, and prescribe the remedies which their ailments require. He must be deeply persuaded that the message which he comes to bring to the world is necessary, is true; and he must compel men to give him a hearing. The students of theological seminaries, when they have finished their course of study, may find places prepared for them. The leaders of ethical societies are pioneers who go out into the wilderness, whose business it is to cut new roads and to build new cities; and they must be prepared to take the responsibilities which such a task involves.

Thirdly, the leader of an ethical society must have a large measure of human sympathy. He must have a great respect for human nature in all its manifesta-

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tions. He must have great confidence in human nature. He must be able to put himself into the place of others, he must divine what they feel, enter by the cordial power of sympathy into their trials, their struggles, and so become the friend and helper of his kind.

Lastly, the leader of an ethical society must have the right sort of intellectual preparation; and here I come to a point upon which I propose to dwell especially and emphatically to-day. The students of theological seminaries fit themselves for their future career mainly by a study of the sacred Scriptures, in which the foundations of their creed are laid and of the authorities of the Church who have developed and expounded that creed. They are versed in dogma and its history, they have been taught an often partial and distorted metaphysics, and know something of the history of church institutions; but of life and its myriad-fold manifestations, its burning needs, and its clashing discords, they know as a rule but little. Such a preparation would ill suit the future teacher of an ethical religion. Out of the soul-needs of his age he must speak, and to the soul-needs of his age he must address himself. He must be a captain in the army of progress. To render such a service, he must prepare himself by thorough and searching study of the philosophy of ethics. A teacher of ethics he must be: to build up a truer ethical life is his profession. But ethics rest on philosophy; and philosophy, therefore, he must embrace as his peculiar specialty, as the one subject to which he must give his most devoted attention. It has been said by a high and clear mind that the philosopher Kant was the first to give a true statement of the principle of ethics. If that be so,—and I believe it to be so,—why, then, that statement of ethics must be mastered by the student, and understood. I am one of those, I am free to confess, who believe that there is a right philosophy and a wrong philosophy.

I know that in this I go contrary to the spirit of the teaching in some of our American universities. I know that there is a wide-spread impression that the philosophical spirit is synonymous with the sceptical spirit, and that a tendency is encouraged to hold all opinions doubtful. But this is a tendency that puts an icy chill into the souls of young men, making it impossible for them to hold any conviction stoutly, paralyzing the active springs of the mind. It is a tendency which, sceptical and philosophical as it appears, is sometimes actually fostered with the sinister motive of leading the young to take refuge in some blind and unreasoning faith. For, if the human mind is so thoroughly impotent that no real truth can be ascertained by us, then the only alternative open to us is to cast ourselves wholly upon the ancient traditions of the Church, to throw ourselves into the arms of the supernatural revelation, and to cling to the letter of the Bible as the sole standard of certainty that remains.

I have said I do not share this scepticism which is not infrequently employed in the service of Orthodoxy. I believe that there is such a thing as a right philosophy, in contradistinction to a wrong philosophy; that all opinions are not equally deserving of respect and consideration; that, as in science, there are true results and false results, so in the department of abstract thinking there is a balance of truth in favor of one system, which lends it superior and eminent authority above other systems. I do not believe, indeed, that any philosophy is in so far right that its statements will not be clarified and enlarged by the further progress of human thought, and divested of elements of error that still adhere to it; but I do claim that at the present day, comparing the different systems that claim recognition with each other, it is possible to say that one is—comparatively speaking—true, and the others are—comparatively speaking—false; that one is on the right line of further truth, while the others are off on by-paths and caught in a network of side-issues; that one does contain—making allowance for all the subtractions of minor error that will have to be made from it—a basis that will always be found to be correct, while others are tainted by fundamentally false assumptions, and misconceptions that vitiate the value of their results.

And now, making the application of this thought to the subject of ethics, I must say that, from this point of view, the Herbert Spencer ethics appear to me inadequate to explain the validity of the sense of obligation. The ethics of the German schools, that are founded upon a subjective standard, seem to me equally inadequate; but the utilitarian schemes that make morality equivalent to a refined and far-sighted selfishness are utterly anti-ethical. There is but one among all the modern philosophers—namely, Kant—who to my mind has given a truly moral statement of the principle of ethics; who has done for philosophy what the Hebrew prophets did for religion; who has vindicated for the moral commandment within us its legitimate, that is to say supreme, place and authority. It was reserved for the genius of Kant, that radiant light of the modern age, that master to whom the greatest scientists of our time are now paying their weighty tribute,—it was for him at once to destroy the cobwebs of theological argumentation, to emphasize the inexorable character of natural laws, and to point out at the same time that it is intellectually possible and morally necessary to assume the fact of another kind of causation, to assume another and transcendent order of existence, from which the freedom of the human will dates its origin. The freedom of the human will is the corner-stone of every genuine ethical system. The certainty that our will is free, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, that we are responsible for our actions, that there is meaning in the sense of obligation, that it is not a piece of psychic jugglery, not a blind race, consciousness riding our individual consciousness, but that it is the profoundest, truest fact of our soul, the point of connection between us and the infinite—this precious conviction is the condition of all-mighty ethical teaching. No one can go out and grandly influence his fellowmen who has not this conviction; no one can go out and preach justice with authority who is not inspired by it; no one can help to build the future City of the Light, in whose heart that Light of all lights does not shine. And Kant, in his critical philosophy, gave the first real statement of the freedom of the will. And Kant and his philosophy, therefore, the future ethical teacher must understand. I do not say that he may not go beyond Kant's stand-point; but he must begin with it, he should make it his starting-point.

Thus, then, a thorough acquaintance with the most difficult of modern thinkers is indispensable; and, to obtain this understanding, preliminary studies are necessary, severe studies in logic, in the history of philosophy. And, of course, a liberal general education must have preceded, which indeed I have taken for granted.

But a philosophical training alone, however perfect, is not sufficient for the teacher of an ethical society. He is to be the teacher of ethical religion, and the development of the religious spirit in the past must not be unknown to him. This is essential; for he must take warning from the past, he must consider the errors of the past with a view to avoiding them, he must investigate the downward path by which religions have degenerated from the great intentions of their founders.

There is perhaps not one of the leading religions which was not at first grand and noble in its aims. Buddha was a man of the loftiest, sincerest, and the least superstitious convictions; and yet, after his death, his followers worshipped his toe-nails, and erected monuments over his hair. Jesus was a man of the most exalted social ideas and the tenderest love for his fellow-beings: yet read the history of the mediæval Church, and see into what a caricature of the founder's intentions his teachings were turned. And there is nothing accidental in this: there are certain general forces which tend to corruption, and these forces must be studied and heeded by those who aspire to aid in directing the future religious development of mankind. One need only study, for instance, the growth of episcopacy in the Christian Church, to perceive the dangers to religion that grow out of the very political organization of society. The natural tendency of the rural population to seek direction from the city founded the power of the episcopus, and this finally culminated in the overshadowing authority of the papacy.

But philosophical and historical knowledge, at the best, are not sufficient for the leader of an ethical society. His religion is to be a religion of life, and life with all its myriad interests and needs claims his attention; and here is the great danger besetting the path of the ethical teacher,—the danger of having his energies dissipated, of being drawn off into innumerable different directions, and, by attempting too much, to imperil his chance of accomplishing anything. In considering the vastness of the task, the ethical teacher may well exclaim with Jeremiah, "I am a child in regard to so huge an undertaking, how can I hope to accomplish it?" "The world is out of joint," says Hamlet. How can any individual or group of individuals go forth in the mad attempt to set it right. Consider for a moment the multitude of subjects that crowd upon the attention of the future reformer.

There is the economic condition of the great multitude of the people. The masses are still deep in misery and want. The pride of the strong has not yet been curbed, and the oppressor is allowed to set his heel with immunity upon the weak and the defenceless. Surely, this is a condition of things that claims the whole heart of one who believes in an ethical ideal. Surely, he will say: I must make myself a voice to utter the distress of these miserable ones. I must plead their cause, I must study their condition and how it may be elevated, I must be like one that cries in the wilderness, Repent, repent, so that the kingdom of the good may come.

There is the condition of domestic life. Surely, it needs improvement in many ways. These domestic infelicities that harrow so many hearts and blight the happiness of so many lives should be averted. The position of woman ought to be elevated. She has never yet fulfilled her functions in the highest possible way.

Then, there is the political world with its turmoils and discords. Surely, that needs renovation. Surely, the functions of government, and all the lofty ethical aims to which government should be consecrated, have never yet been fully understood, even in this republic of ours which boasts that it is in the vanguard of the political progress of the world. Surely, commercial life needs to be purged of the spirit of falsehood, which so largely pervades it. Surely, the laws need to be modified and reviewed and freed from the unmoral elements of which they are full. A truer theory of punishment needs to be promulgated. A wiser appreciation of the rights of different classes and members of society needs to be introduced.

And so in every direction the work of an ethical teacher seems to extend. As the stone is cast into the waters and the ripples flow from it on every side, and spread outward in ever-widening circles, so the thought of moral reformation sends its waves of influence widening over the whole surface of human existence. But the task is so immense, how can it ever be accomplished, how can any human being grapple with so vast a purpose, how is it possible to equip one's self with knowledge for such an undertaking? How is it possible without incurring the danger of superficiality and of making one's self the laughing-stock of those who are really informed to attempt to embrace so many subjects in one career? And yet the task is not a hopeless one, if the student will but remember the true limits by which his functions as an ethical reformer are bounded.

I have said that the ethical teacher should take pity on the economic condition of the people, should feel its injustice and seek how it may be relieved. With this end in view, he must become a student of political economy; but he must not study it as one who makes political economy his specialty. For example, he will study the present wages system, and see how it breeds inequality among men; and he may deem it his duty in the name of the moral law to demand a system like the co-operative, simply because it tends to create equality among men, and is founded upon the ethical assumption that men are morally equal. But, while it is thus his duty to point to co-operation because it is more moral than competition, it cannot be his duty, and he misunderstands his functions if he attempts, practically to introduce co-operation. He cannot become the leader of industrial enterprises, nor indicate the practical methods by which co-operation may eventually be realized. All such work he must leave to the specialists in political economy and to the men who are practically engaged in the management of affairs, and have that intimate knowledge of affairs which will enable them to devise and carry out the needful changes.

I have said that the ethical teacher must take heed of the spirit of falsehood and the low purposes that so largely contaminate commercial life. It is his mission to point out the true aim of the business man, to show that the wealth the merchant gains is an incident of the service he renders, but that the service itself should be his aim, and that the dignity of the mercantile character depends upon the clearness and force with which this aim of honorable service is realized. But it is not the duty of an ethical teacher to

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show how this high ideal of business life, so high above the heads of the great crowd of money-makers, is to be introduced into the actual practice of the market.

I have said that it is the duty of the ethical teacher to lend his stimulating influence to the reform of the laws. Again, he must bring his moral theory to bear upon such questions as those of marriage and divorce, of crime and punishment and the like. But it is not his duty to draft the bills that embody the changes, or to urge their enactment upon legislatures. I have said that it is the duty of the ethical teacher to foster a deeper understanding of the moral functions of government; to make it clear that, as there are moral responsibilities resting on an individual, so there are collective moral responsibilities that rest on an entire nation. In the days before the war, it would have been his duty to declare negro slavery a crime, a stain upon the morality of the whole people, and to demand that the negro be educated to the full enjoyment of a citizen's franchise. But it would not have been the duty of the ethical teacher to frame reconstruction laws, or to suggest the practical measures of state craft by which the period of transition could be safely tided over.

And so, in all respects, a clear distinction is to be drawn between the functions of the ethical teacher and of the specialists, in the various departments into which his work overlaps. It is the function of the ethical teacher to point out the right doing, not how under existing conditions of wrong doing an approximation to the right doing may be achieved. He may never indeed content himself with lashing vice in the abstract, with saying, Be good, be holy, be pure, be righteous. Of these words, the religious literature of the day is full *ad nauseam*. He must hold up the mirror of that which ought to be to the iniquities that exist, so as to give point and aim to his strictures. He must be an awakening influence, a beacon light illuminating the distant goal; but the practical schemes for the carrying out of his purposes he must leave in others' hands.

And, thirdly, it is not sufficient that the leader of an ethical society should have a true theory of ethics, and should learn to express the general demands of righteousness in terms of the present need and with application to present unrighteousness; but he should also be a teacher in the literal sense of the word. It is one thing to have an idea clearly in one's own mind, and another thing to be able to convey it with due clearness to the minds of others. It is because this distinction has been neglected that the results of our public system of education have been in many ways so unfortunate. The leader of an ethical society must be the teacher of young children: if for this reason alone, he should acquaint himself with the theory and practice of rational pedagogy. But, even in his public work as a teacher of adults, he will gain immensely from this preliminary discipline: he will gain the power of adapting his statements to the receptivity of his hearers, and of following a psychological rather than the strictly logical order in the development of his ideas. I myself believe that the best summary of the duties of an ethical leader is given in the word "teacher." There is no nobler profession than that of a teacher; and for my part I have no higher ambition than to be worthily included in the fraternity of teachers.

Finally, let me indicate another special department of study for the ethical teacher. As an artist pores over the masterpieces of his art in order to kindle in his own soul the appreciation of the beautiful, so should the religious teacher con the writings of the great religious souls of the world, and draw their spirit into his own and inflame his ardor by contact with their never-dying fire. The Bible has recently been called a book of ethical culture. It is a book of ethical culture. It contains the songs and prophecies that burst from human souls when the moral ideal first dawned upon them in all its sublime grandeur; and those first expressions of astonishment and enthusiasm and self-forgetful love have never been equalled by any subsequent expressions for freshness and might.

The Bible must be studied as a book of ethical culture. The pity is that we have been compelled to fight the idolatrous, the superstitious view of it; and its real excellences, its positive merits, have not begun to receive sufficient attention at the hands of the moderns. But we shall make up for that by and by, and the debt that we moderns owe to the Bible will more and more be recognized. Those chastising speeches of Isaiah,—how full are they of power, how like a storm wind do they sweep over our souls! Those golden predictions of the future that occur in the writings of this prophet,—how do they rise like visions of the Islands of Eternal Bliss before our mind's eye!

How soothing sound those messages of the time when every tear shall be wiped away, and there shall be no more bitterness! How lovable are the parables of Jesus, how ineffably tender the spirit of the shepherd who carries in his arms the feeble lamb! Oh, the Bible! We shall not lose its value: the gems of wisdom and experience that are stored in it shall not be forgotten among the new generations that are arising.

But the Bible, after all, is only one book of ethical culture; not the only book; not the all-sufficient one. It does not completely satisfy: there is a larger literature of the moral life. There should be a collection of the best fruits of the world's moral culture, containing not only extracts from Biblical literature, but extracts from the gospel of Buddha, from such writings as those of Saint Augustine, of the Jew Gabirol, of Tauler, from Thomas à Kempis, from the orations of Savonarola, from Bruno's Heroic Love, from the modern writers on ethics and religion, such as Emerson. Such a collection we need for the people at large, to quicken the religious sentiment. The future teacher of an ethical religion must go to the sources, and read the works of these writers, if possible, in the original; for they have been the fountains in the great human desert of prose and materialism, they have been the living springs in the Sahara of existence, the green oases where the traveller finds shade from the burning sun, and refreshment and peace. But, for the people at large, we need a handbook of the Literature of the Moral and Religious Life.

And so this is what we demand of our leaders, that they shall study the philosophy of ethics, the practical application of ethics to the different departments of life, the science of pedagogy, the history of religion. And, now, how shall we obtain such leaders? I believe there are not a few young men who would be ready to join the good and great work, if only in their case, as in Isaiah's, the live coal could be taken from the altar and made to burn upon their tongues, so that they could say, "Here we are, ready to do what is commanded us." I believe, discarding metaphor, that there are not a few young men in the graduating classes of our colleges who would be eager to aid in doing good to their fellow-men,—eager with the generous enthusiasm of youth to join in the task of moral reformation,—if they could only be made to see the way to do it. The pulpit of some sect or denomination seems to be, at present, the only avenue for such work; and the narrowness and the limitations of the pulpit repel them, and so they give up the work altogether, and pledge themselves to other careers. I would that these young men could be reached. I am sure that in time they will be.

Oh, I know well that it is not an easy task which I recommend to them; but it is a worthy task, and one that urgently needs to be attempted. It has its thorns, but it has its roses too; it has its trials, but it has its triumphs; it has its penalties, but it has also, believe me, its great rewards.

For *The Index*.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION CONVENTIONS.

NEW HAVEN.

The Free Religious Association held a convention in the Church of the Messiah, New Haven, Tuesday afternoon and evening, March 6, and Wednesday afternoon and evening, March 7. The company was called to order by Rev. M. H. Houghton, of New Haven, who spoke substantially as follows:—

Members and friends of this Association, I welcome you gladly to this city and church. Not in any impulsive mood, but after a careful examination of your Constitution and reading of your history, I bid you a cordial welcome, and extend to you the right hand of fellowship. I observe that each individual upon your platform is held responsible for himself alone; and whoso speaks his honest thought is respected for his sincerity, even when you do not all agree with what he may say. This, in my judgment, is the true principle,—a principle which should prevail inside as well as outside the Church. Our cardinal object here is to promote the brotherhood of man, to throw all the light possible upon human relations. In the spirit which seeks the truth, and without assuming any responsibility for your opinions,—as you by coming here do not assume any responsibility for ours,—I greet you. I am glad to believe that there is one pulpit in this creed-bound city where honest thought can be spoken without fear or favor. And I trust that none of you will feel under any restraint, because of the place, in giving expression to such principles as you hold vital and dear. I have now the pleasure of introducing to you the President of the Association, William J. Potter, of New Bedford.

Mr. Potter said: We thank you, sir, for this cordial welcome, and we accept it in the spirit of freedom and fellowship in which it is tendered. You have said rightly that it has not been customary to invite us into the churches, but we come here none the less gladly on that account. In the largest freedom of individual thought and expression, we would seek the light, and apply to the practical, every-day life of mankind the truth.

The President then proceeded to give his address upon

The Religion of Humanity.

Mr. Potter began his essay by speaking of Auguste Comte's idea of the Religion of Humanity and of his plan of a new church, which remained a plan, only on paper. It was modelled too closely after Catholicism to be acceptable to the modern world. But the phrase, "Religion of Humanity," was a fine contribution to religious progress; and Mr. Potter said his purpose was to use it to represent certain tendencies and movements which are apparent inside and outside of churches, within Christendom and in other religions, through which an essentially new religion is growing up. The first characteristic of the Religion of Humanity, in this sense, is that it is opposed to supernaturalism. Its primary principle is that religion is the natural product of the human mind, the natural outcome of the human race,—of the human mind seeking to fathom its relations to the universe and to the infinite source of things, but still the human mind. And, hence, all religions are subject to the natural laws of development and to human limitations and fallibility. Second, to the Religion of Humanity, the special religions are so many different sects. And as each of them claims to have the only saving truth, so sectarian competition and animosity have arisen between them, resulting in cruel wars and in grievous waste of material, mental, and moral resources. The Religion of Humanity would put an end to this strife by showing that the religions have a common origin, and belong to one family. It would seek to develop what is true and good in them all, and turn it into practical benefit. Third, the Religion of Humanity is more concerned to improve the condition of mankind than to discuss speculative questions of theology or determine the merits of different forms of ecclesiasticism. It would be a religion of *humanity* in deed as well as in word. It would aim at building up true manhood and womanhood, complete, well-rounded, individually aspiring, yet mutually helpful. And it would work for this aim here and now on this earth, though not denying that there may be another world for man hereafter, but believing that to manage this world well will be the best possible preparation for any other. Finally, though the Religion of Humanity does not put into a creed any speculations concerning an acknowledged incomprehensible Supreme Being, it recognizes the logical necessity of a power more than commensurate with humanity,—of a power, causeless and eternal, as the vital energy of the universe itself. With this power, whatever it be in its essence, man is in vital relation; and when he lives truly, purely, beneficently, it becomes organized in and through him. Such a person may make no profession of having found the Eternal Power; but, what is of more importance, that Power has found *him*, and is making him its instrument.

Following the address of the President came a brief speech from the Secretary, explaining the objects and organization of the Association, and then remarks in the line of the essay by Judge Sheldon, Rabbi Kleeberg, G. W. Babb, and others of New Haven, emphasizing the need of seeking the points of agreement, and heartily commending the purposes of the Association.

The evening session of Tuesday was opened with an address by Wm. M. Salter, of New York, on "Re-

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ligion and the Social Ideal." "The religion of the present day consists," said the speaker, "not in the desire for the greatest good to all, but in the determination of each to save his own personal soul. If prayers would bring the kingdom of God, would not eighteen centuries of praying have done it? Religion, if it would not be child's play, must set men to be themselves and bring about that kingdom for which they have so long vainly prayed. It must give us purer politics, more equitable industry, and a finer social life."

Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, of Florence, Mass., was then introduced, and addressed the assemblage upon the topic, "Ethical Unity the Nation's Life." Mrs. Spencer proceeded to consider the question of methods by which the ends alluded to by the essayist might be reached. The perpetuity of our American government, said she, rests upon the question whether we shall give scientific investigation to the social questions which come up. Free Religion is doing the best we may for ourselves and others, and also the studying of every fact which may aid us. It is not so much a new religion as a new method of administering the old religion. It is not enough to cherish a high moral purpose: we must possess as well clear moral judgment.

[We regret that, owing to loss of notes made at the time, we are unable to give full reports of these admirable addresses of Mr. Salter and Mrs. Spencer.]

The Wednesday afternoon session opened with a paper by Miss Emily J. Leonard, of Meriden, Conn., on "The Relation of Church and State in Connecticut."

[Miss Leonard's address will be given in full next week.]

Following Miss Leonard, B. F. Underwood, of Boston, addressed the meeting as follows:—

These remnants of the old papal union of Church and State, which was once universal throughout Christendom, are anomalies under this republican government; but their removal is resisted, because superstitious reverence for the forms of the past neutralizes the sentiment of justice and blinds the popular mind to the demands of perfect religious liberty. Even the concessions which have been made in favor of State secularization, here in Connecticut and in other States, have been made not from considerations of freedom and fairness, but from rivalry and jealousy among the sects. It was the cordial hatred of the Congregationalists, Baptists, and other sects, to the Episcopalians in Virginia, that made the passage of Jefferson's act for establishing religious freedom possible in the Virginia Assembly in 1786. The increase of the wealth of the Catholic Church seems to produce a stronger impression on the average Protestant in favor of the taxation of church property than is produced by any consideration of the wrong of augmenting the taxes of the people to support religious worship. When there was an acknowledged union of Church and State, it was entirely consistent to exempt the Church from taxation. The Church belonged to the State as much as did the court-house or the jail. And, then, the State prescribed doctrines and modes of worship. But here, where we profess to have a complete separation of Church and State, the Church should look for support to its adherents, and bear its part of the public expense. Take the Bible from our schools, and then say to the Catholics, "No division of the school fund among sects." Abolish the judicial oath, and no longer punish men because they conscientiously refuse to swear, nor offer a premium on hypocrisy and falsehood by making the admission of testimony depend, as it does yet in several States, upon belief in a Creator and a futnre state. This subject of State secularization should be kept before the public until the reform is effected, until the nine demands of Liberalism are acknowledged and the principles they enunciate are secured by constitutional amendments.

The closing address of the afternoon was by Rev. John C. Kimball, of Hartford, Conn., on "The Organic Relation of the Old and the New under Evolution." Radicalism, he said, is ordinarily supposed to concern itself with the new. It roots up, it is thought, the old things, and puts in their places other and better things. It is said destruction must come before construction. The handwriting of our predecessors must be sponged out from the social slate, and advanced thinkers look with some surprise and dislike upon those who cling to the superstitions of a bygone age. Revolution, a generation ago, was the highest watchword. Since then, however, the law of evolution has been discovered, and by it a new significance is given to what is old in the world's treasury. It has given us a new light by which to see. The divine method now is neither the destruction nor the preservation of the old, but the unfolding of the old into the new. There is no wiping out, but gradual growth. The houses of the children have in them the timbers of the father's. Civilization itself is a growth. The reformers' true helpers are not merely the living recruits, but the myriads now sleeping in their graves. Free Religion itself is rooted in the past. The science of evolution is the prophet of religion. So long as man evolves, religion will evolve. Continuous tradition and continuous inspiration,—the one the trunk of the tree, the other the surrounding air,—these are the elements of progress. The evolutionist in religion must in this sense be both a radical and a conservative.

Wednesday evening, the closing session of the Convention, William H. Spencer, of Florence, Mass., read a paper on "The Christ of the Gospels and our Moral Ideal."

The speaker believed that there was a Jesus of history, but the Christ of the gospel was largely a fiction. But, accepting this semi-mythical being as a real historic character, the question the speaker proposed to discuss was, Is this Christ of the gospel a perfect being? He answered the question in the negative. He gave as his reasons: First, that Jesus did not claim to be perfect. Second, the evidence of his moral imperfectness in the Gospels. He read seven comments in his indictment of the gospel character, as follows: First, the evidence of his racial prejudice, illustrated in Matt. xv., 22-28. Second, of class prejudice, in Luke xvi., 19-29, wherein the rich man, as appears, is condemned simply because he is rich, and the poor beggar goes to heaven simply because he is poor. Third, of sectarian prejudice, as evidenced in his too sweeping condemnation of the whole sect of the Pharisees, calling them all hypocrites and a "generation of vipers." Fourth, the motives to conduct offered generally were hope of reward or fear of punishment which belong to the lower motives. Fifth, the absence of temperance teaching in the gospel. Sixth, the spirit of submission to authority taught in our gospel belongs to a monarchical not a republican government. The spirit of liberty is not found in the New Testament. Seventh, the spirit of inquiry, the love of truth for its own sake, the spirit that follows it wherever it leads,—in short, the spirit of modern science,—is not found in the Gospels. All these things are evidence of the limitations and imperfections of the Christ of the gospel. The fact that we can see these limitations is proof that we have in our mind an idea of moral excellence higher than the gospel character. This moral ideal we might call the Christ of the nineteenth century, and it is better than the Christ of the first. "No Christ of the Gospels," said the speaker, "is to me so divine-like a form as this image in my own mind of what I ought to be and do." Our moral ideal is not a person, but a form of thought. Devotion to this upper thought is the essence of religion in its higher forms.

Following came an address on "Mystery," by Frederick A. Hinckley, Providence, R.I. The speaker said:—

Mystery wraps us everywhere like a cloud. We know not the stars, we know not what constitutes the real miracle of growth, we know not what it is that gives music, eloquence, or even character their greatest charm. But all the mysteries of outward nature, all the mysteries of the influence of music, eloquence, and character upon human nature, are not so impenetrable as the mysteries of death and birth. I link the two together, for which is the greater no one can tell. Our life begins in mystery, it continues in mystery, its apparent end is in mystery. The power men call God is also a mystery. How earnestly humanity has sought to find out the universal! There is nothing more pathetic in history than the manner in which the human mind has overlooked the duty nearest it to chase its ideal of a supreme power. And who was ever able to explain the presence of evil in the world? We know nothing. Are we wise enough to know that? We are all breathing, moving, thinking, loving,—how, we do not understand. We only know the fact. And yet to-day there are people who talk as if they knew it all. They have fathomed the unfathomable. They have revealed the mysteries of the unknown. For myself, I see too much in this great realm which no man has scanned, to bound it on the earthly or the heavenly side. Amid all the determination to define with most astounding minuteness of detail, which is our inheritance from a barbarous past, I turn trustingly to the scientific position, and say I do not know. I remember Goethe said in old age, "I have been fifty years learning how to read, and have not learned yet." I remember that, after all his achievements in knowledge, Newton exclaimed, "I have only picked up a few pebbles on the beach of the infinite ocean of truth." And I see in the attitude of the great poet and the great scientist the spirit of true religion, humble as a little child, with teachable mind and reverent heart standing receptive to that new truth which must ever exceed in quality and quantity the old. The sweetest comfort for those who mourn, the brightest cheer for the heavy heart, and the final solution of life's doubts and mysteries are not to be found in clinging to the old superstitions. They are to be found in facing physical and spiritual facts in a reverent scientific spirit. So shall every spot on which we tread become an altar, and every act of our lives a prayer.

At the close of Mr. Hinckley's address, Judge Sheldon thanked the Association for coming to New Haven; and the President thanked the New Haven friends for their generous hospitality, and said good-by.

The Convention drew together a not large but very thoughtful audience, and left behind a favorable impression on both sides.

ALBANY.

Thursday P.M., March 8, at 3 o'clock, the sessions of the Convention in Albany were inaugurated in Van Vechten Hall. Mr. A. Schell, of Albany, made the speech of welcome, and dwelt upon the importance of the Free Religious movement. President Potter replied in a few well-chosen words, and then proceeded to deliver his address upon "The Religion of Humanity." Mr. Hinckley followed in a brief speech, presenting the practical aims of the Association and its methods of operation. B. F. Underwood also addressed the Convention on the general principles of the Association.

The Thursday evening session began with a paper by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, on the "Relation of Free Religion to Charities and Reforms." She said that charity, in the ordinary sense of the word, was the attempt to render evil circumstances tolerable, while reform aimed at the removal of the evils which had become incorporated into the workings of society. Charity relieved the yellow fever sufferers, but the sanitary boards sought to remove the causes of the epidemic and prevent its recurrence. Religion had three sides,—philosophical, moral, and emotional. In its highest sense, it meant devotion to the highest ideal through the best man could do. It had to do with the formation of individual character, and its external work was shown in the voluntary attempt of the individual to impart his character to his life work. Charity and reform were, therefore, parts of religion. One theory of government was that the Creator had given certain persons a divine right to rule over others, and that obedience to constituted authorities was pleasing to God. In this case, charity took the form of gifts from the higher to the lower class. The other theory was that of equal rights for all; that laws were the varying expression of the whole people, and not the dictum of a few; and that the good of the many was the chief object to be attained. This called for self-respect and self-development on the part of all citizens, and charity and reform in this case took the shape of mutual helpfulness and justice between men. The English system of home visitation and supervision, if attempted in this country, would be resented and repudiated. In the United States, wealthy manufacturers give back to their employés a part of the fruitage of their toil in the shape of libraries, reading-rooms, and free beds in hospitals. At the same time, by combinations among themselves, they keep down the wages of labor, and prevent the workman from rising above the position held to be naturally his. In education there were also two theories,—one which bound all children down to one arbitrary standard, and another which stimulated invention and afforded opportunities for individual development. Free thought, free industry, and free education had their wrongs as well as rights; and the revulsion from dictation might lead to license. Free industry

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might result in Pittsburg riots and trades-union interference. Free Religion indicated and included all other freedom, and marked the full and thorough emancipation of man.

Mr. B. F. Underwood followed in an able address. He said:—

Liberal thought is unsectarian, and liberal thinkers work with all classes for the reforms of the day. Their influence is seen in the churches as well as outside of them, in the improved theology, in the increased breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit, in all the charitable and humane work of the day,—to which their money is freely contributed, even when carried on in the name of the Church,—in their support of education, in their efforts to secularize the schools and the government, in their contributions to science and literature. Liberal organizations exist, and are doing noble work; but their special activity and influence are no measure of the influence of the thought and spirit which they represent,—an influence which is diffused throughout society, and affects every reformatory movement, and slowly changes laws, customs, and public sentiment.

Rabbi M. Schlesinger then delivered a most acute and entertaining address, in which he dwelt upon the aims and aspirations of Judaism, and welcomed the efforts of the Free Religious Association as tending to promote an enlightened fellowship and communion between various creeds and faiths of mankind. At a late hour, the meeting adjourned.

The first article of the programme for Friday afternoon was the paper by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, on Co-operation and Progress. This paper was a profound discussion of the labor question, and gave rise to a spirited debate, occupying the entire afternoon. The participants were Messrs. Schell, Baker, Hinckley, and others, with closing remarks by Mrs. Spencer and the President. Friday evening, Mr. Wm. H. Spencer spoke on the Christ of the Gospels and our Moral Ideal, and Mr. Frederic A. Hinckley on Mystery. At a late hour, the President said a parting word and declared the meeting adjourned. Quite a number of new members were obtained in both cities, and a good interest awakened in the work of the Association. F. A. H.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHO IS TO DETERMINE WHICH IS THE RIGHT CONSCIENCE?

Editors of The Index:—

"Immediate, total, and affectionate self-surrender of the soul to God is demanded of all responsible human beings every instant by conscience, which is the voice of God." So says Joseph Cook. Now, who is to determine which is the *right* conscience? One man's conscience says, There is a Trinity: I must believe in that, or I am lost. Another says, I believe in God the Father and Jesus the Son; and by believing and accepting that, only, can I be saved. And still another believes that God and Christ are one and the same; and that by accepting Christ as God, and through his atoning blood, only, can he be saved. These classes all come under the head of Christians. But there is another class of people,—and it is a large one, too, and composed of persons who are highly intelligent, perfectly honest and conscientious, sober, industrious, and respectable,—in fact, just as *good*, in a worldly sense (and, really, what other sense have we to judge by?), as the other class, who believe in a higher power, be it in whatever form it may. Deists, theists, and monotheists might come under this head, perhaps, but more particularly the agnostic, who is ever ready to accept *truth* when proven,—a considerate class who *want* to be *right;* and are not they the most honest of all? For they make no pretensions of knowing what every one who thinks deeply and honestly upon the subject must admit no *living* soul knows. No doubt, many of this class would gladly lay down their lives in a moment to obtain the knowledge of future salvation for others. Seems to me it would be a glorious death, if by dying on the cross, the gallows, or in any other ignominious way, we could secure for humanity future happiness. But the agnostic, and most liberal people, cannot, on the evidence adduced, believe that anything of the kind ever has taken place; nor can they, judging from the facts of well-authenticated time, from their reason, or from the never-varying laws of nature,—so much better understood now than two thousand years ago,—believe that any thing of the kind ever will occur. This class will be the *first*, I believe,—if the source and final destiny of our being is ever discovered,—to rejoice and accept, for the very reason that they have no dogmatic assurance to get rid of, but stand ready to embrace the *truth* when *discovered*. So, again, who is to determine which is the right conscience? What right has Joseph Cook, or any other theologian, to say that such persons "are in open rebellion against God"? Such men as are to-day called Agnostics, Liberals, etc., have been from the beginning of history the pioneers of progress in thought, science, and in every thing that has been for the good of humanity. They in rebellion against God? It is a presumption that no man has a right to make. The reason that many men are agnostic is that they can form no conception of God high enough to satisfy their imagination. The God of the Bible falls far below what they themselves can conceive. Learned men in the past have told us, "No man can find out God," "God is unthinkable," "It is past the understanding of man," etc.; "yet we are told we must love what he loves, and hate what he hates." Who is to tell us the loves and hates of God,—the preachers? "It is in man to remember whence he came." Can a man remember what he never knew? Whence we came is still an open question, and the greatest scientists of the age are striving hard to solve it. In speaking of probation at death, Joseph Cook says, "It is a guess on both sides [an honest expression for a theologian to make: they generally say, *I know*]: on the one side, the guess amounts to nothing; but, on the other, it is every thing." So, to make assurance doubly sure, he guesses, No probation.

In war or politics, that kind of tactics would be shrewd, to say the least; but, to a man who has lived an upright, honest life, and believes that God will be just, and trusts to him for making all things right after death, it seems like a cowardly makeshift to abjure his reason, and accept a faith that all through life he has believed a myth. 'But life is a game of policy, and some are always guessing the opposite of what they believe or hope for, *so as to be safe* (sometimes, this is called straddling). W.

PHILADELPHIA QUAKERISM DEFENDED.

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index* of the 22d ult., I find an article bearing hard on Philadelphia by, I suppose, a citizen of the "Hub." He was, no doubt, sun-struck during the heat of the Centennial summer, and has not yet recovered his equanimity. Philadelphia Quakerism seems to be his especial abhorrence. Its non-æstheticism seems to be the trouble. This, combined with its alleged "gross practicality," are the especial objects of his wrath. As to the "practicality" of the Friends, as compared with that of Bostonians, let us go back some two hundred years. While these same Bostonians were murdering the Indians and enacting the most cruel laws against all who dissented from them, the Philadelphians were intent upon humanity to all mankind; and, in the face of the sentiment of the whole world, the Assembly dared to exempt from the punishment of death every crime except the single one of wilful murder.

During this period, I will narrate one instance of the "practicality" of Bostonians, as given by Sewall: "Hored Gardener, an inhabitant of Newport, came, with her sucking babe and a girl to carry it, to Weymouth; from whence, for being a Quaker, she was hurried to Boston, whence she and the girl were whipped with a threefold knotted whip. After the whipping, the woman kneeled down and prayed the Lord to forgive those persecutors, which so reached a woman that stood by that she said, 'Surely, she could not have done this, if it had not been by the spirit of the Lord.'"

I suppose Friend Kennedy has heard of the "practicality" of the Bostonians in the case of Mary Dyer, Marmaduke Stevenson, and William Robinson,—how they were hanged to the stoutest limb of the Old Elm, on the Common, for the crime of being Quakers!

But let us come down to more modern time, and compare Boston's great man, Daniel Webster, to William M. Meredith and Horace Binney. Thaddeus Stephens once related to me the details of the great crime of the great Daniel, and how he and Meredith (Gen. Taylor's Secretary of the Treasury) never spoke again to the "godlike" after his seventh of March speech. Take Boston's other great man, Charles Sumner,—his "practicality" was not always at hand.

But Philadelphians are non-æsthetic, forsooth! Did our friend ever hear of Benjamin West, who declined the peerage at the hand of George III.? Did he ever hear of Thomas Buchanan Read, who wrote the finest poem, the English say, ever penned by an American? Did he ever hear of John G. Whittier, who equalled it in his "Randolph of Roanoke"? He, a Quaker, wrote his finest poems in Philadelphia, when he was the editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* there. Did he ever hear of Bayard Taylor, who, with his friend Read, was born in Quaker Chester County, and educated under its influence?

But the animus of our critic is seen in what he says concerning "a great philanthropist." This poor man's (I know him well) idiosyncrasy was laughed at. He was a prison inspector at a salary of some fifteen hundred dollars per annum.

Let us consider the case of Boston's great man, Theodore Parker. We all know how its Orthodoxy prayed for his removal; and they do not yet seem to have forgiven him, judging from Joseph Cook's fantasy. They do not seem to comprehend that the ground which he occupied is the *stronghold*, the religious sentiment; *i.e.*, that the Spiritual Sense knows no man. "We have known Christ," says Paul, "after the flesh: henceforth know we him no more." Our critic complains loudly of the Philadelphia Friends,—*I* speak not for *orthodox* Friends, but of the Society of Friends,—who were so ably represented by the late Benjamin Hallowell and Lucretia Mott, and who were fast friends of *The Index*. Now, the ground on which Theodore Parker stood, there we have stood for two hundred years, and there we propose to stand forever. And to-day, with Dean Stanley, we esteem Theodore Parker as a "great philosopher." And who in Boston does him reverence? Its Orthodoxy still cast stones at him, and its heterodoxy is fast drifting into agnosticism. They don't know the spiritual sense. And why? Because, says one of the same school as our critic, some Christians and Mormons run after phantoms and whimsies, that, therefore (he implies), the Spiritual Sense is a delusion and a snare. Now, we Friends hold that the Spiritual Sense knows no man, as a man. It, however, cognizes God as the Infinite God, just as it is cognizant of man,—the spiritual man.

Lucretia Mott said at Abington meeting in a sermon, some years since, that Emerson once told her that the Friends were right in their philosophy, their mode of worship,—of feeling after God, if haply they may find him.

Now, in conclusion, if I have written harshly or censoriously, I will say that I love all the sensible people of Boston and of the whole of New England.

DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, PA., 2 mo. 9, 1883.

EUSEBIUS AND PIOUS FRAUDS.

Editors of the Index:—

Will the "author of *Bible Myths*" please give the reference to Eusebius again and more carefully, so that I can find the passage?

Respectfully, INQUIRER.

MAPLEWOOD, MASS., March 17, 1883.

BOOK NOTICES.

AN ORIGINAL LECTURE. "The Immorality of Religious Capitals." A lecture delivered in Paine Hall, Sunday evening, Jan. 28, 1883. By James Parton. Reported for the Boston *Investigator*. Boston: J. P. Mendum.

Mr. Parton delivered this lecture before the Free Religious Association in Boston, June 2, 1876, and at the Centennial Congress of Liberals in Philadelphia, July 2, 1876, under the title of "Cathedrals and Beer: or the Immorality of Religious Capitals." It was printed from the manuscript in the report of the Free Religious Association for 1876, and is a part of the report of the Centennial Congress above mentioned. Our readers generally are familiar with the lecture. But, as published by Mr. Mendum, it bears evidence of revision by the author; and, in comparing this edition with previous ones, we have found an interesting and amusing subject for psychological study. Without doubt, the mind is subject to laws as invariable as those by which the planets move in in their orbits; but it would "puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer" to explain the mental process by which some of Mr. Parton's revisions were made. We give the first two sentences from the lecture as published in the report of the Free Religious Association in

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1876, and as it appears in the pamphlet just issued: "It is the happiness of the new world to be admonished by the errors of the old, and of the old world to be warned by those of the new." 1876. "It is the great happiness of this new and forming world of ours to be admonished by the errors of the old world across the sea." 1883. "Yonder lies Europe to recreate us by its venerable and picturesque antiquity." 1876. "Yonder lies Europe, distant but in plain sight, to warn and instruct us, as well as to cheer and recreate." 1883. Let us hope that Mr. Parton's next lecture will be not only "original," but a new one, or, at least, one that has not been in print half a dozen years. We have never regarded this lecture equal as a piece of composition to most of Mr. Parton's essays, although it contains much good thought. The purport of the lecture is given in the closing words: "It is not wealth that corrupts: wealth is a boon and a blessing; and, let men earn as much as they may, man must forever remain poor. It is bad distribution of wealth that corrupts. There is a tendency in property to get into heaps, which laws in every age and land have aggravated. Here, for the first time in human history, let the law leave it equally free to get into heaps and to scatter itself abroad. No privilege. No entail. No exemption. All men and all property equal before the law."

THE *Art Amateur* for March opens with a notice of an article from the *Revue des Arts Décoratifs* on "American Habitations." We wish the writer had treated it more seriously, and given us either a translation of the article or at least sufficient extracts to enable us to judge of its tone, instead of making an effort to raise a laugh at its expense. It is rarely that French criticism is not worth considering. One writer says that the first sentence of the French writer is enough to demonstrate his inaccurate way of observing things. "The Americans are not accustomed to do things by halves." To our minds, the Frenchman is quite right, as the popular phrase "going the whole hog" shows Americans do things carelessly, hastily, inaccurately, superficially, in their very attempt to do things wholesale; and they do not discriminate and analyze and do one part thoroughly, to the neglect of all the rest. The next sentence is rather confused; but, if, as appears, the Frenchman said that "we have already made a good step in the direction of developing the artistic sentiment to the profit of our industries," the improvement in our wall papers, printed calicoes, carpets, and other fabrics in which beauty of design is important, abundantly shows that he is much nearer the truth than his critic, who says "that we are far advanced in the 'exploitation' of such artistic taste as we have for the profit of our great manufacturers." The next article is a sketch of Gustave Doré. The writer hardly does justice, we think, to the large paintings of Doré exhibited in London. Doré was always to a certain extent melodramatic, it is true; but the figure of Jesus descending the steps of the Hall of Justice has always dwelt in our mind as a grand original creation. We remember well the refreshment of seeing these pictures after the dreary commonplace of the Grosvenor Gallery. The longest article is an account of the Water Color Exhibition, with some very pleasing illustrations. "Hints to Photograph Portraitists," and "Flower Painting in Water Colors," "Suggestions for Fan-painting," and "Hints to China Painters," and "New Houses" are practical articles of value to workers in these departments. The designs for decorative work are pleasing and varied.

THE *North American Review* for April presents an attractive array of notable names among its contributors for this number; and, as might be expected, the subjects treated are among the most important of the age. Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey and Judge John A. Jameson open the number by giving their views on "Divorce" from the clerical and legal stand-points; Dr. P. Bender gives "A Canadian View of Annexation"; Senator John A. Logan shows the need for "National Aid to Public Schools" in the several States and Territories; Dr. Howard Crosby writes of "The Dangerous Classes"; President J. C. Welling, of Columbia College, treats of the problem of "Race Education"; "The Water Supply of Cities" is discussed by Charles F. Wingate; Dr. F. H. Hedge writes of "Ethical Systems"; and Rev. Charles F. Deems, on "Street Begging." The concluding article is by O. B. Frothingham on "Criticism and Christianity."

IN the *Unitarian Review* for March, Rev. Charles W. Wendte writes of "Festival Days in the Church"; Rev. Rushton D. Burr has an article entitled "A Moral Unity at the Last"; under the title "M. Hyacinthe Lawson," D. Charruaud gives a critical review of the services and opinions of Père Hyacinthe; Rev. Albert Walkley reviews "Fichte: his Popular Works"; and Rev. Francis G. Peabody discourses on "The Method of the Psychology of Religion." The "Notes from England" of Rev. John Page Hopps are this month very interesting, while the editorial department is up to its usual excellent standard.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for March is an excellent number. In addition to its numerous wise and witty stories and poems, nearly every page has one or more beautiful engravings. "The Monkey's Story," by W. E. Barker; "The Troublesome Gnat," by Mrs. Hall; "The Baby Cage," by Aunt Nell; and "Harry's Winged Mouse," by H. L. Charles, are particularly instructive. Russell Publishing House, Boston.

FRIENDS of Hebrew literature will be glad to know that an English translation of the Mishna, the most important part of the Talmud, is about to be published, with the original text, a vocabulary, and commentary, in bi-monthly parts. Price $5 a year. Subscriptions may be sent to the author, Dr. S. S. Kohn, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

GEN. TOM THUMB celebrated his forty-sixth birthday at Chicago on the 4th inst. He was only five years old, when first exhibited by Barnum.

MISS HULDA A. LOUD attended the recent town meeting in Rockland, and urged that the salaries of the teachers in the public schools be increased. As a result, the appropriation for schools was increased $1,000. This is the first time since the town was incorporated, nine years ago, that teachers' salaries have been increased.

THE memorial tablet in front of the house formerly occupied by Prof. Samuel Morse in Rome was unveiled in the presence of a large and distinguished company on the 5th of March. Signor d'Amico, director-general of telegraphs, paid a high tribute to Prof. Morse. In conclusion, he said: "Rome, the mother of civilized nations, honors in Prof. Morse a young nation, which is splendidly paying her debt to antiquity." A detachment of pompiers paid military honors to the occasion.

WE clip the following from a more extended notice in the New Orleans *Picayune* of the 6th inst.: "On Bethel evenings, it is customary to have some prominent citizen or visiting celebrity address the audience. Last night there was a pleasing variation from this custom; and Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles, a gifted New England poetess, was introduced to keep a promise to Dr. Witherspoon to read an original poem on the loss of the 'Central America,' Captain Herndon.... From one end of the large hall to the other, every seat was filled, and the crowds surged in through the doors."

REV. GEORGE O. BARNES, "the Mountain Evangelist," writes as follows from New York to his home paper, the *Journal* of Stanford, Ky. "I paid a visit to Mrs. Theodore Tilton a few days ago. She is a kind of cousin, though not of blood-kin, and has always been a favorite relative with me. She is and always has been a lady of rare refinement and gentle loveliness. Those who have only known her in connection with the horrible Beecher trial know nothing whatever about her. Well, I found her boarding-house on Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, after a little search; and she welcomed my visit as of old. She is fearfully altered by these awful years. Her personal beauty, once very marked, is almost gone,—only here and there a trace. The soft, bright, innocent eye remains, but that alone. Her delicate hands, once soft as velvet, are hard with toil. The lustrous dark brown hair is very gray, and the pink and white of the old beautiful complexion replaced by a dull sallow. But her life is full of peace and rest that 'the world cannot give.' The seven-times-heated furnace has purified, not consumed (save the dross); and to-day she has what others have not, a 'conscience void of offence toward God and man.' Oh! in the day when accounts are settled,—and they will be, thank God,—let me be in her company, and there, like her, venturing all to keep everything right with God."

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to coöperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reëlection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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The office of the Association is at 3 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON (directly in the rear of the Tremont House), where is also the publication office of *The Index*.

All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

Communications intended specially for the Secretary, as well as his personal correspondence, should be addressed to him at PROVIDENCE, R.I.

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CURRENT TOPICS,	457
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.	
Societies for Ethical Culture, Wm. J. Potter,	458
Hargdicks, W. D. Gunning,	459
The Jews, B. W. Ball,	459
Education, B. F. Underwood,	461
EDITORIAL NOTES,	461
POETRY.	
Easter Bells, Lita Barney Sayles,	462
ESSAY.	
The Union of Church and State in Connecticut, historically considered, Emily J. Leonard,	462
CORRESPONDENCE.	
A Plea for Protection, John Warr,	464
A Word supplied, J. E. Peck,	464
Did Jesus really teach so? N. A. Haskell,	465
Humanity and Religion, W. L. S.,	465
Eusebius and Pious Frauds,	466
MISCELLANEOUS,	466
BOOK NOTICES.	
Gov. Butler *vs.* the Common Schools of Massachusetts, by A. D. Mayo,	466
The Elzevir Library, Atlantic, Popular Science Monthly,	466
Fortnightly Review,	467
PERSONAL ITEMS,	467

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Nebraska Legislature has just passed a bill providing that one of the two assistant physicians of the State asylum for the insane shall be a woman.

SALMI MORSE says of his "Passion Play": "I do not wish to be degraded by a license. I have not built a theatre: the building is my church. I have not written a play, but a service."

"ONCE more," says a Western journal, "the mysterious mounds of the Mississippi River bottom are being used as places of refuge by the people. They must have been built largely for that very purpose,—as a place of safety for both living and dead,—and are curiously serviceable to the very men of our civilization who almost ruin themselves making levees which last but a day."

THE "well-descended women" who petitioned the Massachusetts Legislature against suffrage will probably find a book after their own hearts in the *Lectures on the Calling of a Christian Woman*, by Rev. Morgan Dix, just published. Friends of the Episcopal Church will be glad to remember that Heber Newton is a minister of that Church as well as Morgan Dix, and that he, too, has written a book on woman's calling.

WE learn from the London *Inquirer* that the Japan *Mail* states that the Buddhist priests in that country have commenced an agitation against the obligation both of celibacy and of an exclusively vegetarian diet. A grand meeting of representatives from the various sects is announced to be held at Koyasan to discuss the advisability of removing vexatious and needless restrictions upon the liberty of the Buddhist priesthood.

THE Boston *Herald* says: "Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn need not lay the flattering unction to his soul that he has secured peace and agreement for his new church by adopting 'a simple creed of ten words, which express the fundamental principles of all the religions of the world, "God, humanity, worship, duty, providence, prayer, inspiration, revelation, repentance, retribution, holiness, and the immortal life."' There is enough dispute over the meaning of each of these words to found a fighting sect upon."

THE Common Council and Board of Education of Chicago have made St. Patrick's day and Good Friday legal holidays. Why not now make civic holidays in honor of St. George of England, St. Andrew of Scotland, St. Dennis of France, and St. Gambrinus of Germany, and the saints of other nations? A Detroit paper thinks St. Patrick has been made the patron of that city "in memory of the fact that the frogs which once inhabited the marsh upon which a great portion of the town is built have somehow been abolished."

THE "great red spot" which appeared on the planet Jupiter in 1878, since which time it has been carefully observed, has almost entirely vanished. Concerning its origin and nature, various opinions prevail. Whether it is an enormous rift in the planet's cloud atmosphere, revealing the nucleus beneath, or a crust formed on the semi-fluid of the planet, revolving with it, and now melting down and disappearing, or a cloud of smoke coming from a long-continued volcanic eruption on the planet underneath, astronomers are not yet agreed.

THE son of a Minnesota Judge was recently assigned the task of delivering a declamation before the high school of which he was a member. He commenced an extract from one of Ingersoll's speeches; was told he must select something else; declining to do so, he was expelled by the teacher. The matter was referred to the State Superintendent, and he in turn called for a decision from the Attorney-general. The decision is that the expulsion was illegal, as no specification was made of what should be spoken; and the boy had a perfect right to choose excerpts from Ingersoll, they being neither vulgar nor objectionable. The gist of the matter is that the teacher's prejudice against Ingersoll is not sufficient ground for expulsion.

THE International Literary Association announces that a convention of authors of all nations will be held in Amsterdam in September of this year, at the same time with the world's fair that is then to take place in that city. The association also offers prizes for the best essays upon "Holland and Freedom of Thought and Utterance in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." The essays are not to exceed in length one thousand to twelve hundred lines of forty letters each, and French will be preferred as the language to be used. They may, however, be written in other languages; but such as win prizes will be translated into French at the expense of the association before they are printed. The first prize is to be a medal of silver, gold-plated. The other prizes are to be medals of bronze. Authors of every nation may compete.

THE *Unitarian Herald*, England, in reference to the bill now before Parliament for permitting members to affirm instead of taking the oath, says: "There is good hope that the Affirmation Bill will command a majority of the House of Commons. There has been long hesitation in some quarters, and a few Liberals still hold out upon their individual responsibility; but all the 'groups' have been conciliated, and even the individuals are 'considering' as though with a view to capitulation. Nothing has done more to serve the purpose of the government than the character of some of the Obstructives,—men whose perfect frankness in the smoke-room saves them from the charge of hypocrisy, and who even in the lobby candidly avow that they think of Bradlaugh only as a load for the government to carry, but who would pose in the House of Commons as 'champions of God.' However conscientiously a piously inclined Liberal may object to Mr. Bradlaugh, he objects to see men gaining the applause of the thoughtless by taking the Deity under their patronage."

"PUCK" is doing yeoman service against bigotry and superstition by such cartoons as that upon the "Appalling Attempt to muzzle the Watch-dog of Science," in the number for March 14. It was announced from London three weeks ago that "the Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature proposes to get up cases against Profs. Huxley and Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, and others, who by their writings have sown wide-spread unbelief, and in some cases rank atheism." We think that the thick-skulled clerics who constitute this society would not feel any the happier for seeing themselves in this picture of *Puck's*. And this is what *Puck* says about it: "The main danger of a republic or a liberal monarchy may be that the people are not governed enough; but it is not a safe thing for every opinionated busybody with a taste for management to undertake to govern the rest of his fellow-citizens by special license. It is not safe for the public, to begin with; and, when the public wakes up to the fact, it is not safe for the busybody, to end with. It appears that London has a Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature; and the Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature now proposes to 'get up cases' against Profs. Tyndall, Huxley, and Spencer, and the publishers of the works of Darwin and John Stuart Mill. It is a very pretty little scheme. It is a very neat little scheme indeed. There is only one trouble about it: it is rather tardy. It would have done very well two hundred centuries ago, had Herbert Spencer *et al.* written at that period; but the people of this age are what Darwin and Huxley and Tyndall have made them, and it is among the vague improbabilities that the watch-dogs of science will ever be silenced with the very small muzzle which the Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature has prepared for them. And suppose,—we throw this out simply as a hint,—suppose the watch-dogs of science should happen to turn on the Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature: would there not be some rending done in the neighborhood of London?"

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SOCIETIES FOR ETHICAL CULTURE.

We may safely assume that our readers have read the lecture by Prof. Adler, published in the last number of *The Index*, on "The Extension of the Ethical Movement." The lecture was suggested by the formation of a Society for Ethical Culture in Chicago similar to that over which Mr. Adler presides in New York. The Chicago society was organized last autumn, but it has only recently gone into active operation. At first there seemed some doubt whether it would attempt anything more than to sustain Sunday lectures by miscellaneous speakers,—and such a course is at present in progress. But the society has now determined, probably through the urgent persuasion of Mr. Adler, not to be content with speech only, however good, but to inaugurate at once some educational and philanthropic work as earnest of the fact that its primary purpose is the practical amelioration of human society. In pursuance of this purpose, it is to institute a school for the ethical education of the children of the society and to organize a charity of skilled nursing among the sick poor; and, further, it has invited Mr. W. M. Salter, a gentleman well known to our readers both for his fine intellectual ability and his philanthropic heart, to be its leader in these and other good enterprises which it may inaugurate. And Mr. Salter has already entered upon the work.

This planting of a second ethical society, and very distinctly as an offshoot of Mr. Adler's organization in New York, gives a fitting occasion for some general remarks on the aim, scope, and work of such societies. The society which Mr. Chainey has recently been instrumental in organizing at Horticultural Hall in Boston, though adopting a similar name, and professing, in the main, to have the same general objects, did not come through any direct influence of the New York Society, and, evidently, is not reckoned by Mr. Adler as legitimate evidence of the extension of "the ethical movement." His lecture expressly and frankly states, indeed, that he regards a certain philosophy and method, not far unlike those adopted by himself, as necessary conditions of such an ethical society as he has in mind and urges upon all earnest liberal thinkers. And the possibility of such independent sporadic organizations as that at Horticultural Hall—springing up and taking the name of ethical societies, but feeling no responsibility for imbibing the spirit or copying the methods of the New York society, to which he first gave the name—has probably led Mr. Adler to urge more strenuously upon the Chicago society, which is in a sense his direct offspring, the adoption of his specific plan, so that the West, as the East, may have a model of what he would regard as a genuine society for ethical culture. Having chosen this name for the organization of certain ideas and aims which, to his mind, have all the solemn importance of a new religious movement, he is naturally anxious that it should be confined to those very ideas and aims which, to him, give all the significance and interest of the movement, and that the public should not be confused as to the meaning of the name through its being appropriated by any chance company of Liberals who may choose to call themselves an ethical society. And he doubtless discerns too, the difficulty and delicacy of the problem here involved. How to keep the name true to his own design and at the same time respect that intellectual liberty, which is the first prerogative of the liberal thinkers to whom he appeals, will be no easy task in the propagandism of the ethical movement.

And this point touches one of the limitations which, to not a few liberal thinkers who entirely sympathize with Mr. Adler's aims, seem to inhere in his plan of organization. Take, for instance, his strong intimation in the lecture to which we have referred, that the teacher of an ethical society should not only thoroughly understand the Kantian system of ethics, but should accept it; while he more than hints that Herbert Spencer's ethical system would be a very poor equipment for such a teacher. We do not know that Mr. Adler would insist that all teachers of ethical societies should believe in Kant's ethics and not in Herbert Spencer's, though his forcible paragraph, comparing the two philosophies, looks almost as if he were ready to take that ground; that is, that, while discarding in the formation of ethical societies all *theological* creeds, he would not discard, but distinctly build upon, a certain *ethical* creed. But we incline to think that it was not so much this that he had chiefly in mind as the undoubted fact that an ethical teacher must be himself solidly grounded in ethical philosophy, and not simply an inquirer among the different philosophies and doubtful whether this or that be true; and, further, that, in his (Mr. Adler's) view, Kant's system, because of its keeping so clear the freedom of the human will and the sense of moral obligation, is better adapted than any other to produce deep moral convictions and to stimulate to earnest and enthusiastic moral actions. This seems to him the most inspiring philosophy practically; and, since the prime qualification of all in an ethical teacher is the inspiration of a high moral idea impelling to noble deeds, he naturally emphasizes the ethical philosophy which he believes most conducive to this qualification. He might hesitate, however, as we most certainly should (though not ourself accepting nor teaching the Herbert Spencer ethics) to declare that no one holding Spencer's ethical system is capable of a lofty moral ideal or of being an efficient teacher of practical morals to others. Just how the moral principles may have originated among mankind is, after all, not so important a matter as it is clearly to state what those principles are and to show their various practical applications to the problems of life. A disciple of Kant and a disciple of Herbert Spencer might work harmoniously side by side in all those problems for moral, social, political, and industrial amelioration, which Mr. Adler points out as properly engaging the interest of an ethical society.

It is also sometimes objected that, in the meetings of Mr. Adler's Ethical Society on Sundays, there is no special expression of the religious sentiment, and that yet Mr. Adler believes that the ethical movement is religious; and that therefore the form of service he has adopted does not cover all that the movement, even in his own view, really includes, and hence cannot permanently serve it. But we are not aware that Mr. Adler has ever taken the ground that his present form of service is unalterably fixed, and that no special recognition of the religious sentiment should ever be adopted by an ethical congregation. As we understand his position, it is that in time some distinct expression of such recognition will be introduced, but that it must develop naturally out of the new ideas of religion and of the relation of ethics thereto, in order to be in entire harmony with these ideas; and that, meantime, it is better to have no such special form of service than to copy, even with the most liberal interpretations and amendments, the usages of Christian churches and Hebrew synagogues, which grew out of very different ideas. And his argument on this point, since it touches the question of intellectual sincerity, deserves the most serious consideration. And it may be added that since Mr. Adler himself is a man of the deepest religious nature, full of the spirit of consecration to the loftiest ideals of life, and speaks with all the fervor of the old Hebrew prophets whose hearts burned with messages from their Jehovah, the religious sentiment is, in reality, both voiced and appealed to in his Sunday services, even though there be no utterance specially called aspiration or prayer and no singing of hymns.

But, passing by all criticisms that may be made on societies for ethical culture, either in respect to idea or practice, it is our opinion that they are well adapted to meet a present need in the liberal movement, and we should greatly like to see them multiply. There are a good many Liberals who, like the present writer, believe that even a new religion is not required to make wholly new forms for itself, but may also make over old ones to serve its uses, as all growing religions have always done; and such persons may find places where they can freely work in connection with the most liberal and advanced sections of existing churches. But there are a good many other Liberals whom the very word "church," and every thing connected with it, fret and exasperate, and who would prefer not even to hear the word "religion," but who yet believe in ethics, and who need, even if they do not desire (which some of them do), to be brought together for social and ethical work. And, in general, there is a very large class of liberal thinkers who, for one reason and another, have utterly broken away from all churches, and are not likely ever again to act with them. Now, among this class of people, if with their liberal ideas they have any social and co-operative impulse that can be appealed to, the ethical society should find a cordial welcome. There are, indeed, many of them, as we incline to think, who are too individualistic to come heartily and effectively into any kind of organization; who must ever remain critics, and carry on their guerilla warfare on the creeds and churches, each in his own way. But there are others who desire associated activity and some kind of constructive work on a radical basis, both for their own improvement and the betterment of society around them. And, for this latter class, the ethical society —assuming it not to be too rigidly patterned after one model, but, while preserving certain distinguishing features, to be elastic enough to adjust itself to different local conditions—would seem to be the organization wanted.

In the first place, the defining word in the name, "ethical," distinctly avoids all savor of ecclesiasticism, while it emphasizes and puts at the very front of everything just that which these persons say is wanting in the teaching of the churches, and which human society first of all needs. In the second place, the ethical society is not concerned with speculations merely or with objects far away in a celestial hereafter, but with seeking to promote the highest good of men and women in their earthly lives. And, thirdly, the three main features of the ethical society—namely, self-improvement and reform, the moral education of the young, and organized philanthropy of some kind for the relief of human suffering—would seem well to cover the varied obligations of life, as viewed from the stand-point of that class of Liberals we have now in mind. And how varied the problems with which the leader of an ethical society should be familiar, and how immediately these problems affect the practical interests of mankind, Mr. Adler shows by a rapid but vigorous sketch in his lecture. Surely, all earnest-minded Liberals who have been wandering rather objectless in the vast field of liberal thought, and have now come to the point where they want to unite to do something practical, should be stirred by this earnest

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discourse at once to set about the good work in some way. Leaders, it is true, are needed; but so, too, is needed the readiness to accept them and give them an opportunity. There are three or four young men, Americans, now in Germany, who are well educated for the work and want nothing better than to enter the field. Are there places ready for them? Above all, in the leaders and in the societies is needed that glowing moral enthusiasm which Mr. Adler conspicuously illustrates in his own work, whatever limitations any may think attached to his methods, and which, whether it come by culture or grace, is the one pearl of great price for buying success.

WM. J. POTTER.

HARGDICKS.

"I shot a hargdick yesterday. The old woman in the cabin over there is *troubled*, and I've just taken her some of the meat."

This was spoken to me in the pine woods of Florida. The man belonged to the class known as "Crackers." When he said that the old woman was "troubled," he meant that she was crazy. When he said that he had shot a "hargdick," he meant that he had shot a heretic, and that fried heretic (they never boil heretics or anything else in the South) is good for lunatics.

The chronic condition of the South is hunger. "Now, Crump," I said to my man, "I wish you would take your gun, go into the hummock, and get us some quails. If you can't find a quail, bring anything. In Colorado, I saw a boy shooting bumble-bees. 'My little man,' I said, 'isn't that rather small game?' 'Yes,' he said, 'but it's a darned sight better than nothing.' Get something, if it is only a bumble-bee."

"I mought shoot you a hargdick," he answered. That I, who had been suspected of a fondness for heretics, should have a gustatory liking for *heretics!* "No, Crump, no: never shoot a heretic for me."

As I wouldn't eat a heretic, he thought I might relish a woodpecker. He came back with two woodpeckers.

What are heretics, or *hargdicks*, that they should be shot like pigs or cattle by Floridian Crackers? They are simply pigs or cattle. A pig or steer which has wandered from the fold and has no brand of ownership on it is a *hargdick*. The word is not known to lexicographers, but its evolution is obvious.

In times more theologic than ours, the animal which strayed from the fold and did not wear the brand of an owner was called a *heretic*. If the real heretic—that is, the man who had wandered from the fold of the Church—had been more common in the South, the name as applied to an outcast pig would have remained unchanged. As it was, the change into hargdick was natural.

Bacon says that the imagination often shoots back on the understanding, and wounds it. A Pennsylvanian once told me that he and his neighbors were raising a breed of cattle they called "Hairy-foot." I asked him why they had given the cattle such a name? He answered, "Because they have more hair on their feet than other cattle." Here, the imagination had shot back on the reason, and crippled it. The cattle were *Herefords*. As the word was not intelligible to these Pennsylvania farmers, it suffered phonetic change, and became "Hairy-foot." Then, the word began to trick the reason. The fact must answer to the name. The imagination sees an excess of hair on the feet. I had found a myth in the process of becoming. The myth of the barnacle goose, as Max Müller has shown, was evolved in a similar way.

A word must be clearly understood by the people who speak it, or it will suffer phonetic change, and take another meaning. The sailors of the "Bellerophon" did not understand the name of their ship; and the word Bellerophon, on their lips, became Billy Ruffian. Now, I doubt whether in *ante-bellum* times a real heretic was ever known in Florida. To the average peninsular mind, the name was about as intelligible as Bellerophon to the sailors, or Hereford to the Pennsylvania farmer. A vague feeling there must have been that a heretic is in some sense an outlaw and castaway. So, when the name was transferred to an unbranded animal, the penalty which had been incurred by heresy attached vicariously to the animal, and it became the lawful prey of any bullet.

With this change of meaning came a phonetic change. On the lips of the negro and "Cracker," the vocal *t* glides into the whispered *d*,—that, *dat;* them, *dem;* heretic, *hargdick*. So the word came to be; and, like the thing signified, it is a something which has gone astray. The hargdick's ear is not cropped nor its rump burned with an iron, but "hargdick" has the ear-marks and rump-brand of heretic.

Savage and semi-civilized peoples punish a man by beating something which stands as his image. The hargdick is the image of the heretic, and civilization has so far advanced that *only* the image can be punished by bullet or brand. The *savan* of a future age may find in the scanty literature of an American peninsula the word "hargdick," may trace it to heretic, and through the punishment inflicted on the beast which had strayed from the fold he may reach the fact that Christian Europe once inflicted like punishment on the man whose thought led him from the fold of the Church.

Manners are softening, and it is not quite the thing now to shoot a hargdick wherever you find him. Still, the poor wanderer has a hard life. I have observed the career of a heretical pig. From one yard, it was driven by a volley of fine shot fired into its back. Invading another, it received a baptism of scalding water on its head. Goaded by pain, it sought refuge and garbage in another. Dogs met it at the gate, and drove it back into a wilderness of pines. The poor hargdick may have had a pig-headed reason for its heresy; but the thought occurred to me that, with lead shot into its flesh, with scalding water poured on its head, with the baying of dogs at its back, it must at times breathe a lament over the lost pen and fold.

W. D. GUNNING.

ALTAMONTE, FLA., March 3, 1883.

THE JEWS.

The mediæval legend of the Wandering Jew had a great fascination for the poet Shelley, as it doubtless has for every imaginative mind in youth. This legend has been more or less romantically utilized by several distinguished writers of fiction, such as Godwin in his *St. Leon*, and by the author of *Salathiel*, and by Bulwer-Lytton in his *Zanoni*, and by the French novelist, Eugène Sue, in his famous *Errant Juif*. This renowned myth, like all other notable myths with any core of significance in them, is simply a typification, in this instance, of the fortunes of the Jewish race in the person of an alleged deathless Jew, who is condemned to undergo immortality here on the earth, and to be the contemporary of every new generation of men, he having been rendered incapable of dying by a decree of the higher powers,—not by way of boon and blessing, however, as was the Greek mythical hero, Tithonus, whom, weary of endless dotage, Tennyson represents as speaking enviously

> "Of *happy* men that have the power to die,
> And grassy barrows of the *happier* dead."

But the Wandering or Eternal Jew of mediæval story is represented as existing in a state of perpetual bodily and mental vigor. The lapsing years, centuries, and ages glide over him innocuous, inflicting upon him neither wrinkles nor physical nor intellectual decrepitude. And, in this particular also, the myth is typical of the actual fact; namely, that the Hebrew race is as young-blooded and as full of vitality and mental power to-day as it was far back in the morning of history. The Jew has indeed been a wanderer from time immemorial, and an element of population, voluntary and involuntary, in most of the leading nations of the earth from that far withdrawn foretime, when he figured conspicuously in the persons of the *élite* of his tribes as prophet, interpreter of marvels, and prime minister even of the rulers of the river-valley empires of primitive Assyria and Egypt; and when a Jewish maiden by her all-subduing charms placed the earth-dominating Persian Monarchy, in the days of the voluptuous Xerxes, at the feet, so to speak, of her captive and transported race; and when, later along, the Levant having been Hellenized by the conquests of Alexander the Great, in the city founded by and named for the Macedonian conqueror on the shores of Egypt, the Jew translated his national or tribal literature, or the various documents composing it, into the then language of civilization,—namely, the Greek,—and thus made it accessible to the world at large:—from the far foretime or times above-mentioned, the Jews, I say, have been a noteworthy element of population in all the leading nationalities down to the current date. Even such as Moses, the apocryphal Daniel, and the Pharaonic favorite, Joseph, were in the remote historic past on the banks of the Euphrates and Nile, was England's late Hebrew prime minister, Lord Beaconsfield, upon the banks of the Thames in the current century. Such is the significance of the myth of the Wandering Jew, when interpreted in the light of current facts and history.

That amateur philosopher, theologian, and critic of men and things and entire communities, Matthew Arnold, has, in his multifarious essays, much to say of Hebraism and how much the English middle class has been narrowed by it. However this may be, Hebraism is a word full of significance. It means, in fact, the Hebrew mind or spirit, as Hellenism means the primitive Greek spirit, and as Romanism might be used to signify the old Roman spirit or genius. All three were more than mere temporary manifestations of human nature. They were and are enduring elements of it, and thus must ever continue to be potent factors in human history. It is a significant fact that the leading nations of to-day are precisely those whose language naturalized the Hebrew Scriptures in their own tongues by elaborate translations of them. The God of Israel was at first a tribal god, it is true; but he was, more than any contemporary deity or deities, an impersonation of the moral sense, a deification of the principle or sentiment of inexorable justice and right,—that is, he was an exemplification of the "ought," or categorical imperative, of the sage of Königsberg. All the gods of history and tradition have been of course purely projections of human nature *in excelsis*, idealizations of their worshippers, or ideal, colossal men. The Jehovah of the Hebrews was, more than any other god, the creation and ideal of the moral sense, of the sentiment of the good and right and just. It is not true, as Heine wittily asserts, that Jehovah was cradled and reared among the divine calves and crocodiles, the sacred onions, ibises, and cats of Egypt, where his votaries were so long held

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in bondage. The Hebrew Jehovah had no affinity with or relationship to the bestial pantheon of the Nile Valley, although it is true that his ritual and temple ceremonial were of Egyptian origin, and his priesthood was suggested by that of Egypt.

Several years ago, in one of the British monthlies, Mr. Joseph Jacobs gave a most interesting account of the gradual development and evolution of the Hebrew Jehovah from a mere tribal deity of a petty nomad tribe of Arabian origin, "perhaps in the beginning resident in Mesopotamia, if we may trust the national tradition of the origin of Abraham in Ur of the Chaldees," into the sublime avenger and punisher of gigantic, kingly, and national corruption, sin, outrage, tyranny, and wickedness, the god of the down-trodden, of the stranger, the widow, and the fatherless, such as he is described and represented in the writings of the great old Hebrew prophets, on to his final depersonalization as the imminent *Natura Naturans* and all-inclusive Substance of the blameless, modern Jewish philosopher and metaphysician, Spinoza. Everybody knows how thoroughly imbued with Hebraism or the old Hebrew spirit the Scotch people have been by centuries of Bible-reading and an intense Presbyterianism. It was no marvel, therefore, that Scotland's greatest recent literary man—namely, Carlyle—was, albeit he rejected all the Christian creeds and dogmas, a reproduction, as it were, in the most salient traits of his writings and fiercely censorious and denunciatory declamation in the presence of his visitors, of one of those Hebrew prophets of old, whose indignation was kindled and whose moral sense was outraged by the wickedness and abominations of the great contemporary rulers and of their populous capitals round about Judea, and by the iniquities and idolatries of an occasional king of Israel as well. The spirit of Isaiah is, in fact, to the full as manifest in the pages of Carlyle as that of his German masters, Goethe, Kant, Schiller, and Fichte. The Reformation was largely an outbreak and moral upheaval due to Hebraism or the Hebrew spirit, which rescued the nations of Northern Europe from the paganism and anthropomorphism of the South,—which threatened to overwhelm them,—and gave to them the moral fibre and individualism which constitute them the leaders and authors of modern civilization. In this instance, Hebraism became the ally of rationalism. English Puritanism and Cromwellism were a later and unmitigated outbreak of Hebraism. To it was due the colonization of New England, which became the core and germ of the great American Republic, in whose image modern society the world over will be sooner or later recreated and refashioned.

The three great races of the primitive world—namely, the Hebrews, the Greeks, and Romans—were epitomized and personified in their gods. The Muses, Pallas Athenè, Apollo, and Jupiter, were ideals of the sentiment of beauty, truth, and manly vigor, and strength. The Jupiter Stator of the Romans was a god of statecraft, of political and social organization, of jurisprudence and equity, and of war and conquest; while the Jehovah of the Hebrews was the deity of inexorable justice and of wrath against sin, although he could wear a gentler aspect, as when his royal votary represented him as leading shepherd-like his worshippers by still waters and making them to lie down in green pastures. Meantime, the desideratum of to-day is a religion which shall recognize and combine all the elements found in man's higher nature; namely, the sense of truth and beauty as well as of duty and morality.

It is said that the God in Nature of the science of to-day is as inexorable as the deity whom the old Hebrew prophets found in their conscience, or inner moral sense. The God of current science, too, visits the sins of the fathers upon the children in the enforcement of the cosmical laws, an intelligent conformity to which is found to be far more efficacious than any mere piety or adoration, however sincere it may be. It must be confessed that it is an immense descent morally from such sublime primitive Hebrews as the law-giver Moses, the ascetic and austere man of God Elijah, who haunted the savage solitudes of Carmel and whose threatening image is said still to terrify the imaginations of the people of the East; from David, the sweet singer of Israel, whose lyre grew mightier than his throne; and from his son, Solomon, whose genius raised the Hebrew commonwealth, for a brief period at least, to the highest political and commercial importance among the kingdoms and empires of the Levant; and from the Pauls and Johns and Philos, who manifest in their writings the spirit of Hebrew monotheism and Grecian world-wisdom commingled,—it is an immense descent, I say, from such exemplifiers of primitive Hebrew moral and intellectual grandeur to the sordid pawnbrokers, hucksters, and old-clothes dealers of to-day, who bear in mockery, as it were, the great old Hebrew names as their personal designations. But Rebecca, the beautiful Jewess, in Sir Walter Scott's novel of *Ivanhoe* (and, by the way, she was no ideal character, the invention of Scott, but was suggested by a fascinating American Hebrew lady, who charmed, both by her personal loveliness and superior qualities of head and heart, the American fashionable society of two generations ago), indignantly vindicates her despised people to the enamoured Templar, Sir Brian de Bois Guilbert, and explains the origin of their moral and social degradation. "Thou hast spoken of the Jew," exclaims Rebecca to her fierce lover, "as the persecution of such as thou hast made him.... Read the ancient history of the people of God, and tell me if those by whom Jehovah wrought such marvels among the nations were then a people of misers and usurers." And, in this connection, Mr. Lucien Wolf, a Hebrew journalist, in his "Jewish View of the Anti-Jewish Agitation,"—which appeared in a British monthly in 1881, when the Judeophobia in Germany was at its height,—truly said: "In the early Biblical times, the Jews, so far from being money-grubbers, were a romantically Arcadian people. In the highest degree poetical in their ideas, they knew no other occupation than agriculture; and there are but few Jewish laws relating to earning one's living which are not based on the assumption that agriculture would always be the principal interest to be catered for.... During their Egyptian slavery," he writes, "the Jews had to do hard work, if ever a people had; and, on their entrance into the land of Canaan, they had to fight bravely and stoutly. In Palestine, their occupations were principally in the field and vineyard." When Solomon was about to erect his famous temple, he was obliged to send to his neighbor, Hiram of Tyre, for architects, as neither architecture nor sculpture flourished among his own mostly pastoral people.

The statement above quoted was made to meet the charge of the Anti-Semitic pamphleteers and preachers of Germany,—that "the Jews hate real work"; that, "in the commercial as well as the domestic life of the Jews, the prevailing influence is selfishness"; that "the Jews reap where they do not sow by a hungry and unscrupulous usury, and by taking advantage of the pecuniary necessities of the people among whom they may happen to be."

For a thousand years, the Jews had to endure "an iron age" of pitiless and relentless persecution. The kings of feudal Europe availed themselves of the Jews' financial ability, and would then cast them forth to be torn in pieces by howling Christian mobs, whenever their tyrannies and exactions excited insurrections on the part of their subjects. During that long night of Christian bigotry and malignity, called the Ages of Faith,—or, better, of barbarous and childish credulity,—"the physical and moral corruption of the Jews went on apace." They were systematically excluded from all honorable pursuits, professions, and avocations in life; and thus, in the language of Mr. Wolf, they "contracted habits of thought and action

'Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,'

which have not unnaturally lingered in their posterity." It was a thousand years of Christian, or ecclesiastical and priestly, persecution which transformed the Jew into a Shylock and Isaac of York. But, even in their degradation and sordidness, they could beget such daughters as Jessica and Rebecca,—the sweetest, loveliest, and noblest heroines of tragedy and romance, who could fascinate the hearts of their oppressors and kindle in them an inextinguishable passion. But even in the Middle Age, in Andalusia in Spain, during the domination of the Moors there, Jewish genius, under the liberal sway of Mohammedan or kindred Semitic rulers, reasserted itself in such profound thinkers as Moses Mainionides, a native of Cordova, and others. The late Lord Beaconsfield descended from a Spanish-Jewish ancestry. And, apropos of this resplendent example of Jewish genius in literature and statesmanship, he unfortunately made an able living English writer implacably hostile to his race by stigmatizing him, in his novel of *Lothair*, as "a social parasite." I allude to Prof. Goldwin Smith, one of the foremost of living literary Englishmen, with all the irritability proper to his genus. Naturally enough, the Professor enlisted as a literary auxiliary in the ranks of the German Judeophobes and anti-Semites. In his article on "The Jewish Question," in the October number of the *Nineteenth Century* of 1881, he elaborately arraigns the Hebrew race, bringing to bear against it every possible charge and allegation. He characterizes the Jews as "a wandering and parasitic race, without a country, avoiding ordinary labor, and spreading over the world to live on the labor of others by means of usury and other pursuits of the same sort; as a people still in a state of tribalism, with its tribal mark and separatism and its tribal God." He further alleges that the Jew is never a liberal in politics when he has become rich, but only during his struggle for wealth and social importance. In this respect, the Jew is by no means singular. Prof. Smith also cites the fact that "among the ablest and most active organizers of that rebellion in the United States, which cost a thousand millions sterling and a million lives, was a Jewish Senator from Louisiana, who, when the crash came, unlike the other leaders, went off to push his fortunes elsewhere." Of course, Mr. Judah P. Benjamin is here alluded to, who has just retired from the British bar with an ample fortune, the fruit of his surpassing ability as a lawyer and advocate,—an ability which was so often admired in the Supreme Federal Court at Washington in the years before the war. I have lately noticed a charge in a Southern journal that a swarm of Jewish money-lenders and usurers are preying upon the hard-up and unthrifty planters and black laborers of the South. Thus, I have endeavored in brief space to present both sides of the Jewish question.

Meantime, "the iron age" of Judaism is past and gone never to return. The Jew has been emancipated throughout the area of enlightened civilization, which is becoming larger and larger

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with the spread of light and toleration. All avocations, dignities, offices, and professions have been opened to him; and he has shown his eminent ability to shine in the world of politics, science, literature, and wit as well as in that of finance and traffic. The list of German Jews who have distinguished themselves in all departments of intellectual activity is too long for enumeration here. The names of Moses Mendelssohn and Hamann in philosophy and of Heine in poetry and criticism will be recalled at once in this connection. Then there was Lord Beaconsfield, *né* Disraeli, the able recent ruler of the vast British empire, which comprehends within its limits so large a portion of the entire globe and so large a fraction of the human race. But he was not only foremost as a politician and statesman, but as a novelist also. Evidently enough, the Hebrew race of to-day, with its multitudes of able men in all departments of human activity, and with its financial control in both hemispheres, is at last in a position and condition to put its detractors and persecutors to shame, and to set itself right in the estimation of the Gentile world, and to cast off the slough of sordidness and moral and social degradation, which became its badge during the long period of Jew-baiting, which disgraced Christianity as deeply as it degraded Judaism in the so-called ages of faith, or of the Inquisition's autos-da-fé.

B. W. BALL.

EDUCATION.

There is a growing distrust as to the value of much that passes under the name of education. Among a very large class, the word "culture" arouses a feeling of antagonism. This may be explained in part by popular ignorance and inappreciation of real scholarship; but we cannot resist the conviction that there is some reason for it in the unpractical and dilettanteish character and undemocratic spirit of much of the so-called culture of the age. This sort of culture, lacking in robust intellectual qualities, without any noble moral purpose, and inspired by no lofty enthusiasm, serves only to widen the gulf between its disciples and the masses; increasing, on the one side, contempt for the "great unwashed" pursuing their prosaic avocations, and exciting, on the other side, aversion to a mere intellectualism which ignores the hard facts of life, is indifferent to the condition of the millions of toilers, and concerns itself almost wholly with mere literary questions, or with problems which, if not insoluble, have no perceptible bearing on the practical questions of the hour. When it is seen that this kind of culture is generally on the side of power, wealth, and fashion, ready at any time to sneer at the rights and liberties of the multitudes who earn their bread by manual labor, it is not strange that it fails to command the admiration or even the respect of the people.

But it is a great mistake to confound the pseudo-culture to which we have alluded with genuine culture, which is catholic in thought, earnest in tone, and progressive in spirit; and any standard that does not involve a distinction between them is false and pernicious. There is no culture worthy of the name which does not include with the acquisition of knowledge, the development of the moral nature, the strengthening of the love of right and the hatred of wrong. A man who has simply a knowledge of books, which he regards as of more importance to him than the things of which they treat; who has never got behind the books and in contact with nature herself, with the world and its events, with man and his relations; who possesses merely the instruments of knowledge, such as languages, without the capacity to use them wisely; who only can repeat what he has read, and makes authority serve in the place of evidence; who can tell all about the siege of Troy, but feels no interest in the great issues of to-day; who can construct elegant sentences without giving a valuable thought or suggestion to the world; whose interest in his race is simply of a sentimental kind, animated by no moral principle or philanthropic feeling,—such a man is not, properly speaking, an educated man. "With wisdom and uprightness," says Huxley, "a nation can make its way worthily; and beauty will follow in the footsteps of the two, even if she be not specially invited. While there is perhaps no sight in the world more saddening and revolting than is offered by men sunk in ignorance of everything but what other men have written, seemingly devoid of moral belief or guidance, but with the sense of beauty so keen and the power of expression so cultivated that their sensual caterwauling may be almost mistaken for the music of the spheres."

Man's most important education he gets daily through eye and ear and touch in that great university, the world, in which we are all students. Some are more richly endowed or have better opportunities, and learn more readily than others. The results of thousands of generations of observation and study are condensed in languages, governments, religions, moral codes, literatures, and the intuitions of the race. Now, the object of what is commonly called education is to acquaint the child or student with these results, with what has been learned by others, in order to enable it to understand nature's methods; or, as has been said, "to prepare the child to receive nature's education, neither incapably nor ignorantly nor with wilful disobedience, and to understand the preliminary symptoms of her displeasure without waiting for the box on the ear. In short, all artificial education ought to be an anticipation of natural education." This natural education is the instruction of the intellect in the ways of nature, which includes, of course, man and his relations to the universe, and to discipline the will and cultivate the affections so that they will be in harmony with the laws of nature. The man who is the most truly educated is he who understands the most fully nature's methods, and whose moral character is the most completely in accord with those moral principles, conformity to which is necessary to man's well being. We are not among those who depreciate the pursuit of classical learning, nor do we undervalue the advantages of a wide acquaintance with books; but one may be well versed in the literature of ancient and modern times, and yet lack some of the most important elements of a true education. This is an age of revision. And the old conceptions, definitions, and methods of education need to be revised in the interest of progress quite as much as the old theological creeds.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE Catholic clergy in the diocese of Swineford, County Mayo, passed a resolution last week, charging the English government with neglecting the distressed people, and condemning the remedies offered,—the work-house and emigration.

A NARROW-MINDED fellow, named Nelson, has introduced in the Pennsylvania Senate "an act to prevent the burning of human bodies after death," on the ground that "such bodies are generally imported from other States for cremation, and the practice is contrary to the instincts of humanity, the Christian civilization of the age, and abhorrent to the masses of the people of the State." The penalty proposed is a fine of from five hundred to one thousand dollars, or solitary confinement at labor for from one to three years, or both.

"A WELL-KNOWN clergyman," whose name is withheld, is announced by the Putnams as the translator, compiler, and editor of an expurgated edition of the Scriptures which they are about to publish. He has prepared the volume for the practical use of clergymen, teachers, and others who especially need to have the practical instructions and suggestions of the Bible separated from the mass of history, genealogy, and detail. He has also added to the volume a few selections from the sacred scriptures of Persia, Egypt, China, and other ancient nations.

THE promised Memoir of Samuel Johnson by his friend, Samuel Longfellow, with a well-selected number of Mr. Johnson's Lectures and Discourses, is now on the booksellers' tables. It is a handsome volume, and contains an engraving of Mr. Johnson's face which it does one good to look at. The book will be noticed in due time in our special review department; but to Mr. Johnson's many friends we wished just to state that they need not wait longer for the pleasure of reading again this brave, scholarly man's thought, and learning what his heart-friend, Longfellow, has said about his life. The book may be obtained through *The Index* office.

JUDGE JOHN A. JAMESON, in a contribution to the *North American Review*, makes some practical suggestions as to legislation to reduce the opportunities for fraud and collusion in divorce proceedings, among which is that the *public* shall be represented by attorneys. He concludes: "The most effective remedy will be the elevation of public sentiment in regard to the sanctity of marriage,—not sanctity in the ecclesiastical sense, which makes it a sacrament, but in that of the highest social obligation that can bind the conscience of a man of honor and honesty: the obligation to keep the faith he pledged in marriage to his wife and to the State, and which he renews upon the birth of each of his children, to abide with her until death, unless separated by law for strictly necessary cause."

WE find in the London *Inquirer* the following letter from Mr. John Bright, read at a recent meeting of the Hebden Bridge Parliamentary Debating Society:—

ONE ASH, ROCHDALE, Feb. 14, 1883.

Dear Sir,—On the question of oaths, probably there is nothing in the New Testament more especially condemned and forbidden than oaths. To those who do not care about the New Testament, this fact will be of no weight.

The practice of swearing to the truth of anything makes two kinds of truth or truthfulness. If oaths are of any avail, by so much as they make truth more certain by so much they lessen the value of any ordinary statement, and diminish the probability of its truth.

If ignorant persons are not sworn, they think they may tell lies with impunity; and their lying is made to a large extent blameless in their eyes.

I think oaths and oath-taking have done more than any other thing to impair and destroy a regard for truth. If you wish to see the question treated more at large, you will find it in an admirable book, Dymond's *Essays on Morality*, which you may obtain from any bookseller, or from Mr. Harris, 5 Bishopsgate Street, London.

I am respectfully yours, JOHN BRIGHT.

WE find the following in the *Presbyterian*: "A Scotch minister, who is said to be 'eccentric,' and whose name does not bid fair to roll down through the ages as an accomplished exegete, gives the following exegesis of Revelation xx., 1–3: The angel 'having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand' is electrical science, the 'great chain' is a coil of telegraph wire, and the key is a telegraph key. With these in his hand, the angel

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has come down, and is encircling the world with a kind of chain-lightning or electricity. Just in proportion as electricity encircles the world, evil will be subdued and the regeneration of mankind will advance. It is expected by the originator of this theory that 'that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan,' will be bound a thousand years when the telegraph wire encircles the earth. How he is to 'be loosed a little season' even, at the end of that time, if electrical science continues to advance, we are not told. This is a weak spot in the exegesis of a preacher whose congregation ought to present him with a first-class liver-pad, and make him wear it. Or perhaps a new head would be better."

THE Bishop of Lincoln, England, a prelate famous for his exalted notions of prerogatives, has emphasized his opposition to the Deceased-Wife's-Sister Marriage Bill by preparing a special form of prayer to be used by the clergy of his diocese, which reads as follows: —

Almighty God, who in the time of man's innocency didst institute marriage, signifying to us the mystical union of Christ and his Church, and who didst drive out the natives of Canaan for desecrating that holy mystery by unchaste and impure unions contrary to the holy law, we humbly and heartily pray Thee to preserve this Church and nation from the sins which they committed, and from the miseries by which they were punished, and to enable us by Thy grace to maintain that law inviolate, that we may enjoy Thy favor here and inherit Thy kingdom hereafter, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The religious editor of the Hartford *Courant* comments as follows on the prayer: "This sort of argument is not very effective with men, and will not avail much with the Lord, we fancy. It is eminently calculated to make the ungodly blaspheme and the judicious grieve. The Christian Church is not likely to turn back to the Book of Leviticus for its law of marriage, or to find any parallel between a marriage with a sister-in-law and the barbarous practices of the old Canaanites. Somebody ought to wake up the Bishop of Lincoln. He is snoring so loud as to disturb the other sleepers in the Anglican Church."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

EASTER BELLS.

Kittie Virginia Haight.*

"Because I live, ye shall live also."

Ring out, sweet Easter-chiming bells!
We list to hear your glad refrain:
Our child is added to that train,
To tell whose joy your music swells!

O Easter carols, loud and clear
Proclaiming that *our dead do rise*,
A spirit gained to Paradise
Hath left us mortals lonely here!

O gracious bells, that fill the earth,
The waiting earth, with your soft rhyme,
Could any choose a lovelier time
To pass, through death, to spirit-birth?

Dear Easter bells, where'er we roam
Bringing us mem'ries sad and sweet,
Making us glad to go and greet
Our darling in her heavenly home!

Bells full of promise in your lay!
We will not let our murmurs mar
The peace of our arisen star;
For earth is joined to heaven to-day.

"That union ever shall endure,"
Thus sing the Easter-voicing bells.
And, while with theirs *her* triumph swells,
Our faith shall grow more strong and pure.

O Easter bells, that *sadly* sway
Within our stricken hearts this morn,
When comes *our* glorious Easter dawn,
Your melody shall crown our day!

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

*Passed out of the body April 19, 1881.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 29, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to "THE INDEX," 3 Tremont Place, Boston. Letters for Mr. Potter should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

For *The Index*.

The Union of Church and State in Connecticut, historically considered.

BY EMILY J. LEONARD.

Legislation is no exception to the law of evolution. Rightly to understand the traces of ecclesiasticism in our present statutes, let us briefly review our past history.

The year 1639 witnessed the permanent organization of the two principal colonies of our State. January 4th of that year, the planters of the Connecticut colony (then comprising Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor) met at Hartford to form a commonwealth, in order, they said, to preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel and discipline in their own churches, and to govern their civil affairs. The "Fundamental Orders," as they were called, which they adopted, are believed to have been the *first written constitution* of the New World. Under this constitution, a General Court, composed of the governor, magistrates, and deputies from the several towns, was to meet twice a year, and was empowered not only to legislate, but to administer justice according to the laws thereunder established, and "for want thereof, according to the word of God." The members of this court were elected by the freemen; *i.e.*, by all male persons who had been admitted as inhabitants of their towns, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the government of the colony. The General Court only had power to admit freemen; *i.e.*, to constitute men voters. The freemen elected the governor and magistrates.

In June of the same year, the New Haven colonists met to form a civil and religious organization. Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport were the master spirits of this colony. At this meeting, John Davenport preached a sermon, in which he argued that civil and religious polity were inseparable. His text was, "Wisdom hath hewn out her seven pillars"; and he recommended a government based on a church supported by seven pillars, or men of eminent piety. After the sermon, a series of resolutions were passed, affirming that the Scriptures contain a perfect rule for the government of men in all duties; that the colonists would be governed by the rules of Scripture in all matters, civil as well as ecclesiastical; that they had settled there with a purpose to be admitted into church fellowship; and that church members only should be free burgesses,—*i.e.*, voters; that they should choose magistrates among themselves alone, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of the colony, or "plantation," as it was then called.

To carry into effect these resolutions, twelve men were chosen in accordance with a recommendation by Davenport, who were empowered to elect *seven* to begin the church,—the seven "pillars" of eminent piety recommended in the sermon. Of the seven whom they chose, John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton were the principal. These seven adopted the so-called laws of Moses for the government of their colony, until they could frame others better adapted to the condition of the people.

The same year, the towns of Milford (Wepowage) and Guilford (Menungatuck) were purchased, both of which were organized after the New Haven plan, with "seven pillars."

In the New Haven as well as in the Connecticut colony, Congregationalism was the established religion. The colonial as well as the early State records speak of it as the "establishment"* or the "standing order." To its support, the inhabitants were all required to contribute by a tax levied "according to their respective estates," even when themselves members of churches of another order, and when aiding in the support of the latter churches.

In the Connecticut colony, the governor was required to be "a member of an approved congregation," though the other magistrates were not necessarily so; and, in the New Haven colony, the voters themselves were required to be church members.

As people of other denominations, however, became more numerous, or perhaps as they acquired property and became influential, their dissatisfaction with the supremacy of the "standing order" sowed the seeds of a change which culminated in the adoption of our present State constitution.

In both colonies, attendance at church was enforced by law. The penalty for its violation, however, though severe, was less so than in England, or even than in Virginia.

Both colonies, too, made witchcraft punishable by death. No conviction for this offence, however, ever took place in the New Haven colony, and but one, and possibly a second execution for it in the Connecticut colony. This number stands in striking contrast to the score of withered women and men whom Salem, led on by the blind fanaticism of Cotton Mather, sent to the ducking stool and the gallows.

At the very time when even so eminent a judge as Sir Matthew Hale was sentencing persons in England for this imaginary crime, our fathers seem to have been doubting whether such a crime really existed.

Both colonies, too, had a blasphemy law, of which the penalty was death. In both, too, were there laws to enforce the strict religious observance of Sunday; and this, notwithstanding the fact that leading church reformers, like Luther, Calvin, and Knox, condemned that strict Sabbatarianism which would prevent recreation on this day; and that by none of the earlier Christian Fathers was any Sunday law whatever represented as being in force among the Gentiles.

When the New Haven and Connecticut colonies were united in 1665, the strenuous opposition of the latter colony to the union arose from the clergy, John Davenport of New Haven and Mr. Pierson of Branford, in particular, who held almost absolute sway over the members of their churches, and who feared contamination from union with a colony that permitted men to exercise the elective franchise and to hold offices of trust without the qualification of church membership. The New Haven colony only yielded when assured by the commissioners of the king that they were included in his Majesty's patent to the Connecticut colony.

*An act of October, 1708, approved the confession of faith, heads of agreement, and regulations in the administration of discipline agreed to by the synod at Saybrook, and enacted that all churches thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline, should be "owned and acknowledged *established by law*."

A proviso assured to societies and churches which "soberly differ or dissent" from the established churches, and which were allowed by law, the right of "exercising worship and discipline in their own way and according to their consciences." But dissenters were not thereby relieved of their obligations to pay their proportion of town taxes for the support of the established ministry. By a colony law (May, 1697), every town was to maintain a minister, in accordance with the agreement made at settlement, by a tax levied "on the several inhabitants according to their respective estates."

When the laws were revised in 1784, however, the act of 1708, recognizing "established churches," was omitted; and, in 1791, the General Assembly passed an act to relieve those who had joined other denominations from the payment of taxes to the Congregational order, while attending worship at the church of their choice. The dissenters, however, thought it wrong that, when a person attended service in no religious society, he should be taxed for the support of the located society. (Located was a term for the established societies, to distinguish them from the dissenting societies.)

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The proceedings of the General Court of those days sound strangely to modern ears, accustomed as we are to the separation of legislative and judicial functions. Though, by their organization, Congregational churches had each exclusive jurisdiction over its own affairs, yet we read of serious ecclesiastical troubles in Hartford, New Haven, Windsor, Middletown, Wethersfield, Branford, Milford, and Guilford, in all of which the General Court interposed its advice, and in some of which it even investigated charges and assigned penalties. In one case, it even ordered that a synod should be called, to which clergymen of Massachusetts should be invited, to help settle matters in controversy, when these were apparently the conditions of church membership and other matters wholly ecclesiastical. It is worthy of note, however, that the advice of other churches, even when given "as God shall direct them unto by the light of Scripture and reason," availed little. Some of the controversies only terminated by the death or removal of the principal belligerents.

By the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, the *royal and provincial* governments were dissolved, and therefore formed new constitutions. Connecticut, however, having had a charter under which she was practically a republic, enacted through her General Court that the form of civil government in that State should continue as established by the charter of 1662, so far as an adherence to the same was consistent with absolute independence on the Crown of Great Britain. Hollister attributes this adherence to a charter endeared to them by past associations, by the peril it had escaped, and by the almost republican independence it secured them, largely to the fact that under it, and fortified by it, had grown up an *established religion*, which they regarded as of the highest importance to their well-being in this world and the next.

By degrees, other sects than Congregationalists grew in numbers, and acquired a social influence that could not be disregarded. They, too, had rights which they demanded should be respected. Other citizens, also, felt that the position given by law to the "standing order" placed a premium on hypocrisy, and tended to evil. In brief, the minority claimed that their rights were not properly secured by the charter, that the law directed against secret ballot was tyrannical, that the courts were partisan, that members of the council and representatives to Congress should be elected by districts, that the "establishment" had all the patronage of the dominant party, and especially that a "legal religion," as they termed it, was an "adulterous union of Church and State," and they demanded reform. Petitions for a change began to be circulated; and, in 1804, a convention of the reform party was held in New Haven, at which resolutions in favor of the formation of a constitution were passed. Nothing so clearly shows the justice of the charges of partisanship against the party in power as the fact that all the five justices of the peace who attended this convention and took part in its proceedings were impeached therefor at the next session of the General Court, and removed from office. Many persons who had hitherto failed to recognize the justice of their complaints now joined the minority party.

The old Congregational clergy had constituted the nucleus of the dominant party, and had, the minority claimed, a controlling influence in the elections, nominations to office being often made through the procurement of some influential clergyman. It was even asserted that the whole ticket of State officers was often the result of a conference between the leaders of this party and the more powerful members of the clergy. The *tolerated* sects protested so strongly against their inferior position that the leaders of the dominant party soon began to realize that some of the dissenters must be conciliated, as otherwise they would themselves not be able to hold longer the balance of power. So, when the charter of the Phœnix Bank was asked for (1814), it was suggested that, of the $50,000 bonus which the State exacted from its large capital, a portion should be applied to the Bishops' Fund,—a fund to endow an Episcopal Academy in Cheshire; and petitions to that effect were circulated. Yale received $20,000 of the bonus; but, for some reason, the Bishops' Fund did not receive the anticipated portion.* This led the Episcopalians to oppose the party in power.

Another unpopular measure was an act to distribute the moneys received from the United States Treasury in compensation for disbursements by the State for general defence in the war of 1812 among the several religious denominations of the State. The Methodists and Baptists indignantly refused, at the time, to receive the share alloted to them in the division; for they, as well as the minor sects, could not, consistently with their past professions, approve the appropriation to the support of the ministry of a fund originally raised by general taxation.*

These, and other causes of disaffection, finally led to the election of a General Court, which called a Constitutional Convention to meet at Hartford in August, 1818. This body, when elected, proved to be largely composed of men of intelligence, experience, and judgment. The Tolerationists, as the reform party was called, had a majority in the Convention. A committee was chosen by ballot, consisting of three from each county, to draft a constitution. It is especially remarkable, since there had been considerable hostility to Yale College manifested on account of the special favors it had received from the State, that, of the twenty-four men on this committee, twelve were alumni of Yale.

J. H. Trumbull has given us some interesting facts in regard to this Constitutional Convention. It appears that the fourth section of Article I. in the original draft read, "No preference shall be given by law to any 'religious' sect." But, on motion of Gov. Treadwell, it was so amended as to read "Christian" instead of "religious,"—a change which narrowed its original scope, and was therefore strongly opposed by Alexander Wolcott, one of the more prominent among the Tolerationists, as well as by two others.

The seventh article, pertaining to religion, Trumbull tells us, was the subject of protracted and lively debate. The Federalists contested its passage at every point, and succeeded in modifying, in important particulars, the draft of the committee. But, he says, they could not prevent the complete severance of Church and State, the constitutional guarantees of the rights of conscience, or the recognition of the absolute equality, before the law, of all Christian denominations.

When the final vote of the Convention was taken, the constitution, as reported from the committee, was adopted by 134 yeas to 61 nays; and, on being submitted to the freemen for their suffrages, it was ratified by them the following October (6th).

This constitution was in fact a compromise between the two extreme parties. It, however, gave a deathblow "to that type of Federalism which was identified with the established order in the Church." One of the ablest writers in the victorious party, in their leading party organ, thus expressed their feeling in reference to the result: "The rights of conscience are secured and established, the adulterous union of Church and State dissolved, legal religion abolished, and the religion of the heart encouraged, a powerful motive to hypocrisy removed, grace left free to all, 'without money and without price,' and the primitive rights of Christianity restored."

Such is the constitution under which we to-day live. It affirms that all political power is inherent in the people, founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit. It secures freedom in religion, free speech, and a free press.

It is true that Article VII. begins, "It being the duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Governor of the universe,"—a form of statement objectionable, as assuming in the government the right to determine the duty of a citizen in a matter in which that government has, by the same fundamental law, no right to legislate.

Now, how far are our *laws* in *harmony* with our *constitution?*

In the first clause of Article I. of the constitution, we read, "No man or set of men is entitled to exclusive . . . privileges from the community." Yet we have a statute which makes one set of men civil officers—for so our courts have held them to be—for the performance of the marriage ceremony, *without election or appointment*, and by virtue alone of the calling they follow. It is unnecessary to state that it is the clergy who enjoy this privilege. This law is a relic of ecclesiasticism inherited from Old England.

Again, by Article VII. of the constitution, "no person shall by law be compelled to . . . support . . . any congregation, church, or religious organization." Yet there is a statute on our books which exempts churches (parsonages, too, under $5,000 in value) from taxation. These exemptions, by increasing the property tax of all tax-paying citizens, virtually compel every tax-payer to pay thus indirectly toward the maintenance of all religious societies which have either churches or parsonages. The Roman Catholic citizen, when he pays his property tax, is, in fact, paying also for the support of what he deems deadly heresies. The Presbyterian is helping support the papacy as well as lending aid and comfort to what he considers the soul-destroying errors of the Universalist and the Unitarian; the Baptist helps maintain the "baby-sprinkling," which is to him both ridiculous and sinful; the Episcopalian helps, in fact, pay taxes on the capital invested in "meeting-houses," which to him are not churches; and the plain Quaker, who believes in no churches nor in a "hireling ministry," has to be taxed for the support of "churches" and "hirelings" of all denominations; and so with the others.

These exemptions are another relic of the union of Church and State.

Again, when we read the statute, "Christians of all denominations and Jews may unite to form religious societies," our first thought is that the term "religious" is limited by our statutes to Christians and Jews; and we query whether the religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution is restricted to these sects. A reference, however, to the debates in the Constitutional Convention assures us that the "heathen" were recognized as people who had a right to worship according to the dictates of their consciences, and that all worshippers would be accounted "religious." Doubtless, however, when the statute was enacted, no such societies as the Church of Humanity, or as Prof. Adler's Society for Ethical Culture, or as the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., or the Free Religious Society of Providence, R.I., and the various organizations which take the name "Church of Humanity," had been dreamed of in Connecticut, and that to the framers of the statute *all* things good were included in the term "Christian."

We sometimes wonder what the word "Christian" does mean in our laws. We do not find it defined there, nor is there probably a judge in the State to-day who would venture to define it. Our courts, however, interpret it broadly enough to cover the most diverse and even the most contrary beliefs.

A blasphemy law still defaces our statute-books,—a modified relic of the code of 1642. It condemns to a fine not exceeding $100, and imprisonment not more than a year, every one who "shall blaspheme against God, either of the persons of the Holy Trinity, the Christian religion, or the Holy Scriptures," and makes the person also liable to be bound to his good behavior. The law took its present form in 1821, since which time it is doubtful if any convictions have been made under it. Since the *gravamen* of the offence would lie in the supposed indignity offered to a divine being, it is difficult to see how such an offence could properly come under the cognizance of civil law. Were a prosecution, however, to occur under the statute, the offence would, perhaps, be *now* held to consist in the hurt to the feelings of ordinary persons in the community. Blasphemy, as defined by Blackstone, consisted in "denying the being or providence of God, contumelious reproaches of the Saviour Christ, profane scoffing at the Holy Scripture or exposing it to contempt and ridicule." As the offence implies an established religion, the statute would probably be held to be a dead letter, as it practically is. Whole sects disbelieve in the doctrine of the Trinity, most of whose members would doubtless deny it on occasion, and would therefore, by the definition of the crime when the law was enacted, be liable to prosecution and conviction. Yet no one for a moment supposes that such a conviction would be possible to-day.

Our Sunday laws have still objectionable features; though the law under which Aaron Burr, when Vice-President of the United States, was once arrested when hurrying to New York in his private conveyance on Sunday (and which it was charged that Rev.

*Eleven years afterward (1825), the State granted the Trustees of the Bishops' Fund $7,064.88, in commutation of their claim on the Phœnix Bank bonus.

*The Methodist Trustees received theirs in February, 1818, though protesting that their full share had not been granted them, and saying that they took it, thinking it not right that the appropriation should remain useless. Its acceptance was strongly censured by many of their members. The Baptist Trustees did not accept theirs until June, 1820.

Total amount rec'd from U.S.	$61,500.00
To Congregationalist	$20,500.00
Bishops' Fund	8,785.71
Baptists	7,687.50
Methodists	5,125.60
Yale College	8,785.71
Balance, unappropriated	10,616.08

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L. Bacon, of Norwich, violated when he drove out with his guest, President Hayes, on that day), was last year so modified as to permit travel. Another law, however, prohibits* any "proprietor or driver of a vehicle" to permit any one to ride in said vehicle save for the purpose of carrying the United States mail, or for necessity or mercy, on that day between sunrise and sunset under penalty of $20 fine.

Secular labor is also prohibited by law, save to Jews and such Sabbatarians as religiously observe Saturday in lieu of Sunday. Sunday evening concerts or other diversions are also prohibited. Parties in New Haven were recently prosecuted for holding a sacred concert on Sunday evening.

Our courts have held that, for violations of Sunday laws, the accused is not entitled to trial by jury; that a note given on Sunday is void; that money loaned on Sunday cannot be recovered; and that contracts made on Sunday are void.

Our Sunday laws, so far as founded on religious grounds, are a relic of the union of Church and State.

A law also exists prohibiting profane cursing and swearing. Prosecutions under it are very rare, though the vice is but too common; and it is a noteworthy fact that the very persons most addicted to profanity are the very ones who are most frequently called upon to "swear" in our courts. It is worthy of serious consideration whether our courts do not thus encourage the vice the statute aims to restrain. Our statute-book contains over a page of oaths, both great and small, to be administered on specified occasions. It is the more a marvel that these oaths should still disgrace our statute-books, when we consider that a large and respectable portion of our citizens regard with peculiar reverence the precepts and example of one who is reported to have taught, *"Swear not at all."* No one, however, is obliged by law to take any of these oaths; for simple affirmation, under the penalties of perjury, is permitted in their stead. The oaths, however, should be expunged from our statute-books.

Such are the principal laws that remain to us of the old union of Church and State in Connecticut. We need not marvel at their existence. The wonder rather is that our State has, in matters pertaining to the civil and religious liberty of her citizens, kept in advance of most of the original thirteen States. South Carolina to-day, by a constitution adopted as recently as 1868, provides that no person shall be eligible to the office of governor, who denies the existence of a Supreme Being. In Texas, clergymen are ineligible to the Legislature or to State offices.

The tale concerning the "Blue Laws," so often shown to be false, we need not here repeat. That Connecticut had many laws which no enlightened legislature of to-day would enact is true; but no one of them, as far as we can learn, was out of harmony with the spirit of the age which produced it.

Besides these laws, a custom of appointing Fast and Thanksgiving days still remains to us a relic from the times when there was an "established religion." These days were at first appointed as circumstances suggested.† Fast days were frequent in colonial times, but never appointed on Good Friday, as the colonists avoided everything associated in their minds with the exercise of arbitrary power. In January, 1644, a day of fasting was ordered to be observed throughout the plantations *every month*. A similar order was issued August, 1676. Fasts were frequently appointed to avert some threatened calamity.

The question now presents itself, Have we any duty in reference to these infringements on the equal rights of citizens? and, if so, what can we do?

1st. If we are interested in any way in the maintenance of a church, or other organization, which is defrauding the rest of the community by accepting exemption from taxation, we can and ought to use our influence against this wrong until it cease, meanwhile petitioning for a repeal of such exemptions. We are not justified in robbing the rest of the community by the fact that portions of that same community are robbing us.

2d. We can, by petition and otherwise, endeavor to effect such a change in the laws concerning the marriage ceremony that all marriages of parties legally capable of contracting that bond, and duly witnessed certified and recorded, shall be held lawful. As is well known, Quakers in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, are always married without a clergyman, by the voluntary promises of the contracting parties, made in the presence of witnesses.

3d. We can work for the repeal of all such statutes as infringe on our personal liberties or on those of other loyal citizens of the Commonwealth.

Alexander Bishop, in an address in Wallingford in 1804, said: "The 'steady habits' of New England present an obstacle to the diffusion of truth. The sailor nailed the needle of his compass to the cardinal point, and swore that it should not always be traversing. So with the New England friend of order."

Is not this *too true* of the *New England of to-day?*

* This law has just been repealed.

† The first Thanksgiving was Sept. 18, 1839.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A PLEA FOR PROTECTION.

Editors of The Index:—

Believing that protection has been one of the greatest factors in the unparalleled development of our multifarious industries, I feel constrained to say a few words in reply to Miss Hardaker's article in *The Index* of March 4, on "An Issue in Social Science." In a very rapid and what I consider a too hasty and flippant manner, she defines the functions of government, which should simply consist in securing "order, freedom, and peace," and thinks that government cannot wisely be allowed to do anything else, not even securing the "prosperity" of its people, "which, in the American vernacular, means plenty of money, or its equivalent in houses, clothes, and comfort"; and she might have added, and more leisure for self-development, of which the masses stand in much need. Now, I have been taught that one of the highest functions of any form of government is to secure happiness and "prosperity" to its people,—*i.e.*, the toilers of hand and brain; but more especially is it so with our form of government; and by all means let the government do all in its power to secure them good "houses, clothes, and comfort." This would be carrying out the good democratic doctrine of "the greatest good to the greatest number," one of the surest means of securing a permanent republic. Now, I have a thorough conviction that genuine protection will protect the employé as well as the employer or manufacturer. To secure this, the laborers must be protected from the degrading competition with "the pauper labor of Europe"; for, under present conditions, they are not able to protect themselves from the grasping and avaricious. (I could give reasons for this, but it would make this letter too long.) But this does not militate in the least against the principles of protection. Again, previous to her definition of the government's functions, Miss Hardaker says, "I ought to feel ashamed to ask my neighbors, *i.e.*, the government, for special legislation." I presume that she is not ignorant of the existence at Washington of an institution called the Patent Bureau (or Bureau of Patents), which was created by *legislation* to *protect* American inventors from being robbed by unscrupulous pirates, who would steal from them in some cases the labors of a lifetime. And I suppose that she is also aware that our pamphleteers and book writers, in connection with those of Great Britain, are, or have been, agitating for a similar protection by way of a copyright *law*. This, if secured, would be in addition to the protection that binders and publishers now receive. This would, I think, be eminently proper, and an act of simple justice. But Miss Hardaker points us to the brief functions of government, "order, freedom, and peace," and would have the government say, Hands off, leave these men to the mercy of every unscrupulous man who would sooner filch from others than work for himself. I claim that a large number of our industries still need the protection they have; for, owing to the large productive power throughout Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, built up when we were unable to help ourselves (a condition caused largely by free trade), they would be utterly ruined, if our friend's policy were to be carried out. And, when Miss Hardaker charges protection with making "artificial prices for sugar, silk, and cooking ranges," she is merely skimming the surface; for the history of protection proves the reverse to be the case. The farmer gets cheaper ploughs, harrows, threshing and reaping machines, hoes, rakes, forks, and shovels, and from fifty to a hundred per cent. better, than he could twenty years ago. And his clothes and shoes of similar quality are cheaper too. I would suggest to our friend that she read Greeley's *Political Economy*. And, speaking of getting into the markets of the world, this would necessitate a fierce competition with England, France, Belgium, and Prussia; and, of all the curses that ever came to trouble labor, competition, in that shape, would be the deepest. But, ere we think of other markets, let us endeavor fully to supply our own first; for there is an enormous bill against every year for articles which we can and really ought to make ourselves. In answer to her concluding remarks about the prices of labor here as compared with those of England and Europe, I would refer our friend to a series of letters now being published in the New York *Tribune* by R. H. Porter, one of the late members of the Tariff Commission. These refer specially to Great Britain. For Europe, she can apply to the State department at Washington for consular reports ordered by Mr. Evarts when secretary of that department. Greeley's *Political Economy* and Porter's letters can be obtained at the *Tribune* office. I do not deny a large majority of our manufacturers have reaped the lion's share of the profits earned by labor; and, whenever the latter has made an effort to obtain a more equitable distribution, it has been invariably defeated by foreign pauper labor, imported too by the very men who ask for tariff laws, because they "protect the American laborer from the pauper labor of Europe." But those who know the real facts draw their own inferences, as the readers of this must do. It is no argument against true protection. Self-protection is the first law of nature, and applies to governments as forcibly as it does to individuals.

JOHN WARR.

A WORD SUPPLIED.

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index*, for December 28, Mr. Gill commences an article with some clear statements, but in the very next paragraph clouds them with metaphysical fog. He says, "I do not, however, affirm that this universe is an *illusion*, without *objective reality*,—just the contrary. *I know it as real, because I know it as an experienced fact*, and an objective reality, because external to my organism," etc. This statement is as clear as any scientific materialist or evolutionist could desire. But, in the next paragraph, he makes in effect the astounding statement that there are as many worlds as there are persons to see a world. Nor does his phrase, "as a subjective state," remove the fallacy of the rest of the paragraph. Calling the effect of the world on each person "world sensation," he should have stated it thus: there are as many world sensations (not worlds) as there are pieces of organized matter or persons, upon which the world acts, and by that action produces a *knowledge* of the external world. Mr. Gill and some others neglect to draw a distinction between *phenomena* and the *knowledge* of phenomena. Just this is our "word supplied." Of course, it has already been supplied many times, even so recently as in *The Index*, December 21, by Mr. Janes. But the assertion still comes up that the world *is ego*. Phenomena consist of the "world external to my organism," which Mr. Gill admits. But the *knowledge* of this external world is precisely that great mystery, human consciousness. The knowledge of a phenomenon is not the phenomenon itself. But Mr. Gill affirms that it is, for he says "all phenomena are *ego*." If there is a world external to our organism, and if *ego* is organism or at least cannot be disconnected from it, how can this world be *ego*, and be external to it?

But perhaps by phenomena Mr. Gill means not the external world or thing, but the appearance or picture which the thing makes in the individual organism. In this case, we do not have as many worlds as organisms, but merely as many pictures of the world as there are eyes to receive them. The picture is the *ego*, and the *ego* is *not* the thing pictured. There is only one visible universe, though there is more than one mouse. But there will be as many images as there are mirrors.

Now, the way in which these pictures are made is through the senses. And it is somewhat curious that modern science has apparently given support to the old idealism of Hegel, the identity of thought and matter. (Perhaps more correctly, thought and being.) Science teaches that we do not know matter directly, but only our own sensations. But this rather affords a strong inference that there is something which is not sensation, or *non-ego*, which causes the subjective sensations, or *ego*. It is plain that the only way to

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know matter directly would be to *be* matter. And this is exactly the position of the real materialist.

Even so clear a writer as Mr. B. F. Underwood has written sentences which, if not explained, might be considered as supporting idealism. (See lecture on Scientific Materialism and *Index*, Nov. 23, 1882.) Some time ago, a friend writing to me made the following quotation from Mr. Underwood (lecture on Scientific Materialism): "Sound, light, color, fragrance, hardness, softness, and all the so-called secondary qualities of matter, at least, can be shown to depend for their existence upon consciousness." I do not know as I can express myself any better on this subject than by quoting part of my reply, as follows:—

I see from your quotation that Mr. Underwood has made some rather misleading expressions. They might perhaps be used to support the doctrine that there is no matter except in our subjectivity. Perhaps Mr. Underwood conveys a wrong idea as to his own thought. I suppose he means that we cannot really *know* matter, but only certain impressions. But impressions are sensations. Sensation is that kind of molecular motion by which we (the subjective) become conscious of matter outside of us (the objective). In the case of our bodies, if we assume the immaterial spirit, sensation is the mode in which the soul becomes conscious of the body and of the outside world. We are both subject and object to ourselves, but all else is objective. To the materialist, sensation is matter become conscious of itself. Now, sensation, being caused by the motion of real molecules of matter acting on the organism, therefore these molecules and their motions have just the same existence *when there is no organism present*. The ether vibrations which cause light exist when they fall on no eye. A thunderbolt or a falling tree in the wilds where no human ear is present makes just the same vibrations in the air as if a man were there and received the vibrations on his ear, thereby becoming conscious by sensation of a certain fact, and had said to himself, It has thundered, or A tree has fallen. The molecular motions which cause sound, light, color, etc., have an existence independent of ourselves; but we know nothing of them until they act on us, and this very act is the mystery of sensation. It does not seem to me that the phrase, "These qualities depend for their existence upon consciousness," exactly expresses the fact. Rather, they are a part of our consciousness. Especially is this the case with light, sound, and odors. The vibrations which cause them are purely objective. But sound itself can be nothing but a part of our consciousness. But what we call hardness does actually exist objectively. For hardness might be defined as the relative closeness and cohesion of atoms, which is an objective fact. Our knowledge of this fact is gained by the sense of touch. This is subjective hardness, or *ego*.

You say that, were it not for the animal nervous system, there could be no such thing as heat, etc., "as we understand it." True enough. But if you had said, "as we feel it," perhaps it would have been more correct. For our understanding of the nature of heat is entirely different from that of the savage, but our feeling of it is the same. When a piece of wood burns, we understand that every atom of carbon in the wood unites with two atoms of oxygen in the air to form carbonic dioxide (symbol CO_2). Also the hydrogen and oxygen of the wood and air unite to form aqueous vapor (symbol H_2O). This process is what our intellect understands by combustion. And here is a point which in my humble opinion has led to much misconception as to the question of subject and object. It is simply this. Combustion is not heat, "as we understand or feel it." Combustion is an objective fact in nature, and existed before there was any nervous system. The burning wood does not feel. But the nervous system does feel. Combustion is a motion of atoms. Heat is that atomic motion communicated to our nervous system. That motion causes the sensation which we call heat, and is a part of our physical consciousness. Combustion is *non-ego*, its sensation is *ego*. To those who do not keep in mind the distinction between a thing and the knowledge of it, Mr. Underwood's expressions might seem to resolve everything into subjective impressions.

Perhaps, after all, the difference between us is a mere juggle of words. Yet I cannot help thinking that Mr. Underwood's sentence, "Sound, light," etc., is rather misleading. Suppose I amend the proposition thus. The atomic motions which constitute the objective facts of sound, light, color, fragrance, hardness, softness, have an existence independent of animal consciousness; but these motions can only cause consciousness (on the material theory) or become known to it (on the immaterial theory) by their interaction with living organisms. These interactions between the non-living and the living are the sensations which we call sound, light, etc."

It will be seen that the above extract has some bearing on the assertion of Mr. Gill that "all phenomena *are ego*." I take the word "phenomenon" to mean an external object, and not its appearance to each individual which is *ego*. It also illustrates the distinction between a phenomenon and the knowledge of a phenomenon.

I will close by supplying the word "knowledge" in one of Mr. Gill's sentences: "For [the knowledge of] all these things is nothing else than thought [and feel]ing], and it is therefore a contradiction to suppose [the knowledge of] these can exist except as thought and feeling."

J. E. PECK.

DID JESUS REALLY TEACH SO?

Editors of The Index :—

Mr. Denslow, in his reply to Mr. Potter's criticism of his definition of "goodness," affirms that "Jesus teaches us to check out upon our bank account in behalf of every cut-throat, vagabond, or mendicant that asks us." I suppose you thought the falsity of this and similar statements apparent to every honest, unprejudiced mind, and that this was why you passed it by in your rejoinder unchallenged. But there are many who read your paper who are influenced by such statements as that article contains. Allow me, then, to say a few words upon this subject.

Every *true* radical is careful to be just to the great religious teachers whom he ventures to criticise. He approaches every subject he would investigate in the spirit of candor, anxious to know the truth, careful not to misrepresent.

There is nothing in the record we possess of the teachings of Jesus which warrants such a statement as the one quoted above. The support Mr. Denslow advances for it is the saying of Jesus: "If any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.... Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away." He says, "Jesus, if he had been a philosopher, ... if he wished to make his system of ethics complete"— Here lies his mistake, He judges Jesus by a false standard. He was not a *philosopher:* this he never pretended to be. He had no "system of ethics" to make complete. If it had been his object to elaborate a perfect system of ethics, then it might have been necessary carefully to balance the claims of altruism with those of egoism. He was a simple teacher of righteousness, not a philosopher; and he opposed himself to the evil tendencies of the life around him. He was too much absorbed in his present work, and in meeting the demands of his day and generation, to stop to construct ethical systems for the nineteenth century. He spoke the words that he felt ought then to be spoken. He emphasized those truths which at that time needed most to be emphasized. And he left it for those who were to come after him in future generations to meet the needs of their hour, whatever they might be.

That egoism must precede altruism, no thoughtful person can doubt. We have no reason to suppose that Jesus overlooked this fact. But Jesus recognized another truth of equal importance,— which finds no place in Denslow's system of ethics,—that altruism must follow egoism. The great duty of life consists in the adjustment of the one to the other. Now, the Jews needed no one to preach to them egoism. They were buried in selfishness and self-righteousness. The demand of the hour was for some mighty, heaven-inspired soul to plunge into the very centre of that Jewish selfism, to burst asunder its iron bands of self-righteousness, and to set free the human soul. Jesus, at the risk of his own life, rose up to meet this demand; and, against the relentless egoism of his day, he forced the truths of altruism with all the might of his being. He could not state those truths too strongly. There was no danger of the Jews becoming indiscriminately lavish in their gifts to their neighbors. Had he "begun at the beginning, with production, accumulation, and egoism," as our friend thinks he ought to have done, he would never have been crucified. He might have gone on preaching such doctrines to the end, and have died a natural death in peaceful old age. His influence would never have been felt outside his native village. His talk about "production, accumulation, and egoism" would have been heartily indorsed by the scribes and Pharisees. It would have disturbed no one. It would have helped no one. But he bearded the lion of selfishness—egoism—in its den. Thus, he aroused its wrath.

It does not follow, because Jesus said, "Give to him that asketh thee," that he believed in indiscriminate giving away of one's wealth to every "vagabond, cutthroat, or mendicant" that chances to come in his way. There is no sanction for indiscriminate charity in his teaching, except such as is forcibly wrought out of a few unguarded expressions. Words are pictures of ideas. A reasonable man does not feel bound to take them literally: he tries to catch the truth that is reflected in them. The Oriental manner of speaking was to give pictures of the truths they sought to teach rather than to try to embody them in exact words. This was peculiarly the method of Jesus' teaching: he points to the lily, the ripening grain, the birds, the bubbling spring, to picture truths that could not be put into words.

There is a common saying, that extremes meet. Bigots and iconoclasts do often make us aware of how true this is. There is a striking likeness in their characters and in their methods of reasoning. It is a somewhat curious fact that we find both insisting upon taking the words of Jesus *literally*, without making any effort to find out what he really did teach. But our critic judges no other writer by such a standard. Suppose, for instance, we were to attempt to understand Emerson's words literally. His essays would become, in our hands, a mass of glaring contradictions and unblushing falsehoods. Judged by this standard, what could we make of these lines:

> "I am owner of the sphere,
> Of the seven stars and the solar year,
> Of Cæsar's hand and Plato's brain,
> Of Lord Christ's heart and Shakspere's strain."

It cannot be shown that Jesus discountenanced toil, industry, and material enterprise. Both he and his disciples belonged to the laboring classes, and toiled for their own support. But this he did believe: that selfishness is the root of all vices, that the love of man for man is the root of all virtues. He believed that, as this love increased, war, crime, misery, and all the ills of life would decrease.

Egoism is the dark soil in which we delve for our existence; but altruism is the flower and fruit growing above it, which gives to the world its beauty, to life its joy. There is no doubt that our physical natures, our appetites and passions, will force upon us with all too much urgency the claims of egoism. If we are not on our guard, these claims, excluding all others, will become all-absorbing, and our egoism will sink into sordid selfishness. The moral guides, the reformers, the saviours of the world, will, for long ages to come, be those who hold up before the world, as did Jesus, a higher ideal of life than self-interest, self-service. They will be those who urge upon all men the necessity of living, not for self alone, but for *self* and *others*.

N. A. HASKELL.

HUMANITY AND RELIGION.

Editors of The Index :—

I have read, with very great pleasure, the ingenious and interesting argument which Mr. Frey has recently contributed to *The Index;* but, leaving other of his statements in abeyance, I must dissent from much of his last paper (printed in your issue bearing date of March 15), and particularly from that portion which treats of the relation of labor, capital, government, etc., to the "Religion of Humanity," for the reason that, as it seems to me, he presupposes conditions which it is the duty of advanced thinkers to antagonize.

"Elevate our sense of duty toward humanity, and you will speed a millennium," is a truism; but it is hard to conceive how the average workingman, spite of all our "modern improvements," can feel that he owes any duty to the capitalists who surround him,— nay, to the government itself. If he is a man of average intelligence, he must see that every colossal fortune has been augmented by *his* labor; that those whom he has enriched have repaid him by enhancing, for purposes of speculation, the prices of the very necessaries of life; that to society in general, to our "higher classes" in particular, he gives "bread," and receives for his own portion "stones." He is, to be sure, mercifully granted the right to "live"; but his

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"liberty" is quite a nominal affair, and his "pursuit of happiness" is a very hopeless and dismal pursuit indeed.

"Once a capitalist becomes a humanitarian," he will doubtless employ his wealth for good ends. *But no man has a right to be a capitalist*, as the term is generally understood. Were society rightly organized, there would be no capitalists, and there would be no tramps.

"Legislation" may be a *cause*, more than an aid, of "moral improvement," if legislators will direct their attention to levelling the social inequalities which are the causes of crime. Legislation which gives to speculators millions of acres of the public domain,—restricting, to that extent, the rights of the many, to whom the land *belongs*,—which sanctions the abuses of monopolists and the thefts of corporations,—legislation of this sort is not by any means the "result" of morality, and does not tend to strengthen the faith of the masses in either religion or government.

Before we can expect the people to heed to the Religion of Humanity, we must give them reason to believe that there is such a thing as humanity in the world. After justice will come other virtues.

W. L. S.

PORTLAND, ME., March 15, 1883.

EUSEBIUS AND PIOUS FRAUDS.

To "Inquirer," Maplewood, Mass.:—

The passage in question is to be found in Eusebius' *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. viii., c. 2, and *De Martyr. Palestin.*, c. 12, wherein he confesses that he was by no means scrupulous in recording the whole truth concerning the early Christians, and that he suppresses everything which would be detrimental to them, recording such things only as might be of benefit to the Christians of his day and of future generations.

AUTHOR OF "BIBLE MYTHS."

BOSTON, March 26, 1883.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AMONG the eminent men who closed their earthly career during the past year, there are four whose immortal names should be reverently remembered in these columns,—Henry W. Bellows, Charles Darwin, Henry W. Longfellow, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, each, in his way, a representative of liberal thought. We enter here upon no eulogy of these men: we simply wish to note the hearty tributes paid to their work and worth by the representatives of Orthodoxy, and to point to the same as illustrations of the power of *character* to move the heart and win the confidence of mankind. The confession of Oxthodoxy that these men were eminent in all the moral qualities that exalt humanity is an admission that the orthodox faith is not necessary to the development of a character in accordance with the highest and noblest ideal that man has conceived. In the light which emanates from the example of such men, it is no presumption to claim that a liberal theology is adequate to the highest wants of humanity.—*Christian Register.*

WHEN a departed saint is to be canonized by the Church of Rome, a Devil's Advocate is always appointed to present the reasons against the canonization. Of course, he makes but a poor show, and is always and easily beaten. Mr. Cook has conjured up a Devil's Advocate: it is proper to say on behalf of the unvoiced thousands who are thinking for themselves on all subjects connected with the religious life —God, man, sin, punishment, forgiveness, inspiration, revelation—that the Devil's Advocate which Mr. Cook has introduced to his Boston audience is none of theirs. They do not know him: they disown him and his advocacy; and Mr. Cook may flail him to his heart's content without remonstrance or objection from them. And while he is beating his Devil's Advocate out of court, and his audiences are applauding the flagellation, the nineteenth century will go on thinking its way to a profounder appreciation of the truth and a diviner life in the truth, without at all concerning itself as to what becomes of the Devil's Advocate whom Mr. Cook has invented or the propositions which have been put in his mouth.—*Christian Union.*

CLEARLY, if I hold one opinion concerning the passage of light through certain crystals, and my neighbor holds a different or contrary opinion, I am entitled to expect either that he can be brought to adopt my opinion, or that I can be brought to adopt his. Means of verification must exist; and, even if the question cannot be settled to-day, we have no doubt that it can be settled by and by. But if I hold one opinion concerning the conscious existence of the soul after death, while my neighbor holds a contrary opinion, I am not entitled to expect that we can ever be brought to an agreement; for the question confessedly transcends the limits of scientific demonstration. Yet, spite of all that, one of our contrary opinions, and possibly both, may contain some adumbration of a truth; and more than a faint glimmering of truth we can hardly expect to be contained in any of our opinions on religious matters, for the problems are too vast when compared with our means of dealing with them. Hence, instead of condemning variety of belief on such subjects, we should rather welcome each fresh suggestion as possibly containing some adumbration of a truth which we have hitherto overlooked.—*John Fiske.*

"MR. THOMAS PAINE was fond of telling how the drunken turnkey chalked the *inside* of his cell-door, so that, when he drew it to, there was no mark to be seen: so, when they came the next morning to summon the poor fellows out of the chalked doors to mount the scaffold, Mr. Paine was saved to do a great deal of mischief among men. But he was sure this fact disproved an overruling Providence (*sic*); for he was quite convinced of his own importance, and argued that such a God as Christians believe in would never have interposed to save the like of him. Perhaps it is otherwise, however, in the deeper thought of those who have taken pains to learn something about that God whom he despised (*sic*). Even a Paine may help truth to work out its glorious revenges; and the Christian need have no hesitation in admitting the marvellous interposition of Divine Providence to save Mohammed in the cave of Thor. A pigeon sat brooding on her nest in the mouth of that hiding-place, and a spider had woven his gauzy curtain across it. Evidently, inferred his pursuers, nobody has gone in there; and the impostor (*sic*) was spared to change the manners and beliefs of millions of men, and to revolutionize peoples and kindreds and tongues, from the Caucasus, all over Northern Africa to the heart of Spain, and for thirteen centuries to impress himself upon human thought and human society."—*Bishop A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D., in the Independent.*

COMMENTING on the ruling of Judge Briggs of the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia, that "something more is required to render one competent as a witness than a belief in a Supreme Power simply as a power or principle, which may be the resistless natural laws as exhibited by motion and operation of the elements, and to violate which will surely bring punishment here to the transgressor," the Milwaukee *Sentinel* observes: "The rule thus laid down would exclude a large number of persons, and among them many of the most intelligent and exemplary members of society. It is by no means the case that precise conceptions of the nature of the Deity and clearly defined opinions respecting a future state of existence are most frequently met with among minds of a superior order of intelligence. The child, the ignorant man or woman, they who have never traversed any part of the wide field of thought and investigation respecting subjects of this nature which the human intellect has gone over in the past, are often found with clear views and precise beliefs, however erroneous. The Divine Being, in their opinion, is somewhere above the clouds; and, when they think of him as a person, it is as a man endowed with the emotions of humanity, but with infinite power, knowledge, and goodness. It is the profound philosopher, the man of science, the thinker who has deeply studied and meditated, that finds it difficult to form that adequate and complete conception respecting the nature of God and his dealings with the souls of men in another world, which Judge Briggs regards as an essential condition of being able to tell the truth under oath. In *Faust*, the peasant girl, Marguerite, has no doubt: she believes that her ideas concerning God are clear and accurate. It is Faust, the student and thinker, who had explored the whole range of human knowledge, that hesitates to express a definite opinion, and reverently, as a finite being in the presence of the Infinite, exclaims: 'Who may name him, who confess, "I believe in him"? who presume to say, "I do not believe in him,"—him who upholds all, who comprehends all?' The rule of Judge Briggs requires that, in order to be competent to take an oath, a man must believe in 'the personality of God, and of God as generally understood by the people.' Such a decision will doubtless be quoted in future days, as the opinion of the judges a century or two ago on witchcraft are now referred to, as an illustration of the crude opinions still extant in the nineteenth century.'

BOOK NOTICES.

GOV. BUTLER VS. THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF MASSACHUSETTS. By A. D. Mayo.

The wide experience of schools which Mr. Mayo has gathered from his labors in almost every section of our land entitles his words to especial weight, when he speaks for the public school system of Massachusetts. Gov. Butler's slashing attack on it is dangerous only because it meets a response from the two extremes of selfishness in society,—the arrogant selfishness of pampered aristocracy and the ignorant, greedy selfishness of careless and lazy poverty. The great working classes, including brain-workers and hand-workers, know the value of education too well to wish to choke the streams which are conveying it to every family in the Commonwealth. Mr. Mayo sketches the position of Massachusetts as regards the Western States, and shows how her influence has helped to make them what they are, while her present task is "to deal with the most complex educational problem offered to any American State." This is "to give to every child of the laboring man and the immigrant a fair chance for the training which shall qualify him for good citizenship." This problem is being successfully worked out, as is shown both by the statistics and by the general good character of our population, who are the descendants of immigrants. Mr. Mayo gives a very condensed and clear statement of the action of the school system, showing how each part helps the other, and the influence of the high school is felt down to the very first beginnings in the primary school. He concludes: "The public school of Massachusetts has its weak spots, which are known to its friends far better than to its enemies. But if there is, on the whole, a better arrangement for taking humanity as it comes, and turning it into good American citizenship, we, after our journeyings and inspections among thirty States of the Union, have not been able to find it."

THE Elzivir Library, of which we have before spoken, seems to have reached the limits of cheap printing. It is a mystery how these compact, well-printed, neat-looking volumes can be sold at such prices. There is no excuse for any to go without good literature, when Macaulay's *Life of Frederick the Great* can be procured for seven cents, *The Pilgrim's Progress* for ten, Stoddard's *Life of Washington Irving* for six, Parton's *Sir Isaac Newton* for two, and Dickens's *Cricket on the Hearth* for ten cents, with many others equally as good at corresponding prices. Send to John B. Alden, 18 Vesey Street, New York City, for catalogue and prices.

AMONG the contributors to the April *Atlantic* are Henry James, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Dudley Warner, T. B. Aldrich, Richard Grant White, Sarah Orne Jewett, Harriet W. Preston, and Rose Hawthorne Lathrop. The first act of Mr. James' dramatized version of his *Daisy Miller* is given in this number. Dr. Holmes talks of "Pillow-smoothing Authors," of whom he seems to think the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* the chief. Mr. Warner criticises "Modern Fiction" in a kindly spirit. In "An Early Humanist," Harriet Preston tells the story of John Pico della Mirandola. Richard Grant White explains "The Bacon-Shakspere Craze." Bradford Torry has a well-written article on "Bird-Songs," and Elizabeth Robins writes of "Stage Buffoons." There are also reviews of some "Recent Biographies," "Memorials of Rossetti," the Carlyle-Emerson correspondence, and other recent works.

THE following articles appear in the *Popular Science Monthly* for April: "Nature and Limits of the Science of Politics," by Prof. Sheldon Amos; "The Economic Function of Vice," by John McElroy; "Progress of the Back-boned Family," by A. B. Buckley; "Curiosities of Superstition," by Felix L. Oswald; "Perceptional Insanities," by Dr. W. A. Hammond; "Dwarfs and Giants," by M. Delbœuf; "The Census and the Forests," by N. H. Egleston; "Origin of the Donkey," by C. A. Pietrement; "Speculations on the

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Nature of Matter," by H. H. Bates; "The Legal Status of Servant Girls," by Oliver E. Lyman; "The New York Geological Survey," by James Hall; "Origin of the Calendar and Astrology," by Prof. W. Foester; and "A Sketch of Increase Allen Lapham," with an accompanying portrait.

TO MOST readers of *The Index*, the most interesting article in the January *Fortnightly Review* will be the "Study of Longfellow," by Mr. Henry Norman. Very many Americans go to study in the English universities, but it is not often that an Englishman comes to Harvard for his education; and when one does come, like Mr. Norman, we are led to watch his career with somewhat unusual interest. And Mr. Norman's literary work will have the more interest to the liberal thinkers of Boston and vicinity, because of his hearty identification of himself with the liberal cause while he was among us. But nothing accidental is necessary to enlist the warm interest of Americans in this article; for no more discriminating and serious study of the poet has appeared since his death, none showing a finer apprehension of the true principles of poetic art or of that "aboriginal humanity of disposition," to quote words of the writer's own, which Longfellow possessed, and which is so much more and deeper than all poetic art.

The special object of this study is to show that, while Longfellow did indeed write a quantity of commonplace verse, he also did work of an exceedingly high character in many fields, and is entitled to a higher rank than that to which the English critics have customarily assigned him. "While some men of genius," says Mr. Norman, wholesomely, "in their worship at what one of their own number has called 'the altar to the unknown god of unachieved desire,' are writhing in their efforts to parade all the sensuousness of which human nature is capable, this simple man with his sweetness of life—a 'sweetness as of home-made bread'—must not be allowed to pass away without our reverent recognition. His was not the gift of 'song which shall spur you to soar'; but we may be confident that, whenever the army of true bards is mustered, the suffrage of future ages will not grudge him the fulfilment of his modest hope,—'to have my place preserved among the rest.'"

There is very much of criticism in Mr. Norman's article; all of it thoughtful and interesting, most of it very just. With the criticism of the poems of the "Excelsior" sort we heartily sympathize. We attach a much higher value than Mr. Norman does to "Hiawatha," the principal object of his criticism; and we do not sympathize with his rather slighting incidental word concerning the "New England Tragedies." We can well understand, however, why these latter should have strong interest only to those nurtured in the New England tradition. And, were Mr. Norman a New Englander, he surely would not have omitted all reference to "The Courtship of Miles Standish," which, quite aside from its historical interest, is, to our mind, second to none of Longfellow's works. Mr. Norman is right as to the peculiarly representative character of the "Tales of a Wayside Inn," and we do not remember to have seen the great merits of the "Saga of King Olaf" so clearly stated anywhere else. We were very glad, too, to note the recognition in this careful study that "it is questionable whether the English language contains a series of six original sonnets equal in every point to those which are prefixed to Longfellow's translation of the 'Divina Commedia.'" The general discussion of the translation of Dante is interesting and excellent.

We hope that this first fruit of Mr. Norman's American studies will be followed by much more equally good. Any word of his is sure of a warm welcome in the Boston and Cambridge circles where he is kindly remembered.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MRS. ALEXANDER CARLYLE has bought the birthplace of her uncle, Thomas Carlyle, at Ecclefechan, to insure its better preservation.

THE Czar has received formal notice that the placing of the crown on his head will be the signal to blow him and all his guests skyward.

THE private secretary of Victor Hugo, M. Richard Lesclide, is contributing sundry papers upon his distinguished patron to the columns of the *Youth's Companion*.

MISS SUSAN H. WIXON will lecture in Paine Hall next Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. Subject, "The Rational, Practical, and Useful Observance of Sunday." Admission free. The public cordially invited to attend.

B. F. UNDERWOOD lectured in Chicago for the Philosophical Society on the 24th and for the Ethical Society on the 25th. On the 27th, he spoke at La Salle, Ill., and is announced to lecture at East Saginaw, Mich., the 28th and 29th.

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN'S son, Elsey McHenry Train, and the late Charles R. Thorne's step-daughter, Eliza Willing Browne, were married by Mayor Edson, Thursday. The father of the groom sent a basket of rosebuds with some doggerel verses complimentary to the mayor.

MRS. HELEN HUNT JACKSON has received from Secretary Teller of the Interior Department a commission as special inspector of certain matters relating to land titles among the California Indians. This is a just recognition of her ability and zeal in behalf of the Indians' rights.

IT is said that the physician of Alexander H. Stephens, just before the old statesman's death, proposed to read a chapter in the Bible and pray with him, if he did not object. The dying man replied with the spirit of an old Roman philosopher: "*I do object, and most decidedly.* I have no objection to prayer, for I believe in it; but *I do object to death-bed repentance.* I have made it a rule of my life to live each day as if it were going to be my last. In the heat of politics, I may have sometimes forgotten myself; but *I am no better to-day on my death-bed than I have tried to be every day of my life, and I have no special preparations to make and no special pleas to offer.*"

THE 3d of April will be notable this year as the centenary of the birth of Washington Irving, and offers to the literary men of the country a fine opportunity to pay honor to his memory. Irving is not so much read as he once was, and it may be doubted whether he could make as effective an impression upon the present generation as he made upon his own; but he was the first to answer the sneer of Sydney Smith, "Who reads an American book?" and his career as a man of letters, if not very influential in shaping the future of American literature, can be regarded with honest admiration. He was not the founder of a school, not a literary leader, not a pronounced man for anything. Mr. Bancroft was somewhat his junior, and is the last survivor in letters of the literary epoch which Irving made illustrious. Bryant, Cooper, Percival, and Dana were all younger than himself; and, for the first half of the present century, Irving was our most distinguished author.

THE late Henry Seybert left almost his entire estate, amounting to over a million dollars, to educational and charitable purposes. Among the bequests of public interest are the following: University of Pennsylvania, for the endowment of a chair of mental and moral philosophy, $60,000, and for the endowment of a ward in the wing, for chronic diseases, $60,000; city of Philadelphia, "Seybert Fund," for fuel and bread and the Educational Home, $10,000 each; Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Home Missionary Society, and Children's Hospital, $5,000 each. He also gives from $1,000 to $2,000 each to seventy-three educational and charitable institutions, the aggregate of these bequests being $246,000. For a number of years before his death, Mr. Seybert was interested in the subject of Spiritualism; and, while recognizing the great amount of imposture mixed up with the subject, he held that it merited investigation, in order to determine the falsity or truth of its pretensions. In giving to the University of Pennsylvania the sum of $60,000 for the endowment of a chair of mental and moral philosophy, he stipulated, therefore, that an impartial investigation should be made of modern Spiritualism as well as of other systems assuming to represent the truth. The trustees of the university, in accepting the bequests from Mr. Seybert, have ordered that the chair thus endowed shall be known as the Adam Seybert Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy, and that the ward for chronic diseases shall be known as the Henry Seybert Ward. The will was made in 1873; and in it Mr. Seybert expresses the wish that his body be cremated, as has been done at the LeMoyne furnace at Washington, Penn.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to coöperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reëlection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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The office of the Association is at 3 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON (directly in the rear of the Tremont House), where is also the publication office of *The Index*.

All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

Communications intended specially for the Secretary, as well as his personal correspondence, should be addressed to him at PROVIDENCE, R.I.

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The Dogma of Hell.
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The Spirit of the New Faith.
The Real God.
Goodness and Happiness.
The Glorified Man.
The Natural Man.
The Popular Religion.
The Responsibility for Disbelief.
The Perfect Life.
The Faith in Immortality.
The Unbeliefs of the Believers.
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The New Song.
Charity and the Poor.
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Divorce between Creed and Conduct.
The Spirit of Truth.
Forgiveness.
Attitudes of Unbelief.
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The Law of Habit.
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The Secret of Jesus.
The Hidden Life.
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The Resurrection of Jesus.
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Demand of Religion on the Age.
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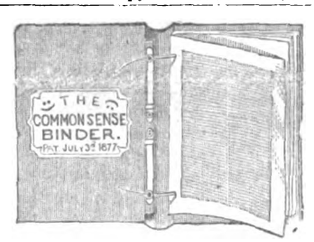

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 469

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
- Platonized Orthodoxy, Wm. J. Potter, ... 470
- An Antiphone of War-cries, M. D. Conway, ... 470
- Digest of "Progress and Poverty," II., W. S. Kennedy, 471
- Supernaturalism, E. D. Stark, ... 472

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 473

POETRY.
- The Sophist, Horace L. Traubel, ... 474
- Infidelity, M. J. Savage, ... 474

ESSAY.
- Practical Deductions from the Religion of Humanity, William Frey, ... 474

CORRESPONDENCE.
- Neglected Things, George Jacob Holyoake, ... 477
- Mr. Adler on Freedom, Wm. I. Gill, ... 478
- The Passage in Tacitus, ... 478
- The Western Floods, ... 478

BOOK NOTICES.
- The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible, by Rev. E. Heber Newton, ... 478
- Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement, by Harriet H. Robinson, ... 479
- Lectures on the Calling of a Christian Woman and her Training to fulfil it, by Morgan Dix, S.T.D., . . . 479
- Century, Wide Awake, St. Nicholas, Our Little Ones, . 479

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 479

CURRENT TOPICS.

ROBERT INGERSOLL'S lectures are being translated and circulated by Buddhist priests in Japan to counteract missionary teachings.

ITALY, Germany, Switzerland, and the United State have permitted cremation; and crematories have been established at Milan, Padua, Cremona, Lodi, and Varese.

THE *Canadian Baptist* states that, "in Boston, the stronghold of Congregationalism and Unitarianism, the Baptists have more church members than any other denomination, and are enjoying a steady growth."

MR. LAWRENCE has entered an action for $5,000 damages against the collector of customs at Montreal, for refusing to give up copies of Paine's *Age of Reason* and Voltaire's *Philosophy*, imported by the plaintiff from the United States.

THE Young Men's Christian Association, of Denver, Col., refuses to admit the *Christian Register* into its files, for the reason that it does not "accept the teachings" of th t paper. The Association's reading matter must be necessarily very limited, if it abides by that rule.

GOV. BUTLER was recently made a life member of the Lowell Young Men's Christian Association, on which occasion he said he had no doubt that the time would come when the State would support such institutions rather than spend money on reformatory institutions to reform the bad.

THE New York *Herald* has already raised over $33,000 for the relief of the sufferers by the Western floods, and will continue the work in the expectation, which events are already proving to be well founded, that there will be much sickness and suffering as the after-effects of the high water.

THE jury which gave a verdict of "not guilty" n the case of a seducer who shot and killed the father of his victim for undertaking to defend the honor of his daughter opened its deliberations by prayer. A religious paper, commenting on the circumstance, says: "If the jury prayed for light, the verdict conclusively shows that their prayer was not answered. A more abominable verdict was never given by any jury."

A MOST sensible idea is being carried out in this city in a course of six "Emergency Lectures," in which instruction is given by competent persons as to the best method to be pursued by unprofessional people in cases of accident or illness which requires prompt action as well as proper knowledge. The lectures so far given have had for their subjects "Hemorrhage, and Means of its Arrest," "Resuscitation of the Drowned," "Croup," and "Opium Narcosis Antidotes."

THE Boston *Herald* remarks: "There are ministers in Berkshire County, it is reported, who say they will not read Gov. Butler's Fast day proclamation. This is all foolishness. Benjamin F. Butler is Governor of the Commonwealth, a majority of the voters have decreed it. Why should these ministers treat his proclamations differently from those of his predecessors? They have no veto power. Fast day is a farce, anyway. Why should clergymen help to make it more farcical?"

THE chief of police, at Newcastle, Pa., on a recent Sunday, stopped the sale of papers on the streets of that place, by threatening to arrest the newsboys under the Sunday law of Pennsylvania. The law which the chief was so zealous to enforce is a statute nearly a hundred years old, and has practically been a dead letter the past quarter of a century and more. This sudden spasm of virtue, it is claimed, was inspired by the adverse criticisms of the correspondent of the Pittsburgh *Sunday Leader*, who, in a previous issue, questioned the qualifications of the officer referred to above for the position he occupies.

THE Italian papers give the programme of the Congress of Free Thinkers which is to assemble this year in Rome early in the autumn. Six topics will be brought before the Congress for discussion: (1) The scientific foundations of morality; (2) The influence of new scientific theories (especially of Darwinism and Positivism) upon the future organization of societies of free thinkers; (3) The scientific methods of instruction as applied to the popular school; (4) The relations of the Church and State in modern society, with special application to the Papal Guarantee Law in Italy; (5) The influence of free thinkers in the alteration of the laws which justify social unrighteousness, particularly in the relations between husband and wife and the differentiation of legitimate and illegitimate children; (6) The influence of free thinkers upon international questions.

APROPOS of the sentence in the recent English blasphemy case, the London *Inquirer* has the following: "A judgment given by Frederick the Great in a similar case to that of the *Freethinker* would have been very appropriate here as well. When his Majesty was asked what punishment a person should undergo who (1) blasphemed God, (2) spoke disrespectfully of the king, and (3) slandered the magistrate, Frederick answered: 'His blasphemy against God shows that he does not know him. Ignorance cannot be punished. His disrespectful speech about me I pardon. But for the offence against the worthy magistrate of Berlin he shall be imprisoned for a full hour in the fortress of Spandau.' Frederick never interfered with the religious views of his subjects, as long as they obeyed the laws of the country. 'Jeder mag nach seiner eigenen Façon selig werden' ('Every one may go to heaven according to his own ways'), was his rule."

IN a recent lecture, Joseph Cook said: "When the present Emperor dies, there will come to the throne in the German Empire a man of most liberal opinions in theology. The Crown Prince is not a rationalist. I do not regard him as an opponent to Christianity; but he is married to a daughter of Queen Victoria, who thinks that any man who believes in miracles is either a hypocrite or a fool. She was a pupil of Strauss. One of the first important remarks I heard, on going to Germany nine years ago, and the sentence came from no less a man than Prof. Tholuck, was that the Crown Prince had married a woman of frivolous opinions in theology, and that great harm might ultimately come to the Empire from her being a pupil of Strauss, the author of the mythical theory. A similar opinion I met often on a recent tour to six of the foremost German cities and universities. It is, of course, not certain, but it is probable, that the new Court that will be organized after the present venerated Emperor passes away will not be so favorable to Christianity as the present Court."

THE two exhibitions which are projected for the autumn of the current year promise to be of uncommon interest and importance to the people of this city and to many others who will come from a distance to participate in or witness them. The domestic exhibition, as we may call it in distinction from the other, which is wholly concerned with foreign products and manufactures, is under the auspices of the New England Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Institute, and will be opened in the Institute Building on Wednesday, the 5th of September. The other exhibition, which is devoted exclusively to the display of foreign arts, products, and manufactures, is under the immediate management of the Foreign Exhibition Association, and has the encouragement and aid of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, in whose building it will be opened on the 1st of September. These two exhibitions are in no sense competitors or rivals. Each has its own field, and each supplements the other. Taking the two together, we shall have something closely approximating a world's fair; and it is safe to expect permanently good results and a very considerable strengthening and extension of business interests by these exhibitions of the products of various arts and industries, and the accompanying interchange of ideas.

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PLATONIZED ORTHODOXY.

The Christian Father, Augustine, who, after the apostle Paul, and even more than the apostle Paul, may be called the father of the Orthodox creed of Christendom, left among his writings this remarkable saying: "The thing itself, which is now called the Christian religion, existed among the ancients, nor was absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came into flesh; from which time the true religion, which already was, began to be called Christian." This sentence is especially remarkable as coming from the man who is usually regarded as having established the standard of Orthodoxy for the Christian Church. For, if this assertion be true, there did not appear with Christianity, as is commonly claimed, any absolutely new revelation of religious truth, but only a new form and new name for old truths. If this sentence be true, what becomes of the central point of the Christian Orthodox creed, that, until the advent of Jesus, the world lay utterly dead in trespasses and sins, having no saving knowledge of the truth and no ability to find the truth?

St. Augustine, indeed, was a man whose religious perceptions were much broader and deeper than the creed which is traced to his teaching and has taken his name. Doubtless, the roots of all the several articles of that creed can be found in his writings. But a good deal else can be found there also; and there was not a little in his teaching that would serve greatly to soften the severe and literal interpretation of his theological dogmas. He was well versed in the learning of his time, and was largely imbued with the Greek philosophy. It is easy to see that his view of the founder of Christianity was a transcendental one. He made a distinction between Jesus and Christ. *Christus*, the Christ, he believed had always existed. The Christ was spirit,—the spirit of God, or God himself, going forth in creative manifestation. Jesus, in his view, was a manifested form of this creative spirit in the limits of finite humanity. Jesus was born, had a historical beginning within the human race: the Christ was not born,—it was in the beginning, was with God, and was God. And, in this theology, Augustine only resuscitated and applied to Christianity the doctrine of the Logos, or the creative, divine Reason, as taught by Plato, and as developed in the Neo-Platonic philosophy of later Greece and of Alexandria. Philo, the Jew, and the Old Testament apocryphal Book of Wisdom, taught the same doctrine; and, again, it appears plainly in the proem of the mystical Fourth Gospel. According to the Book of Wisdom, wisdom, which is another term for the Logos, is a creative agent. "She is the breath of the power of God. . . . And, being but one, she can do all things; . . . and in all ages, entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets." Augustine's view, that Christianity had always been in the world, is in entire harmony with these developments of the Platonic philosophy. He believed that, through the effluent power of the Divine Word, man had been in possession of the saving truths of genuine religion before that religion took a new form and scope and name from the advent of Jesus.

Nor was Augustine alone among the early defenders of Christianity in teaching this broad view. Justin Martyr wrote: "One article of our faith, then, is that Christ is the first begotten of God, and we have already proved him to be the very Logos (or universal Reason) of which mankind are all partakers; and, therefore, those who live according to the Logos are Christians, notwithstanding they may pass with you for atheists. Such among the Greeks were Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like." And Clement of Alexandria said: "It is clear that the same God to whom we owe the Old and New Testaments gave also to the Greeks their Greek philosophy, by which the Almighty is glorified among the Greeks."

And there are intimations not a few that it is by reversion to these broader teachings of Augustine and others of the Christian Fathers that modern Orthodoxy is going to place itself on a more liberal basis. This, at least, seems likely to be the pathway by which scholars will make the transition, though the mass of believing people will probably take a shorter cut. There are frequent references among the leaders of the new Orthodoxy to an older and more liberal Christian doctrine than that which has hardened into the so-called Augustinian creed; and if the authority of Augustine himself, by a revival of his idea of Christianity being as old as creation, can be quoted against the severer beliefs that have passed under his name, the liberal party will have gained a great advantage; for this idea puts Christianity into the line of historical evolution with other religions, and allows a common divine element in them all. To admit that "Greek philosophy" comes by the same inspiration as the Old and New Testaments, even though in a secondary degree, would be an immense step forward. Once take the ground that Christianity is of the same piece with all religious history, woven in different forms and colors, but of essentially the same principles and aspirations, and all other liberal doctrines will in due time follow. On the whole, it would be a grand thing for Orthodoxy, if it could become thoroughly Platonized by a renaissance of the doctrine of the Logos, or divine Reason, as the formative and creative principle behind the phenomena of all religions: a grand thing for *Orthodoxy*, but it would have to go further to satisfy to-day's rational philosophy.

WM. J. POTTER.

AN ANTIPHONE OF WAR-CRIES.

There is a poor little paper circulated in Great Britain called the *War Cry*. It is the organ of the Salvation Army, sold by unhealthy youth in tawdry uniforms, who are much snubbed by the police and laughed at by busy and prosaic Englishmen of the middle class. I have occasionally scrutinized some chance copy of the *War Cry*, but not with laughter; for it sounded to my ears like inarticulate voices of the stones beginning to cry out, because the traditional oracles of salvation have become dumb. But now, suddenly, the English free-thinking world learns that there is a "War Cry" on its side also, in the form of a dingy little sheet called the *Freethinker*. Its editor, printer, and publisher are now locked in prison for twelve, nine, and three months respectively. Its sub-editor has gone insane. The salvationist *War Cry* is still flourishing, coarseness in dealing with sacred things being the privilege of believers. The *Freethinker*, well advertised by its prosecution, will be hereafter edited in a refined way, blasphemy being a class privilege.

This, even literally, is the decision reached by this latest punishment for blasphemy. It is the most interesting case that has occurred for a generation. A point in favor of freedom of discussion has been scored so completely that one may suspect the *Freethinker* folk to have played for a prosecution. You may derive from carefully spread rumors that there was something obscene about the caricatures or the writings for which these men were punished. I have before me a copy of the Christmas number, containing everything that was impugned, and assure you that there is nothing in it at all liable to prosecution as an obscene libel. The prosecuting attorney, by describing the pictures as too indecent for him to describe, only meant to forestall public sympathy by insinuating a kind of indecency which he could not prove. This non-English kind of trick is the homage which persecution is compelled to pay to the popular love of liberty. The prosecution was not undertaken by the government, but by the city of London. There is reason to believe that it would not have been instituted but from the personal animosity of a public man, who, after posing for some time as a defender of the faith, suddenly fell into a financial disgrace of which the infidels naturally quoted the published particulars as evidences of the Christianity by which they were personally insulted. The case was tried on the first day of March before an old-fashioned bigot, Judge North; and nothing could be more picturesque for a law archæologist than the whole affair. Justice North has been rather an equity judge, and not quite up to all the dexterities of the common law. For you must understand that the William and Mary statute against heretical opinions is the one statute of the English code which never, in a single case, has been enforced. The provision in it that the heretic must be shown to have been educated in or professed the Christian religion was fatal to it at birth. Consequently, the old common law has had to be stretched and manipulated to punish such men as Paine and Carlyle. Well, then, when this latent prosecution began, the prisoners, Foote and Ramsay, made able speeches, showing how many eminent men in England had published atheism. Judge North then proceeded in an honest, thorough-going way to define blasphemy for the jury: "If by writing or otherwise any one denies the existence of the Deity, throwing abuse and contumely upon sacred subjects, scoffing at God, the Trinity, or the Holy Scriptures, that by law is blasphemy." This summing up was fierce against the "blasphemers," but the jury would not convict. "Bravo, jury!" shouted the crowd. The judge was furious. He would not allow the jury to give a verdict. He discharged them, saying he would try the men the next Monday with a new jury; and he refused the prisoners bail, a thing never refused even in cases of indecent assault. So zealously resolute was this judge to punish these men.

And, now, the judge had Saturday and Sunday in which to ponder this failure of the jury to convict, to pray over it, to consult high quarters about it; and, lo! when he next charged the jury, his legal definition of blasphemy had been totally revolutionized. Not a word now about the existence of God, not a word about the Trinity; but "The legal meaning of blasphemy is any contumelious reproach or profane scoffing against the Christian religion, and any act exposing the Holy Scriptures and the Christian religion to ridicule, contempt, or derision." In three days, this change of the law was secured by these prisoners, who quoted atheism from great authors, ridicule of the Trinity from Herbert Spencer and Matthew Arnold,—his Three Lord Shaftesburys!—and so drove the first jury on the horns of the dilemma that either the chief authors of their country are blasphemers or these humble men are not. It was only by virtually deciding that atheism is legal that the judge was able to secure a conviction for the scoffing style of it. But, when once he had secured a conviction for the bad taste, he punished for the heresy. So one may fairly conclude from the fact that shortly before the same judge sentenced an old offender for aggravated manslaughter to only three months' hard labor. He, therefore, knows how to be merciful when man alone is involved. In this case, there was no hard labor, because the law doesn't allow it; but the reporters reported the sentences

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as with hard labor. Whether the hard labor was really added in his zeal, or only in his voice and look, I cannot say. But he told Foote he was sorry a man to whom God had given such evident intelligence should prostitute it to the service of the devil. Foote, who is a handsome, blonde, and gentlemanly young man, received sentence politely, saying only, "I thank you, my lord, it is worthy of your creed."

The new definition of blasphemy to which Foote and Ramsey compelled Judge North, and but for which he could hardly have secured the conviction on which he was evidently bent, is contrary to the highest authorities; but it anticipates the law which the government has proposed, and which will soon be the law of the land. This new code makes blasphemy consist entirely and exclusively in conveying heresies in language not decent. It provides expressly that any opinion whatever may be expressed on any religious subject whatever, if in good faith and decent language. But the way in which the prosecution has utilized the very ambiguous word "indecent," in this case, shows that hereafter blasphemy is to be the privilege of the polite and cultured classes.

Turning now to the prosecuted paper and its rude cartoons and caricatures, let me say, in conclusion, that there is a sense in which they have for me an impressive significance. In the course of near twenty years' ministry in London, I have been able to learn and observe a good deal about the free thinkers of this vast metropolis; and it would require many copies of *The Index* to contain all the facts to which I could testify of the cruelties, heartless injuries, and in some cases utter ruin, which Christians have inflicted upon young men and old for adopting heretical opinions. In many cases, clerks, apprentices, workmen, even when especially honest and laborious, have been dismissed for reading heretical books or going to a heretical lecture. They have been dismissed without "characters," and even piously pursued by rich employers admonishing their business friends against them. There are scores of able men—like Ramsey and Foote—who have been defrauded of happiness, denied all fair prospects of success, kept in poverty, trampled into the mire. The Christian Society, which gives them no share, demands their love and loyalty. The response is this ridicule and contempt heaped upon the sacred forms of Jewish and Christian mythology, in whose names they have been oppressed.

In another sense, these reckless caricatures impress me with sadness. I have studied enough to recognize in these mythologic figures flowers of sentiment and poetic visions in which the spiritual evolution of man is traceable. To the eyes of these wronged men, they are all hard, absurd idols of superstition, with no trace of meaning or humanity in any of them. So Christianity stupidly cursed the gods and goddesses of Greece, Rome, Germany, caricatured them, degraded them to hags, witches, devils. I have long believed that the free religion which is superseding Christianity would at this point especially show itself the real religion of humanity. We have already heard the spirits of the Oriental religions singing their hymns once more around its nativity; but some of us long to see its triumphal entry into the Christian Jerusalem itself, and such transformation of these very vulgarized legends and dogmas around us, till their own children see their nobler form and cry Hosanna! These wooden caricatures of the mere letter correspond to superstitious worship of the mere letter. It is a letter that kills in both directions. As long as an imperial and luxurious national establishment of irreligion continues, this dismal antiphone between the War Cry of trampled souls and the War Cry of trampled hearts threatens to go on. There seems to be little hope when men who start out as religious leaders give up in despair,—as, for example, John Morley, one of the most vigorous thinkers and writers in England. He has entered Parliament, taken the oath, and now rejoices in the punishment of these blasphemers. In one of his noble books, "God" was printed with a small "g." But, lately, some one, asking, "Who is John Morley?" was answered, "A man who spells God with a little 'g' and Gladstone with a big one." But the *mot* was not quite correct. John Morley, M.P., no sooner became a partisan of Gladstone than he became a partisan of Gladstone's god, which I for one dare not honor with a big "g" or otherwise. A pettier idol was never set up in a noble temple than that before which Gladstone kneels. That so many brilliant men, capable of effective work among the people, should shrink from grappling with the great ecclesiastical incubus of the country, and go off into politics, is the saddest sign of the time. We can only hope that, in the course of the acute struggle now going on, an evolution may take place, which shall bring us to a point where even "a guileless fool," some Parsifal, shall be able to heal the King's wound, where the clever have failed, by sheer power of the *sang réal*,—the true blood.

M. D. CONWAY.

DIGEST OF "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

II.

Before proceeding to his central theme,—the positive portion of his work, *i.e.*, that land should be made common property,—Mr. George first clears the ground by some negative axe-work. The political economists say that the reason why the poorest classes are kept poor is "that wages are fixed by the ratio between the number of laborers and the amount of capital devoted to the employment of labor, and constantly tend to the lowest amount on which laborers will consent to live and reproduce, because the increase in the number of laborers tends, naturally, to follow and overtake any increase in capital." In other words, wages are drawn from capital, and capital limits industry. But Mr. George points out the almost self-evident truth that wages are not in reality drawn from capital, even when they are paid from it, but are the direct produce or earnings of labor. When a man has done a day's work, he himself has created the capital that pays him: there is no advance of capital, since the employer has obtained at night a certain amount of wealth from his employé. Neither are the wages of clerks, and the like, drawn from capital; but, in virtue of the social agreements and exchanges of society, the performer of any valuable service whatever is just as much creating wealth as if he were personally driving the plough, or wielding the lassoo on the pampas of South America. Hence, "if wages are drawn, not from capital, but from the produce of labor, the current theories as to the relations of labor and capital are invalid; and all remedies, whether proposed by professors of political economy or workingmen, which look to the alleviation of poverty either by the increase of capital or the restriction of the number of laborers or the efficiency of their work, must be condemned." For, if laborers create their own wages, the more of them, the better; for, with large numbers, tasks are made lighter and more profitable by co-operation and subdivision of labor.

But here we are met with the assertion of the Malthus and Mill school, that, the moment you increase the number of your laborers, nature's larder begins to be exhausted by the new demands, and the new-comers must starve. The world is overstocked, they say; and we must restrict the increase of population, if we would better the condition of the poor.

It seems to me that George disposes of the foolish bugbear of Malthusianism in a very effectual and handsome manner. How is it, he says, that, if population is always tending to overpass the limit of subsistence, we yet find the globe so thinly populated? How is it that we find so many desolate and deserted countries in the Old World, where decadence is as common as increase? Advocates of Malthusianism point to India and China, where there is so much abject poverty and so many famines, as instances of the terrible effects of overpopulation. But, as a matter of fact, the population of India is but 132 to the square mile, while Saxony, Belgium, and England have 442 to the square mile. The reason why famines occur in India is simply owing to the horrible state of social organization which for centuries has shackled industry and utterly degraded and enslaved the working classes. Again, the analogy drawn between the reproductive tendencies of man and the lower animals is of little account: the difference between him and them is that he can give play to reproductive forces more powerful than his own. A seal eats salmon. So does man. But man can artificially increase the number of salmon, while the seal cannot. Man cannot press against the limits of subsistence till the limits of the globe are reached. And these limits never will be reached, or, at least, overpassed. For, with man, when the demand for quantity is once reached, comes the demand for quality, come the more refined and more exalted desires. Man will never be so sunken in sensuality as to regard sexual pleasure as the sole aim of existence. The tendency is away from this to higher things.

No, says George: the facts show that where population is densest, there wealth is most abundant. It is so in England, it is so in Massachusetts,—countries not nearly so rich in nature's productions as tropical lands. The reason of this is that greater numbers, closer co-operation, produce greater economy of production and distribution.

What, then, is the matter? Why is it that, just in the very localities where there are most persons and greatest wealth, we find the deepest poverty? If social adjustments were all right, suffering would be impossible in such communities. But social adjustments happen to be all wrong. The owners of vast areas of land enjoy a selfish monopoly which enables them to grow fat, while poor men starve. The landlords have monopolized the natural opportunities by which all must live and from which all wealth comes.

But if the trouble does not lie in population, in the laws which govern the production of wealth, it must be found in the laws which govern the distribution of wealth. Now, wealth is distributed into rent, wages, and interest. In discussing the laws of distribution, Mr. George incidentally examines the *raison d'être* of interest, and finds it to lie in the principle of growth, or reproduction,—natural multiplication. Interest on money is right; because, if I did not lend you money, I could put it into apiculture or agriculture or stock-raising, whereby the active forces of nature would increase its value at the end of a stated period. The result of the examination of the laws of distribution is to show that all that part of the general production of wealth which exceeds what the labor and capital employed could have secured for themselves, if applied to the poorest natural agent in use, will go to the land-owners in the shape of rent; and correlated with the law of rent are the laws of wages and interest: they both depend upon land monopoly, upon the "margin of cultivation."

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But what are the dynamics of the problem? What causes advance in rents? How is it that, with the increase of material progress, the accruing advantages go to the land-owner? Answer: First, increase of population, the clustering of human bee-swarms together, gives to land at the centre of the cluster enormous value, both for business purposes and for the developing of its mineral resources and other wealth. But the increasing wealth all goes to the first settlers or buyers of the land.

Second, increase of labor-saving inventions (sad to say) only tends still to increase the land-owner's rent, and to keep wages of laborers at a minimum. For is it not plain that, if the land-owner can do a part or all of his work himself by machinery, he can dispense with his laborers, and drive them to the scrawny lands that are left on the margins of the world? But this means the lowering of the wages of agricultural laborers and of all laborers. In fact, if the time should come when all labor would be saved by increase of inventions, then, if anybody else than the land-owners continued to exist, it would simply be by the kind permission of such land-owners, or for their amusement and gratification.

Third, speculation in land. I have in my former paper considered this point, and shown (after Mr. George) how in new countries rents are enormously raised by anticipatory purchase of more land than can be used by the purchaser. By withholding land from use, he increases the rent of such land as is left. It is this speculative advance in rent that is at the bottom of financial depressions. Manufactures languish, goods are unsold, money is scarce, times are hard. Why? Simply because production at some point in the social organism has been checked: there are the same desires for things as before, but there are not enough products of labor to exchange for them. Look carefully along the linked chain of society, and you will discover that the mischief has been caused by land speculation, land manias. You cannot sell your knives and ploughs and calicoes as before, because thousands of men are made into tramps, to satisfy the greed of land speculators. There is less wheat, less corn, less coal, less wool to exchange for your knives and ploughs and calicoes, simply because vast tracts of land are lying idle.

In Book VI., George discusses remedies, and finds that the current remedies are insufficient as long as the fundamental land difficulty remains.

It is cruel irony to say that increased education and habits of industry and thrift will improve to any great extent the condition of the laborer. Improvement in personal qualities always follows material progress, not precedes it. No increase of the effective power of labor can increase general wages, as long as rent swallows up all the gain. A few here and there may better their condition by superior education; but the great mass never can, as long as material opportunities are denied them. Co-operation, too, can only increase the efficiency of labor, and hence raise rent, as in the case of labor-saving inventions. And, if opportunities were equal, competition would do all that co-operation can do. Combinations of workmen are only of limited worth. There is a constant tendency to break down the walls of guilds, and lower prices again by the invasion of new hands. If agricultural laborers combine against the land-owners, they (the laborers) will starve, while the land will simply improve by lying fallow. Lastly, to redistribute the land in smaller quantities would be only to alleviate the condition of *land-owners*, and would still leave the lowest class unrelieved. Besides, there are great economies in the cultivation by machinery of large tracts of land under one management. I have now reached the point at which I took up the subject in my previous paper. For, in the remaining three books of his work, Mr. George proposes his remedy,—the making of land common property by confiscating rent in the form of taxation,—and discusses its application and effects. He shows in his elaborate and scholarly historical investigation of land tenure that always, in every land, the common right of men to the use of the land has been recognized, and that private ownership of it has always been attained by brute force (by conquest) or by cunningly working on the superstitions of men. In Book VIII., George gives a fine analysis of the canons of taxation, showing how great an improvement it would be to substitute a single tax on land for the vexatious and complicated system now in vogue. He alleviates the fears of the small householder by showing that, although the tax on his lot will increase, he will still have as firm a tenure of it as before, and will really be the gainer by the change, in that he will be released from governmental and municipal taxes on a hundred other things, while his earnings will be largely increased by the general rise of wages and the increased briskness of trade. The effect upon social organization of the destruction of unjust land monopoly would be in large measure the salvation of society, as Mr. George believes. He does not think that stimulus to exertion would be withdrawn, but only the fear of want would be abolished; and with the disappearance of the spectre of want would disappear the great majority of social crimes and miseries.

In the *Literary World* for March 10 of this year will be found a biographical sketch of Henry George, with an account of his editorial career in San Francisco and his subsequent experiences in Great Britain. "Upon his return to the United States last autumn," says the paper just mentioned, "Mr. George was greeted at the pier in New York by an immense concourse of people. Charles Francis Adams, Robert Blissert, and August Ernest addressed him in behalf of the various New York trades-unions, and numerous receptions were given in his honor. Mr. George still resides in New York, where he has many warm friends and strong adherents." W. S. KENNEDY.

SUPERNATURALISM.

I lately listened to a carefully prepared discourse on the true and the false in science, in which the speaker complained, with a passionate sadness as of a lost cause, that the scientists did not interlard their expositions with ascriptions of authorship to God,—did not make him the designing and originating cause. His sense of loyalty seemed offended; and, to his intellect also, the story of evolution was painfully incomplete without a causing mind. And he asked, with an air of triumph, whether, in the development of the eye, those lenses were intelligent,—knew they were wanted,—and forthwith "dead unconscious matter" marched up to the pigment spots that were rudimentary eyes, and became the crystalline lenses. With those already steeped in the current conceptions, the triumph was foregone; but, to the new philosophy, the question was only a revelation of the incompetence and backwardness belonging to pre-scientific thinking.

Very likely, it will seem presumptuous in a short article to attempt the refutation of a philosophy that for thousands of years has held, and still holds, the thought of the great mass of mankind; but, at the risk of being obscure by reason of the necessary brevity, I will make assault on what seems to me the central error of that discourse, being the same that lies concealed in the general intellectual attitude and implied assumptions.

First and chiefly, supernaturalism is discredited by the philosophical principle that *what nourishes, sustains, makes grow, and modifies, is identical with what originates and causes*,—a principle forming also the leading canon of logic, under the name of the Law of Parsimony, and finding as well its theistic statement in the familiar text, "In him we live," etc.

The devotee will never expand the theistic statement of the principle into a unifying philosophy. His mood regards it simply as laudatory description, magnifying the glory of his sovereign; and the difficulty in giving the principle as formulated in philosophic statement a hearty acceptance and its full force lies in the fact that the objector requires its verification by reference to structures whose compositions and processes we do not understand. Let him take, for example, a river, a thing whose controlling conditions and forces are few and simple; and it is easy to see that there is no more need for a supernatural intervention for its origination than there is for keeping it going or changing the volume or direction of its flow. The suggestion of the kindness of Providence in making the large ones run past cities is humorous and puerile, *because* we fully understand the chronological order and the nature of the processes and forces by which the final adjustment and result comes about.

The passage from "star-dust to Shakspere" is such a long one, involving so many obscure, perhaps irresolvable operations, that it affords to supernaturalism its favorite revelling ground and field for grandiose vaporing, from which it is not easily dislodged. In intellectual campaigning, we must "divide and conquer." Take some infinitesimal portion of this immense passage, and if its processes can be formulated in terms of physical causation, assimilated in thought to, and ascertained to be identical with those going on under our eyes every day, and called "natural," it is a fair inference that the reduction of other portions will yield a similar result, and that one day the entire passage may be travelled in thought with no more need of spirit or ghostly aid than the chemists, astronomers, biologists, or sociologists feel in their respective provinces. Every one of these specialists, however, if he will abandon the scientific method and allow his mind to lapse into the religious mood, and the archaic conceptions appropriate to that mood, may raise the identical questions with respect to the most simple, natural process. For example: "Does the molecule that deposits itself in the blacksmith's arm *know* it is wanted, and then the 'dead, unconscious matter' march up to its place to be the instrument for giving defter and stronger blows?" "Does the dead, unconscious molecule that goes up in the sap to form leaf and woody fibre go itself?" "Is not a spirit there to make the dead, unconscious molecule transform itself into the snow crystal?" "How can a billiard ball or a planet illustrate the composition and resolution of forces and the complex mathematics of mass motion, unless a spirit is there to attend to the business?"

Not one of these various natural processes can by the primitive mind be realized or shaped in thought, except as coming to pass by the direct manipulation of spirits. By the primitive mind, I do not mean merely some hypothetical, far off thing, but the state in which we all are with respect to every subject-matter we have not yet scientifically reduced. The conception of natural causation is a late one in mental evolution. Its expansion to all realms of human interest is the goal of civilization. The grand conquest is to surmount, to eradicate this inveterate, mental habit, so deeply seated as to be called sometimes

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an "intuition of the mind," which attributes every unexplained effect to ghostly intervention. It can be overcome only by much intellectual effort, by constant familiarity with and practice of the modern intellectual method. I do not suppose any competent geometrician in the study of quantitative relations feels any sense of incompleteness in his demonstrations proceeding without reference to Deity. The chemist and the physicist find perfect intellectual repose in the careful statement of their principles and the apprehension of them as inherent, self-sufficing, and resting in the nature of things. A chemist, puzzling himself over some unexpected behavior in his elements, if the theory of ghostly interference were suggested as a possible explanation, would resent it with a just indignation as an invitation to return to the slough of alchemy. The true intellectual habit and attitude is got and held by culture and constant effort. The other is level to the rudest thinking capacity, and is that into which the best minds sometimes lapse, when by age, disease, or misfortune the nervous fibre becomes relaxed or impaired.

The primitiveness and universality of the belief in spirits is often adduced as an argument for their existence. It would be so, were there not forthcoming an adequate explanation of the origin and force of the belief. Whoever will read Spencer's chapters on the origin of primitive ideas will get what is to me a quite satisfactory *rationale* of it. Thus:—

To explain is to classify, to place alongside of something I already know. What change-producer is more well known, more powerfully pressed on the attention than mind, as shown in the voluntary actions of men and animals. It is to the rude mentality the only effect-producer. Finding it in fact, so in all the cases where his feelings, interest, and thinking are involved, it is an easy step, an inevitable step, to infer a causing mind for every effect; and, then, the phenomena (subjective) of dreams, trance, etc., and (objective) echo, chokedamp, and a thousand natural operations, give rise to the conception of mind or spirit free and apart from body.

Vignoli, in *Myth and Science*, has shown this mental operation in animals. Were the conceptions of a dog or horse put together into a coherent system of thought, it would be the philosophy known as animism.

To those unused to these lines of thought, these suggestions will seem only another among countless speculations of visionaries. To me, not untravelled on other lines, it involves a psychology, a philosophy, that has no rival in ability to bear the severe strain of the intellectual method known as scientific.

This habit of explaining by spirit intervention I hold to be the peculiarity of archaic thinking. Everywhere, fuller knowledge makes the hypothesis useless and absurd. Just so far as we have competent knowledge, the mind rests content in a naturalistic statement of the facts and processes and the conception of their self-sufficingness and necessariness, and is offended at the suggestion of their being made, unmade, or modified by will.

To the current religious philosophy, miracle is needed as proof of the divine Being and attributes. But, if there are to be two modes of administration,—two forces, one general and the other exceptional,—for my part, I prefer to hold to the general rule, and build on that; for, from Moses to Pius IX., not an instance of so-called miraculous interference is recorded that does not offend my sense of proportion as puerile, petty, and partial, and much below in dignity the operations we ascribe to natural law merely.

"Pantheism!" Well, *Theos* and all its derivatives—than which once there were not in language words more apt and powerful to conjure with—are a belated terminology. They do not stand in this discussion for any valid fact. They are a part of the magic stage of mental development. "Aquasity" is not an absurd word, considered as an abstract term covering all the properties and behaviors of water; but to affirm that it is a third something, an immaterial entity, that is "breathed into" the compound when the two gases unite, is not only gratuitous and useless, but vicious. The vice of mediæval philosophizing was the habit of deifying abstractions. It was a sort of illicit commerce between intellectual acuteness and animistic notions, by which the brood of "primordial ideas" were begotten. Plato's "types" are refined ghost conceptions, spirits raised to a power. Personification, so conspicuous in all early literature, is another mode of manifestation of the same mental method. Macbeth's pity,

> "Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim horsed
> Upon the sightless couriers of the air,"

will long, perhaps always (more's the pity), surpass any philosophic statement, however full and accurate, of the operation of the Power that makes for righteousness as a means of emotional delight. As a vivid dramatic putting of an ethical fact, it has no equal in literature; but, if it should ever come to be taken as a divine philosophy that those coursers were in fact the celestial archetypes and spiritual ancestors from which our finest roadsters were only a degenerate progeny, and learned treatises should be written lauding their proportions and gait, all derived from tradition and the examination of supposed supernatural tracks still pointed out by travellers in the Holy Land, I should not blame the breeders, the trainers, and the veterinary surgeons, if they declined to yield up one inch of their territory to the babblers, charm they never so eloquently, of such solemn nonsense.

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

AT a meeting of a Freethought Association in Christchurch, New Zealand, Mr. Stout, a member, read W. M. Salter's discourse, recently published in *The Index*, entitled "Do the Ethics of Jesus satisfy the Needs of To-day?"

"I HAD long interviews with Chunder Sen, which I shall not describe in detail, although perhaps I ought to do so; yet *I am so averse to unnecessary reference to my own experiences* that you will excuse me if I do not enter into this matter elaborately." —*Joseph Cook.*

THE *Sunday School Times*, in its book review column, prefaces a notice of Prof. Bruce's *The Galilean Gospel* with the remark that there has been "scarcely any theological book published in Scotland within the last two or three years but bears on it the marks of its origin in a period of theological strife."

IN England there are thirty-one bishops; and the highest salary is that of Dr. Benson, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, $75,000. The next are those of Archbishop Thomson of York and Bishop Jackson of London, each $50,000; the next is Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, $40,000; and the lowest is that of Bishop Wilkins of Truro, the see from which Dr. Benson was promoted to Canterbury. The number of livings possessed by some of the bishops is as follows: Canterbury, 185; York, 165; London, 175; Manchester, 124; Oxford, 112; St. David's, 136; Durham, 114; Lichfield, 128; Lincoln, 119; and Winchester, 111. The value of these livings for each of the dioceses named is as follows: $411,305, $260,500, $408,590, $195,550, $167,570, $163,875, $248,410, $187,380, $183,980, and $188,860.

WE have received from the Pastor and Superintendent of the Warren Street Chapel, W. G. Babcock, a copy of its Forty-seventh Annual Report. We gladly learn that this is an unsectarian church adapted to the needs of children. A church of this sort—which, we learn from this Report, has "never been retarded in efforts to do good by the traditions which have been considered indispensable to a church; which has felt that the development of the young in good health and good morals, in reverence for the infinite and the finite, was of far greater importance than imparting to them phraseologies and opinions which have no connection with the virtues and happiness of life"—is a needed institution; and we are very happy to chronicle the fact that Boston is a leader in any such movement. Among the patrons of this church, we note the names of Rev. E. E. Hale, Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, Col. Higginson, and others.

THE Concord School of Philosophy will open on Wednesday, July 18, and close on Friday, August 10. Mr. Alcott is announced, if his health will permit, for four conversations; and Dr. H. K. Jones, Prof. W. T. Harris, F. B. Sanborn, G. H. Howison, and Rev. Dr. R. A. Holland for four lectures each. Dr. Jones will lecture on "The Platonic Philosophy"; Mr. Sanborn, on "The History of Philosophy in America"; Prof. Howison, on "Hume and Kant Philosophy." Twelve other lectures or readings will be given by the following persons: Rev. Dr. C. A. Bartol, Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, President Noah Porter of Yale, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, John Albee, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, George P. Lathrop, Rowland G. Hazard, President James McCosh of Princeton, Rev. Dr. J. S. Kidney, President J. H. Seelye of Amherst, David A. Wasson, L. J. Block. Denton J. Snider, of St. Louis, will give four lectures on "Homer and the Greek Religion." A new feature of the school will be classes formed for private study in philosophy.

AN aged man, in feeble health and poor circumstances, writes us that he would like to sell his thirteen volumes of *The Index* (to which he has been a subscriber from the beginning) for a moderate price. Of these thirteen volumes, only five, the second, seventh, ninth, tenth, and thirteenth, are *complete*, although only twenty-six numbers are missing from the whole. *The Index* office has no room on its shelves for these back volumes, nor any use, as we have many of the same sort now on hand. But, thinking that there may be among our subscribers some one or more who would like to obtain these volumes and at the same time do a kindly act, we take this opportunity to tell such persons that they can obtain the address of the party referred to by addressing this office. From the fund supplied by several generous patrons of this paper for such purposes, *The Index* will be sent free to our aged subscriber; and we hope his *Index* volumes will find some kind-hearted purchaser. In this connection, we wish also to say that if any one has a complete set of volumes one and four, we will find a buyer for them, if not too dear.

THE religious press of this country shows a decided advance in liberal sentiment in its expression of opinion in regard to the recent trial and sentence for blasphemy of the editor and publisher of the English *Freethinker*, and the threatened arrest of Huxley, Tyndall, and others for the same offence. The *Congregationalist* says:—

This society could not do a more foolish thing. That its criticism upon the works in question has

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some force is true; but, even if it could prove that these authors had intended to teach unbelief and atheism, as such, which may not be easy in every case, and had violated law in so doing, it could not direct world-wide attention to these gentlemen and their books in any other way so effectively. If it really desire to diminish their influence, it should not force them into the position of martyrs. Doubtless, they would be more amused than annoyed by such a prosecution, and would welcome such an advertisement; while the only probable result to the society is the ridiculous failure of its action. We have no sympathy with infidelity or atheism, but we do not like to see professed Christians recklessly defy the dictates of common sense.

The *Presbyterian* remarks:—

We judge the movement to be a very unwise one. The unbelief disseminated is a sad thing, but it can be met only by a higher science and a wider scattering of evangelic truth.

And the *Independent* says:—

It is true that by the common law blasphemy is a crime, yet it may be well doubted whether its enforcement is of any service to society or the interest of Christianity. Religion can get along without this law quite as well as with it.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION FESTIVAL.

Our readers will be pleased to learn that Col. Higginson has consented to preside, and Miss Garlin's admirable Euterpe Quartette to sing, at the Festival of the Free Religious Association of Anniversary Week. The Festival this year is to be held in the large Horticultural Hall, and will consist of a sit-down supper, beginning at about six o'clock, and brief speeches from speakers whose names will be hereafter announced.

Tickets of admission, with reserved seats at the tables, at fifty cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston; of the Secretary, F. A. Hinckley, Providence, R.I.; of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass.

As it is designed to press the sale of tickets at once, it is hoped that all friends proposing to attend the Festival will make early application for seats.

F. A. H.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE SOPHIST.

If thou hast no truth to tell,
And thy tongue hath borne no spell
From thy heart,
Why hast raised thy voice, or why
Dost thou lure the hungry eye
With false art?

Out upon the seas are spread
Pennants burnt a sunny red,
And proud sail:
Ah! canst thou with love depart
From the tempting of the mart
To the gale?

What art thou, if not for this?
Make the tempest's blow a kiss
Of reprieve!
Thou wert born of bravest stress,
And wert given much,—and less
Darest not give!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

INFIDELITY.

Who is the infidel, but he who fears
To face the utmost truth, whate'er it be!
Dreads God the light? and is his Majesty
A shadow that in sunshine disappears?
Or leads he on the swift-ascending years
Into a light where men may plainer see?
He trusts him best, to whom the mystery
Hides nothing dangerous; who ever hears

With faith unshaken his new-uttered voice,
And knows it cannot contradict the truth
It in the old time spoke. Whate'er it saith
He fears not then, but bids his heart rejoice,
In old age trustful as he was in youth.
This only, though called infidel, is faith.

—*From "Poems," by M. J. Savage.*

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 5, 1883.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

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For *The Index*.

Practical Deductions from the Religion of Humanity.

BY WILLIAM FREY.

(*Concluded.*)

In the preceding pages, it was shown that the Religion of Humanity is vitally connected with progress, tolerance, and science; and, although it does not guarantee an immediate cure of all evils, it can never be used as a shield for oppression or dishonesty. We know that this religion is able to stimulate man's energy in improving life here on earth, and thus unites secularism with religious aspiration and enthusiasm. We know what a clear light is thrown by this religion on the most important political and social questions and to what great changes it will lead us.

Now, to complete our exposition of the Religion of Humanity, we must show how it affects the private conduct of men. We must dwell, therefore, at some length on those cardinal principles which guide man through the intricate complexity of life and give him a key for the solution of the most difficult problems. In conclusion, we will sketch the changes in private life which unavoidably follow the acceptance of the Religion of Humanity.

Duties vs. Rights.

People generally suppose that progress is impossible, unless everybody is ready to defend his right or to clamor for new ones; that there must exist a constant strife and jealousy between the different classes of society.

But a clear understanding of humanity as a living Being teaches us that the strife between the parts is not desirable; that each individual's life, work, aspirations, and knowledge, exist only by and with the assistance of humanity; that he is under eternal obligations to the Supreme Being, and consequently has no claim on any thing, no rights whatever. "Man has only one right," said Auguste Comte,—"a right to do his manifold duties." To the superficial listener, these words seem to be harsh and shocking; but they are full of good and great meaning. If everybody will do his duties toward humanity, everybody will have all natural and necessary conditions for a good and useful life. The clamor of Liberals for rights, and the stress of Positivists on duties, have the same end in view; but they differ radically as to the ways of reaching this end. The claim for rights presupposes a mutual suspicion of usurpation, it excites hate and blood-thirstiness, it makes men to expect the reforms from somebody else, while the performance of duties is but a rational interpretation of Christ's words, "Physician, heal thyself." It pacifies the discontented by reminding them that the cause of evil is within ourselves, and that the welfare of society is chiefly attainable, not by the reforms from outside, but by

Self-improvement.

Here, we touch the most neglected question of ethics. At present, the estimation of a man is based on his behavior toward others, and not at all on his actions toward himself. A drunkard, for instance, is punished when he quarrels or makes disturbances; but the drinking itself, when it does not lead directly to injury of others, is regarded as one of the inalienable rights of each man. Public opinion is indifferent in regard to self-injury. We see that in the eagerness with which people struggle for the high living of the rich, with its gluttony and indolence. Nobody seems to care much that dyspepsia and gout are natural results of such a life, that champagne drank by our *élite* saps their life and degrades them just as much as the whiskey or beer drank by the common laborer. The most glaring illustration of our one-sided morality comes from the comparison of our cruelty toward criminals, who injure others, with our leniency and kindness toward the sick, who injure themselves. It is out of place to discuss which of the two courses is most proper, whether we shall treat the sick harshly or the criminal with more tenderness. The inconsistency is pointed only to show that, although both sufferers transgress the laws of nature, and both alike injure humanity, people do not tolerate injury inflicted on others, while self-injury is regarded as a permissible, almost legitimate, act. And it could not be otherwise in our age of loose morality and individualism. As long as man regards himself as a lord of creation, his actions are supposed to be dictated by the higher agency which is known to him; *i.e.*, by his own understanding of right and wrong. When this understanding, biassed by evil propensities, leads him to the injury of self and his family, people tacitly acknowledge his right to do so, and stringent laws forbid a scrutiny or criticism of his private and domestic life.

Under such circumstances, men's activities are very seldom directed toward self-improvement. Whenever our lord of creation desires to do some good work, he necessarily thinks of saving and teaching others. Hence, the undue regard to the professional men as our supposed benefactors. Hence, so many hypocrites, so many self-appointed saviors, and so few good results of their work.

But he who is moved by the religious feelings knows that he has no more right to shorten his own life or to waste it in idleness than he has to shorten and waste the lives of others. Physical, intellectual, and moral improvement of self becomes, therefore, a most prominent trait of morality, and is obligatory on all; because only a few men can stir and improve others, while every one may improve himself, and thus speed the great work of improving humanity.

The humanitarian knows that he has no right to be sick, and that the preservation of health is his most sacred duty. The distinction between public and private life will also lose its foundation. The argument that society may oppress and uniformize the private life has some excuse now, while so many claim to possess the absolute truth, and force others to accept it. But such a fear will vanish with the spread of new morality based on science and tolerance, and the cry of inviolability and sacredness of domestic life will be upheld only by hypocrites wishing to protect themselves from the exposure. For a true and honest man, the domestic life is no more sacred than the public one; and this sacredness, instead of being an excuse for concealment, is rather a pretext for exposure,—especially when the exposure does not curtail his freedom to act out his principles. Under the influence of the Religion of Humanity, public opinion will tolerate any opinion; but it will require from every public teacher consistency. The moral fitness of a man will be considered of more importance than his intellectual and oratorical achievements. All brazen-faced saviors who teach what they do not practise will be banished, the public rostrum be left only for men of unblemished character and clear conscience, while the majority of men will turn their energies to a more difficult and important task,—that of improving themselves.

But where is the motive for self-improvement? may ask one who denies the freedom of will, and regards himself as a fatal product of society.

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This question leads us to consider a bitter contest between

Fatalistic and Free-will Theories.

Many teachers of morality are not able yet to recognize humanity as a living Being. They are afraid that the loss of personal responsibility involves the loss of the last restraint on our evil propensities; and, consequently, they adhere to the free-will theory in plain contradiction to crushing arrays of statistical facts.

Let us show now, with the help of humanity as organized being, how groundless is the fear of such teachers.

The transgression, or ignorance, of the laws of nature, is the cause of disease in social organisms; and, as a diseased individual is forced to throw off the morbid matter in commotion and sufferings, so a diseased society is throwing off constantly its morbid matter in shape of criminals. The penalty paid by each society depends on the degree of its transgressions, which, in turn, depends on the physical, mental, and moral development of the average man of the society. But as the latter is changing, almost imperceptibly, with every year, no wonder that the former is displayed with such a surprising regularity in the yearly contribution of death and crime. True, we all are conscious of free will, of a possibility to improve or to degrade ourselves; but this freedom, like the molecular motion of organic cells, may be displayed within very narrow limits; and this conscious feeling of free-will is under the control of the unconscious, but far more potent activity of the whole organism. Thus, by viewing individuals as cells of another, higher organism, we can reconcile and explain the co-existence of free-will with the stern, fatalistic character of the facts displayed by the social organism as a whole.

The yearly penalty imposed on each transgressing social organism will diminish gradually under the influence of growing and improving humanity; but neither the recognition of fatalism nor the assurance of progress can check man's energy in working for the good of humanity, because

Morality is based on the Instinct of Self-preservation endowed by Humanity.

No matter whether man has a free will or not, he is a cell of a social organism which, like all other organisms, is governed by the unconscious but powerful instinct of self-preservation.

This instinct compels every cell to work for the good of the whole,—work all the time, under all circumstances, and, in time of disease, to work still more energetically than in time of health. And this instinct so intensifies our conduct and so forcibly imposes on us our duties that all side-issues and all the sophistry of metaphysicians are insignificant in comparison with the great impetus given to us by the silent and supreme law of nature.

The same clear and comprehensive position is acquired, when we apply the positive conception of humanity as the test of the relative value of the

Existing Schools of Ethics.

The pursuit of our personal happiness is the only motive for action, says one school.

The happiness of others must guide us in our life, says the other.

We must perform the duties imposed on us from within, says the third.

Each school proves its superiority over the others with equally heavy and sensible arguments. In each of them there is a great deal of truth. But each excludes the others.

The enlightened Egoism, Altruism, and Duty represent a discordant trio, which can not be harmonized by any means, as long as we refer everything to the feelings of individual man. And, what is worse, each of the systems has weak points. Touch them, and the otherwise splendid structure will fall to pieces.

What shall guide me, if my egoism is not enlightened enough, and I injure myself and others? I may ask. The great majority of men, and no utilitarian, can answer this question, because the inquirers need something to guide them before they attain a required degree of enlightenment.

Why must I care for the happiness of others, if others do not care for my happiness? may ask one of the outcasts of society, and put to shame the theory of altruism.

Where are the proofs that the sense of duty is interpreted alike by all men? Who imposed that duty on me? Why cannot I discard it, if my propensities are not in accordance with it? And the most ardent follower of Emmanuel Kant's intuition of duty and moral law is not able to answer these questions to the satisfaction of the inquirer.

Now, let us refer these difficulties to the Supreme Being, neglected or unknown to the advocates of these various ethical schools, and the answer is ready. Each individual as a mere cell of the whole organism must be subject to the same law which governs every organic life. This law says that, as parts of any organism must live for the benefit of the whole, so we must perform our duties in building up humanity, in transferring and increasing the experiences of the past for the benefit of the future. This law implies that each man must live for the good of all; *i.e.*, mostly for others, paying attention to himself only as to one cell amid the millions of others.

This is the stern but unavoidable commandment of humanity. It is based on the laws of organic growth. Woe to those who transgress it! Sweet reward is waiting those who act in accordance with it, because every conformity with the laws of nature must necessarily produce a pleasurable sensation; and, the more fully man conforms himself to this commandment, the more intense will be his personal happiness.

The ethics revealed by humanity points most emphatically and foremost of all to our *duties*, then it explains that these duties consist chiefly in *altruism*, and at the end promises to satisfy our *egoistic desire of happiness*. Thus, the trio, discordant before, blends now harmoniously together in one victorious hymn of humanity.

Positive Ethics vs. Individualism.

Positive ethics is not based on self-sacrifice. It does not require from every man to be a hero or martyr: it promises him a personal happiness, only (please, mark this) it completely reverses the course commonly pursued in our age of individualism.

The prevailing ethics of to-day teaches that personal happiness is a gratification of personal wants and desires: it leaves the individuals to determine what these wants and desires must be. The Positive ethics emphatically says that only in living for future, for others, in self-improvement, in reducing self-gratification to a minimum necessary for healthy and vigorous life, can men find a true, deep, genuine happiness.

Many honest and good individualists regard personal happiness as the chief motor of human activities: they believe that the rational satisfaction of personal happiness will necessarily lead toward the realization of general happiness. Positive ethics takes the opposite view. It bases itself on the comparative strength of our attachment to family, country, and humanity (about which allusion was made in the preceding article) and says conclusively that the fulfilment of our duties to humanity is our strongest and chief motor, that the happiness of others and our own happiness will come as the necessary result of the improvement of the whole.

The difference between the two theories is much deeper than it may seem to a superficial observer. The acceptance of one or another philosophy of life will greatly affect the human conduct.

Individualism draws the attention of man to the satisfaction of his personal desires: hence, it abates or destroys the impulse of self-sacrifice. Besides, a great majority of men, being neither good nor wise enough, naturally interpret their desires in a narrow, selfish way, and, as may be proven by millions of facts, constantly injure others instead of benefiting them. While Positive ethics teaches man to work for the welfare of humanity, regardless of the immediate sufferings which he may experience in performing his duties, it gives him only the assurance that, in the long run, his conduct will be beneficial, if not for himself, then for others.

The effect of these two theories on human conduct may be well illustrated by the example of two contesting armies on the eve of a decisive battle. Let us suppose that both armies are equally strong, equally valiant, and have equal confidence in the words of their chiefs. One of them would say: "Soldiers, you know what carnage will befall you, if defeated. If you wish to save yourselves, you must be victorious. To be victorious, you must boldly face any danger in the coming battle." The other would say: "Soldiers, do your duty even in the face of terrible danger. Some of us must necessarily perish; but the death of the few will secure the victory for others, and will save them from the disgrace and slaughter which follows defeat."

Soldiers of one army derive their duties from the instinct of self-preservation; while others do their duty, having in view the preservation and welfare of the whole army. And there is no doubt that, in the ensuing combat, the former, being less inclined to self-sacrifice, will be defeated with heavy loss, while the latter, who care the least for personal safety, will, in the end, preserve their lives much better than those who think so much of self-preservation.

Many admit that confusion and errors are necessarily connected with the theory of personal happiness; but they believe that, in the long run, this theory will lead men to the same result,—*i.e.*, will force them to live for others.

But how much useless friction and strife must precede such an end? How many will succumb under the burden of the merciless strife of every one against all?

Imagine a band of men chained together by invisible but indestructible chains; imagine that, under the influence of their teachers, they all believe in personal independence. They are assured that, to realize general happiness, each one must pursue his own course of action regardless of the course of others. But the chains, although invisible and unrecognized, will prevent a divergency. With every attempt to rush into divergent directions, they inflict pain on the erring ones; and when the people, frantic with suffering apply to the leaders for advice, they hear the same wise explanation: that the increase of miseries is the result of incomplete freedom; that, to cure the existing evils, they must increase their energy and perseverance in attaining personal independence. And so, the crowd, instigated by the teachers, redouble their efforts in the vain attempt, only to be met with redoubled penalty.

Imagine all this, and you will have a fair representation of society working under the influence of individualism. Think of the amount of dead weight which must be pulled forward by the few, amid the confusion and conflicts of many, and you will easily understand the cause of the slow progress made at present.

True, the suffering and slow progress may eventually teach some of these unfortunates that freedom is possible within a small compass, that every strong pull must necessarily inflict pain on others, and that pain of others will reflect back on those who produced it. But the majority of people will never arrive at such conclusion; and great miseries must befall all, in order to teach a few selected ones!

What a benefactor is he who reveals to all the secret of their agony, who opens their eyes and shows the chains which bind them forever!

Humanity is such a benefactor for us.

It teaches us that we are chained into one organism, and explains to all why the injury brought to one cell of the living organism must reflect on other cells.

Humanity does not possess absolute truth, and consequently cannot enforce a uniform and steady movement; but it sums up the previous experiences of mankind, and reveals to all that we must be convergent as much as possible; that amity, not enmity, must prevail between us; that personal happiness consists in serving others; that each of us, whether at the head of the column or in its rear, must do his duty in assisting a general movement, even if this duty conflicts with the personal inclinations; that the same spirit which animates the soldiers of a victorious army must animate the soldiers of humanity, if they wish a speedy and glorious victory.

That the sense of duty must predominate over the considerations of personal happiness may be conclusively proven by the following arguments.

Societies are the only organisms in which cells are endowed with the desire of personal happiness. But social organisms are but a part of the great organic kingdom; and consequently over and above the law of personal happiness, which is applicable only to the cells of social organisms, there must exist a higher, a more general law, applicable to all organisms, to all cells (both conscious and unconscious). But the highest and most general law is that life of the parts must be subservient to the life of the whole. Hence, the true personal happiness of conscious cells must be a corollary of this general law; and, in the case of conflict between the personal happiness and the hap-

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piness of the whole, the latter must overrule the former.

This biological proof must be accepted by all who recognize humanity as a living organism, and, taken together with the preceding arguments, may convince every unbiassed man that individualism, even fortified by the authority of Herbert Spencer, is a false theory and a source of unspeakable misery. Men influenced by individualism are doomed to work from the wrong end. Instead of attaining personal happiness, they inflict pain on others and on themselves; and the more they persist in their course, the more they get entangled in the meshes of their sophistry. Let us hope that the rising religion of humanity will soon dispel the surrounding darkness, and will show them a true way to happiness.

But we must stop here. To speak of Positive ethics in all its bearings would require volumes. To comprehend fully its wide scope and its great influence on individuals and societies would require years of thought and contemplation.

Let those who feel themselves interested in this subject read, for further inquiries, the works of Auguste Comte and many valuable popularizations of his ideas in the numerous pamphlets issued by American, English, and French Positivists.

The only point which remains to be elicited here comes through the inquiry of many good and truth-loving men who heartily acquiesce in all deductions from the Religion of Humanity, but doubt as to the possibility of impressing this religion on the minds of others.

We are fully aware that a mere intellectual exposition does not amount to anything, as long as the emotional nature of man remains unmoved. The slow growth of the Religion of Humanity and the limited number of its adherents must be accounted for chiefly by the exclusive use of argumentation. This religion, like all others, must affect the heart first and the head afterward; but the obstacles in the way are not so great as people usually suppose.

The religious sentiment which was fed and strengthened during thousands of generations is transmitted to us in its full vigor. Some inherit it to a greater extent than others, but persons deprived of it are as few as those who are deprived of intellect. If a few cases of idiocy does not prevent us from saying that man is an intellectual being, so the existence of a few persons incapable of religious enthusiasm does not prevent us from saying that man is a religious being. But as intelleet (no matter how strongly inherited) may remain dormant or perverted for the lack of proper exercise, so the religious feelings become sometimes dormant or perverted from the lack of proper food. This is particularly true in our age of indifferentism and selfishness, when the majority of intellectual people reject the guidance of the old revealed beliefs, but do not attach themselves to a better religious conception. The question is how to arouse the dormant religious sentiment, when people cease to recognize its utility.

Let us see how it was revived in the time of early Christianity, when the Romans, abandoning old beliefs in polytheism, laughed at their gods and derided religion exactly in the same way as our Liberals do. The Romans of that time were moved by the same desire of personal enjoyment as that which characterizes our age. They indulged in the same amassing of wealth, and suffered from the same despotism and despair. The lack of higher and nobler motives was manifested in the same fearful increase of immorality and suicides.

At that gloomy and dreary time there existed a few scattered communities of Christians. Gathered from the low, ignorant classes of society, having denounced conspiracies and revolution, they relied themselves solely on the moral force of religion. The conservatives instinctively dreaded such a curious people, and bitterly persecuted them; but, in spite of the persecution, the number of Christians was rapidly increasing and a despised sect became a power in the world. Barbarians, strong enough to break the mighty Roman Empire, stood as helpless children before the moral power represented by the New Church. They recognized its spiritual head as their "papa," and meekly obeyed his commands.

Evidently, the causes which prepared this final triumph were working during a long period; and, to ascertain them, we must study the life of Christians not at the time when they were triumphant and degraded by the great influx of barbarians and high classes, but at the time when they had their meetings in hecatombs, when they were torn to pieces by wild animals.

At that time, they did not achieve much by the intellectual exposition of Christian doctrines. Noble and grand were these doctrines in comparison with polytheism, but they could not favorably impress even intellectual classes. Plinius, after hearing all that could be said in defence of Christianity, preferred to remain an infidel scientist. Only those became converted who had occasion to live with Christians or to witness the purity and benevolence of their lives. The moral and spiritual enjoyment which sprung from the communal and brotherly life of the first Christians was especially attractive in that gloomy time of egoism and self-gratification. The beauty of the new Life had conquered the hearts of the most forlorn ones, and made them ready to accept and confess the doctrines of the New Religion, in spite of social ostracism or deadly persecution. "See how these Christians love each other!" was spoken from one end of the Roman Empire to the other; and with this love they conquered the world.

Does our time differ much from that of early Christianity? Do we not feel the same lack of spiritual impetus in our dull life? Do we see many instances of true love and real brotherhood? Does not the example of Christian communities teach us how to revive the dormant religious sentiment?

Mere teaching, or a mere appeal to our better nature, is of little avail. It affects us no more than the teaching of Stoics and their individual examples affected the ancient Roman. To move society, we must use a more powerful agency,—the example of collective life. This assertion is verified by the vivid interest paid to any group of men and women which has succeeded in realizing a true brotherly life. A few communities existing now in the United States attract the attention of our best thinkers. Every visitor admits the charming influence of their simple, unpretentious living. Sometimes, men of good situation and great wealth give away their hundreds of thousands of dollars, and gladly exchange their comfortable but miserable life of isolation for the plain but happy life in a community. Only the sectarianism and narrow Christianity of these communists prevent them from becoming the spiritual leaders in the approaching moral revolution.

Many Liberals get tired of merely destructive work. Influenced by the example of Christians, they also are trying to realize a collective life based on justice and brotherhood. As a general rule, they are earnest, intelligent, honest, and energetic. They have sometimes good leaders (enough, to mention Robert Owen) and all chances for material success; and yet all their constructive attempts invariably fail, bringing only discredit on their teaching, strengthening the opinion that men are not ready for a better life.

But why were men ready for such a life eighteen hundred years ago? Why are some Christians of today ready for it?

Not because the Liberals are worse than Christians, but because there is no cohesive power in their theory of individual sovereignty. Liberals intend to build a better life with the same material which makes our present life rotten to the core. They are anxious to preserve the same looseness of actions, the same bitterness in the contest of opinions, the same denunciation of any authority outside of the big I. Their model was not in a harmonious Home, but in a noisy, intriguing Parliament. And "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

Many of the constructive Liberals get discouraged by these continuous failures, and have lost faith in the possibility of building something better. But, if we recall to our mind the success of Christians, we will easily find that the cause of failure is not with men, but with their principles.

The example of Christians teaches us that, in building a successful community, men must agree not only in the ends to be accomplished, but in the methods and details in approaching the desired end. They must co-operate not so much for the producing material wealth, but for the increase and improvement of their moral wealth. And, above all, they must have a religious devotion to something superior to individual man, whose rules and laws may guide them in all relations of life, whose imperative commandments may curb the individual propensities in time of trial and temptations, and force every one to act in accord with others.

That the religious element is of more importance than all others combined is seen from the fact that religious people always succeed in the realization of a genuine brotherly life, no matter how obsolete may be their dogmas, how poor their intellect. History abounds with the examples of communal life among the devotees of all religions. We fail to see such examples only among the Liberals!

This proves conclusively that no amount of intellect is sufficient for the realization of social reforms, if unaided by religion.

And, now,—when Positivism ends the unnatural separation of Religion and Intellect, when it is possible to combine a genuine religious enthusiasm with obedience and respect to Science,—on Positivists lays the duty to continue the social and moral reconstruction of society, so unfortunately begun by the individualists.

Positivists have already begun to group together. They form societies for mutual instruction and for the better organization of their missionary and charitable work. The impulse which gathers together the adepts of any new religion is very strong. There is an unspeakable loathing to live in isolation or to be surrounded by persons of another standard of morality. A truly religious man will inevitably seek a companionship with his co-religionists; and history abounds with the examples of religious associations started at first as a partial union, but finally evolved into communism as the only form of living fully consistent with the commandments of any religion.

And when any group of humanitarians will reach an agreement on those questions of life which are not fully decided by science, when the completeness of their spiritual union will evolve the union of property, then humanitarians must boldly accept the only issue left for them; and, as true reformers, they must show by the example of their own life the glory and manifold blessings of the Religion of Humanity.

Without such co-operative efforts, Positivists can hardly attract the attention of our busy world to the rise of the Religion of Humanity. Of course, every Positivist knows that he can do some good, even in isolation; but he knows also how infinitesimally small is the effect of one drop of sweet water in the ocean of bitter selfishness, how weak and unsatisfactory is the work of a single-handed man, unaided by others. But, once these isolated men will combine together, they become a tremendous power. The example of their collective life will stir the world. The increase of their means will help them to enlarge their charities and to carry out their missionary work with a prestige utterly unknown to our age of sermon-balking, because the truth of each word will be verified by the practical examples.

Humanitarians have already every chance for success. None of the evils which ruined the previous attempts of individualists is sanctioned by the Religion of Humanity. The tendency of this religion is to abate proud individualism, to bow before the Supreme Being, to seek moral improvement in co-operation with others, to disclaim private ownership of property, to regard work as a religious duty for all. And communal life, which is a burden and a scare for individualists, becomes an easy task for truly religious men. For them, community is not only a family, supplying its members with the means of subsistence, but a church, rewarding the faithful with innumerable spiritual blessings. Truly says Carlyle: "Religion is a social thing. Without a church there can be little or no religion. The action of mind on mind is mystical, infinite. Religious worship can hardly (perhaps not at all) support itself without this aid. I have strange glimpses of the power of spiritual union, of association among men of like object. Therein lies the true elements of religion. All wondrous things, as the foundation of Christianity, take their rise there. Men work godlike miracles thereby."

The elevating influence of the Religion of Humanity will be fully ascertained only by those who will unite themselves in the name of religion *for better and for worse*. Collective worship in a community, assisted with art, music, and singing, will arouse the religious feelings to a degree unknown to isolated families. A mysterious psychic force, which increases its influence with the increase of worshippers, will charge every individual with goodness, and enable him to carry out the ordinary duties of life with cheerfulness and benevolence unknown to individualists. He who has once experienced the softening and purifying influence of such worship is already

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convinced that religion is a necessity for the successful realization of any radical reform of life.

The moral improvement of men will be closely followed by their material success. And the example of communal life, in which there is neither poor nor rich, which relieves women from the drudgery of isolated housekeeping, which improves the education of children and elevates the standard of health for all its members,—the example of such life will give an additional power to the successful propaganda of the new religion.

Humanitarians, having no consolation in the reward in future life, cannot be contented with the secluded life led by Christian communities. They will seek to complete their happiness by working for the good of all while here on earth. They will keep their doors wide open for every one who is willing to live for humanity. And the number of converts to the Religion of Humanity—a number so limited now, when its missionaries work separately—will, under these combined efforts, increase yearly.

Let nobody suppose that all these results will come from the efforts of one community, and that this community will swallow the whole world and reduce life to the uniformity so detestable to any lover of progress. No: as long as there are differences of opinion, each type of life will be represented by a separate community. Communities, like families, may be harmonious and happy only when, in addition to the sympathy and love between its members, there is an agreement on all important questions of life. And the increase of converts to the Religion of Humanity will show itself not so much in the enlargement of the pioneer communities as in the formation of the new ones.

These different communities, if close to each other, may combine themselves for religious, educational, and even industrial purposes; but home must exist only for those who are unanimous in their conceptions of true, healthy, and useful life. Every one will be free to enter one or another such community, and to lend his hand and heart for the realization of the type which he regards as the best. And, beyond the moral co-operation and mutual help which must necessarily exist within each community, there will arise another still larger co-operation between the various communities, because all of them will help each other in discovery of the laws of nature governing the physical, mental, and moral development of man.

The spirit of tolerance, as advocated by the Religion of Humanity, will bring its best fruits with the growth of this new form of life. Each community will prove the relative value of its life by the physical, mental, and moral perfection of its members. The facts which are impossible to ascertain in the present mode of living will be then open for investigation and comparison, because each type of life realized in the combined life of each community will show its benefits as well as wrongs with surprising clearness.

Thus, experience will greatly help science in diminishing the number of conflicting opinions; and the welfare of mankind will reach a height inconceivable by our poor minds, blunted now by self-conceit and intolerance.

We fully realize that communal life is possible now as a rare exception. But the very fact of its rarity speaks in its favor. Prof. Adler says:—

"Phidias did not need to leave the mark of his chisel on every stone in all the quarries of Athens. He did but need a few stones for that glorious frieze of the Parthenon that has made his name immortal. Yet these few stones he fashioned into such exquisite shapes, into such types of perfect form, that they have been the delight of the human race for thousands of years, and from generation to generation have enhanced and refined their idea of beauty. They are still a joy to those whom fate has favored to see them. And this is what we aspire to achieve with respect to the good: not to change the whole world,—we know very well that all souls are not yet ready for the fulness of the message of freedom,—but to show, in the case of a few souls, what love is possible, what self-restraint, what self-sacrifice is possible; to show in small societies the type of a social perfection, which will one day be realized among all mankind when the glad time of fulfilment shall arrive, when the utmost liberty of each shall be joined with the utmost service to the good of all. To found such an ethical union is the dream of my life. To found such ethical unions the world over, that are to be our outposts of righteousness in the dominion of darkness, shall be the life's work of the teachers of our gospel, the gospel of pure humanity." (Speech before the Free Religious Association in 1879.)

Every Positivist true to his principles and religion must heartily accord with such noble, soul-stirring words.

Even a few communities may accomplish a great work. Their example will help more than thousands of volumes in conquering demagogism and the revolutionary spirit of the present time. They will prove experimentally how much can be accomplished by reforms from within, what a power there is in love. They will create their own literature, art, and industry, and their press and missionaries will attract public opinion much sooner than is usually supposed by the impatient reformers.

Christianity became triumphant in five hundred years. In our fast living age of steam and electricity, the Religion of Humanity will sway the corrupted civilization in much a shorter period. The time is near when the oppression and misery resulting from individualism will reach its culmination; when people, tired of hate, covered with human blood, exhausted in the terrible slaughter, will discover the folly of revolutionists, and will turn *en masse* to those who succeed in realizing a better life by peaceful means. The disdain which is lavishly given now to the missionaries of peace and love will be changed then into admiration. The Religion of Humanity will become as fashionable at that time as it is ridiculed at present. And history will repeat the same scenes which occurred in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Let Positivists take the hint, and organize themselves. Let them show to the world the wonderful power hidden in co-operations for moral purposes. The sooner they prove the possibilities of a better life, higher morality, purer industry, the sooner will come to an end the dreadful period of anarchy and selfishness.

Frederick Harrison calls the nineteenth century a century of expectations. The world is tired of theories, and is waiting for the practical solution of this "problem of the problems of our age." Concourse is open to all, but the prize will be awarded to the men of energy and perseverance who shall best succeed in the realization of their theories.

The selfish console themselves that the world is not ready for a change. The energetic and devout must work to make it ready. Besides, who can prove that the field is not ripe even now, and that the golden grain is wasted only for the lack of harvesters?

CORRESPONDENCE.

NEGLECTED THINGS.

Editors of The Index:—

It seems to me a small age since I promised to resume writing for *The Index*. While I was in your country, I had it in my mind to do it daily; but, alas! I never had it on my pen. It came to pass that I was far more interested in America on my second visit than on my first. Coming to the country for the first time, I saw things which astonished me. The second time, I saw persons whom I knew and learned to like; and, when I came to leave, there were many from whom I parted with real pain. It will be a pleasant day to me, if opportunity, or duty, or fortune, or Providence (I cannot say that I know exactly what or who does regulate human affairs) shall bring me again to your enchanting shores and more enchanting society. I seem now to know all about Providence, where I met Mr. Hinckley; and New Bedford, where I met Mr. Potter; and Florence, where I met Mr. Hill, Mr. Spencer, Mrs. Spencer, and the Treasurer of the Cosmian Hall, whom I do not forget, but whom I thus describe, because I cannot for the moment recall his name. Then, there is Mr. Eddy, at Providence, in whose house I spent pleasant days; and Mr. Weeden, a famous student of association, whom I ought to have mentioned some sentences back. The first day I came to Boston, I had the pleasure to see Mr. Abbot. Nor do I forget the many courtesies I received from the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, whose writings had charmed so many of my co-operative friends in England. And, certainly, I shall not forget the many acts of friendliness received from Mr. Underwood and Mrs. Underwood. My daughter, no less indebted than myself, and the lady who accompanied us, desire me to say for them what I say for myself.

I never came to Boston but Gen. Butler was a candidate for the governorship. He appeared to be a perpetual candidate. I was glad he was elected, as, when I come again, there may be a new candidate. Because I like to hear him speak, and because he is the friend of a great friend of mine, I sent him congratulations on his election. Evermore shall I remember the last morning in Boston, which was spent with Wendell Phillips. He is the last of the great heroes of America whose name has been in the mouths and whose memory has been in the hearts of all in England who, during all my remembering years, have cared for noble speech and noble life, and for the freedom and honor of America.

You see, I write just as thoughts come into my mind. I recur to Florence, to say that I spent a short time with Mr. Hill, senior, who has since died. Nowhere have I been more struck than when speaking with him, at his great clearness of mind, his perfect human sympathy, his personal modesty, and splendid munificence of his gifts to the village, to its people, and to the cause of secular progress. With Mr. Seth Hunt, of Springfield, who often spoke of Mr. Hill, I spent well-remembered days. He was not strong when I was with him. I am glad to hear that he has regained much of his old strength. Time will never weaken his interest in all that is just and true.

Nor can I become unmindful of the generosity of *The Index* in defending me from aspersions imported from the paper of Mr. Watts, and reprinted in your city by one to whom I had always shown courtesy, who could not know that there was any truth in what he quoted, and ought to have known that there was not. Mr. Watts, I observe, wrote to you to the effect that it would not have appeared, had he been at home. But he never wrote home to contradict it. I am not enthusiastic about a reparation which consists in repudiating an injustice abroad while you maintain it at home. It is not of consequence, nor should I refer to it, save to express my acknowledgments to *The Index* for its great courtesy to me in the matter.

We have a confusion of mind just now in England, like that which affected many excellent people in America, when a book containing what many regarded as revolting suggestions appeared. Some honestly thought that freedom of the press meant freedom to publish anything. Well, we have three persons lately imprisoned on the ground of outrages charged against them. Some badly drawn pictures, taken from an offensive comic French Bible, were reproduced in a weekly paper. Thereupon arise persons who contend that no line can be drawn between argument and outrage. If no line can be drawn, free thinking will always be in the gutter.

When at Providence, a gentleman asked me to give him a copy of what for want of a better term was called an "Invocation," spoken in the Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, 1879, and which appeared in *The Index* subsequently. As I could not supply him with a copy, I promised to make another "Invocation," which I would send to you. I therefore subjoin it. It was spoken before my address at the Cosmian Hall, Florence, before leaving that pleasant city last November. What I said was as follows:—

No person, whatever his creed is precluded from making a personal address to others upon matters which for the time he deems of moment. Invocation, which is both entreaty and encomium, can only be used strictly by those who discern a Being who will give on request, and who likes to be praised. To beg seems a reproach to the Infinite Provider, to praise Infinite Excellence is beyond our competency. Gratitude to the Unknown is natural to the heart of all who think; but it is dim and romantic,—most real when it is modest, most intelligent when it is silent. To each other, however, we may make personal appeal. Every just man is glad to have discovered to him any good he might do, and is encouraged by words of discerning praise from those able to comprehend the difficulties overcome which alone make desert.

If, however, any one thinks fit to pray to Heaven, let him ask for that light which leads to peace of mind. Is there another world with its jasper pavement, its golden terraces, and diamond mansions? Shall we meet there our ancient forefathers, who hunted in long fallen forests, or who watched from beetling cliffs the unknown and restless ocean, and

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whose thoughts and deeds belong to the silent pages of unwritten history?

"Shall we hear the sages of the day afar
Recount the lives of those who made us what we are?"

If this may be,—and we know it,—we shall attain the peace of that hope. If we cannot know it, let us acquire the peace of resignation. Let us bow to the destiny which is silent, and await with quiet and heroic interest the opening of the wondrous door of death, whose portals lead to the land of the unknown?

But if this world be the First Paradise placed within our reach, let us understand that. By great acts, great wrong is sometimes redressed and great misery sometimes averted; but it is by the continuity of small duties well fulfilled that general happiness is secured. No good thought is wasted on the mind which conceives it, no good deed is lost on the world on which it is bestowed. Every right effort of the humblest sweetens society as surely, and often as much, as the proudest act of the highest. Every word which is true, every tone which is kind, every gesture which has proportion and fitness in it, adds to the pleasure or truth of life. Virtue like nature works the same in silence and in storm, producing ceaseless change and ceaseless progress. The obscurest person can contribute to, or retard the improvement of the world. Every guinea in a million has its worth like any other. Not one can be left out without altering the number, not one can be bad without decreasing the value of the whole. Every particle of nature has its indestructible place and part and force. So every man and woman has an indestructible place and part and force for good or evil in the moral world. There, every right deed is a prayer. There, all right endeavor is worship; and intelligent, well-intentioned sincerity is salvation from fear. Thus, it is given to every one to practise the unceasing piety of usefulness, whose creed is duty, whose passion is service, and whose inspiration is the good of others.

Thus, not merely all collectively, but each, individually, may more or less make a paradise around himself. Thus alone may this world be made a greater paradise and fit training-ground for another hereafter, if that accrues. Therefore, if anything be given, let it be given unto us to see this: that effort may have confidence, that doubt may distract no more, that that peace of understanding may prevail which is never disturbed in itself nor disturbed by disturbance in others. What we ask is that the path of light and duty may be opened to the low as well as the high, opened to every honest conscience, opened early, opened wide, opened forever.

Upon such subjects and hopes we may speak to each other. Herein, invocation has a human place and fitness. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

34 ALFRED PLACE, WEST, SOUTH KENSINGTON, LONDON, S.W.

MR. ADLER ON FREEDOM.

Editors of The Index:—

One of the great features in Mr. Adler's speech published in *The Index* of March 22 is an earnest plea for volitional freedom in opposition to the doctrine of necessity, which prevails among scientists. He refers to Kant as the greatest philosophical authority on the subject; and he hence repudiates Spencer's ethics as incompetent and erroneous in their base, which is necessity. Now, I do not propose to controvert Mr. Adler's thesis; but I wish to call attention to an element of great significance in it, which has not, I think, been clearly recognized.

It is very radical and wide-sweeping in its implication of supernaturalism. This has not been duly noticed and developed by either Kant or any of his followers. It has never been distinctly laid hold of and held up to the light. But, indeed, the idea is self-luminous, and needs only to be seen, I think, to become an accepted truth. Necessity is naturalism, and freedom is supernaturalism. Freedom and necessity represent two different and opposite theories of the universe. Uniformity and necessity are the stamp and signature of nature's action and force, while freedom is the symbol and operation of a power which is superior to nature. Nature is intrinsically invariable in the relation of antecedent and consequent. Freedom is not. Freedom, therefore, not only antagonizes the ethics of Spencer, but his entire philosophy, from which his ethics spring. It indorses and bases itself on the transcendental philosophy. It is noumenal in distinction from phenomenal. It is therefore entirely outside the sphere of science, whose sphere is exclusively phenomenal.

At present, I shall neither favor nor oppose this theory. I only wish to learn from Mr. Adler or any who are affiliated with him, or who adopt the Kantian doctrine of freedom whether they see all this in their theory, and in this light adopt it; and the question is of prime practical importance, because Mr. Adler makes this faith an essential element in a teacher in the school of ethical culture. I therefore feel very sure that there will be a wide-spread desire among the readers of *The Index* for a speedy and definite answer to our question. WILLIAM I. GILL.

THE PASSAGE IN TACITUS.

Editors of The Index:—

Pardon me for again asking a space in the columns of your journal, but I shall be brief.

Although, as Mr. Underwood states, my assertion (in *Bible Myths*) that the celebrated passage in the *Annals of* Tacitus was never heard of before the fifteenth century is made on the authority of Taylor's *Diegesis;* yet what I have since written on the subject is based, mainly, on the authority of John Wilson Ross,* who, I think, has proved his point.

Mr. Ross has given a list of the writers who quote the writings of Tacitus, or refer to him, from his time until the fifteenth century; but no one has mentioned either this passage or the *Annals*. Because, "out of twenty-one consecutive words" in the *Annals*, "seventeen are to be found in the writings of Sulpicius Severus," it does not follow that Severus quoted from Tacitus, particularly as he does not mention a word about the *Annals*. Might we not just as confidently assert that the author of the passage in the *Annals* quotes from Severus?

The matter seems to stand thus: There is no "positive evidence" in support of either side of the argument; and, from the evidence produced on both sides, some are disposed to believe one way, and others another. In the mean time, we would refer those who are interested in the subject to the work referred to in the *note* below. The 429 pages are devoted solely to this matter; and, as stated above, we think the author has proved his point, but do not see how his method of argumentation, if generally adopted, "would destroy the value of all historical testimony."

Very respectfully yours,

AUTHOR OF *Bible Myths*.

Reply.

Our argument, as printed in *The Index* of March 15, is stronger than as above represented. We did not say, "Out of twenty-one consecutive words in the *Annals*, seventeen are to be found in the writings of Sulpicius Severus," but "Out of twenty-one consecutive words in Tacitus, seventeen are to be found in Severus." We showed plainly in the context that we were not speaking of the writings of Severus generally, but of the particular passage in his *Chronicle* relating the event described in the *Annals*, the persecution by Nero. We showed too, as is not mentioned by the author of *Bible Myths*, that not only do the two passages in the *Chronicle* and the *Annals* end alike, word for word, but that they also begin alike word for word, and that Severus omits nothing which he could have quoted in justice to himself. As the *Chronicle* is undoubtedly a genuine work, dating from the end of the fourth century, we have fully disproved the statement "that the celebrated passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus was never heard of before the fifteenth century." The best scholars believe the Gospel of Matthew, Mark, and Luke to be derived from earlier documents, which all three writers consulted, on account of verbal resemblances, like those we pointed out. And the resemblance between the *Annals* and the *Chronicle* is even closer, may here be added, than appeared from our article, where the word *laniatu*, really the same in both passages, was in one case misprinted *laniatur*. The fact of a quotation is plain. The only question is which author quoted the other. Now, the passage in the *Annals* is long enough to show the peculiar style of Tacitus; and neither our able correspondent, nor any one else, to our knowledge, has ever asserted that it does not. The author of *Bible Myths* did maintain in his appendix that the passage is "comparatively a modern interpolation"; but he has now given up this position, and evidently believes with Mr. Ross that the whole work was written by the same hand. The ordinary style of Severus, however, differs so much from that of the *Annals* that his account of the destruction of the temple is believed by eminent Latin scholars to have been copied from one of the missing books of this work. It is therefore our opinion that Severus quoted from the *Annals*, and that the early date of this work is thus established. That it was really written by the well-known historian Tacitus seems to us proved by all the facts of the case. We are as much opposed as any one can be to the theory that Christianity had a supernatural origin; but we try to fit our theories to the facts, and do not attempt to explain away facts, because they do not happen to give our own theories all the support one might wish.—ED.

* *Tacitus and Bracciolini, the Annals forged in the Fifteenth Century.* By John Wilson Ross. London: Diprose & Bateman. 1878.

THE WESTERN FLOODS.

From private letters addressed to the junior editor of this paper by personal friends who were sufferers from the recent Western floods, we extract the following graphic descriptions of the havoc made by them: "Yours came duly to hand. It found us—that is, my wife and self—working with might and main to get rid of the effects of the flood. I mean the deposit of mud which it left behind. The financial effect will take years of hard labor combined with economy to overcome. At our residence, the water obtained a depth of eight feet nine inches; and six feet at the store, which is two blocks south of residence. The store I occupied when you were here had over nine feet of water in it. All my goods, with the exception of about three hundred dollars worth that was on the top shelves, were in the water six days. All of our furniture was ruined. Our library—well, you ought to see it! When the waters receded, they left about three inches of mud behind them. Every book was covered with two inches or more of mud, the bindings all off: they were a sorry-looking sight. My wife grieved more over the loss of her books than she did over everything else. Jeffersonville has sustained a loss that will take years to get over. Hundreds of poor people have lost their all. We stayed at H. four days. When we came back, there was over six feet of water still in our home. We reached by skiff, climbed on the roof of the summer kitchen, thence to the main building. The succeeding two days, I had to leave the house for the store by skiff, the water having got out of the latter two days sooner than the former."

The next letter is from a lady: "You should take a peep into our home this beautiful 'Lord's day morning,' and view the quarters we are occupying: bare floors, bedroom chairs brought down stairs, one table, —fifteen by thirty inches,—a stove,—flood-rust has been erased, and a copious coat of polish gives it a more homelike appearance. A shelf, made up of a backless chair and an extension-table leaf, contains the ruined remains of what we most prized,—our books. Bookcase, rack, sideboard, sofas, and tables are in the shop 'for repairs,' are promised to be 'returned as good as new.' I cannot give details of the disaster now. I know it seems to persons at a distance that we 'might have saved everything.' But wait until you *come*, and hear the report. When the muddy, angry floods were leaping, gambolling, around our basement, we being on the second floor, Mr. M. said: 'This removes my veto to our buying a home on a hill. I shall object no more. Buy as soon as you please.' Believe me, I am so tired, weary, and worn, after seventeen consecutive days of combat with broom, brushes, scrubbing, oil, paint, and varnish, that I can scarcely handle a pen. S. J. M."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE RIGHT AND WRONG USES OF THE BIBLE. By Rev. R. Heber Newton. New York: John W. Lovell Company. 1883.

We have here the famous sermons of Dr. Heber Newton, which, as they were reported and printed from his lips in New York newspapers, a short time ago, were the topic of discussion throughout the country. They are now collected and printed entire, in a version authorized by himself. And he has done well to have them put into this popular and cheap form. They are published in Lovell's Library, making 264 pages of good print, and in paper covers can be bought for twenty cents. The masses, therefore, can read them; and we hope that every man and woman in Christendom, and especially in Orthodox Christen-

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dom, will read them. They would have great power to break down the Bibliolatry which so dominates the Christian Church and hinders progress; and yet they would leave the Bible still in its natural place as a book of religious thought, aspiration, and experience, having most precious value.

The style of the discourses is one which both the scholarly and the unscholarly can read with equal pleasure. The treatment is popular, but not popular in the sense of being superficial. Dr. Newton has written from a scholar's point of view and with a thorough scholarly equipment. He has been long meditating and studying for these sermons. They represent, he says in his preface, the growth of years, the essential thought of them having been stated in a discourse eight years ago. But, in coming to the task of writing, he has left most of the show of his equipment behind him, and given only results in a style ornate enough to be attractive, yet simple enough to be easily understood by any reader of ordinary intelligence, and vitalized withal by a very earnest intellectual conviction and practical purpose. He feels deeply the importance of putting the Bible in a new light before the Christian world; and he writes not simply to justify his own conviction, but to convince others.

Dr. Newton's view of the Bible is that of Kuenen and Oort and Robertson Smith and others of what may be called the evolution-school of Biblical criticism; that is, he regards it not as a book of superhuman manufacture, but as the natural literary record of a people with a special genius for religion, who progressed from primitive and crude religious ideas to a very pure monotheistic worship, and to a lofty standard of ethics as the most essential part of religion; as containing, therefore, the sublimest truths, but not unmixed with errors, which the rational judgment of man is competent to sift from its truths. The criticism, like the work of this school generally, is reverent, and designed not at all to destroy the use of the Bible, but rather to save it from falling into disuse in a rationalistic age. And the rationalistic reader, accustomed to read books on the Bible written in a more negative tone of criticism, and remembering, as he reads these discourses, that they were written by a regularly ordained Episcopal clergyman, may yet find points in them which he has been too much disposed to overlook.

To the pure rationalist, the one point in Dr. Newton's view where the limitation will most probably appear to come in is his estimate of the position and character of Jesus. His idea apparently is that "the eternal Power that makes for righteousness" found the conditions of self-revelation specially favorable among the Hebrews, and was aiming ever, through all their varied history, to make a perfect incarnation of itself in man. The consummation of this aim came through the natural ripening of historic forces and movements in the personality of Jesus,—"the perfect beauty of a human life divine," and hence the pattern for mankind ever afterward. This view of Jesus is hardly Trinitarian, yet may pass, according to some of the modern evangelical creeds. But our objections to it would be that, on grounds of natural human reason, we have no possible standard of measurement for determining that Jesus was a perfect man; that, as described in the New Testament, however lofty his character, he did not reach perfection; and that it is immeasurably more rational to suppose that the ideal goal of humanity is yet far ahead in the future than that it was reached and fixed, once for all, in an Asiatic province of the Roman Empire nearly two thousand years ago.

The prospect is that Mr. Newton will be brought to ecclesiastical trial by the Episcopal Church for the alleged heresies of these discourses,—a vexatious annoyance, doubtless, to him, but a most excellent device for multiplying his readers.

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. A General, Political, Legal, and Legislative History, from 1774 to 1881. By Harriet H. Robinson. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883. Second edition. Price $1.00.

In the introduction to this second edition of Mrs. Robinson's concise yet thorough and exhaustive *résumé* of the rise and progress of the woman's movement in Massachusetts, the author says: "In the Addenda will be found new matter, and also verifications of certain statements made in the first edition, which have been called in question by those who are as anxious as I am to have the history of the movement correct, but who have not, like myself, gone to the proper sources of information to substantiate them." The new matter in the volume includes the verifications alluded to, a sketch of the National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, a record of Massachusetts legislation for women in 1881–82, a table of the legislative yea and nay votes on woman suffrage from 1868 to 1883, a list of employments for women in Massachusetts, and "Woman's Position in School Matters." A copious index of the contents accompanies the work; and, to the readers of *The Index*, the reference to the earnest labors in behalf of woman by those who have been also prominent leaders in the free-thought movement will be of peculiar interest. These pages are full of interesting reminiscences of the sympathies, opinions, and work of Theodore Parker, R. W. Emerson, Margeret Fuller, Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Harriet Martineau, Ernestine Rose, Charles Burleigh, T. W. Higginson, Mrs. Dall, Mrs. Stanton, Lloyd Garrison, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, and the Alcotts, father and daughter, besides many others of note in the world of thought.

LECTURES ON THE CALLING OF A CHRISTIAN WOMAN AND HER TRAINING TO FULFIL IT. Delivered during the season of Lent, A.D. 1883, by Morgan Dix, S. T. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The main value of this book is as a proof how far priestly arrogance can go, even now, in opposing progress. "We priests who, whatever our personal shortcomings, have a commission from above, and a message to man from God, are the mouthpiece of that Church to which His handmaidens belong," are evidently bent on keeping women in fear of loss of reputation from any sympathy with the movements to emancipate their sex. The rationalistic agitators are plainly said to "merit the Scripture epithet of strange women" (p. 32) which the Bible applies to those whose "steps take hold on hell." She who tries to compete with men in their proper pursuits is said to have fallen lower than she who degrades herself "by ministering to her own vanity and to the lusts and pleasures of sinful men" (pp. 55, 56). The faithless wife is condemned. "But worse by far is she who kills the home-idea in cold blood" (p. 87). Other characteristic passages are these: "If by higher education, you mean that women are to be trained and taught in the same way as men, we oppose it as a folly and a fraud." "Education should have for its final end the fitting woman for her own place in the Kosmos. And that we have already defined to be a place in the home." "Shame on the woman who calls any education higher than that which qualifies her for her place as regent in such a domain." Shame rather on the priest who compares reformers to harlots.

THE frontispiece of the *Century* for April is an excellent portrait of Emerson in the prime of life, and E. C. Stedman has an appreciative and discriminating essay on the poet. Ben Perley Poore's article on "The Capitol at Washington" is quite interesting and profusely illustrated. Geo. W. Cable offers in "Plotters and Pirates of Louisiana" the most fascinating chapters yet printed of his Creole papers. Charles G. Leland has an article on "Visiting the Gypsies," which is made doubly interesting from his intimate knowledge of the customs and language of those civilized nomads. H. H. describes the aspect of the village of Oberammergau during the week devoted to the Passion Play. Mrs. Burnett brings to an unsatisfactory close her unsatisfactory story of "Through One Administration," Howells' "A Woman's Reason" grows more interesting, and H. H. Boyesen has a short story, "Anastasia." The poems are by Sidney Lanier, R. U. Johnson, Elizabeth Akers, Margaret Veley, E. A. M., W. M. Briggs, Clarence Clough, and Robert Grant.

"WIDE AWAKE" comes with its literary "bill of fare" for April as tempting and appetizing as in any previous month, and we must refer our readers to its pages for its full and satisfying list of good things. The story of "Through Spain on Donkey-back" is told in a unique but graphic way by pictures. Mrs. Browning's pathetic "Mother and Poet" is finely illustrated by a full-page engraving. To young artists, the article by Mrs. Champney, "John Angelo visits the 'Water Color,'" will be of special interest. "Charles Kingsley" is the "pleasant author" whose story is told in this number. Mrs. Mary Treat writes delightfully of "The Brickmaker" in the series of "Through a Microscope"; and long instalments are given of the serial stories, Fred Ober's "Silver City" and M. H. Catherwood's "Old Caravan Days."

THE April number of *St. Nicholas* is as usual rich in numerous and lovely pictures, and filled with good reading, the contributions of some of the best writers of the day. H. H. tells in her usual vivid manner the story of "A Brave Chinese Baby," which is appropriately illustrated. Frank H. Stockton has the concluding chapters of "The Story of Viteau," Anna Eichberg has a fanciful story of "The Princess with a Glass Heart," and Edgar Fawcett another entitled "The Sad Little Prince." Trowbridge's story of "The Tinkham Brothers' Tide-Mill" deepens in semi-tragic interest. These are only a very few of the many attractions in this number of this popular magazine for young people.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for April is a charming number, and is especially rich in its profuse and artistic illustrations, which are equally enjoyed by grown people as well as by "our little ones." Its short stories and poems furnish instruction and pleasant reading for children of all ages.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

JOHN BROWN, the Scotchman who was for so many years the faithful personal attendant of Queen Victoria, died last week at Windsor Castle.

THE Rev. J. Vila Blake, of Quincy, Ill., has been called to the pastorate of the Third Unitarian Church, Chicago. Mr. Blake is a young man, a graduate of Harvard Divinity School, and for the past six years has been filling the Unitarian pulpit at Quincy.

"THERE are divers indications that ex-Senator Conkling is taking a lively interest in politics; but we are not yet prepared to credit the floating rumor that the distinguished orator will take the stump against Sprague in Rhode Island."—*Washington Post.*

A NOTEWORTHY criticism of Mr. Herbert Spencer's work on Education is now appearing in the Boletin of the Institucion Libre de Enseñanza of Madrid. The writer, Doña Concepcion Arenal, is the first of lady philosophical writers in Spain, and in that respect is no unworthy rival of George Eliot.

THE German emperor and the crown prince will both attend the Luther celebration at Eisleben on the 10th of November next. The fourth centenary of the birth of the author of the Reformation in the place where he was born and died will be observed with more than usual solemnity. Among other events by which the day is to be commemorated will be the unveiling by the emperor of a statue of Martin Luther.

EDWIN D. MEAD is to deliver a course of four lectures upon "America in the American Poets" in New York, under the auspices of Prof. Adler's Society, in the hall of the society's new school building, on the 10th, 11th, 17th, and 18th of April. The lectures will be devoted to Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Emerson, and will specially discuss the use which the poets have made of American subjects and their general services for American history and life and thought.

THE Hon. Timothy O. Howe, Postmaster-General, died at the home of his nephew, at Kenosha, Wis., on Sunday afternoon, March 25, of pneumonia, after a short illness, from which no serious results were apprehended until Saturday night. Mr. Howe was for a year a member of the Maine Legislature, for a time Chief Justice of Wisconsin, eighteen years a United States Senator, a member of the Monetary Conference which met at Paris in 1881, and for about a year Postmaster-General of the United States. His age was sixty-seven.

ONE day, after Judge Wylie had been rather severe on him in court, and had somewhat impatiently cut him short in some of his remarks, Col. Ingersoll left the court-house and walked across the street to a restaurant for lunch. He had to pass just in front of an old gray horse; and, as he did so, the animal snapped at him as if to take his head off. Luckily, the horse miscalculated the distance, but his big teeth clashed together only a few inches from the lawyer's ear. Quick as a flash, the latter turned with, "In the devil's name, what court are you the judge of?" And, when Davidge whispered the anecdote around in court that afternoon, Judge Wylie had a hard time keeping order among the lawyers.

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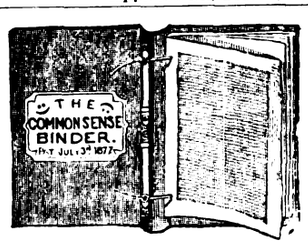

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 481

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Mr. O. B. Frothingham's "Criticism and Christianity," Wm. J. Potter. 482
The Secret of the East, Felix L. Oswald, ... 482
Thomas Paine Once More, John W. Chadwick, ... 484
Notes of the Field, B. F. U., ... 484
Free Religious Association Festival, ... 485

EDITORIAL NOTES. 485

LIVE THOUGHTS, ... 485

POETRY.
To our Friend Samuel Johnson, W. P. A., ... 486
Woman, Walter L. Sawyer, ... 486

ESSAY.
The Genii in Council, F. M. Holland, ... 486

CORRESPONDENCE.
A Plain Talk about the Indians and their Tremont Temple Friends, Wm. Sloane Kennedy, ... 487
A Frenchman's View of George Eliot, H. E. A., . . . 488
Eusebius and "Pious Frauds," E. P. Woodward, . . . 488
A Word from Mr. Heywood, ... 489
A Note from Mr. Charles Watts, ... 489
Thought in Dreams, F. M. H., ... 489
Is the Bible the Parent of Religion? Wm. H. Spiller, . 489

MISCELLANEOUS, ... 489

BOOK NOTICES.
Lectures, Essays, and Sermons, by Samuel Johnson, . 489
Technical Instruction in France, ... 491
The Art Amateur, Revue de Belgique, ... 491

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 491

CURRENT TOPICS.

AMONG the 300,447 inhabitants of Rome there are 117,991 who cannot read or write.

THE Mohammedans of Turkey have set up a Board of Publication. It has been established in Constantinople for the purpose of publishing, in a cheap form, the theological and historical works put forth by Mohammedan writers. The first publication is to be a popular edition of the Koran, for general distribution.

A RELIGIOUS crank at Reno, Nev., declares that he is commissioned by Christ to announce to the people of that place that the Messiah will shortly appear among them, preceded by Gabriel, who will blow his horn as a warning that the grand climacteric is upon them. A Reno paper irreverently remarks: "The man is evidently luny, and doesn't exactly comprehend what he is talking about. If Gabriel should strike Reno first, the boys would get him into a poker game, and win his horn before he had a chance to wake up even a night-watchman."

THE New York *Tribune* says: "Outside of Maine, it is probable that no prohibitory amendments will pass the State Legislatures this year. The general drift of legislation on the temperance question appears to be toward high license laws. Such restrictions on the liquor traffic find much favor in Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri. The latter State has, in fact, passed a law imposing a heavy tax upon the sale of intoxicants; and it has been signed by the governor. A similar measure would have gone through the Illinois Legislature, had not the Democrats delayed it. It has now passed to a first reading. As prohibition has failed in so many cases, the public will watch with much interest this latest effort to deal with a troublesome question."

ONE of the latest swindles mentioned by the papers is the Marriage Trust Company of Indianapolis, which had been in existence about one year, and realized from its five thousand victims nearly two hundred thousand dollars. The assets of the concern when it was ventilated consisted of a small quantity of office furniture and large packages of plausible circulars. The victims are loud in denouncing the managers, but it is too much to expect that they will all gain wisdom enough from this experience to avoid being humbugged by the next smooth scheme which promises to pay a large per cent. on a small investment. The susceptibility of Americans to the blandishments of smooth-tongued swindlers is quite as conspicuous as the "smartness" for which they have a reputation abroad.

IT is little to the credit of Boston "culture" that more than twelve thousand of its citizens, among whom were many Harvard students, paid from one to two dollars each to witness such a brutal exhibition as the late prize-fight in the Mechanics' Fair Building. One of the chief actors in this interesting exhibition made a speech, from which we make an extract: "Ivery set-to will be a soientific display. [Three cheers for John L. Sullivan.] Don't ye incourage ony one o' the boxers to knock the hid off his opponint. Plase kape as quiet as ye cahn, an' injy the fun. Oi want no brutality at John L. Sullivahn's exhibitin, — niver a bit! [Applause.] Gintlemin, Oi live in Bosthon, and Bosthon is me home; an' Oi want to give a show to-night that will be recorded in histhory. Oi want it recorded that there was nivir a bit uv brutality jurin' the spar'n." [Applause.]

THE London *Times* gives an account of some experiments which were made at the entrance to Aberdeen harbor, with a view to testing the practicability of using oil as a means of reducing the danger to vessels entering there during gales of wind and high seas. The occasion was one when a stiff gale was blowing, the seas dashing high over the piers, rendering it practically impossible for any vessel to enter in safety. The oil was forced through pipes that had been laid from the shore to the desired point off the entrance to the harbor; and, although the tempest was high, within twenty minutes after the forcing of the oil was begun, the crests of the waves disappeared, the billows assuming a rolling motion, and the entrance rendered comparatively safe. Less than three hundred gallons of oil were used in the experiment, and during the time that its beneficial effects were noticeable many vessels could have obtained safe entrance.

ONE of the bright lights of the Pennsylvania Senate lately introduced a bill "to prevent the burning or cremating of human bodies after death." The proposed penalty is a fine of "from $500 to $1,000, or solitary confinement at labor for from one year to three years, or both." The grounds on which this bill was introduced are that the practice is contrary to the instincts of humanity. But cremation as a health measure is preferable to burial; and, once accustomed to the burning of the dead, the people would not feel the horror with which they now contemplate the practice. As the Cleveland *Herald*, commenting on this proposed law, remarks, "Already, though comparatively few bodies have been disposed of in the furnace, the sensation which filled the minds of the people when the first human remains were thus disposed of has passed away, and accounts of similar cases are read without a shudder, or hardly a feeling of abhorrence."

AN anti-contract labor bill has passed the Ohio Senate, which provides that persons convicted of a penitentiary offence shall receive a general sentence, the term of imprisonment to be terminated at any time under certain conditions by the directors of the penitentiary. This feature of the bill proposes a radical change in the methods of penitentiary punishment. Its object is to make a convict's term of imprisonment depend largely upon his good behavior, and to make possible the removal of an unjust punishment without the process of petitions to the Governor and the setting aside of the act of a court. Give the convict something to hope for, let him understand that good conduct and application to work will be rewarded by the shortening of his imprisonment, and it is believed there will be some incentive to reform, and that the general effect will be to lessen the demoralization of prison life and to diminish the amount of crime. It is said that the great mass of men sentenced to long terms are rearrested for crime soon after their release, while but a small proportion of the short term convicts are rearrested.

M. LEROY BEAULIEU has recently published in *L'Economiste Français* the statistics of the increase of alien population in France. According to the figures of this writer, there was no immigration into that country during the first quarter of the present century. In 1857, a small but steady stream of foreigners began to set in: "Their proportion in 1861, however, reached only 1.33 per cent. to the whole population. In 1881, the proportion had reached 3 per cent. In each year, the increase reaches 40,000. M. Beaulieu calculates that, if it continues to increase in the same proportion as the last two years for the rest of the century, one-fourth of the adult population will be aliens. The large proportion of this immigration is from Germany; and the causes of it are, according to M. Beaulieu, the abundance of capital, the high wages, and the fact that many of the trades are left unoccupied by French boys and men. The French young man, says M. Beaulieu, is too effeminate to learn a hard, steady trade. He goes to America to cook, to dance, to play some light rôle in life; while the German comes in to fill his place at home." It is not less true, it must be confessed, that multitudes of native Americans become salesmen, book-keepers, drummers, etc., and allow the skilled trades to be filled largely by German and English.

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MR. O. B. FROTHINGHAM'S "CRITICISM AND CHRISTIANITY."

A good many readers have doubtless turned to the last article in the last number of the *North American Review* with special interest. The subject, "Criticism and Christianity," and the name of the author, Octavius B. Frothingham, made a combination that whetted curiosity. Since the famous sensational report in the New York *Evening Post*, alleging a very important change in Mr. Frothingham's religious views,—a change that was very generally interpreted as amounting to a recantation of the views he had been preaching for the larger part of his ministry,—Mr. Frothingham has said nothing to the public on religious topics distinctly in his own name. He took occasion to correct in certain particulars the *Evening Post's* report by a brief communication to that journal, and closed that communication with the explicit statement, "I have not gone back to any position which I had abandoned." But, beyond this, he did not choose at that time to make any public explanation of his opinions. Nor did he allow himself to read more than the merest infinitesimal part of the large quantities of matter sent to him in print and in manuscript, wherein other people discussed his opinions from their various points of view and offered him their suggestions and advice. Nearly eighteen months have elapsed since this incident. Within this time, various articles have appeared from his pen in magazines and newspapers, and his biography of George Ripley has been published; but in none of these writings has he taken occasion to consider any of the questions that were started by the newspaper "interviewer." Not until now has he chosen a topic as if with special reference to giving his own views on certain questions involved in that discussion about him. With such a subject as "Criticism and Christianity," he could hardly avoid touching some of the most prominent points then raised concerning his change of religious attitude.

But, if any one goes to this article in the April *North American* with the expectation of finding a clear statement from Mr. Frothingham of his present religious position, such a reader will probably be disappointed. And especially will any reader be disappointed who may take up the article with the thought that it is going to disclose some very great changes in Mr. Frothingham's religious belief. Those persons of the evangelical persuasions who were talking about his having recanted his opinions, and who made haste to tender him the very questionable hospitality of the repose offered in their creeds, will not find much to comfort them in this new utterance. That they are to have the pleasure of welcoming so distinguished a convert to any of their folds, the article gives no encouragement. The only religious body which may reasonably claim, on the ground of this article, more of Mr. Frothingham's sympathy than heretofore, is the Unitarian. The position taken, though only vaguely substantiated, that Christianity in its essential inner principles will survive all critical assaults, made however triumphantly, upon its externals of doctrine and ritual, and that one may not necessarily let go his Christian faith however much doubting the historic authenticity of the New Testament story of Jesus, will be recognized as enough of qualification for Unitarian fellowship, at least on the left wing of that body. But the vagueness of the answers given to the questions, What is meant by "Christian faith"? and What is "the essential inner principle of Christianity"? would incapacitate for affiliation with any other branch of the Christian Church but that which is satisfied if its adherents only keep, on whatsoever grounds, the Christian name.

It will be remembered that, in the brief letter of correction which Mr. Frothingham sent to the *Evening Post*, he said that, while he had seen no reason for changing his opinions, it had occurred to him that they did "not contain the whole truth." And the meaning behind this latter remark, as shown subsequently by the present writer and by Mr. Savage in their statements in *The Index* after conversations with Mr. Frothingham, was that he was disposed to make more account than formerly of a revealing and guiding Power in the world above material nature and above humanity as the origin and sustenance of religions; that is, as he had never been atheistic, that he would more *emphasize* the thought that religion is not merely the aspiration and effort of man toward a Power he conceives to be Supreme, but the actual impartation of that Power to man. The article in the *North American* appears to be an expansion of this idea. It begins with a reference to *The Cradle of the Christ*, which is regarded as Mr. Frothingham's most radical book, and concerning which he said to Mr. Savage that he desired to change "not one single word" in it, but "would only supplement here and there with additional statements." This essay seems therefore to be designed as somewhat supplementary to that book. He takes nothing from the book, the theory of which was that Christianity was a development of the Hebrew Messianic idea and had very little dependence on the teachings and life of Jesus; but "granting," he says, "the position taken by its writer, the question arises, Why need one abandon his Christian faith?"

But the points made do not appear to us to follow in the line of answering this question with much logical coherence. They are briefly these: the validity of spiritual truth is beyond the reach of historical criticism; the universality of religious symbols attests the presence of the same ideas among various nations and races, and from age to age; these fundamental ideas are not of terrestrial origin, but are a part of the primeval equipment from the creative spirit with which man began his career; all religion is in essence and origin supernatural in some sense, if not superhuman, the divine spirit that imparts it being a "power not ourselves"; but "supernatural" does not mean the "miraculous," it means rather spiritual as distinguished from material; all religions, though differing in texture, are of one piece; a great religion, in order hospitably to adapt itself to the present age, will insist only on such primal truths as the existence of a supreme intelligence, which communicates itself to men, raising them to superhuman possibilities of experience through aspiration and faith; Christianity may safely give over to criticism every thing but the citadel wherein are held these primal truths.

These are the several points of the essay, stated mostly in the language of the essayist. The question occurred to us as we read, How is Christianity differentiated by this argument from any other religion? There are rhetorical expressions in the course of the article about "the intrinsic excellence of the Christian system," and about "the immortal beauty of its essential truths," and about its "ineffable ideas," but no attempt is made to define the "Christian system," or to indicate what are its "essential truths" or its "ineffable ideas," beyond what are named as "primal truths" in the above extracted statements. And the only remarks which imply that Christianity has any superiority to other religions are the incidental ones that it is "the religion of the most intellectual races," and that "it belongs to the latest age, which, on the whole, is the most forward in civilization." These incidental remarks might give a reason for retaining one's Christian faith, but their subordinate position in the essay would not indicate that they had this weight to Mr. Frothingham's mind. What did have this weight with him the article does not, in our view, clearly state. The rhetoric of the article is strongly Christian. But its argument might be more correctly styled a plea for religious faith than for Christian faith. Though not on this point so clear as we might wish, Mr. Frothingham wvites, however, with that easy elegance of style and wealth of illustration which have always been the delight of his readers.

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The Ethics of the Christian Religion.

"Untruth should be exposed, whether its teachers come in the name of God or of the devil."—*Ulrich Hutten.*

In the code of ethical principles which the world uses to judge the merits of a social reformer, it has long been recognized as a truism that "the end does not justify the means." But we are apt to overlook the equally cogent maxim that the means do not justify the end. The unkempt republican, who with fire and sword preaches the earth-redeeming gospel of liberty and equality, is denounced as an enemy of the human race; while the bland, well-combed, and unctuous Jesuit is revered as a saint, though he labors to perpetuate a superstition that has turned the better half of this earth into a dreary desert, and arrested the progress of the human race for fourteen hundred years. Our short-sightedness prevents us from tracing the connection of cause and effect in the fury of the purifying storm and the soft summer winds of the malarious fens. We shudder at the fury of the gale, and admire the beauty of the poisonous swamp-flower.

To the nations of the Caucasian race, the genius of salvation came in a storm-cloud, the lures of the tempter came in a small, still voice. The sound of that voice was first heard on the banks of the Ganges, and filled the lands of the East till its echo seduced the poor fishermen on the banks of the Jordan. The keystone dogma of the Christian ethics is the *anti-physical* principle of Buddhism: whatever is natural is wrong. The mission of the Galilean ascetic, like the gospel of Buddha Sakyamuni, was a declaration of war against nature. According to the doctrine of Pessimism, our natural instincts are our natural enemies; life is a disease, and death its only cure; the pursuit of earthly happiness is a chimera, and enjoyment in all its forms only serves to strengthen the fatal delusion; emancipation from the bondage of life is the *summum bonum*, and can be attained only by mortifying our natural desires.

The instinctive love of joy is wrong: the path of self-affliction is the road to salvation. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily." "Blessed are they that mourn." "Be afflicted and mourn and weep; let your laughter be turned to mourning, and your joy to heaviness."

Our natural affections should be suppressed. "If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

The love of health is wrong: the body is the enemy of the spirit, and does not deserve our care. "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat

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or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." "Bodily exercise profiteth but little." "There is nothing from without a man that, entering him, can defile him."

The pursuit of natural science is wrong; doubt and free inquiry are sinful; submissive faith is the gate to heaven. "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." "He that believeth in me hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation." "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha." "If an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accused." "He that believeth on me is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he does not believe in the name of the only begotten Son of God." "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

The trust in secular remedies is wrong: diseases can be cured by faith. "Receive thy sight, thy faith hath saved thee." "If any man is sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." "And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." "And, when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease."

The natural instinct of resistance to injustice is wrong. "Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also. . . . If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."

The spirit-fancies of the nature-loving nations are wrong. The wilderness swarms, not with harmless fairies, but with malevolent demons. "And the unclean spirit goeth, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself." "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. . . . And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them." "And the devil took him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple." "They brought unto him many that were possessed with devils."

The belief in the peace of the grave is erroneous. For the great plurality of the human race, the end of life is the beginning of endless and horrible tortures. "Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat; and strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." "The children of the kingdom shall be cast out into utter darkness, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." "They shall be cast into the furnace of fire, there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth."

The love of industry is wrong. A true believer shall not seek to supply his wants by earthly means, but rely on prayer and supernatural aid: "Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? what shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek." "Take no thought of the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself." "Ask, and it shall be given you." "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you."

These dogmas were propagated with the zeal and with the disinterestedness of the purest moral enthusiasm; and yet there is no doubt that they have caused the human race more woe than all wars, all plagues, all famines, all poisonous and contagious diseases, and the rage of all the hostile elements of nature taken together: for it can be demonstrated with the utmost certainty of historical evidence that the darkness of the Middle Ages, and the horrors and the misery of that terrible night, were the direct consequences of the faith which attempted to practise the precepts of the New Testament, and that the repressed instincts of our better nature burst their dam when the faith of the Middle Ages dissolved into scepticism and the conventional assent that stops short of practice.

The worship-of-sorrow dogma led to the self torturing insanities of mediæval monachism. If physical pleasures are sinful and our physical instincts an impediment to our spiritual welfare, the seekers after salvation naturally concluded that the body must be treated like a wild beast, caged in monasteries and hermitages, and subdued by fasting, vigils, and all kinds of self-afflictions.* Hence, Anchorites, Flagellants, Celibates, Trappists, Puritans, Sabbatarians, and Shakers.

True friendship was unknown while the denunciator of natural affection passed for a divine revelator. "He that hateth not his father and brother," etc., "cannot be my disciple." "For if ye love those who love you, what reward have you?" Hence, the zeal of the wretched bigots who delivered up their friends to the knife of the Holy Inquisition, and exulted in the suppression of their better instincts.

The repudiation of the Mosaic health code and the pagan culture of the manly powers led to the physical degeneration of two kinds of the noblest Caucasian races. If the body is the enemy of the spirit, the promotion of its welfare would be a sheer waste of time, or even a crime against our higher and eternal interests. Hence, the neglect of physical education, the gluttony, the besottedness, and the crimes against nature in which the seed-plots of monachism vied with the vice-centres of the decaying Roman Empire,† the general neglect of sanitary precautions, which shortened the average longevity of mediæval Europe by fourteen or fifteen years.

The faith-cure dogma is the root of mediæval miracle-mongery. If diseases could be averted by prayer, medical science and sanitary precautions were equally superfluous. Lazy faith was easier than rational research, and the belief in the efficacy of exorcism enabled the Church to share the emoluments without the labors of secular science. Hence, Loretto chapels, Lourdes water, processions, consecrated rosaries, and relic swindle.

The propagandists of the Submission to Injustice dogma became the faithful ally of every form of despotism. The pagan pride in the majesty of self-reliant manhood was superseded by the worship of abject self-abasement and self-distrust. If human nature was essentially evil, men were unfit for self government; and their own welfare required the suppression of every revolt against the authority of the spiritual powers. Without the recognition of human rights, without the principles of personal dignity and natural justice,* social order became a legalized system of oppression, manliness, became a stigma, the love of freedom was denounced as a sign of an unregenerate heart. Hence, the national degradation of so many Aryan nations, their sickening flunkeyism, their heartless subservience to the caprices of brutal despots, as Herbert Spencer demonstrates in his masterly *résumé* of the dangers in the path of a progressive republic. A defiant resistance to every form of injustice and official despotism is the price of liberty, and that resistance is incompatible with the spirit of a system that inculcates the duty of self-abasement as an article of faith. The pagan martyrs died for human rights, for personal freedom and national independence. The Christian martyrs died for a system of spiritual slavery. The Byzantine bigots who massacred each other in their competition for a lackeyship at the court of the New Jerusalem could not defend their own city against domestic despots and foreign aggressors.

The fanatics who originated the dogmas of exclusive salvation by faith, and hell-fire as a punishment of unbelief, are responsible for the agonies of the three million human beings who perished in the flames of the stake. It is a libel against human nature to ascribe the barbarities of the Middle Ages to an innate love of cruelty; and, in order to account for the numberless epidemic outbreaks of truculent fanaticism, the Christian apologists have to invent as many different theories as the mediæval astronomers who attempted to reconcile their system with the apparently eccentric motions of the heavenly bodies. The hypothesis of Copernicus solved all those riddles, and a similar solvent of otherwise hopeless enigmas is the vainly disputed fact that the inhumanities of our Christian ancestors were the inevitable consequences of a sincere belief in the dogmas of their monstrous creed. The most relentless butchers of the Holy Inquisition were men of spotless personal morality. Many of the savage man-hunters of the Thirty Years' War were conspicuous for their clemency in private and domestic affairs. Neither the Austrians nor the frugal Spaniards† are by nature a bloodthirsty race. But the dogma of exclusive salvation left them no choice. It made the suppression of unbelief a sacred duty; for, if the propagation of erroneous doctrines could doom thousands to an eternity of unspeakable, incomparable, and hopeless tortures, the objections founded upon such scruples as compassion with the short sufferings of a condemned heretic must have assumed an appearance of almost idiotic futility.‡

Hence, inquisitions and crusades, thirty years'

* "If any sect," says Ludwig Börne, "should ever take it into their heads to worship the devil in his distinctive qualities, and devote themselves to the promotion of human misery in all its forms, the catechism of such a religion could be found ready-made in the code of several monastic colleges."

† "Quod enim Anno 1538, prudentissimus Rex Henricus Octavus cucullatorum coenobia, et sacrificorum collegia, votariorum, per venerabiles legum Doctores Thomam Leum, Richardum Laytonum visitari fecerat, et tanto numero repert: sunt apud eos scortatores, cinaedi, ganeones, pae dicones, pueraril, paederastae, Sodomitae, Ganimedes, ut in unoquoque eorum novam crediderls Gomorrham." Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 449. And the state of affairs in Southern Europe is attested by numerous unquotable passages in the memoirs of the Italian Guiccardini, the writings of the Spaniard Sanchez, and the indictment of Pope John XXII.

* "Justice and equity were foreign to that creed. Why should man try to be better than his God? A God to whom they were taught to ascribe a monstrous system of favoritism: arbitrary grace for a few children of luck, and millions foredoomed to eternal damnation."—*Feuerbach.*

"They attributed to the Creator acts of injustice and barbarity which it would be absolutely impossible for the imagination to surpass, acts before which the most monstrous excesses of human cruelty dwindle into insignificance, acts which are, in fact, considerably worse than any that theologians have attributed to the devil."—*Lecky.*

"It is said that the King of Morocco, Muley Ismael, has five hundred children. What would you say if a dervish of Mount Atlas related to you that the wise and good Muley Ismael, dining with his family, at the close of the repast, spoke thus: 'I am Muley Ismael, who have begotten you for my glory; for I am very glorious. I love you very tenderly, I shelter you as a hen covers her chickens. I have decreed that one of my youngest children shall have the kingdom of Tafilet, and that another shall possess Morocco; and for my other dear children, to the number of four hundred and ninety-eight, I order that one-half shall be tortured and the other burned, for I am the Lord Muley Ismael.'"—*Voltaire.*

† "Travellers are unanimous in declaring that in Spain an intense passion for the bullfight is quite compatible with the most active benevolence and the most amiable disposition."—*Lecky.*

‡ "Few persons, I think, can follow the history of Christian persecution without a feeling of extreme astonishment that some modern writers, not content with maintaining that the doctrine of exclusive salvation *ought* not to have produced persecution, have ventured in defiance of the unanimous testimony of the theologians of so many centuries, to dispute the plain historical fact that it *did* produce it."—*Lecky.*

"Haeretici non solum excommunicari sed juste occidi possunt."—*Thomas Aquinas, Summa*, Vol. II., Art. III.

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wars, heretic-hunts, massacres of St. Bartholomew, expulsions of the Moors, and extermination of the Albigenses. Hence, also, that chief disgrace of our own age,—the cowardly hypocrisy which, like an all-pervading poison-vapor, taints the whole atmosphere of our social life. "The fathers laid it down as a distinct proposition," says Lecky, "that pious frauds were justifiable and even laudable; and, if they had not laid this down, they would nevertheless have practised it as a necessary consequence of the doctrine of exclusive salvation. Paganism was to be combated; and, therefore, prophecies of Christ by Orpheus and the Sibyls were forged, lying wonders were multiplied, and ceaseless calumnies poured upon those who, like Julian, opposed the Church. That tendency triumphed wherever the supreme importance of these dogmas was held. Generation after generation, it became more universal: it continued till the very sense of truth and the very love of truth were blotted out from the minds of men." And this mode of thought has survived after the hot fanaticism which engendered it has cooled down to frigid bigotry. The root of hypocrisy is the belief in the atoning efficacy of faith, or, *faute de mieux*, of conventional conformity. Our bigots sacrifice their intellectual conscience where their ancestors sacrificed their reason, and would be very sorry to admit the decadence of a creed that enables them to maintain the reputation of respectable principles by such easy means as connivance, cant, and mental prostitution.

The Prayer *vs.* Labor dogma was a death-blow to industry and science. Rational agriculture was abandoned to the Moorish infidels.* Christians neglected their fields and sought to avert famine by prayer-meetings. The pursuit of natural science was regarded with suspicion. Inventors were denounced as magicians. Erudition was considered a prima facie evidence of unbelief. Scientific progress decreased with the increase of the belief in the efficacy of prayer. Hence, moral and physical deserts; the desolation of the once fertile shores of the Mediterranean; a thousand years' eclipse of common sense† and reason; mendicants, pious vagabonds, and monastic drones; blind hatred of progress, mysticism, supernaturalism, and contented ignorance. FELIX L. OSWALD.

*"The Spanish Christians considered agriculture beneath their dignity. In their judgment, war and religion were the only two avocations worthy of being followed. Some of the richest parts of Valencia and Grenada were so neglected that means were wanting to feed even the scanty population remaining there. Whole districts were deserted, and down to the present day have never been repeopled. All over Spain, the same destitution prevailed. That once rich and prosperous country was covered with a rabble of monks and clergy, whose insatiate rapacity absorbed the little wealth yet to be found. The fields were left uncultivated; vast multitudes died from want and exposure; entire villages were deserted."—*Buckle's History of Civilization.*

†How rational, sensible, and humane appear the writings of the pagan philosophers, in comparison with the ghastly nonsense of the monastic authors! In the freest cities of our most advanced countries, in Concord and Heidelberg, an ancient Athenian would feel almost at home, a modern Unitarian would hail Job as a man and brother; but a resuscitated priest of the Middle Ages would walk our streets like a spectre defying the morning sun.

THOMAS PAINE ONCE MORE.

The *History of the People of the United States*, by John Bach McMaster, is a timely, able, interesting book. It has come in answer to a conscious need, developed, in good part, by the late John Richard Green's *History of the English People*. Mr. McMaster has not the gift of Green for generalization. He is much more diffuse. He makes much more of manners and customs than his English prototype. He has drenched himself with Macaulay, and has caught the force and play without the finish of his style. His book is "as interesting as a novel," and will be read by many thousands. It is, therefore, to be hoped that it is as accurate and just as it is fascinating and brilliant. I am not prepared to say that, as a whole, it is not; but, if the pages that relate to Thomas Paine are a fair sample of the general accuracy and justice of the book, it is a pity that it ever saw the light.

The first mention of Paine is on page 75: "It is true that Paine's little pamphlet, 'Common Sense,' had gained for him a national reputation and national gratitude: but the circumstances which called it forth had passed away, and gratitude due to the public benefactor had long since given place to contempt for the infidel." Mr. McMaster is speaking of the state of literature in 1784. Paine had no public reputation as an infidel till after the publication of *The Age of Reason*, in 1795. In 1784, New York presented him with a farm in West Chester. In a foot-note to the above passage, Mr. McMaster gives the impression that Virginia was not equally generous, because of Paine's infidelity. She was not, because he had demolished in a pamphlet the claim of Virginia to the Western Lands. The absurdity of the above passage is, however, best condemned out of Mr. McMaster's own mouth. Speaking of Paine's tract on paper money, published in 1786,—two years after the time at which he says "gratitude to the public benefactor had long since given place to contempt for the infidel,"—he says, "The stirring words of 'Common Sense' and 'The Crisis' were still so fresh in the minds of men that anything by the same hand was read with consideration and delight." Here, we have truth and sense.

But the smallest part of Mr. McMaster's offence is in the count already named. Pages 150–154 of his book are devoted entirely to Paine, and give a general account of his career and character. The authority for this account is frankly specified. It is James Cheetham's Life of Paine, published in 1809. This and this only! A more worthless book was never published by a more worthless man. Cheetham was a New York editor who had been a raging Democrat. But being an Englishman, and wishing to return to England, he became a raging Federalist, and endeavored to make his peace with the English government by writing a libellous biography of Paine. William Cobbett wrote one equally libellous, and afterward became a boundless admirer of Paine, carrying his bones to England and burying them no one knows where. Cobbett and Cheetham, who had been Paine's admirer before he was his libeller, may be allowed to neutralize each other. The truth concerning Paine must be gathered from many different sources. A Brooklyn gentleman has a collection of Paine books and pamphlets, including many dozen titles; the biographies of Cheetham, Cobbett, Oldys, Vale, Rickman; and much contemporary matter.

Going through it all a few years ago, with much labor and sweat, I got a very different impression from that which Mr. McMaster has derived from Cheetham's isolated screed. The direct biographies are almost worthless. The side-lights of contemporary newspapers and correspondence are the best authorities. Three articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. IV., 1859, show careful use of these. They extenuate nothing. They set down naught in malice. Had Mr. McMaster been aware of their existence, he could not have gone so far astray. Even the article in Appletons' Encyclopædia might have been read to good advantage. This Encyclopædia is not prone to err upon the side of liberality, and that its account of Paine is so honorable to him marks the immense divergence of Mr. McMaster's pages from the lines of truth and soberness.

It must not be understood that Mr. McMaster does not accord to Paine some elements of greatness and success. He assures us that his "Common Sense" did for the revolution what the *Federalist* did for the Constitution. But he retails the miserable lies and slanders of Cheetham without, apparently, the least misgiving. It would be impossible to justify the base constructions which he puts upon the events of his early business and domestic life. Farther on, he speaks of his connection with the Silas Deane affair as a "scandalous breach of trust." Words could not be more misleading to the general reader. In the name of truth and justice, Paine cut the official red tape of 1777, and was sacrificed to State policy for doing it. But Mr. McMaster's generalizations are worse than his particular specifications. He speaks of Paine as being "led astray by the worst of animal passions." But intemperance is the only vice that can be laid to his charge. He says, "Of all the human kind, he was the filthiest and nastiest; and his disgusting habits grew upon him with his years." They did indeed.

There is no evidence of any "disgusting habits" prior to his release from his long imprisonment by Robespierre for the most honorable action of his life and the most daring,—his speech and vote against the death of Louis XVI. From this long imprisonment, he came forth broken in body and in mind. The veil of charity should be drawn over everything that he did amiss after that terrible experience; and it would be, if he had not written *The Age of Reason*. He had been elegant in his manners and his dress, at table a good listener, not saying much, but always talking well. An immense deduction must be made from the accounts of his personal uncleanliness during the last sad years. Orthodoxy and Federalism, uniting to blacken a man, in 1806–9 could deluge him with mud. He was never, I imagine, a greater sloven than Dr. Samuel Johnson or Emanuel Swedenborg. If, at the last, he took to careless, evil ways, consider that his pride and heart were broken by the reverses of his fortune and the base ingratitude of men. The greatest fault which Mr. McMaster has committed is the imputation of the faults of his old age, which he wildly exaggerates, to his entire career. In perfect fairness, he should have reserved the noxious elements of his characterization for their appropriate time. He should, at least, have been unwilling, in a case so critical as this, to base his characterization upon the authority of a political renegade, as miserable as any that appeared upon the surface of events in a distracted and unhappy time. Our confidence in the general trustworthiness of his book would be much enhanced, if he should hasten to correct the injustice he has done to Thomas Paine.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

NOTES OF THE FIELD.

During the past three weeks, we have given lectures in New York, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. As a rule, good audiences have greeted us and much interest been shown in the subjects treated. There is a large demand for lectures, and numerous engagements we have deferred till next autumn. Mention can be made here of a few places only. At Chicago, we spoke before the Philosophical Society one evening, and the following evening before the Ethical Society. The subject of the former lecture was "The Psychology of Herbert Spencer." The animated and interesting discussion which succeeded the lecture showed marked interest in the subject, and a gratifying appreciation of Spencer's contribution to philosophic thought, especially in the field of psychology. President Denslow, who presided, informed us that the society was in a flourishing condition; and the attendance and interest abundantly sustained his statement. Mr. Salter is quite hopeful that the movement of which he has taken charge in

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that city will continue to grow and make itself felt in the community. He has organized a class in ethics, and steps have been taken to do charitable and benevolent work in a systematic manner. He is encouraged by the sympathy and co-operation of practical and earnest men and women.

At La Salle, Ill., we gave a lecture before the Casino, a society composed largely of Germans, and by special request made the Cosmian Society of Florence the subject of the discourse. There was a general desire to know all about the history and workings of that organization, with a possible view to adopting some of its methods. Mr. Hegeler, a wealthy zinc manufacturer, who employs from eight hundred to one thousand men, is especially desirous of an association in La Salle which shall combine opportunities for instruction and amusement, on a basis broad and liberal.

At East Saginaw, Mich., we gave two lectures in a course for which the arrangements were made by Mr. Rowland Connor.

In the second lecture, we filled the place, as far as we were able, of Mr. Holyoake, whose early return to England prevented his filling his engagement at East Saginaw. Prof. Adler and Rabbi Hirsch had lectured in the course, which has been fairly successful. The second evening, we spoke to quite a large audience. The papers of the city are very liberal, and gave fair and good reports of the lectures. Mr. Connor's society is in a vigorous condition and increasing in strength. It designs to erect a building at a cost of $10,000 this year. Mr. Connor's lectures attract large audiences, are published in the papers and widely circulated, and are having a marked influence in Northern Michigan. His society is nominally Unitarian, but composed chiefly of radical, outspoken free thinkers, including anti-Christians, agnostics, materialists, etc. Mr. Connor is not, and of course does not profess to be, a Christian, and indeed is quite as radical and pronounced in his views as either editor of *The Index*. He is doing excellent work in Michigan.

Last Saturday evening, we addressed the Spencer Club of Providence, R.I., which met at the house of Mr. James Eddy, of that city. After the address, an hour was devoted to conversational discussion, in which several persons participated, and among them, Frederick Douglass, who was present. The majority of the members are ladies, and a number of them evinced much acumen and discrimination, as well as acquaintance with philosophic theories, in discussing or commenting on Herbert Spencer's reasonings. Sunday afternoon, we spoke for Mr. Hinckley's society. We were pleased to learn that its meetings will before many months be held in a more pleasant and commodious hall. The society is not large; but it is composed of good, earnest men and women, and they are all agreed that Mr. Hinckley is the right man in the right place. B. F. U.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION FESTIVAL.

Our readers will be pleased to learn that Col. Higginson has consented to preside, and Miss Garlin's admirable Euterpe Quartette to sing, at the Festival of the Free Religious Association of Anniversary Week. The Festival this year is to be held in the large Horticultural Hall, and will consist of a sit-down supper, beginning at about six o'clock, and brief speeches from speakers whose names will be hereafter announced.

Tickets of admission, with reserved seats at the tables, at fifty cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston; of the Secretary, F. A. Hinckley, Providence, R.I.; of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass.

As it is designed to press the sale of tickets at once, it is hoped that all friends proposing to attend the Festival will make early application for seats. F. A. H.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the poverty so generally prevalent in Germany and the penury in a portion of the country now aggravated by the floods of the past winter, $13,000,000 have been expended in fortifying Metz and Strasburg; and a further grant is needed.

THE Insanity Map of Wisconsin, just published among the proceedings of the Conference of Charities at Madison, shows that among the counties having the fewest lunatics in proportion to population is the one which probably has the most free thinkers; namely, Sauk.

THE *Herald* remarks: "Some people think an oath a wonderful thing. A Colorado man committed five murders, and his confession thereof is believed because he swears to it. As if a man who could commit five murders could not swear falsely without damaging his conscience!"

IN one of the "Familiar Letters of John Adams," written Sept. 1, 1777, occurs the following paragraph: "Gen. Washington sets a fine example. He has banished wine from his table, and entertains his friends with rum and water. This is much to the honor of his wisdom, his policy, and his patriotism."

"THE New York *Sun*," says the Lima *Republican*, "devotes more than three columns of its closely guarded space to the review of a book, the argument of which is that animals reason. It is remarkable to what pains philosophical science subjects itself in an endeavor to prove what every one knows who has ever seen a dog avoid a second introduction to a tin can."

THE *Independent* says: "A writer in the *Presbyterian* declares that he does not know a case in which a church has repudiated its debts. We could easily give fifty cases in which a church has declared itself unable to pay its debt, and has either gone out of existence or disposed of its property at sheriff's sale, perhaps, buying it in for half the debt. Why is it that banks and insurance companies dislike to loan to churches?"

"THE State of Illinois," says the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, "leads all the other States, not excepting populous New York and humane Massachusetts, in liberality to objects of charity. The amount invested in charitable institutions under State control and sustained at the expense of the State is, in round numbers, $12,000,000. It would seem from a recent publication that this is more than any of the four great powers of Europe has invested in a similar way."

THE papers give an account of the artificial production of an Aurora Borealis by Prof. Lendstroem, of Helsingfors. This astronomer is said to have placed a network of copper wire on the top of two mountains 6,000 feet high, in latitude 67 degrees north. He then connected this network with the base of each mountain. The net was provided with numerous points which attracted the electricity in the clouds to the earth, and produced an aurora which rose 360 feet above the mountain tops.

AS TO Science, she has never sought to ally herself to civil power. She has never attempted to throw odium or inflict social ruin on any human being. She has never subjected any one to mental torment, physical torture, least of all to death, for the purpose of upholding or promoting her ideas. She presents herself unstained by cruelties and crimes. But, in the Vatican,—we have only to recall the Inquisition,—the hands that are now raised in appeals to the Most Merciful are crimsoned. They have been steeped in blood!—*Dr. J. W. Draper.*

SAYS the Youngstown, Ohio, *News Register*: "People have a right to worship God, each in his own way; and it is right they should. But they should do it at their own expense, not by levying forced contributions on others. The widow has a right to worship God in the shanty she calls home, and perhaps that is the only place she does; but she must pay her taxes all the same, and so should the wealthy church. The real estate owned by a church organization enhances in value as rapidly as any other in its vicinity, and is as much benefited by improvement; yet, though it be owned by the same society a hundred years, it pays nothing to the support of the government whose protection it enjoys, while that by which it is surrounded has paid more than its original cost in that way."

DR. JOHN HALL, in a recent address before the students of Yale Theological Seminary, warned them carefully to avoid the misuse of words. One of the words, he said, improperly used is "infidel." It is wiser to express want of confidence in a man's judgment than to call him an infidel because he does not believe as we do. So with "sceptic." Dr. Hall considered himself a sceptic in a certain sense, and so should every man who is capable of judging evidence. The Bible teaches men to prove all things. "Let us not fear that we are sceptics, but that we do not look at the appropriate kind of evidence for the given case. Another word that should be used with caution is 'secularism.' In the true sense of that word, it was proper to be secular. We are all secularists in a way. Christian secularism is the hope of the world, the inspiration of goodness, charity, and all excellent things."

THE weakness of the Southern negro for henroosts has been a common topic of our newspaper wits. But Representative McElwe, of the Legislature of Tennessee, a colored man, in an eloquent speech against the proposition to slide down the State debt to fifty cents on a dollar, said:—

> Should you keep your word, and move beyond the domain of politics this question, which has troubled us so many years, driven capital from our State, and hindered the development of our resources, and today threatens the very life and vitality of one of the proudest States in the Union,—should you keep your word and make a final settlement, as you said you would during the campaign, will this settle it? You offer it, you say, only as a tender. They say they will not accept. Then, where is the settlement? Will you go before the people again with this question unsettled? Will you prove unfaithful to the confidence reposed in you? Will you prove false in one principle? "Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus." Beware!

Shall we not admire the courage and honesty of this man, whom the State a few years ago treated as a chattel, with no rights that a white man was bound to respect, in declining to become a party to, and protesting against, a gigantic scheme of robbery on the part of the State of Tennessee?

LIVE THOUGHTS.

THE secret of success is constancy to purpose.—*Disraeli.*

AH! if the rich were rich as the poor fancy riches.—*Emerson.*

IN discussing anything, the weight of reasoning, and not of authority, should be sought, since the authority of those who profess to teach is, on the whole, a hindrance to those who wish to learn. For the latter cease to depend upon their own judgment, and take for granted the conclusions of those in whom they confide.—*Cicero.*

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THERE seems to me no good in having an order of advocates who shall be known as the Ruffians of Progress. In a representative country, I am for using force to maintain law, and reason for changing it. He who would not maintain law by force, if it was threatened by force, is a coward who would abandon men to carnage, and society to tyranny.—*George Jacob Holyoake.*

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

TO OUR FRIEND SAMUEL JOHNSON.

O pines on yonder mournful slope,
Dark, dark against a glowing sky!
O hearts which once beat high with hope
That quiet lie!

O friend whose semblance, cold and calm,
We laid beneath yon sheltering trees!
Thy blessing, like an evening psalm,
Still haunts the breeze.

Thy purer presence by my side
Still leads me through the glooms of night;
Till death, thy faith has glorified,
Seems glad and bright.

We know thee in each nobler aim,
Each impulse toward a grander strife:
Thy influence, as a purer flame,
Still gives us life.

Thou livest in the hearts that beat
Yet higher at thy spirit's call:
Our lips again thy words repeat;
Thou speak'st in all.

O friend! beyond these turbid tides,
Sleep on beneath protecting pines:
Thy life, that as these stars abides,
Yet brighter shines.

Sleep on! No. Welcome! for thy soul
No mortal confine longer bars;
Thou com'st rejoicing, as they roll,
Th' eternal stars.

Welcome! Thou bring'st us light and rest,
A blessing from these friendly skies.
Lead on! Thine is the high behest
That never dies.

W. P. A.

For *The Index.*

WOMAN:

From Dr. Dix's Stand-point.

"O woman, in our hours of ease
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,"—
When thoughts of "missions" rack thy brow,
How much more dreadful *then* art thou!

In teaching babies how to walk,
And showing them how they should talk,
We own thy skill; but, please to note,
Thou mayst not teach men how to vote!

Admit thy intuition might
Avail to set the wrong ones right,
Yet otherwhere thou must save souls:
We want no morals at the polls.

Wise doctors, of all sects and clans,
Proclaim thy brain weighs less than man's:
Why shouldst thou aid to evolute
A brain that would their words refute?

Nor deem it hard, if we who know
How vain are all things here below
Should bar thy entrance to the bar,
And set thee from the pulpit far:

Since Paul—who never made mistake—
Once stooped to aid thee, for men's sake,
And fixed thy place, in written word,
Like children, then, be seen, not heard!

Thy duty 'tis to mind the house,—
Not rule it,—be a faithful spouse,
To work, increase thy husband's hoard,
And be contented with—thy board.

Perchance, the coming ages will
Bring thee fresh toils, thy hands to fill;
But never, thou, leave in the lurch
Thy watchful friend, the holy Church!

WALTER L. SAWYER.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 12, 1883.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index.*

THE GENII IN COUNCIL.

BY F. M. HOLLAND.

PART I.

How are we to tell what is Right?

The genii of all the nations and religions were assembled before the throne, on which sat the Genius of Humanity.

"I have called you together," said he, "because I would have the laws of life better known. Declare, each of you in order, beginning with the oldest, by what rule right and wrong may be distinguished. Let your various tests of goodness stand forth, side by side, that the true one may be found. My children perish in ignorance. Let the way of salvation be brought to light."

First of all rose the Genius of China, extremely old, and dressed in a mandarin's full costume. On his hat of state were the peacock's feather, golden flowers, and button of high rank. He wore square-toed boots of yellow satin, a robe of light blue silk, and a red scarf crossed upon his breast. "The four hundred millions of my people," said he, "still find all the guidance that man needs in the teachings which Confucius gave their ancestors more than two thousand years ago. The true test of goodness is obedience to his precepts and those of the Five Sacred Kings, the oldest of books, written three thousand years before his birth. For thousands of years has China known the great rule, to do as one would be done by, and the celestial virtues, benevolence, justice, propriety, wisdom, and filial fidelity. These virtues, and the others which proceed from them, are taught so minutely in the Chinese sacred books that man needs no other guide. Let the younger nations go to the Celestial Empire to become wise."

The next spirit was also very old. His face was dark and his garments white as snow, and around his neck hung the Brahmin's sacred thread. "In India, also," said he, "there are hundreds of millions who find the way of life in the Vedas and Shastras, as their ancestors have done for thousands of years. Thus have the Hindus learned that paradise is open to him who doeth no evil to any creature, even the meanest, and to him who speaketh truth continually. Send my people not to China for guidance, but let the Chinese and all the other nations come to the Land of the Vedas."

Then, another spirit held up two tablets of stone, inscribed with Hebrew characters, and said: "From no writings of man, but from the mouth of Jehovah himself, hath Israel received the law. All idolatry is contrary to righteousness, and is forbidden in these Ten Commandments, which bid men serve God, not in worship of graven images, but in justice, purity, and brotherly kindness. To the eyes that turn toward these precepts will the ways of righteousness be ever plain."

The next genius was girt with the Gueber belt, and held in his hands an ancient scroll. "This holy Zendavesta," said he, "has taught the fire-worshippers how to think purely, speak purely, and act purely, and how to fight for the King of Light against the Father of Evil, until complete victory and universal salvation shall be achieved."

"Your laws are for single nations only," said the next spirit, who was clad in the yellow robe denoting sanctity in Central Asia. "The Buddha's precepts are for all mankind. Equally good in all lands, ages, classes of society, and races of men are his five great commandments: Do not kill any living thing. Do not steal. Do not lie. Do not commit impurity. Do not become intoxicated. Every one of the four hundred million Buddhists has before him, written in his sacred books and spoken by his bonzes and lamas, the way to Nirvana."

Then, another spirit, of haughtier bearing than the others, robed in purple and fine linen, crowned with a triple tiara of gold and gems, and holding in one hand a pair of keys and in the other a crozier surmounted by a double cross, said: "Your laws are all passing away: mine endure forever. Your precepts lie in your books, stale and cold: mine flow forth fresh and warm from the mouth of the ever-living Church. Every generation has new duties and needs new revelations. Moreover, human nature is so prone to rebellion against the truth as to need authority even more than knowledge. For the guidance of humanity, only the infallible Church, with her continual inspiration and her absolute power, can be sufficient. In the Church alone is salvation."

Up sprang the form of an Arab warrior, clad in coarse raiment and rusty mail, and holding a scimitar whose blade was stamped with Koran texts. "Your Church," shouted he, "is, like all its forerunners, too old and feeble to make conquests longer. My doctrines spread throughout China, India, and Africa, as fire in the jungle. The faith of Islam will prevail over all others, for therein alone are the laws of righteousness purely taught. You all teach that not only faith in these laws, but faith in images and ceremonies is necessary for salvation. You dishonor morality in your idolatries. Even Israel has let his traditions and ceremonies become idols. Through idolatry of Jesus and Mary can come no interpretation of the will of Allah. In Islam is his will revealed purely, and thereon should every nation be founded. The Koran is the only law book. Every Moslem nation is the executor of Allah's will against the infidels. All Moslem kings, judges, warriors, and scholars join in maintaining that blessed will, in submission to which alone is everlasting life."

And another warlike figure, but in full European uniform, his breast glittering with orders and his hand armed with a marshal's truncheon, said proudly: "What you would maintain in darkness and weakness, I have built in light and strength. Your work is crumbling already. Mine will endure. A million of soldiers and eighty million subjects uphold, above all the dissensions of Europe and Asia, the one true and firm standard of right and wrong, beyond all controversy, the will of the Czar. All the world listens to the voice of Russia. Safety and prosperity are theirs who follow it. For those who disobey are anarchy and ruin. No ancient books, time-serving priests, or barbarian zealots can give guidance to be named beside that of an enlightened monarch."

All these genii showed marks of old age, though those of Rome, Islam, and Russia, appeared still vigorous. The next shape was in the prime of manhood. His dress was peaceful and his hand held an open Bible; but his looks were fierce, and the voice loud and harsh, in which he cried: "There can be no real morality, where the Bible is not freely read. No man ever does right, except when he follows his own conscience, as enlightened by Holy Scripture. The only standard of right and wrong is the will of God, which the Bible alone reveals. Only by conformity to that revealed will can man gain salvation. Thus saith the Lord: 'It is not in man that walketh to direct his

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steps.' 'Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not unto thine own understanding.' 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.' Other books which pretend to be inspired are all lying vanities. Jesus only is lawgiver for all mankind. "Neither is there salvation in any other." Every State or church which assumes any authority above or beside that of his will recorded in Scripture shall be destroyed utterly and speedily."

All who had spoken now looked angrily at each other and seemed eager to speak again; while several, who had as yet taken no part, rose together with wild looks and gestures. But the Genius of Humanity stretched forth his hand, and said: "Peace. Cease to be angry with each other. Let no one claim any authority over another's followers. You hold each a different rule of life, sufficing for your own most pressing needs, but useless to all who do not dwell in your land or believe your creed. You each condemn the others. Thus, you all condemn yourselves. I will hear no more about these private paths to heaven, open only to a portion of my children. Let him stand forth who can declare the universal laws of life, which may be followed by dwellers in every land and worshippers, under any name, of him whom no name can praise rightly, but whom all the many names given him in sincere worship reveal each in part."

Then stepped forth, with a graceful bow and genial smile, a figure whose dress and manners were those of a young man in the best society, but whose hair and teeth were plainly false and his dull eyes surrounded by the wrinkles of age. In his hand was a sheathed rapier and in his buttonhole the red ribbon of the Legion of Honor.

"Our friends," said he, "have spoken of laws imposed upon the weak by the strong. There is still a better law, by which the strong have bound themselves in favor of the weak. The law of honor commands every man to protect all who need defence, to keep his word sacred, to forego all base advantages, to keep his reputation and his family's pure, to die rather than be disgraced, to give his heart's blood gladly in his country's service. This law was first known in France, and there it is best enforced. During a hundred years of constant changes in State and Church, the law of honor has remained the same, and has kept France grand and glorious. For imperialist and red republican, for catholic, protestant, and philosopher, there is the same word of authority,—*Noblesse oblige*. From France, the law of honor has spread over all the civilized world. It is for men of every land and church alike, but especially is it for gentlemen and men of letters. They are best able to know its precepts, which grow ever more complete and precise as they are discussed in the best society and recorded in the ablest journals. Thus interpreted by public opinion, the law of honor is a sufficient guide for all men everywhere. *Vox populi, vox Dei.*"

The next shape was plainly and negligently dressed, and seemed prematurely old through much study. He wore spectacles, his pockets were full of books, and a roll of proof-sheets was in his hand. "The sword of Germany," said he dryly, "has proved the rottenness of your gilded oracle. A full system of morality needs a firmer foundation than the authority of any Church, or State, or book, or social circle. The most transient of foundations is public opinion. It poisoned Socrates and crucified Jesus. It upheld slavery and witchcraft. Still, it tolerates social and political corruption, and resists the progress of reform, philanthropy, and science. The moral laws flourish by no favor of man. They are their own sufficient authority. Let no one say that they are true, because they are revealed. They are revealed, because they are true. They are recorded more or less fully in the sacred books of all the religions. They are revealed perfectly in the nature of things, in the necessary relations of all creatures to each other and to their Creator, and also in the conditions of mutual harmony among all parts of the universal whole. Man's reason shows him the duty of fulfilling all the requirements of Universal Order, and acting only by such maxims as might become the general laws of all humanity. His natural love of goodness, simply because it is good, raises him, above all care for human praise and blame, or for divine rewards and punishments, into knowledge of Absolute Truth. In his intuitions of Truth and Goodness are all his duties made known. All other revelations would be in an unknown tongue, if this inner revelation did not interpret them. Bibles and churches have no real authority except from this higher law. Books, churches, and social opinions grow old and pass away. The Moral Law endures forever. It is a partaker of the Divine Eternity. Let man guide his steps by its primary and self-evident commands of Justice, Purity, Truth, Reverence, and Love, as by eternal stars."

"The compass is a better guide than the stars," said a stout shape, with florid face, neat business suit, and gold-mounted riding-whip. "Your eternal laws are good things to talk about, but they are too high up to follow practically. They did not show the old Greek philosophers the sin of unchastity, slavery, and infanticide, or your German philosophers the evils of absolute monarchy and infidelity. Man needs not only more knowledge, but more impulse. Your ideas have no meaning to most men, and little force to any. A sound moral system should enforce itself. Practical morality must be founded on the strongest of human desires,—the love of happiness. The full happiness of any man requires the greatest possible happiness of all others. Morality, therefore, is seeking the greatest possible happiness of the greatest number. Actions are right so far as they tend to promote happiness, and wrong as they tend to produce pain and discontent. For instance, if any man is in doubt whether a proposed amusement is right or wrong, he has first to consider whether he will really be more or less happy after indulging in it; and, second, to consider the effect on universal happiness. The moral character of all actions is discovered by calculating their results. Any one can apply this rule, however low his social or ecclesiastical standing or slight his metaphysical training. This is the Bible rule: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' This is the great system of Utilitarianism which almost all advanced thinkers have adopted. Utilitarianism has made Great Britain the centre of the world's commerce, and given her an empire on which the sun never sets."

Then, another figure, much younger, but taller, thinner, and sallower, arose, newspaper in hand, and said: "I represent a nation even more practical than the British, practical enough to call everything by its right name, too practical to call utility morality, expediency justice, or happiness goodness. Americans believe in doing right because it is right, not because it is advantageous, and doing right without regard to consequences. Man needs some higher impulse than love of happiness, some higher test than calculation of results and profits. True morality raises man above all utilitarian calculations, into such genuine love of duty as never counts the cost. Love of happiness, even the greatest possible happiness of the greatest number, is not sufficiently disinterested to be pure morality. Pure morality must be built on a sounder foundation than man's love of happiness,—on his innate love of goodness for its own sake. Every man has not only a natural love, but a natural knowledge of goodness. He has in Conscience an all-sufficient guide. However untaught he may be otherwise, he has only to use his conscience to the utmost, and it will guide him aright. Even if he wander for a moment, his good purposes and feelings will surely bring him out right at last. The standard of morality is obedience to Conscience. The morality of an action is shown not in the utility of its results, but in the conscientiousness of its motives. Conscience tells man his duties with an authority which neither utilitarianism, rationalism, or public opinion can rival. Only Conscience can call forth all the strength and dignity of manhood. Outward revelations are useless for him who follows this Inner Light."

Then, another figure, far the youngest of all present, arose, with timid look and pleading gesture, saying: "Suffer me also to speak, though I represent no nation or religion, but only a single student's theory. Such were all the systems of morality once. Let mine be judged with those that have appeared. None has yet been generally approved. Even following conscience seems, I doubt not, to many besides myself insufficient. Nowhere do people differ more than in their consciences. The modern French conscience, like the ancient Grecian, tolerates such lying and debauchery as an American conscience abhors. Mediæval consciences enjoined persecutions, pious frauds, and self-tortures which modern consciences despise. The consciences in one-half of the United States once generally sustained an institution against which those in the other half testified indignantly. The true guide must be more clear than what most men call their consciences, and must be even more free from all pressure of external authority. It must resemble utilitarianism in being easy of application, but must appeal to a higher motive than love of happiness. The moral standard which man can safely apply must be lofty enough to call out his highest powers, plain enough to be in no danger of being misinterpreted by prejudice or passion, and commanding enough to be its own authority, without appeal to Church or State. If such a standard has yet been presented, I will say no more."

"Such," said the Genius of Humanity, "is the standard I ask for. Not yet has it been shown me. Declare it yourself, and the gratitude of mankind is yours."

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

A PLAIN TALK ABOUT THE INDIANS AND THEIR TREMONT TEMPLE FRIENDS.

Editors of The Index:—

Some years ago, I devoted four or five months to a study of the Indian question. I examined the entire literature of the subject, and prepared an extensive *résumé* of the history of the Indians in America, acting very much in such a capacity as that of the assistants of Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft, author of the *Native Races of the Pacific Coast*. I therefore feel that I have some right to speak on this threadbare but always fascinating subject. It would be in bad taste again to wave "the bloody shirt," and vex the ears of a much enduring public with a rehearsal of the old, old story of Indian wrongs and army atrocities. What it does behoove us to do is to settle upon some wise plan of action in behalf of the Indians and their white neighbors in the West. On Wednesday evening of April 4, another meeting of the friends of the Indians was held in Tremont Temple, Boston; and addresses were made by Edward Everett Hale, Gen. Armstrong, Col. Pratt, of the Carlisle, Pa., Indian School, and others. Nothing does more honor to the city of Boston than her active, philanthropic interest in the Indians. But the aspirations of Mrs. Jellyby for the general cultivation of the African coffee-berry *and* the natives, and the happy settlement of a portion of our superabundant home population in Borrioboola-Gha seem to me scarcely more visionary and useless than do the noble but mistaken labors of the Indian educators to settle the Indian question without first removing that eternal obstacle to Indian civilization, the present agency and reservation system. It is hard to ridicule sewing-circle and tea-drinking philanthropy, because it springs from such noble motives. But, if it stands in the way of more effectual reform, it must be thrust out of the way. It is too late in the day to think of mending wrongs by Sunday-school philanthropy alone. The great reproach of all Christian philanthropies is that they are too timid and deprecating. Instead of taking the sword from the madman, they go about applying salve to the wounds he has made, and begging the injured to be patient and meek under their sufferings. Instead of grappling with the hydra-headed monster of iniquity and stabbing it to the heart, they walk timidly around it, fulsomely begging its pardon, pretending friendship, and only occasionally backing a little at its toes or tail.

It makes one who knows the facts laugh aloud to read some things in the report of that Tremont Temple meeting on April 4. The Rev. Edward Everett Hale is a man whom I admire most of all American preachers. He is the most versatile of writers, but has not enough of the Garrison in him to make a reformer. His most charming characteristic is that he wants to make everybody happy and good-natured. I would cut my right hand off rather than doubt his utter sincerity when he soothingly told the audience at Tremont Temple that the army had always been the friend of the Indians, that probably a permanent commission of army officers would form the best Indian tribunal, and that the Indian question was at any rate practically settled now, and all we have to do is to co-operate with our excellent Indian Bureau, Indian Commission, and Indian educators. But that he is egregiously mistaken in these points is evident to all who have deeply studied the question. In fact, one seems distinctly to trace in his affirmations the influence

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of conversations with army officers and those who support the present system. His astounding assertion (as reported in the Boston *Advertiser*) that the army has always been the friend of the Indian shows that he has not personally investigated the subject to the extent necessary to form a correct opinion of his own. The soldiers the friends of the Indians! The tigers the friends of the lions! The cats the friends of the rats! The panther the friend of the wolf! And the Indians have never had any truer friends than Generals Miles, Crook, and Howard! Then, indeed, is their cause miserable!

When I hear such amazing statements as these of Dr. Hale's, I recall that long and infamous list of brutal murders, treacherous faith-breakings, and insults on the part of the army, the campaigns on the Washita, the exiling of the Nez Percés, the massacre of the Cheyennes in Colorado, and a thousand other outrages like these. The army has always been the deadly enemy of the red men, and justly so. For, under the *protégé* system, the ward system, the reservation and agency system, the canting, sentimental pauperizing system that now prevails, the troops of the government are pitted as police over against bands of mad, fantastic baboons, dirty, ferocious Thugs, escaped convicts, cunning maniacs tricked out in feathers and ribbons, and riding furiously over the country with weapons in their hands. For this is what the Cheyennes, the Apaches, and the Sioux are, —no better and no worse. The one religion of their lives is murder. Certainly there are noble exceptions to such tribes as these. And there are many noble individual exceptions, but they only prove the rule. To read as I have done for months in succession the list of frightful Indian massacres, and horrible, sickening mutilations committed by the various Indian tribes of America, is enough to convince me firmly of one thing; and that is the *ineradicable* love of murder and cruelty in the Indian's nature,—ineradicable, but not impossible of suppression. The example of the Cherokees and of other tribes shows that time and education, and interbreeding, will in the end make men out of the red maniacs; but it must be remembered that the Cherokees were almost a semi-civilized race before the white man set foot in the New World. They were always different from the other Indians. Therefore, different measures must be taken for the civilization of those others. That such educational work as that of the Hampton and Carlisle schools will never accomplish anything of value while the present system of Indian management lasts is proved by the reports of the principals and teachers themselves. To send an educated Indian boy or girl out among those dirty, lazy bands of bedizened pauper Thugs on the reservations means inevitable lapse into the old barbarism. Experience has shown this. The one desirable thing, the one thing above all others toward which all the energies of Indian philanthropists should bend, is to get the Indians to work at agriculture or stock-raising on their reservations.

Most of the Indian tribes should be treated precisely like colonies of convicts made up chiefly of murderers and paupers. Any set of men—whether "civilized" butchers in our towns, or soldiers or cannibals or Indians—that make slaughter of other animals than themselves a trade should be regarded by the really civilized portion of society with suspicion. The "grandeur" of wars is a thing of the past; and the slaughter, or murder, of the peaceful species of our fellow-animals for food is a hideous and disgusting relic of the wild state, which there is no decent excuse for perpetuating. I say, then, that you are to put your fantastic red murderers to honest work at tilling the soil. Then, all the amenities of civilization will follow. *Then*, your education of Indian children will be of some use. And you need not be afraid of stepping on the precious toes of your interested War Department, and Indian Commission, and Indian Bureau. There will be plenty of use for soldiers for many a year.

See what you shall do. Disarm the Indians; stop sending them food and clothing; distribute them, putting each man on a farm; help him build a shanty, and give him tools and horses and seed-corn; distribute garrisons of soldier-police at intervals; appoint civil magistrates; subject the Indians to civil rules as nearly like those of white communities as the peculiar nature of the Indian will allow; take judicial power wholly from the army, which is never fit to be trusted with it, and make the soldiers only police executives of the civil officers. In short, subject the Indian to the compulsion of civil law; make him work or starve. No doubt but he will work then, just as the convict does (how admirable the modern convict reform system!) Above all, as soon as your Indians have reaped their first crop, send out to them blacksmiths, carpenters, and other artisans, as well as teachers, all from their own ranks. The making of these is the work which the schools at Hampton and Carlisle are now doing, and must then do more extensively than ever. There is really little new in the above plan: every feature of it has been successfully tried. It will save millions of money. The army and the Indian agents are the only ones who would like to perpetuate the present inhuman farce. Shall we stop for them? WM. SLOANE KENNEDY.

A FRENCHMAN'S VIEW OF GEORGE ELIOT.

Editors of The Index :—

In looking over the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for March 15, which has just come to hand, I found an interesting article on "George Eliot: her Works and Moral Teaching," by Emile Montegut, who will be remembered as having written some years ago for the same *Revue* two articles on Emerson: the first, "An American Thinker and Poet," published Aug. 1, 1847; and the other on "Hero-worship according to Emerson and Carlyle," Aug. 15, 1850. A portion of the article on "George Eliot," relating to her views of religion, I thought would be particularly interesting to your readers, and accordingly give it below:—

"The very striking opinions which we find in *Felix Holt* oblige us to return to a very delicate subject. In what sense can it be understood that George Eliot was a religious person, and what was the measure of this religion? Felix Holt broke with Christianity; but the rupture stopped at the dogmas, since he himself held to that which is the essential virtue of the Christian,—that love for his neighbor, *without* which the apostle tells us we are but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, and that disregard for self which the mystics consider to be the crown of the spiritual life. Was it, then, these virtues which constituted all the religion of George Eliot? and the religious stamp with which she has marked *them*,—is it more than an illusion produced by the fervor with which she has preached *them*? *No: she had something* besides this; that is to say, an idea of religion itself, which remained clearly, however subtilely, distinct from the idea of morality, and which she considered as the most efficacious agent of the highest virtues. With the exception of Felix Holt, it is remarkable that none of her characters arrive at *perfection* without the aid of the religious idea. All remain invariably weak and changeable up to the *moment* when they are compelled by the logic, the passion, or the accidents of life to implore its succor. Maggie Tulliver never took such firm stand against herself as when the book of the *Imitation* fell into her hands, and Daniel Deronda was never able to emerge from his state of hazy idealism until he had been initiated into the Jewish faith through the ministry of Mordecai's friendship. Indeed, George Eliot is not very exacting in her choice of this religious succor. From whatever direction it comes and whatever name it bears,—Anglicanism, Catholicism, Calvinism, Judaism,—she is ready to accept it for her characters. But notice that this assistance comes always from a sanctuary, cloister, conventicle, or synagogue, never from the cold laboratory of the student or from exclusively philosophical meditation. More than that, she does not accept the religion without the accompaniment of certain practices; and she considers some form of these practices as indispensable to the health of the soul. She goes very far in this direction, so that she approaches singularly close—who would believe it?—to some doctrines of Catholicism on the necessity of the direction of the conscience. It is a curious thing—and it shows well at what point the nature of the sex lost little at the hands of a woman of genius—that it is for women, above all, that George Eliot recognized this need of a spiritual guide,—not because she esteemed them weaker, but because she considered them more passionate; and, consequently, they could not be saved, protected, elevated, consoled, except by a moral authority which had power over their sensibility. It is such a savior that Jeanie Dempster, of the *Scenes of Clerical Life*, sought and found in the young minister, Tryon, who drew her from an abyss of despair and the vicious habits of drunkenness; it is such a protection that Maggie Tulliver went to seek from Dr. Kenn; it is such a spiritual guide that Romola found in Savonarola. The hardness of heart and dogged silence of Hester Sorrel after her crime gave way at the religious words of Dinah Morris: done by this little Methodist, it is not less a miracle of moral resurrection than that which Catholicism attributes to the confession of sins. This need is presented as so imperative that, in default of a guide clothed with the sacerdotal authority, the feminine soul seeks it under the secular form of a friend, a husband, a master, even a lover." H. E. A.

NEWPORT, R.I., April 3, 1883.

EUSEBIUS AND "PIOUS FRAUDS."

Editors of The Index :—

No doubt there has been, and now is, very much said and done which might properly be called "pious fraud"; and the cause of true religion and sound morality is certainly best served, in the long run, by exposing such wherever found. But there is also a necessity for care that the exposure of a fraud be not a fraud itself.

Now, I have been looking up "pious frauds" myself for several years, and I read with much interest anything bearing on this question. But I see a constant tendency to detect a "pious fraud" where *none exists*. And, in the reference to Eusebius as one who favored concealment and deception "for the cause of Christ," it seems to me there is seen this same tendency. If Eusebius was an advocate of the doctrine of "doing evil that good may come," as the great Apostle to the Gentiles was not, he ought to be shown up. If not, he ought not to bear the imputation which has been cast on him.

I know of but one way to settle the matter, and that is by *quoting his words*. And so, in justice to one who is not here to defend himself, I trust, Mr. Editor, you will allow the passages referred to by your correspondent in *The Index* of March 29 to be reproduced entire, and so let all judge for themselves. I give them below:—

"All this [referring to the just judgments that came on the churches, in the form of persecution, *for the sins of pastors and people*] has been fulfilled in our day, when we saw with our own eyes our houses of worship thrown down from their elevation, the sacred Scriptures committed to the flames in the midst of the markets, the shepherds of the people basely concealed here and there, some of them ignominiously captured, and the sport of their enemies; when, also, according to another prophetic declaration, 'contempt was poured out upon their rulers, and he has made them to err in a trackless by-path, and where there is no road.'

"But it is not for me to describe fully the sorrowful calamities which they endured, since *neither does it belong to me to record* the DISSENSIONS and FOLLIES which they exercised against each other before the persecution. Hence, also, we have purposed not to extend our narration beyond the events in which we perceive *the just judgment of God*. Hence, also, we shall not make mention of those that were shaken by the persecution, nor of those that suffered shipwreck in their salvation, and of their own accord were sunk into the depths of the watery gulf. But we shall only, upon the whole, introduce those events in our history that may be *profitable*, first, *to us of the present day*, and hereafter *to posterity*." — *Eccl. Hist.*, B. VIII., chap. ii.

"But the events that occurred in the intermediate time, besides those already related, I have thought proper to pass by,—I mean, particularly, the circumstances of the different heads of the churches who, from being shepherds of the reasonable flocks of Christ that *did not govern in a lawful and becoming manner*, were condemned, by divine justice, *as unworthy of such a charge*, to be keepers of the unreasonable camel, an animal deformed in the very structure of its body; and condemned further to be the keepers of the imperial horses; also, the number and severity of the burdens and oppressions they bore, for the sake of the sacred vessels and property of the churches, from the imperial rulers and governors, at the time in the midst of insult, injury, and torment; moreover, the *ambitious aspirings* of many to office, and the *injudicious and unlawful ordinations* that took place, the *divisions* among the confessors themselves, the *great schisms* and difficulties industriously *fomented by the factions* among the new members against the relics of the Church, devising one innovation after another, and unmercifully thrusting them into the midst of all these calamities, heaping up af-

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fliction upon affliction,—all this, I say, I have resolved to pass by, *judging it foreign to my purpose*; wishing, as I said in the beginning, to shun and avoid giving an account of them. But whatsoever things are serious and commendable according to the Scriptures, 'If there be any virtue, if there be any praise' [Phil. iv., 8. *Read the whole passage*], deeming it most proper to tell and to describe *these*, and present them to the attention of the faithful in a history of the admirable martyrs; as, also, most consistent with that peace which has recently shone upon us from heaven, I shall consider myself as most likely to decorate [embellish?] the close of my work, if I present to the attention of the faithful *an account of these*."—*Book of Martyrs*, chap. xii.

Here, we have the whole of the passages wherein this old church historian is said to "confess that he was *by no means scrupulous* in recording the whole truth concerning the early Christians, and that he *suppresses everything which would be detrimental to them*." The italics are mine.

The *facts* in the matter are these, as any one can see if they will read his book: Eusebius, in many places, refers to and severely condemns, not simply the errors of *belief*, but the corrupt practices of many in the early Church,—pastors and people,—using such expressions as "heated with wine and surfeiting," "perjuries and falsehoods," "fraud and treachery," to explain what it was he condemned; and, also, other immoral practices of a grosser sort, and that without any apparent reluctance.

Now, as he approaches the end of his work, designed to be a general *history* of church affairs, he acknowledges that he shrinks from the recital of things which, being done in the whole Church, *justly* incurred the divine displeasure, and brought down judgment in the shape of *persecution*. But, so far from implying that he desired to suppress what would be "detrimental" to the Church, he carefully gives a summary of the misdeeds and mistakes which brought on the Church such terrible sufferings. He does state, in substance, that he considers it no part of his duty, as an historian, to give the details of these misdoings; but, whether right or wrong in this opinion, he *never hints* at the idea of suppressing facts for fear of injuring the *Church* or "the cause of Christ." If that was his object, *why mention the matter at all?* I can see no sign of a "pious fraud" in this disposition to avoid details in regard to the heinous offences of other *members of the family*, especially when he frankly and minutely *acknowledges the facts*.

Now, we are ready for another "pious fraud."

E. P. WOODWARD.

MAPLEWOOD, MASS., March 30, 1883.

A WORD FROM MR. HEYWOOD.

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of March 15, relative to Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, you say that you are "not in sympathy with those who have called special attention to the most offensive passages in his works, and sought to identify them with liberal thought."

I know you intended no reflection; but, in the above passage, you attribute to me and my associates, in the case now pending in the United States Court, motives utterly foreign to our action or purpose. We have not sought recognition of Whitman's works as "liberal" or illiberal; for his books must stand on their own merits, if at all. We simply resent the invasive, irresponsible, impudent censorship of the press which Comstock incarnates. It is an outrage on the rights of every American citizen that the parcel of lascivious cranks who constitute his Vice Societies shall be allowed to say what books we may, or may not, read. The extracts alluded to were published *solely to vindicate the freedom of the press and the right of private judgment in morals*, now seriously assailed under sanction of United States law.

As what you said does us great injustice, I trust you will kindly give place to this, the needed correction. Truly yours,

EZRA H. HEYWOOD.

PRINCETON, March 16.

[While we do not admire Comstock, nor approve all his methods, we fail to see the justice of characterizing his Vice Societies "as a parcel of lascivious cranks." Furthermore we do not think that freedom of the press is likely to be promoted by publishing in tract form indecent passages from a volume in which they are blemishes, but little censured perhaps owing to the great merits of the work of which they form but a trifling part.—ED.]

A NOTE FROM MR. CHARLES WATTS.

Editors of The Index:—

On the eve of my departure for England, permit me to express my sincere thanks to the many American and Canadian friends who, during my brief sojourn in this country, have shown me so much kindness. Their hearty recognition of a humble but earnest English worker in the great cause of Liberalism will long be remembered by me as being among the most pleasing incidents of my public career. The great success of my lectures in every Northern and Western city I have visited affords me unqualified satisfaction and most gratifying remembrances. I much regret that, at the last moment, I have been unable to accept several invitations to lecture for liberal associations on account of being compelled to return to England. However, it is my intention to revisit the States at no distant date, when I hope to make a more extensive tour through the North and West districts. In the mean time, all communications for me should be sent to 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C., Eng. CHARLES WATTS.

[Mr. Watts sailed from New York on Thursday, April 5.—ED.]

THOUGHT IN DREAMS.

Editors of The Index:—

Instances of coherent thought in dreams are so rare that I think I may properly speak of one that occurred last night. I dreamed that I had a room of my own in Harvard College, and was talking to two young men there somewhat thus: "What we call an absolute monarchy really rests on a military hierarchy, and it would not be a stable form of government if there were not people who strongly preferred to have something stable and solid above them,—just as we at present are glad to have a roof over our heads rather than be out in the night air. There is also the despotism which rests on a priestly hierarchy; but of that there is no instance just now, except in Thibet." These were ideas I had never thought of before: and the form of expression, except in thinking of a military hierarchy, was reasonably coherent. After this, I passed, by some step of which I could remember nothing, into a wild adventure, out of which I finally awoke in a regular nightmare. I am sure that I felt, even in my dream, that I had rather stay out-of-doors all my life than live in a house of bondage; but I do not remember trying to express this thought before I waked. I do distinctly remember taking care not to speak with offensive severity of priests. F. M. H.

CONCORD, MASS., March 26, 1883.

IS THE BIBLE THE PARENT OF RELIGION?

Editors of the Index:—

A late issue of the *Churchman* contains the following words: "This Church, we are happy to say, has never put forth or even adopted any theory of inspiration. In her creeds, nothing whatever is said about the Bible.... Another fact to be remembered is that the Bible, in both its parts, is the Church's, and not the world's book. It was born within the Church, and was intended to serve a churchly end. Historically, it is the child rather than the parent of religion." In regard to the Bible being the book *of* and *for* the Church, isn't that the idea that has always been held by *infidels*, such as Paine, Ingersoll, and others of more or less note? The statement that the Bible is the *child* rather than the *parent* of religion seems logical, if not historically correct. For (unless we take the radical orthodox ground, that God, by word of mouth, dictated every word of it, and the number that hold that view of it is growing less day by day) the religious sentiment must have been in existence a long time before it appeared in Scripture; that is, religion must have been the product of the heart and brain, and *not* of the Bible, that was made as a storage place for it, and from that storehouse of religion we still continue to draw. We might as well call the newspaper the parent of news (and no doubt it is sometimes, when copy is scarce, for instance) or effect the parent of cause as to call the Bible the parent of religion. WILLIAM H. SPILLER.

Feb. 7, 1883.

MISCELLANEOUS.

REV. M. J. SAVAGE, of Boston, received, a short time ago, a letter from Mr. Herbert Spencer, assuring him of his interest in Mr. Savage's presentation of the religious and ethical bearing of his philosophy. The following is an extract:—

"QUEEN'S GARDEN, LONDON, Jan. 9, 1883.

"I have read with much interest your clearly reasoned and eloquent exposition of the religious and ethical bearings of the evolution doctrines. I rejoice very much to see that these aspects are coming to the front. It is high time that something should be done toward making the people see that there remains for them not a mere negation of their precious ethical and religious beliefs, as they had supposed, but, contrariwise, beliefs which, as you say, have a definite, scientific, and unshakable foundation. I hope that your teachings will initiate something like a body of definite adherents, who will become the germ of an organization. I have been long looking forward to the time when something of this kind might be done, and it seems to me you are the man to do it."

On writing Mr. Spencer for permission to publish this extract, Mr. Savage received the following:—

"Not only are you quite welcome to publish from my letter the extract you specify, but I shall be glad if you do so. The mass of the religious world is very reluctant to be undeceived in the way you have been endeavoring to undeceive them; and, in so far as my emphatic indorsement shall help to undeceive them, I shall rejoice to see it used."—*Christian Register.*

THE New Jersey *Sabbath Union* is laboring under the delusion that Heaven is much offended at the running of Sunday trains through the quiet fields and pretty meadows of the agricultural districts. According to such special information as the *Union* seems to have on the subject, Heaven is inclined to be down on Sabbath-breaking roads in general, but has a particular aversion to the Pennsylvania Railroad. Consistently with this view, the *Union* has formally uttered a protest couched in language intended to send it rattling down the corridors of time in peculiarly lively fashion.

The *Union* is so thoroughly in earnest that it seems a pity to have to undeceive it; but it has got it all wrong. It is not the running of Sunday trains which troubles Heaven. Yes, we know that the Pennsylvania road has done some queer things in its day; but, if Heaven has been considering Sunday trains, it has only been to regret that they were not run oftener, faster, and at cheaper rates. That is what troubles the Lord. It troubles him that the poor who live in the close and narrow tenements of a great city have not better facilities to get away from their crowded quarters on his day, and go out to the smiling meadows and pretty lanes beyond; that they cannot know something at least of the fragrance of the green fields and the beauty and perfume of the blossoms. And we beg to assure the *Sabbath Union* that nothing which serves to that good end will ever trouble the Lord, depend upon it. He may have a score to settle with the Pennsylvania Railroad, but it will not be on the ground of running cheap Sunday trains to the suburbs.—*New York Herald.*

BOOK NOTICES.

LECTURES, ESSAYS, AND SERMONS. By Samuel Johnson, author of *Oriental Religions*. With a Memoir by Samuel Longfellow. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Should the friend, admirer, lover of Samuel Johnson, feeling that this was a nobler than "one of Plutarch's men," and eager for wider diffusion of the knowledge of his life and character and of the influence of his thought, open this book with some misgiving, lest the memoir, by his friend of forty years, should, by its brevity and apparent meagreness, fail to set forth fully enough its subject, and should the doubt not at first give way on reading these calm and temperate paragraphs, and as traits and incidents of Mr. Johnson's life are recalled, alike by things said and by things omitted,—let him still read on until he finds, as he doubtless will, all feeling of disappointment gradually dispelled. The craving for more fulness of outline or of detail will cease. He will begin soon to be pleased with the simple dignity of the narrative, and with the fine reticence, so well suited alike to the subject and to the writer. He will feel at last

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that *in* the lines and *between* them is all that is necessary, not for a biography, which this does not claim to be, but for what it is,—a *memoir* of a noble man, of a lofty soul, and a grand life and work. Mr. Longfellow has delicately and perhaps wisely refrained from saying much about one whose own words speak for him better than even the wisest and faithfulest friend could do. And he has composed the memoir chiefly from letters of Mr. Johnson, representing almost every period of his life and phase of his thought and feeling.

The letters from Europe show a faculty of observation and a descriptive power not often excelled in literature. And he is as original here, as independent and self-reliant, as in his more abstract thinking. He uses his own eyes, his own judgment, his own language, investing everything he describes with the peculiar qualities of his own personality, especially with its spiritual beauty, yet at the same time entering with wonderful insight and enthusiasm into all natural significance and all historical situations. And, in other letters, the criticisms of contemporaries and of events show everywhere the same self-poised individuality, the same keenness of perception, and likewise the same gentleness and affectionateness of spirit, preserving the tone of human kindness even in his severest strictures or denunciations. He does not from prejudice attack any man or party; nor does he from partiality spare even those who move most nearly upon his own lines of thought or of action, yet who, in his judgment, imperil their best aims by wrong impulse or method. But that in him which to not a few souls was the finest, purest, and most helpful quality, is revealed in the letters of consolation—what meaning the word carries when they use it for the comfort he gave!—which he sent to sorrowing friends, making them feel the gain in their loss, and flooding their world of grief with a divine light, blending every spiritual ray.

Nothing better, then, could Mr. Longfellow have done than to let these letters speak for their author. They reveal the steady growth of his mind and the gradual conception and performance of his task, from boyhood until his death. The purity of heart, the depth of thought and its swiftness, the moral independence and heroism, the unwearying industry, the cheerful patience, the self-forgetting love, which are the true measure of the man and of his work, are all visible here. And in what Mr. Longfellow has himself written of his friend, with all its delicate reserve, there is yet the fullest recognition and the most appreciative setting forth of these qualities, and of their great result in work, in life and character. Quiet and serenely strong and beautiful, like him of whom they tell, are the fitting words of this memoir,—worthy and sufficient to stand, as they will, with his own deep-thoughted writings, to be read, let us trust, by more than one generation of earnest men and women, and of thoughtful youth seeking true paths for their aspirations and hopes. Few are the guides and helpers so sure and strong and so wholly self-devoted as Samuel Johnson.

In these twelve lectures, wisely selected to show the range of Mr. Johnson's thought and moral interest, as well as the force and vividness of his imagination and the adequacy of his style for every theme, appear everywhere the same great capacities,—depth and breadth of view, clearness of statement, strength and beauty of rhetoric, acuteness of perception, power of argument, loftiness of spirit and of purpose. To some who have been deterred by the voluminous weight of his *Oriental Religions*,—exhaustive studies, from which, as yet, ordinary readers shrink—from feeling his full force and influence, this book must surely prove a fascination to draw them nearer to this wise teacher. To give any adequate idea of these various papers would require more space than can here be taken. A few remarks upon some of them must suffice.

Scholars have observed that in the *India* and the *China*, Mr. Johnson not only fulfils all that the general title, *Oriental Religions*, promises, but really presents a history of the races and civilizations with which he deals. The same thoroughness and love of fundamental work are manifest in the lectures on "Florence" and "Switzerland," the first and second in this book. Not mere description, vivid and beautiful as are the pictures here, but also history, philosophy, poetry, criticism, and prophecy enrich these lectures, yet without confusion or unwieldiness, each element inwrought with every other by the far-seeing and synthetic thinker, all analysis of nature, art, life, character, fact, form, color, of the impalpable, indescribable presence of beauty itself, recomposed into intellectual, moral, spiritual harmony.

Scarcely less remarkable in the same elements of power and beauty is the third lecture, "Symbolism of the Sea." A few persons who heard it read, probably the last time it ever became music through its author's voice, reading it now, will see how his modesty made Mr. Johnson fail, as always, to give it the emphasis of its real value. One wonders what access of "popular" power might have come to him, could he have felt the self-confidence whereby, apparently, so many men magnify their own words, commanding for that which is beneath comparison with his writings, press and people, not only the attention—which he scarcely secured—but likewise the applause of multitudes.

The essays which follow these lectures deal with great practical questions in a manner which shows that, although Mr. Johnson was, as Mr. Longfellow says, in the cast of his mind "intuitive rather than logical," he yet had no lack of power to ratiocinate with the best thinkers of his time. As a statement of the means and the end of education in its broadest sense, a criticism of our half methods, and of the wiping out of individuality in mechanized rules,—the worst fault, he thought, of modern systems in everything,—and much else of practical wisdom regarding the laws of individual growth and work, and of social and political service, the essay on "Fulfilment of Functions" is a treatise to which teachers as well as scholars, in all departments, would do well to go for instruction, suggestion, and inspiration. "We must," he says, "make our interest in education threefold what it is; count it of more importance than markets or churches to a people; put a hundred dollars for ten, wise superintendents for ignorant and contentious committees, more teachers with fewer pupils to teach, and chosen for gifts too rare to be had without skilful search and due respect, not for aptness in drilling a hundred as one, but for the rarer insight and sympathy that knows how to bring out of one a nobler import than any heap of mere numbers can show. .. Popular liberty is yet to be earned. . . . It will come when we facilitate and insist on a proper training for all functions. It will come when we account official positions not as prizes to be seized, but as outposts of peril for sleepless consciences to guard. It will come when we make such estimate the alphabet of political culture. . . . The love of doing things as they ought to be done . . . is civilization; this is liberty, culture, progress, holiness. For the art of finding one's special function rests on a deeper art, which helps to the fulfilment of many,—the art of pursuing true and right relations in everything."

Those advocates of suffrage and other "rights" for women who regarded Mr. Johnson in his later years as wanting interest in their cause, when he only refused to be forced into methods which he more than distrusted and to be made the mouthpiece of views which he held to be unsound, may look far and wait long before they find a deeper foundation whereon to build their real argument than he has laid in the essay on "Equal Opportunity for Woman." The title intimates the whole development of the subject. Not equal *rights* (as to the suffrage), but "equal opportunity," is the just, the fundamental demand. Equal obligation, too. It is "a question as to what are woman's aptitudes and duties." And he enforces the argument with such cogent reasoning as few would care to oppose. "This path [the suffrage] must open to woman simply because all paths must open to mind and will, on like terms for all. . . . If history has any record, it is that the finer moral and æsthetic forces in society have always been measurable by the degree in which woman has been respected and set free to follow her own instincts of culture and use. . . . Her political recognition will crown all other opportunities, not because it will make women vote, but because it will show that they are held equal members of the State with men in all the forms of its universal life." With his usual breadth of view, seeing that all questions become one at last, he covers in this essay the whole ground of political duty and fitness, of private capacity, and of public ends.

Those who read in the *Radical* for November, 1871, or in the reprinted pamphlet, the essay on "Labor Parties and Labor Reform," and who remember what attention it attracted, and with what kind of success it was answered by some of the leading "labor reformers," will not need to be told of the massiveness of its structure, the solidity, the energy and scope of this unrefuted argument, nor that it embraces the essential and permanent elements of the problem. Until the question is finally solved, this treatise will remain as fresh and powerful as it is to-day. That it does solve the intricate difficulties of labor and capital, the delicate questions of the relations of industry and of wealth with social justice and progress, need not be claimed while the whole matter is yet so dark. But that it sweeps away the fallacies of "class interests" and antagonisms, and demonstrates the universal claim to the honorable title of *labor* from the scavenger up to the poet or the painter, and the common sharing in wealth of all who contribute to it, and the common obligations in the producing and sharing, and proves that not antagonism at all, but co-operation, not in any partisan or technical sense, but in the sense of universal identity of interest and of aim, is the true solution,—all this may be safely said. "Labor is the grand creative energy of society, the wisdom, whose voice is to all the sons and daughters of men, calling them to that steady application of all powers to right and helpful uses, which shall stamp each person's doing with productive value and make it a common good. This universality alone can define the word, and the lofty claims must all pay allegiance to this. . . . The first step toward justifying our American 'honor to labor' is to recognize that God hath joined labor and capital, and that no man or party has authority to put them asunder or to declare them foes. . . . I cannot believe that we shall make any progress toward solving the difficult problem of the relations of labor until we start with appreciating *those aims and motives in which every one, whatever his special work, is bound to share, and which constitute the common cause.* . . . This real respect for labor is the one great lack amid all our manifestoes of its rights and ovations to its name. This, when it comes, will be true labor reform, to be hailed with enthusiasm and faith."

Over the sermons in this book,—where else are such sermons to be found, teeming as pulpits and presses are with hebdomadal "efforts," incontinently scattered over the land, and when will mankind come up to the hearing of such sermons, if they can get them?—over these sermons, one is tempted to linger, and from them to cull such flowers as are rarely seen in the sermonic vases or conservatories, and which will not wither, that the reader may taste their fragrance and judge what it might be to inhale from the whole rich atmosphere of this garden. But these sermons are too great and too individual to be exhibited in specimens. Let him who would pluck flowers from the paradise of thought come and choose for himself.

Those who still call themselves Transcendentalists will probably feel that no truer exposition of their philosophy and no stronger defence of it has ever been made than in the last of these profound papers. In some respects, "Transcendentalism" is perhaps the most remarkable of them all. No wonder that one who had written a history and, as he thought, the epitaph of Transcendentalism, could say that, if *this* were Transcendentalism, then *he* was a Transcendentalist. So would many a disciple of empirical schools, of positive philosophies, confess, could he fully take the bearings of thought in this comprehensive and luminous essay. If there is, or can be, any science, any natural fact, or human power or interest which Transcendentalism, as defined by Mr. Johnson, does not make room for and take up into its account of things, he, at least, was never persuaded of it. Such a demonstration, and such only, could have driven this idealist from the high ground where, with his *sun-mind*, he saw the sun of Everlasting Truth.

Prof. Eitel, whose notice of Mr. Johnson in the *China Review* is here printed in an appendix, bears testimony to his work and just rank as thinker and writer, with implications as to want of appreciation at home, which may well make American scholars in all schools wonder whether they have been blind or wilfully uncandid.

To Mr. Haskell, the compiler of these chapters from the scholar's multifarious work,—may he bring us much more from the same rich source!—the thanks are due of all who know or who shall yet learn the value of what he has thus, with intelligent judgment and faithful labor, helped to give to the world.

J. H. C.

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THE National Bureau of Education has issued Circular No. 6, "Technical Instruction in France." This is the first part of the report of a commission appointed by Queen Victoria "to inquire into the instruction of the industrial classes of certain foreign countries in technical and other subjects, for the purpose of comparison with that of the corresponding classes in Great Britain, and into the influence of such instruction on manufacturing and other industries in their own and foreign countries." This report has been looked for with great interest by those who are seeking to improve industrial education in this country, and it is full of important information. Although the French have had much success in industrial teaching, they are yet evidently struggling with many of the same difficulties that we are; and yet they are not discouraged, but feel that in these schools lies the power which is to bring the industries of France back to the commanding position which they once enjoyed. One important feature in French schools is to be specially noted: "corporal punishment in all French schools of every grade is absolutely unknown." Is it not a disgrace to us that even our women maintain that they cannot govern their schools without the rod? The report is so full of valuable and interesting matter that we will not attempt to condense it or to quote from it, but only advise all those interested in education—and who is not?—to give it careful study.

THE *Art Amateur* for April contains a very interesting sketch of the life of the great Dutch-English painter, Alma-Tadema. His personality is frank, original, and pleasing. The specimens of his work do not do him justice; for the engraving cannot reproduce his fine color, which is so vital a part of expression in his work. We shall look with interest for the critical account of his pictures promised.

The account of Mr. Leland's experiment in his school for decorative work in Philadelphia will be welcome to all who believe in the importance of industrial training. Mr. Leland is teaching children the simplest drawing and design, and preparing them to produce good original work. This plan is a novel one, and should be thoroughly studied by those who propose to work in this line.

The designs for decorative work in this number are very rich and pleasing, and the *Amateur* is full of useful hints and suggestions in all manner of decorative work. This magazine is growing better and better, treating artistic questions more thoroughly, and offering more variety of information in its reading matter.

THE *Revue de Belgique* contains articles on universal suffrage, Gambetta's parliamentary tournament, the region of Italy which has been enriched by Canova's genius and bounty, and the beliefs of primitive races. In treating the last subject, Goblet d'Alviella argues that Herbert Spencer has attached too much importance to the worship of ancestors, and not taken sufficient account of solar myths.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MRS. ANNE LANGDON ALGER, wife of Wm. R. Alger, died on Saturday, the 7th inst.

THE widow of Captain Marryat, the novelist, died last month, at the age of ninety years.

EX-TREASURER SPINNER, at the hale old age of eighty-one, is enjoying life in Florida.

PROF. WILLIAM H. BREWER of Yale College is spoken of as likely to succeed Dr. Chadbourne as President of the Amherst Agricultural College.

PRESIDENT ANDREW D. WHITE, of Cornell University, says that the average health of the male students of that institution is not so good as that of the female students.

IN Baltimore, on St. Paul's Street, is displayed the sign, "Charles J. Bonaparte, Attorney-at-Law." This grand-nephew of the great emperor is a busy member of his profession.

COL. HIGGINSON avers that George Eliot, if she had ever held a dead babe in her arms, would have wanted something more to console her than the philosophy of Herbert Spencer.

LORD GRANVILLE recently apologized to Mr. Lowell for a short dinner notice to "the most engaged man (as diner-out) in England." Mr. Lowell very neatly replied that "no notice could be too short which came to the most engaged from the most engaging man."

ACCORDING to the *Academy*, the first edition of Mr. R. Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence*, consisting of four thousand copies, was entirely sold out within the week of its appearance. Such a success is, it is believed, without precedent in the case of Indian books.

THE portrait of George Eliot, by Mr. Frederick W. Burton, has been presented to the English National Portrait Gallery by Mr. J. Walter Cross and Mr. Charles Lewes. The face, seen nearly in full and the size of life, is drawn, in red, black, and white chalks, on gray paper.

IT is announced that prize-fighter Sullivan is going over to England to thrash Tug Wilson. There is some comfort in the thought that, if Sullivan goes to the old country, we are in a sense getting even with the aforesaid old country for having dosed us with dado Oscar and the frothy Socialist, Herr Most.

THE *Critic* of March 31 celebrated the centennial birthday of Washington Irving by a sort of symposium of mingled laudation and criticism, participated in by such writers as O. W. Holmes, Geo. W. Curtis, Chas. Dudley Warner, J. H. Morse, Edmund W. Gosse, Edith M. Thomas, and others. The same number also contained a complete bibliography of Irving's works.

MR. JOHN MORLEY, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Macmillan's Magazine*, and author of *Edmund Burke* (1867), *Critical Miscellanies* (1871-77), *Voltaire* (1872), *On Compromise* (1874), and *Diderot and the Encyclopædists* (1878), and of the Life of Burke, in the English Men of Letters Series, of which he is the editor, has just entered Parliament, from Newcastle, as a radical. It is to be hoped that his devotion to politics will not be so exclusive as to compel the relinquishment of any of his literary or journalistic engagements.

THE death of Peter Cooper is no ordinary event. As a public benefactor, no man in the world stood above him. As a man, he was an elevating example for all men to follow. As a thinker, he was wise and prudent, remarkable for his common sense and foresight; and what he professed to be in religion he practised in his deeds. He was a philanthropist in the highest sense of the term, giving to society the benefit of the practical and superior judgment of his mind, with a pure and loving heart to aid the weak and indigent, and to encourage the strong in the high purposes of life. He acquired property that he might have the means of being useful; and, though modest in the estimate of his own great merits, no man was more happy in witnessing the good he was able to bestow upon others. To all young men and women of commendable aspirations, he was always the cordial friend and helper. To all who approached him, whether a neighbor or a stranger, he became at once a cheerful companion and an intelligent counsellor.

MRS. MARGARET CHAPPELLSMITH died at New Harmony, Ind., Feb. 27, 1883, on her seventy-seventh birthday. She was with her husband, Mr. John Chappellsmith, who survives her, a friend and supporter of Robert Owen in social experiments in England, and among his most valuable coadjutors in his work of establishing a community at New Harmony, Ind. In England, half a century ago, she wrote and lectured on various reforms from a liberal and radical stand-point. Her productions show extensive reading and careful research. For many years, she was a frequent contributor to the Boston *Investigator* and other liberal journals. In a note to us, Mr. Chappellsmith says correctly, her "leaders were Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall; and, though I say it, I doubt if there exists any person who could more vigorously explain their views." She was much interested in the Liberal League until it committed itself most unwisely, she thought, to a demand for repeal of all postal laws against obscenity. In the discussion on this subject, her sympathies were with Mr. Abbot, Judge Hurlburt, Col. Ingersoll, and others, who were content to ask for a reform of the existing laws. She was remarkably well versed in religion and philosophy, and some of her writings are worthy of publication in a permanent form. She was a true, good woman; and her death is a loss to the world. Mr. Chappellsmith, who has also been an able writer of the most radical views, has the sympathy of many in his sad bereavement.

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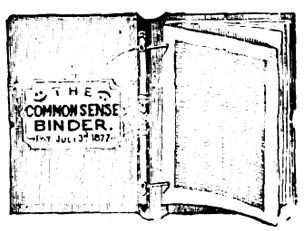

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 493

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Theism as a Basis of Religious Organization, Wm. J. Potter, ... 494
Has Woman stepped down from her Throne? Elizabeth Oakes Smith, ... 494
The Secret of the East, Felix L. Oswald, ... 495
Mr. George's Theories, J. H. Allen, ... 496
Mormonism, B. F. Underwood, ... 497
Free Religious Association Festival, ... 498

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 498

POETRY.
Peter Cooper, ... 498
Cambyses and the Calf-God, B. W. Ball, ... 503

ESSAY.
The Black Hole,—Solipsism, William I. Gill, ... 499

CORRESPONDENCE.
Letter from New York, T. W. Curtis, ... 501
Peter Cooper and the Religion of Humanity, William Frey, ... 502
Col. Higginson corrects a Newspaper Item, ... 502

MISCELLANEOUS.
Ingersoll on Death, ... 502

BOOK NOTICES.
Oliver Wendell Holmes, by William Sloane Kennedy, . 503
The Elzevir Library, ... 503
The Sanitarian, Pansy, Babyland, Herald of Health, . . 503

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 503

CURRENT TOPICS.

SAID Joseph Cook in Cleveland a few days ago, "Before God, and at the edge of Garfield's grave, I solemnly state that I had rather be an American to-day than a Roman under Cæsar or a Briton under Victoria." Did Mr. Cook, remembering the multitude of falsehoods he had uttered in Boston, think that the people of Cleveland would doubt the truth of a simple statement like the above, if he did not accompany it with an appeal to God and a reference to "Garfield's grave"?

THE attempt to inflict heavy fines on Bradlaugh for sitting and voting in Parliament without taking its oath of allegiance has failed. The House of Lords has declared that Mr. Clarke, as a common informer, cannot legally sue Mr. Bradlaugh, and has reversed the judgment against the latter, with costs. This persecution of Bradlaugh, urged by his political enemies, was outrageously unjust; and the reversal of the judgment against him is a triumph of common sense and fair play, at which every lover of justice and fairness must rejoice.

AT the Mormon Spring Conference at Salt Lake City, speakers declared that the Mormons were never before so prosperous or numerous. President Taylor said that their settlement was fifteen hundred miles in circumference, and was extending. Apostle Thatcher said that more than half of the Representatives who put aside principle and the rights of this people to satisfy popular clamor were not re-elected. God was in politics, and had swept the country. Even Democrats could not account for the turning of the tide in their favor. Providence had interfered to prevent farther anti-polygamous legislation.

THE Rev. Dr. S. Wainwright, president, and Mr. Alexander Scott, honorable secretary of the Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature, have set before themselves a formidable task. They write: "We propose to get up cases, as our funds will allow, against Prof. Huxley, Dr. Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Swinburne, the author of *Supernatural Religion*, the publishers of Mill's works, the publishers of Strauss' works, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, the editor of the *Jewish World*, Dr. Martineau, and others, who, by their writings, have sown wide-spread unbelief, and, in some cases, rank atheism in cultivated families."—*London Inquirer*.

IN the case of E. H. Heywood, who was tried last week in this city in the United States District Court upon complaint of Anthony Comstock, the jury returned a verdict of "not guilty." The counts of the indictment referring to the literature alleged to be obscene were quashed on account of the omission of the documents complained of from the indictment. The reason given for the omission, that the documents were unfit to be spread upon the record, Judge Nelson declared to be insufficient; and he said there was no excuse on the part of the government for drawing an indictment in so loose and careless a manner. It was evident from the ruling of the judge that he was not partial to some of Comstock's peculiar methods.

IN a letter to the Boston *Transcript*, Rev. M. J. Savage writes: "This is my ninth year in Boston, and I have not yet held a Fast Day service. For this course, my reasons are two: 1. In a country where there is no union of Church and State, I consider it simply an *impertinence* for either Governor or President to issue a proclamation appointing *any* religious service whatever. It is simply none of his *official* business. But the Governor this year has reached a pre-eminence of assumption in attempting to dictate doctrine, topic, and treatment. 2. I do not believe in Fast Day any way. The *true religious treatment* of the body is not to break its laws by either *starving* or *stuffing*. Bodily laws are divine laws; and they are to be kept by such a use of the body as shall insure health and efficiency. The rest is superstition."

A BILL has been defeated in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, exempting from the penalties of the Sunday law of 1794 all observers of the seventh day as the Sabbath. Rev. James Neill, a Methodist preacher, and several others, spoke strongly against the bill; and it was defeated by thirty-seven yeas to one hundred and thirty nays. In regard to those who voted against the bill, the Philadelphia *Record* observes: "In this age of reform, we beg leave to say to such legislators that the day is coming when they and all others like them will be soon forgotten; and their names, if remembered at all, will only be regarded as among people who, had they lived in what we call the 'Dark Ages,' would have consigned those who differed from them in religious matters to the prison or the stake. The defeat of Bill No. 90 is a disgrace to the State of Pennsylvania, to the Christian religion, and to the age in which we live."

A BILL was introduced in the Pennsylvania Senate, last week, to prevent such exhibitions as the "Passion Play." The bill, prepared by a Methodist exhorter, prohibits any attempt to personate or represent any being recognized as a divinity in the Old or New Testaments in any show, exhibition, play, dramatic or other theatrical performance. The penalty is $1,000 fine, and not less than six months' nor more than a year's imprisonment. If any being recognized as divinity in the Old or New Testaments really existed, possessing the common sense and self-respect of an enlightened American citizen, he would be heartily ashamed of this protective legislation in his behalf. When will the free thinkers of this country unite in a determined effort to resist encroachments on religious freedom by religious zealots and unscrupulous political demagogues, who pander to their dupes for office and emolument, without regard to justice or honesty?

IT is a generally accepted conclusion that the elephant is, in the order of nature, doomed to extinction; and that, within a measurable period of time, this gigantic mammal will have suffered the fate of the Dodo. A writer in *Nature*, who thinks no feasible means for preventing so deplorable an occurrence should be neglected, writes: "Surely, the destruction of elephants might be legally controlled (in India, at any rate), and their capture (for domestication) might be limited, as it is well known they never breed in confinement. The continuous rise in the market price of ivory, and its recent unprecedented scarcity as an article of commerce, are ominous signs, and renders it incumbent on the votaries of science to consider what may be done in the matter. It is no question of mere sentiment, it is of vital importance; and—if 'ancient monuments, ruins, etc.,' are worth protecting—it cannot be denied that so remarkable and interesting a creature as our colossal pachyderm merits some effort in his behalf."

GOV. CLEVELAND has vetoed a bill, the object of which was to turn out the fire commissioners of Buffalo, men of "unquestioned probity and executive ability," in order to give the appointment of their successors to the Democratic mayor. He says: "The purpose of the bill is too apparent to be mistaken. A tried, economical, and efficient administration of an important department in a large city is to be destroyed upon partisan grounds or to satisfy personal animosities, in order that the places and patronage attached thereto may be used for party advancement. I believe in an open and sturdy partisanship which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling knowingly to give my assent to measures purely partisan which will sacrifice or endanger their interests." The truth to which the governor of New York has given prominence needs, especially at this time, to be emphasized. The success of a party should be held subordinate to the interests of the people always. As the Brooklyn *Eagle* observes, "It may be a good thing for a governor to have his party stand by him, but it is a much better thing so to order his administration that the people will stand by his party."

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THEISM AS A BASIS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION.

The Index gives a cordial welcome to all movements which tend to broaden religious beliefs and to promote a more genuine spirit of religious fellowship. To orthodox Congregational preachers breaking away from their old creeds and rebelling against the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, to such men as Heber Newton, preaching rationalistic sermons on the Bible in an Episcopal church, to scholars like Prof. Robertson Smith and Dr. Caird, who are stretching the tent-coverings of even Scotch Presbyterianism, to any earnest attempt in the Catholic Church—in whatever name—to break through the bondage of papal authority, to all tendencies among liberal sects to become more liberal, this journal would accord hearty recognition. These movements may fall short of what, in our view, a rational religious philosophy may require; they may even, in some cases, involve positions and statements that seem to us less logically consistent than the old positions and creeds which have been abandoned: yet we welcome them for the good habit of inquiry which they have started, for the promise of continued advance that lies in them, for the proof they give that the thought of the age is penetrating the churches—even the most creed-bound of them—and planting within them the seeds of fresh life. Any forward movement is better than stagnation; any fresh, living thought, though it may not have yet come to logical completeness, better than mere traditional adhesion to a past creed, however solidly its syllogisms may adhere together.

It is in this spirit that we have greeted the new *Theistic* Society which Mr. Schermerhorn is laboring to organize in New York City. We have, it is true, our doubts about the conditions of success for such a movement there. And we more than doubt, we should for ourselves positively reject, the idea of basing a religious society on a theistic belief. We would not have Theism for a church creed more than any other *ism*. Yet the attempt is an important step forward from the position Mr. Schermerhorn has hitherto occupied. He leaves behind the Christian name. He distinctly and expressly emphasizes the sentiment of catholicity in respect to the claims and merits of all the great religions. "The sympathy of religions"—a phrase first used, we believe, by Mr. T. W. Higginson on the Free Religious platform, and the idea of which has since been made very familiar on that platform and elsewhere—Mr. Schermerhorn brings to the front, and keeps specially prominent in his new organization. He builds on the belief in Deity and in worship,—a belief which he regards as naturally universal to mankind. He would bring forth in illustration of his own teachings the good and the true from all the faiths of the world. For its catholicity of aim, for its step away from the sectarian claims of any Christian sect and of Christianity itself, for its recognition of truth in all religions, we can, therefore, have nothing but good wishes for Mr. Schermerhorn's new society. And if personal energy, enterprise, and devotion can win success for it, he will succeed; for of these qualities he is a living incarnation. He may thus even create a demand (the natural existence of which we can but doubt) for the kind of society which he has had the courage and the faith to undertake to supply.

But, in our opinion, the time for theistic societies is past. The hour struck for them, if ever, a generation ago, when Wm. J. Fox, Francis Newman, and Theodore Parker were living prophets of theistic faith, and Sarah F. Adams wrote its most famous hymn. Parker, upon whom in his later years the Christian name hung very lightly, might have organized theistic societies quite extensively in this country, had he seen fit to make that his mission. Then, Theism represented the broadest thing known for religious organization. But, though himself a pronounced and decided theist, Parker was unwilling to foreclose the progress of religious thought by imposing Theism as a creed upon others. He would keep the lines open. The society which he founded in Boston recognized its historic connection with the religious spirit that settled New England by taking the name "Congregational," and numbering itself "the Twenty-eighth." But it took no name to indicate the creed even of its great preacher,—not Unitarian, nor Theistic, nor Christian. Nor to-day could that society be induced to accept any of these names. Since Parker's day many new issues have arisen in the field of religious thought. Science has advanced with wonderful strides. The rapid spread of the doctrine of evolution has compelled even radical thinkers to recast many of their old beliefs. Agnosticism, Pantheism, and a disposition to resort less to names and definitions of Deity, even though there be belief in his existence, prevail much more among Liberals than in Parker's time. For these reasons, even if we believed in building a liberal religious society on any kind of creed, we should deem it a specially difficult task to build to-day on Theism,—difficult, at least, if Theism be very clearly defined.

Mr. Voysey, in London, has been laboring for years with a society on a theistic basis. His sincerity is beyond question, and has cost him much. His earnestness and ability are deserving of high success. His single-hearted devotion to his work is worthy of all praise. Yet his organization is certainly not in so promising a condition as he would wish. It seems, in a measure, already to have been left in the rear by the onward march of that liberal thought to which it appeals for support; and his own thought—we say it with all respect and kindness—has appeared to us of late somewhat hampered by the rather old-fashioned phase of theistic belief to which he adheres. The Brahmo Somaj of India is also based on a theistic creed. But it has, too, a large infusion of Oriental fervor and mysticism, which would find little favor among liberal minds in Europe and America, but which are giving it considerable success among the mystically inclined descendants of Brahmanism. But the Brahmo Somaj does not satisfy all the emancipated thoughtful minds of India; and that portion of it which is led by Chunder Sen and his disciples is now adopting practices of spiritual incantation, and religious pilgrimage, and mystic communion with departed saints, which may add to its power among the Hindu populace, but which we imagine Mr. Schermerhorn's congregation of busy, money-making New-Yorkers, though willing, as requested at his services, to "rise and stand devoutly during the opening Prayer and the closing Blessing," would not take to very naturally.

The name which Mr. Schermerhorn has chosen for his new society is somewhat puzzling. It is called "Third Unitarian (Theistic) Church." By putting the word "Theistic" in parenthesis, it would seem as if he rather subordinated that idea, after all, to the leading word "Unitarian"; and the prefix of the numeral "Third" to "Unitarian" apparently indicates that he uses the latter word in its denominational rather than theological sense. Does Mr. Schermerhorn mean to insist on his right to fellowship still among Unitarian churches? We shall be interested to see what the next Unitarian *Year Book* will do with his name in its list of ministers, and whether the next National Unitarian Conference will recognize this "Third Unitarian" Society of New York, if it shall exist till that time.

But a graver question arises in connection with the collocation of words in the name of the new society. An impression has gone forth that the movement is a resuscitation of O. B. Frothingham's society. We cannot believe that Mr. Schermerhorn himself has given out any such distinct idea as this; for Mr. Frothingham's society has disbanded, and we understand that very few of his congregation—none of its prominent members—are taking any part in the new organization. What he has probably done is to speak, as our New York correspondent elsewhere reports, of his movement as an attempt to continue in somewhat different phase the work carried on by Mr. Frothingham; and such an effort would be entirely legitimate. But, this being all, it is unfortunate that the name chosen, omitting the parenthetical word "Theistic," should be the same as that by which Mr. Frothingham's society was known during most of its existence. This naturally conveys the impression, if no explanation goes with it, of a revival of the old society; and, hence, the same objections might be made to it that would be made to a new business firm adopting an old and well-known firm-name for carrying on its business, when there was really no connection between them,—that is, the objection of trading on the benefit of another's reputation. And, when Mr. Schermerhorn explains that the name "Third Unitarian Church" is retained "for historical reasons only," the explanation, unfortunately, is too suggestive; for, in 1875, Mr. Frothingham's society by a unanimous corporate vote changed its name to "Independent Liberal Church," and withdrew henceforth from nominal as well as actual fellowship with the Unitarians. The "historical" connection, therefore, with Mr. Frothingham's work would have been more directly expressed, if the Theistic Society had chosen this latter name instead of the one which Mr. Frothingham and his society had discarded.

WM. J. POTTER.

HAS WOMAN STEPPED DOWN FROM HER THRONE?

It will not do to call Dr. Morgan Dix a fossil or an old fogy. He is nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he is an able representative of a large existing community,—high-toned, moral, religious, and cultivated,—who sincerely believe that the incoming social proclivities are not only dangerous, but utterly at war with the designs of a Divine Providence; and, as such, the wheels of progress ought to be checked resolutely and defiantly. Since persecution in the shape of fire and sword is inadmissible, the keen weapons of an aroused public opinion, reprehending, making odious, denunciatory, and unresting, must be brought into action, and society protected from opinions far more to be dreaded than those that consigned Savonarola, Servetus, and Bruno to the stake.

Dr. Dix, so far from being a fossil, is a very live man,—fervid, painstaking, and forecasting. He sees what hundreds who abuse him fail to see,—the downfall of masculine supremacy, the tottering of the Church *as it now is*, and the loss of hierarchal power and privilege; but Dr. Dix, with all his fine insight, does not see the new heaven and the new earth which all this foreshadows; he does not see the *new man* of our emancipated humanity; he does not perceive the coming woman, clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet, in the presence of that divine light of justice and equality. Could he see all this, much of his anxiety would be allayed.

Like the gentle knight of Cervantes, he should have lived to put spear in rest a hundred years be-

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fore he gallantly laid about upon the shadows of the past. But who would not rather weep with the pure romance of Don Quixote than be level with the times, like the trencher-henchman, Sancho Panza?

Dr. Dix has not spoken to no purpose. The sins of women (of which more hereafter) *are* fearful to contemplate. The advocates of the momentous question of equal suffrage have been too often flippant, coarse, mannish, and aggressive; but one Lucretia Mott, whom I am proud to call my friend through long years, might redeem an army of ill-advised but earnest, true-hearted women, and women who might satisfy the requirements of even a Cæsar.

These women may have too much dwelt upon the shortcomings of our brothers and the incapacity of the majority of men to *maintain* the women whom at the altar they endow with "all their worldly goods," and yet selfishly debar them from the honest exercise of their abilities to remedy the evil. It may be said that the extravagances of the sex render it difficult for the other sex to support their wives. I admit this, but aver that the women foremost in the great questions of the day do not belong to this class. They may not be "stayers at home," as Dr. Dix would have them, for they have work to do abroad; and that they have worked to some purpose in less than a half-century is evident from the manifest change of public opinion, which has called to the front, called from his cloister seclusion, so eminent a man as Dr. Dix to denounce them.

But, be it borne in mind, there has never been protest till sin was at the door. There is no wail without an undercurrent of wrong, no passionate outcry except as the utterance of unendurable pangs; and I contend that this uprising of the sex is no vain, foolish bleat of overfed lambs, but a great wholesome movement to revolutionize the social platform, to take the "weaker sex" (!) out from the swaddlings and wrappings that suffocate them, and to relieve the "stronger sex" (!) from their unequal burdens. It is a noble willingness to do our share in the world's work and help on that ameliorating spirit that shall culminate in those finer harmonies preluding *good will to man* and the reign of peace on earth.

It cannot be supposed that we women have penetrated so deeply the designs of God in our creation as a learned priest who, fasting and praying, has looked for and read the oracles; but this we can see,—there is a beautiful utilitarianism pervading all the economy of nature. Nothing is superfluous. From the age of savagery up to our own, we perceive a gradual evolvement of the higher and better aspects of humanity,—the dropping away of what was old or effete, and the induction of the more excellent. The Messianic expectation has been realized, and the most sanguine among us cannot hope to produce more than the average child of the advancing civilization; and, alas! in the one State of New York there are more than seventy-five thousand of us who cannot do even this honestly and reputably.

If all these must be put into homes and mother children, I do not see how it can be done without the old patriarchal or modern Utah polygamy, which would go counter to all advancing ideas of what is wholesome in morals. It follows, then, that to literally construe the designs of Providence in the creation of these seventy-five thousand extra women would land us in a sea of troubles. Herod's massacre of all the first-born males would not be tolerated; and nothing short of this would strike the balance, and render it possible for all these women to be wives and mothers. Such being the case, would it not be wise and well to recognize these women, born despite of the most pious calculation, outside of the pale of marriage, and see what can be honestly done for them?

If they are ungathered fruit from no fault of their own, are, it may be, as "willin'" as Barkis, and as comely as the majority of wives, and yet must accept their lot of single blessedness, why not let them seek out some compensation,—train themselves for teachers, for officials in a well-governed State, for scientific explorers, for writers, for doctors, lawyers, preachers, or whatever other pursuits are adapted to their capabilities, remembering that the measure of capacity is the measure of sphere to either man or woman, as I have been called upon to say many and oft-times?

These seventy-five thousand women must do something of this kind, as above stated, or do worse. I would have them recognize the fact that marriage is out of the question for them, and accept the situation. I would have them lay aside all ideas of sex. I do not care that they should do their "spriting over gently." I do not care to remember their sex, to say that they are womanly. Indeed, to be *manful* is required of these never to be appropriated women. Let them *work*, which is the best thing for all of us. Let them not be drones nor incubi in the body politic, but efficient, earnest, diligent workers, making society better for their existence in it.

Far be it from me to underestimate the sanctities of home,—the sweetness and blessedness of the true wife and mother. The Jew has from the first well represented the benefits of a home to the families of a nationality, and their exemption from the manifold diseases and crimes that are dragging down the glories of our republic is a better argument in favor of the household than any that we can make. But the ages have rolled on, and changes have arisen and are now working which cannot be gainsaid. Opinions, though strenuously clung to by the churches, are losing their hold on the human mind. Men are fast deserting the churches. Women are no longer the unquestioning mass that formerly filled the pews. Women are presenting a new type of womanhood. The priest is ministering to a class falling more and more into the background. I do not say the modern representative is better or worse, but I do say that the worst sins of the sex have arisen from that public opinion that persists in regarding them only from the stand-point of sex.

If woman has been degraded during the savagery of man, it was a testimony of the pervading condition of the race. If she has been exalted to the rank of queen of grace and beauty, she shared in the progress of ideas that helped to elevate man from barbarism. The chivalry that raised the few out of the degradation of the many of the sex gave place to the ascendency of the ecclesiastic over the military idea, and woman participated in all the dire persecutions of the Church, in her constancy vying with man in her patience and devotion to the truth as revealed to her. She nobly stepped down from her queendom of beauty into the arena of opinion, of thought, of deadly struggle, and womanly endurance of torture and death. In all this, she kept pace with the progress of ideas. The sense of the truth within her caused her to abdicate the throne of mere beauty and feminine homage. The priest taught her to estimate the sanctities of the virgin above the chasteness of the wife and the tenderness of the mother, to look upon the cloister as more sacred and more to be desired than the home. She fell into the snare, and thus the noblest of the sex perished at the stake or were secluded from the world, ceased to improve the race by their superior qualities, and left the office of production to those of an inferior stamp.

Protestantism did its work in stimulating her intellect, while it took from her the honors of the Lady Abbess and the canonization of the saint. She became plunged in polemics from the time, in our country, of Anna Hutchinson to our own. I do not conceive that she abdicated her throne so much in our day as a thinker as when, under priestly rule, she became a nun. She shares the fault of the general protest in making her individual judgment the law, and rejecting the consensus of the wisest and best.

So far from regretting that women no longer require undue homage, and that they can go steadily onward, even when men deny them that respect which is the natural homage of manliness, I perceive in this that they must and will compete for, and at length win, the honors and emoluments of good citizenship, that the race is to be lifted through them to a higher plane of civilization. Men will grow ashamed of their assumptions and shortcomings, and women of their turpitudes and aggressions. Home will be embellished with new light and a better life. The wife and mother, that she may the better fulfil her duties, will not feel it needful, nor will our brothers feel it needful, that, in order to be *stayers at home*, they should first, like the beetles in Madeira, be deprived of their wings; for duty will be the presiding genius of the home.

Of the sins of women, I will speak in another number.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

THE SECRET OF THE EAST;

OR,

The Origin of the Christian Religion and the Significance of its Rise and Decline.

CHAPTER III. (*Concluded.*)

The Ethics of the Christian Religion.

Has Christianity made us more moral? A chorus of stall-fed obscurantists will denounce the impiety of the very question; but the time is past when the shadow of the cross could veil a multitude of sins against truth, and with the help of God we will lift some of these veils. A fruitful source of ethical delusions is the *autodogmatic fallacy*, or the tendency of every sect to judge the merits of its founder by the standard of his own dogmas. The votaries of barbarous creeds award the highest prize of virtue to deeds of relentless ferocity. They mistake pity for weakness, and its suppression for an act of praiseworthy heroism. The followers of Confucius inculcate the punctilious observance of ceremonies; and, tried by that standard, the Chinese moralist was undoubtedly the most perfect man. The worship of sorrow has so perverted our moral ideals that for long centuries joylessness and self-affliction ranked among the highest virtues. A jaundiced, whining abstainer from physical enjoyments was the Puritan paragon of moral perfection.* The municipal codes of many American cities still contain provisions for

* "According to this code, all the natural affections, all social pleasures, all amusements, and all the joyous instincts of the human heart were sinful. The clergy looked on all comforts as sinful in themselves, merely because they were comforts. The great object of life was to be in a state of constant affliction. Whatever pleased the senses was to be suspected. It mattered not what a man liked: the mere fact of his liking it made it sinful. Whatever was natural was wrong."

"Bathing, being wholesome as well as pleasant, was a particularly grievous offence; and no man could be allowed to swim on Sunday. It was, in fact, doubtful whether swimming was lawful for a Christian at any time, even on week-days; and it was certain that God had on one occasion shown his disapproval by taking away the life of a boy while he was indulging in that carnal practice. . . . Even on week-days, those who were imbued with religious principles hardly ever smiled, but sighed, groaned, and wept. One pious elder had acquired distinction by his faculty for what was termed 'a holy groan.' He used to weep much in prayer and preaching; he was every way 'most savory.' Even among young children, from eight years old upward, toys and games were bad, and it was a good sign when they were discarded."—*Buckle's History of Civilization.*

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the suppression of public amusements on the only day on which a large plurality of our workingmen find their only leisure for recreation. The old Egyptians turned their funerals into holidays. We celebrate our holidays like funerals. Sublunary life, according to a still prevalent theory, is a state of probation for testing a man's power of self-denial. God is supposed to delight in the self-abasement and mortification of his creatures. A "man of sorrows" is our ideal of moral perfection. The cross, an instrument of torture, is the symbol of our creed. That creed has made our daily life so joyless that the mere prospect of a change must enhance the attractions of a future existence.

We have been taught to treat the body as an enemy of the soul; and, if bodily health is an obstacle to true saintliness, we have evidently progressed in the path of salvation. Under the influence of a sixteen hundred years' reign of Anti-naturalism, the degeneration of the South-European races has reached that degree where terrestrial existence ceases to be a blessing, and where the undue love of life is not apt to prevent the appreciation of spiritual comforts.

We have been taught that *faith—i.e.*, mental prostitution—is a prime condition of eternal welfare, and in many countries that virtue has been so earnestly cultivated that, if spiritual poverty is bliss, the kingdom of heaven cannot be far off.

After the measure of such standards, the Gospel of Pessimism has certainly regenerated the human race. But the virtue of a merchant should not be weighed on his own balance. The merits of a creed cannot be proved by its conformity to its own precepts. The standards we should apply are the laws of nature, the revelations of science, and the lessons of history. Such tests would teach us that the love of gloom is a mental disease; that, in a state of nature, every normal function is connected with a pleasurable sensation; that happiness, therefore, is the normal condition of every living creature; that to enjoy is to obey; and that he who deprives himself or his child of any innocent pleasure commits a crime against nature. They would teach us that physical vigor is a prime condition of moral health, and that he who neglects the health-laws of nature sins against his soul as well as against his body.* They would teach us that light is the harbinger of happiness, that the sun of science has ripened more blessings in a single year than the moonshine of mysticism in eighteen centuries, that the suppression of free inquiry has never benefited any country, and that faith without reason is not a virtue, but a vice. They would teach us that the love of earth was the gospel of all progressive nations, that the love of life lends wings to every valiant enterprise, that the love of joy is the parent of every healthy instinct, while the worship of sorrow has never produced anything but monsters and chimeras. They would teach us that pessimism is a blasphemy against the Author of life, against the Power whose all-sustaining hands furnish the weapons of its very assailants,—an insane, impious, and suicidal rebellion against our All-mother Nature, a foe to happiness, and the antithesis of all true religion.

In what respect, then, has the human race been benefited by a creed that has perverted their ethical instincts and systematically opposed the development of their physical and intellectual faculties? "In the Duty of Disinterestedness," we are told, "Christianity has revealed a higher type of virtue." A *new* type would be more correct, if the study of the Buddhistic Scriptures had not revealed the true author of that doctrine. But we should not forget that the self-denial of the New Testament is not the disinterestedness of liberality, not the unselfishness of friendship or patriotism, but the *self-abnegation of pessimism*, the indifference to the weal or woe of life which inspires the Buddhistic renunciation of worldly possessions. On the shores of the Mediterranean, that *disinterestedness* has sadly reduced the interests of real estate, and made mundane life extremely uninteresting. A joy-loving cultivator of the smallest farm, who improves his land and his trees and surrounds himself with a troop of happy children, benefits the world more than a whole convent full of disinterested Buddhists with their ascetic crotchets and puling pessimism.

Has Christianity made us more religious? Its terrorism once covered the land with churches, and the steeples of those churches still bristle in every city; but *religion—i.e.*, a whole-souled moral enthusiasm—requires the co-operation of heads and hearts, and is as different from mediæval devil-panics as from the stock-list-consulting sanctimony of our Sabbatarian Pecksniffs. Whether as brainless bigots or as heartless hypocrites, the defenders of the Trinitarian dogma have always been the worst enemies of natural religion. Even a moral atheist would object to the absurdities and atrocities they ascribe to the Supreme Being, but there are no real atheists. Naturalism, Pantheism, and Theism are only different names for the recognition of the beneficence and omnipresence of the great unseen Power; and, to every sincere worshipper of that Power, the apotheosis of Nature's enemy must be a shocking blasphemy against her God.

Has the *Reformation* improved our moral status? would be a very different question; for that reform, without admitting, and perhaps without suspecting, its ultimate mission, has proved itself a rather progressive one,—so much, indeed, that the doctrine preached from the pulpits of our Protestant churches is not Christianity, but an eclectic Bible doctrine, mixed with at least fifty per cent. of purely pagan ethics. Outside of La Trappe, few human beings could nowadays allege a reason for calling themselves Christians, and an honest repugnance to a solecism of that sort has perhaps evolved the nomenclature of our countless isms. Most Methodists know that some of Wesley's doctrines are already out of date; few Calvinists would like to mention certain tenets of the Geneva witch-hunter; and neither Catholics nor Old Kirk Presbyterians can doubt that the unqualified dogmas of the New Testament would circumscribe the sphere of a modern apostle by limiting his influence to the audience of a lunatic asylum.

The viands served in the refectory of our spiritual purveyors are half pagan and one-fourth Hebraic, but the Buddhistic flavor of the remaining fourth greatly impairs the digestibility of their collation. Their temperance-precepts are neutralized by the doctrine of the man who depreciated the health-code of the Mosaic dispensation, who denied the defiling influence of "anything that enters the mouth," and who once proved his sincere indifference to the physical welfare of his fellow-men by manufacturing a considerable quantity of intoxicating drink. The worship of God in the wonders of his visible creation is counteracted by the impious tenets of Anti-naturalism, the "vale of tears" dogma, the alleged worthlessness of earthly life, that fills convents and prebendaries with the whining gluttons who

> "With senseless, base ingratitude
> Cram, and blaspheme their feeder."

The worship of Nature in her progressive revelations, and the regenerative influence of science, are paralyzed by the dogmas of natural depravity and salvation by faith; and every champion of human rights has to contend with the rancorous opposition of the creed that inculcates the duty of self-abasement.

Protestantism has already eliminated three-fourths of the pessimistic elements in our eclectic system of ethics; and, even in the interest of religion, it ought to complete its task. We cannot regain our moral health till we cease to consult the oracle of a life-hating fanatic and to disregard the teachings of our life-preserving instincts. Religion will fulfil its mission when our Unitarians begin to deserve their name by renouncing the dogmas of the blasphemous age, when the offerings intended for the Temple of our God were carried to the house of a usurper. We must choose between Nature and Anti-naturalism. The compromise plan has failed. If the Prophet of Galilee was a god, we must humbly recognize the fact that it has pleased the Supreme Being to contradict himself in his direct and indirect revelation. If he was a man, I hold that the blindness of his followers does not absolve us from the duty of exposing his baneful errors. Can good intentions outweigh the consequences of such errors? If a quack kills my child with a poison which he honestly believed would cure it, I may forgive him because he meant to do me good instead of harm; but should I revere him as a model physician, merely because his intentions were good? And should the same reason entitle the Apostle of Anti-naturalism to be worshipped as a saviour? The advocates of the compromise plan protest against the revelation of the whole truth, and hide their real motives behind a mask of charitable forbearance; but that mask has become threadbare, and to their protest I answer: Truth needs no veil, and you would not hesitate to expose the delusions of your unfortunate fellow-men, if you did not desire their welfare less than you fear their prejudices.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

* "When life has been duly rationalized by science, it will be seen that, among a man's duties, care of the body is imperative, not only out of regard for personal welfare, but also out of regard for descendants. His constitution will be considered as an entailed estate, which ought to pass on uninjured, if not improved, to those who follow; and it will be held that millions bequeathed by him will not compensate for feeble health and decreased ability to enjoy life."—*Herbert Spencer.*

MR. GEORGE'S THEORIES.

I am sorry to see my young friend, Mr. Kennedy, for whose abilities I have a sincere esteem, taking stock in the deleterious nonsense (as it seems to me) of Mr. George's book. Mr. George's excellent philanthropic sentiments, his brisk style, and inordinate confidence in a few pet theories, seem to have greatly captivated a class of youthful theorists, where a little common sense or reflection might easily put them right. At least, if they are right and I am wrong, they ought to be able to convict me easily.

Mr. Kennedy, in last week's *Index*, states three positions of Mr. George's, as if the statement alone were proof enough of them. All three of them appear to me flagrant and manifest sophisms. They concern the three points of wages, population, and land.

As to the first, I should hardly have thought it necessary to point out that it is a mere play on words, or figure of speech, that wages can be said to be paid *from* the increased value already given to the product. Say *for*, and you are right; but that value has got to be "discounted" by capital before it can be turned into wages. Mr. Kennedy takes for truth a poor joke of Mr. George's. Was it the "added value" that paid the wages of cutting the Hoosac Tunnel, say the first ten years, which it would have been more profitable for the State to have stopped then and there, with no added value at all, or that pays for building a house which burns down when it is half done, or raising a crop that is lost or spoilt on the way to market? Go to with such nonsense! Mr. Kennedy, in his "sober second thought," knows better. And, *so far as they go*, how do such cases differ from at

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least ninety-nine hundredths of those in which wages are paid at all? Of course, and necessarily, they are paid *for* added value, but *from* accumulated capital.

Mr. Kennedy thinks that Mr. George has confuted Malthus with a few fine phrases, which he copies. Now, the theory of Malthus, stripped of all verbiage, is this: that, if human beings are allowed to breed like rabbits, they, and the community or class made up of them, will in due time come to grief. Practically, Mr. Kennedy, instead of denying this, knows it perfectly well, and acts upon it. If not, what is to prevent him from starving in a hovel at thirty-five, with a horde of starving grandchildren? That is exactly what the most crowded parts of crowded England are doing to-day, as he will see by Mr. Porter's letters in the *Tribune*. And a very moderate faculty of generalization and calculation will show that this is what Malthus really means. Nobody pretends that the food-producing capacity of the earth is exhausted, or anything like it. But, for one thing, has Mr. George ever asked himself what we are going to do for lumber, if civilization and numbers go on another century, with as reckless waste as now? And so of other things almost equally essential.

As to land, I fully believe, with Mr. George, that the State, if wise and virtuous enough, ought to make a great many inalienable reservations, such as mines, forests, waterpower, and perhaps the plot laid out for a city that is sure to grow rapidly. But we seem to find that States, as they are now, are not wise and virtuous enough. Certainly, when it comes to farms and homesteads, I cannot think that even Mr. George can be wild enough to imagine that they can be better managed by political cliques at Washington or Albany than by their independent owners. If his preternaturally wild and cruel scheme of throwing all the burden of taxation upon farms and homesteads could ever be put in force, it could result, so far as I see, only in one of two things: either they would be sold very soon for taxes, in which case they would be bought up by speculating capitalists, who would make the most grasping of landlords, or else they would become the property of the public, and prove such a source of confusion and such a snarl of jobbery and corruption that the whole thing would explode, through general disgust, in a homestead law, which, with infinite misery, would bring things back to a condition something like the present, but not so good. I should think our Land Office and Indian Office had made that tolerably clear already. All which Mr. Kennedy, with his natural good sense *unperverted*, will speedily see to be the case.

J. H. ALLEN.

MORMONISM.

Joseph Smith, who was born in Vermont near the beginning of the present century; who was without either natural talent or education; whose religious nature was as strong as his moral nature was weak; who, at an early age, claimed to have visions and revelations, and to possess such powers as would to-day rank him among "spiritual mediums,"—in 1823 declared that an angel came to him, and directed him to go to a certain spot near Palmyra, N.Y.,—whither his father and family had removed when he was but a lad,—with the assurance that he would there find engraved on plates of gold a revelation containing a history of the ancient inhabitants of America. After a struggle with the devil and his agents, these plates were obtained. William Smith, a brother of the prophet, and next to him in age, whom we met at Elkader, Iowa, a few years ago, assured us that he saw Joseph bring the plates into the house in a pillow-case; that he handled them, and found them so heavy that he was unable to raise them from the floor; and that his brother showed him the rents in his clothes and the bruises on his body, which were received in the struggles to prevent the capture of the plates, and to defend his own life. He gave, with evident sincerity, a most circumstantial account of the affair, and expressed the fullest confidence in his brother's prophetic mission.

An alleged translation of the records of the golden plates, made by the prophet Oliver Cowerdy acting as clerk, was given to the world as the *Book of Mormon*, a work now known to have been written by Solomon Spaulding, originally entitled *Manuscript Found*, intended by the author only as a romance, and really the fabrication of a feeble intellect. In 1830, a Mormon Church was organized at Manchester, N.Y. The year following, the church was commanded to remove to Kirtland, Ohio, where one Sidney Rigdon, a Campbellite preacher of some ability and little education, had become a convert, and had a congregation which served as a nucleus for the movement in the West. At Kirtland, a "Safety Society Bank,"—something like the Augustinian Society of Lawrence which recently collapsed,—a store, mill, and other mercantile operations, were commenced by Smith, who now received frequent revelations. He was soon accused of dishonesty and fraud in his business transactions, and was tarred and feathered by a number of indignant citizens. That he was guilty of all the charges made against him there is reason to doubt, but it is certain that his conduct was dishonorable and tricky. On July 23, 1833, was laid the foundation of Kirtland temple; and, the year following, the Mormon Church was first called "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." In 1835, at this place were ordained the Twelve Apostles, among whom were Brigham Young and Heber Kimball, the former a son of Vermont, born four years earlier than Joseph Smith, and in early life connected with the Methodists. These two men—one the founder of Mormonism and the other his powerful successor as leader—first met in the woods near Kirtland, where the former was chopping wood. In 1836, the Kirtland temple, finished at a cost of $40,000, was dedicated, when Joseph Smith declared that he had seen Moses, Elias, and Elijah, and had received from them certain "keys" of the priesthood, which gave him and his successors unlimited power in things temporal and spiritual. Subsequently, Smith's "Safety Society Bank" broke; and he and Rigdon ran away in the night from their creditors, who had threatened to arrest them for fraud. Still later, Rigdon, in an anniversary address, threatened the enemies of the Mormons with violence. The Danite Band was organized, the militia attacked the Mormons, shooting women and children and burning houses. The saints went to Quincy, Ill. Young relaid the foundation of the temple at Independence, Mo., which had been dedicated by Smith in 1831. Young, Kimball, and others went to England as missionaries. Smith went to Commerce, Ill., the name of which was changed to Nauvoo. The Nauvoo temple was built (1841); Joseph Smith and his brother Hiram were shot in jail by a gang of Missourians at Carthage, Ill.; the Twelve Apostles, with Young at their head, assumed the presidency of the church, cutting off Rigdon and all contumacious members, who were cursed and "delivered to the devil"; and, after the repeal of the Nauvoo charter by the Illinois legislature, and after making Council Bluffs a temporary resting-place, the Mormons, preceded by Young and a body of pioneers who followed the trail of Fremont, went to Salt Lake City, where they arrived in the fall of 1848,—the spot which Brigham Young declared was indicated to him by an angel, but the selection of which everybody except a Mormon can see needed no angelic wisdom. The site of the city, as is well known, is one of great natural advantages; and its picturesque beauty must have appealed strongly to a persecuted—although by no means an inoffensive—people, who had wandered across the plains and over the mountains in search of a place where they could live unmolested by their enemies. Mountain peaks all around, aglow with perpetual white, towering to the sky, and looking down from their serene heights into the valley below, as if to guard and protect it from harm, are features in the surrounding scenery of deep beauty and impressiveness. The altitude—four thousand feet above ocean level—gives a purity and clearness of atmosphere which make the mountain slopes—really miles away—seem but as many rods, and revealing the outlines of the far-off ridges and declivities with wonderful distinctness.

The Mormons triumphantly point to their history in proof that they are a chosen people with whom God has ever been present; and they confidently assert that, with his aid, they will be able to vanquish all dangers which in any emergency may threaten the church or menace the unity of their social organization. Although they greatly overrate their achievements, it is true that, under the stimulus furnished by the trying circumstances in which they were placed, they manifested a courage in the desperate resolve to seek a new home in an unexplored country scarcely inferior to that of the Dutch when they determined to submerge their country and embark for the Indian Archipelago rather than submit to the fate which would have been imposed on them, had the hostile king become master of Holland. And, under the double incentive of religious enthusiasm and individual requirements, they have built a fine city, and made the surrounding country blossom as a rose; and they point, not without reason, to Salt Lake City, and the smaller settlements of Utah Territory, as evidence of their courage and endurance, their energy and industry.

Our attention has been attracted to this subject by the conference now being held by the "Reorganized Church of the Latter-Day Saints" at Kirtland, Ohio, where, just half a century ago, the Mormon temple was dedicated, when Joseph Smith expounded to his followers, a mere handful of ignorant men and women, his translation of the records which he had discovered under divine inspiration, together with visions and revelations with which he had been favored. The professed object of this conference is to restore the Mormon Church to its primitive purity, to consecrate the ancient building which was the first temple of the faith, and to preserve it as an object of pious veneration. It represents the anti-polygamous element of the Church, although the Utah Mormons are represented the papers state by two Bishops; and there are delegates present, presumably of the polygamous element, from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Sandwich Islands. The schism regarding a plurality of wives seems not to interfere with the admiration of the character and the pious veneration of the prophet and his divine mission.

The branch of Mormonism, under the auspices of which this conference is held, numbers thirty thousand persons in the United States, Canada and Europe. Its President is Joseph Smith, son of the prophet, a man of average intelligence, without much education and without ostentation, but of considerable tact, caution, and common sense. We once had a long conversation with him, and he

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impressed us as an honest, sincere, and fair-minded man. In his father's claims, he seemed to have the fullest confidence. Pointing to a portrait of the prophet hanging on the wall of his office, he asked, "Does that look like an impostor?" It was so lacking in expression that we were glad to be able to say that it did not represent a character such as Joseph Smith was commonly represented to be, although an acquaintance with the authenticated record of the prophet's life prevented our making further comments. Mr. Smith was extremely severe in his remarks on the Brigham Young Mormons. They represented, he said, a perverted and corrupted form of Mormonism. He was emphatic in his statement that polygamy formed no part of original Mormonism, and dwelt on the fact that the polygamous Mormons can give only a copy of a revelation to his father justifying polygamy, which he claimed was entirely spurious. There is, however, good reason for believing that the prophet attempted to cover up or justify his sensuality by the claim that he had received a revelation, which was used very cautiously, sanctioning and recommending polygamy. But his son Joseph should not be held responsible for this fault. He assured us that he had no sympathy with polygamy; and while we were at Plano, Ill., where he resided at that time, we learned that he was highly esteemed as an honorable man and a good citizen.

The gathering at Kirtland numbers, the papers state, about two hundred; and the services are very much like those of a Methodist meeting. It is certain that the "Josephites," representing, as they claim, "primitive Mormonism," are small in numbers and influence compared with the Mormons who look to Utah for instruction and authority.

The fact which impresses the considerate thinker is that, while many religions, founded by selfish impostors or by self-deceived enthusiasts, have flourished in ages of ignorance and superstition, Joseph Smith, an ignorant and unscrupulous man, without natural eloquence or personal attractions fifty years ago, put forth, among an intelligent people, claims full of contradiction and palpable falsehood, and was able to organize a church which has increased in numbers and influence until it has vast multitudes of adherents, rules a Territory of the United States with almost absolute sway, has in all the European countries missionaries who make, every year, thousands of proselytes, and missionaries in this country who are continually making converts to their faith, and which has continued to grow and extend after the death of its founder and its most distinguished leader, and has to-day among its supporters men of education, tact, and skill in public affairs, as well as a multitude of devoted disciples, a coherent system of faith, an authoritative revelation, a history with facts suppressed or distorted to favor its claims, a mass of tradition reverently believed, with faith, enthusiasm, and zeal strong enough to make thousands sacrifice family connections, property, and life itself, if necessary, in the interests of this religion.

But the thinker, looking beneath the surface, knows that Mormonism is not a new religion. Religions do not appear *de novo*. Every religion is the product of the modifications of pre existing religions. Mormonism is Judaism and Christianity, with certain teachings of the former especially emphasized, and with a new name simply added to the list of prophets. Mormonism has spread, because Mormonism in its essential features is Christianity, and because its field has been Christendom. It has made converts among a class widely separated intellectually from Unitarians, because it has given prominence to doctrines of the Bible widely different from those to which Unitarianism has given prominence. The progress of Mormonism is by no means wonderful, if, dropping all prejudice, we recognize the fact that all the chief elements of superstition in Mormonism are in the popular beliefs throughout Christendom. Divested of polygamy, an unessential part of the system, which may be abandoned at no distant date by the pretended authority of a new revelation, Mormonism will probably continue to grow, to undergo modifications, to divide into sects, and to be the faith of millions yet unborn. And its defenders will point to its obscure origin, the tragic death of its prophet, the persecutions and hardships of its early adherents and its rapid spread as irrefutable proofs of its divine origin.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION FESTIVAL.

Our readers will be pleased to learn that Col. Higginson has consented to preside, and Miss Garlin's admirable Euterpe Quartette to sing, at the Festival of the Free Religious Association of Anniversary Week. The Festival this year is to be held in the large Horticultural Hall, and will consist of a sit-down supper, beginning at about six o'clock, and brief speeches from speakers whose names will be hereafter announced.

Tickets of admission, with reserved seats at the tables, at fifty cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston; of the Secretary, F. A. Hinckley, Providence, R.I.; of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass.

As it is designed to press the sale of tickets at once, it is hoped that all friends proposing to attend the Festival will make early application for seats.

F. A. H.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE Messrs. Putnam of New York have in press a small volume of poems by Mr. John Albee, who has been an occasional contributor to *The Index*, though not writing so often as many of our readers would wish. Some of these poems have appeared in print, in various journals and magazines,—a few in our own columns,—others have not before seen the light. Mr. Albee's many friends will look for the book with interest.

A CONSIDERABLE number of the clergy of the Church of England have signed a protest against the Affirmation Bill, on the ground that it "is dishonoring to Almighty God." They must be a very Biblical set of men not to know that their professed Master was in favor of affirmation! These English clergy are opposed to Jesus, who denounced the taking of oaths, and said, "Let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay," as if he were a Quaker.—*Boston Investigator.*

THE Boston *Saturday Times* asks: "Is it not about time that decent newspapers stop apotheosizing prize-fighters in their news columns, while they satisfy their remnants of conscience by editorials that weakly condemn what the outside pages of their paper strongly commend? Because the account of a prize fight is 'news,' is there any need of devoting large space to it, and giving the sickening details in a way that disgusts the decent reader as much as it pleases the brutes who are glorified in their own eyes by having their names and deeds appear in print? Newspapers that pretend to be respectable have a great deal to answer for in their practical indorsement and encouragement of prize-fighting."

THE New York *Evening Post* says: "There is probably no person professing to be educated who has brought so much discredit on the American mind within the last seven years as the Rev. Joseph Cook himself in the eyes of those foreigners whose opinions about newspapers or any kind of literature are worth repeating. His gross ignorance and inaccuracy on those matters of science with which he has undertaken to deal have again and again been exposed by scientific men. So have his reports of the opinions of foreign philosophers and thinkers. There is, however, nothing discreditable to the country in the existence of a conspicuous blunderer of this kind. What does damage it is the triumph of Mr. Cook's remarkable talents as a sensational preacher over all attempts to make his real character known to his audiences. His hall is just as full, we believe, as it was before he was found out; and there is no apparent diminution in the number of those who think he has reconciled religion and science. The better educated and more rational clergymen are as much ashamed of his performances as anybody; but a lamentably large number of them are glad to accept his assistance in keeping alive a spirit of credulous wonder which they mistakenly, we are sure, consider in some manner favorable to the growth and maintenance of genuine religious feeling."

THE *Catholic Review* says that "there used to be a law in the old days against blasphemy and profanity, and a very good law it was. It is a pity that it should have grown into desuetude. But the worst blasphemy is that talked in the drawing-room and spread abroad through the press.... There is such a crime, punishable by law, as treason against the State. Is avowed treason to God no crime? Lectures such as Mr. Parton's and Mr. Ingersoll's are public misdemeanors, an insult and a wrong to the Christian community. Freedom of speech is all very well, but it should not be allowed to run into blasphemy. There is a law against libel that very effectually restrains freedom of speech. It is time for us, if we are a Christian community, to have the courage of our convictions, and silence men who openly assail the cross and the religion of God. Blasphemy, however specious its form, should be put a stop to. It is not honest doubt or inquiry. That may be respected and honestly met. But to jest with the most sacred subjects and proclaim the Saviour of mankind an impostor should render a man amenable to the law of a Christian people. To preach infidelity is to preach the root of all sedition and destroy the State." The *Review* is true to the teachings and tradition of the Church it represents, which has persecuted heretics to the extent of its power, and would to-day, if it could, suppress every liberal journal and imprison every advocate of liberal thought in the world.

"THE INDEX" will be sent six months to trial subscribers for one dollar.

PETER COOPER.

Give honor and love forevermore
To this great man gone to rest;
Peace on the dim Plutonian shore,
Rest in the land of the blest.

I reckon him greater than any man
That ever drew sword in war;
I reckon him nobler than king or khan,
Braver and better by far.

And wisest he in this whole wide land
Of hoarding till bent and gray;
For all you can hold in your cold dead hand
Is what you have given away.

So, whether to wander the stars or to rest
Forever hushed and dumb,
He gave with a zest and he gave his best
And deserves the best to come.

—*Joaquin Miller, in New York Herald.*

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The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

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For *The Index.*

THE BLACK HOLE,—SOLIPSISM.

BY WM. I. GILL.

IV.

I have so far proceeded on the assumption that the reader would understand what I mean by objective evolution; but perhaps it would have been better, had I defined myself, and I will do it now. By objective evolution, I mean substantially that system of philosophy which has been concurrently expounded by Herbert Spencer, George Lewes, John Fiske, and others, and which has been called the cosmic philosophy, the synthetic philosophy, and simply evolution and agnosticism. It affirms that all the phenomena of mind and matter appear to be manifestations and symbols of one only ultimate and inscrutable power and reality; that the known world external to our organism is the immediate source whence have been evolved all the organic world of plants and animals and human consciousness, beginning with the lowest forms and advancing to the present time and to man as the most recent and the highest known form of the evolved force; that the organism and the individual, conscious *ego* have the same source and cause, and originate at the same time and appear to be ultimately one, furnishing two great classes of phenomena, the organic forms and processes, and the conscious processes or the feelings, including thought and volition,—which are feeling, but not wholly feeling, even as the sensations are not wholly feeling.

It is very remarkable that objective evolutionists are exceedingly anxious to find *an external world as object and non-ego*, which they deem necessary to their theory; and they thus confound themselves on this point with the old dualists, whom they affect to despise. This introduces confliction and consequent obscurity into the theory. Its advocates are not aware that there is no real call for such an external world either in their theory of evolution or in anything established by modern science or philosophy. They are in reality animated only by an old prejudice, an idol or "phantom of the tribe," born of prescientific impressions. To accomplish this impossible task, they resort to the most flimsy special pleading, which, in any other connection, they would justly despise. They are also wrong in their objects as well as in their argumentation; for, as they aim to prove only an unknowable world, some inconceivable thing which is void of all sensible quality and of everything that can be presented either to thought or imagination, such a pursuit must be futile in its results relative to evolution. For, if such a world were proved, it could not be discriminated from the great Unknowable, the One ultimate Force manifest in all phenomena; and so nothing would be gained by it, and for it the theory of evolution has no distinctive place. The proof of such a world would also be futile relative to the popular feeling. The world in popular demand is a sensible world, and that world has never been brought in question by any school of philosophers whatever. One and all affirm its existence, and describe it in much the same way. Like the rest of mankind who are unwarped by speculative theories, I am not concerned about the existence and proof of a supersensible world of matter, as I hold it to be practically and speculatively useless, and conceptually *nil*, so that the assertion of its existence is a mere verbalism, as no meaning can possibly be attached to the words. It is to be expected that arguments for such a world will be as empty and obscure as the object sought. Some of these arguments we will now notice.

Involuntary Action.

The familiar argument that such a non-egoistic force is to be inferred as the cause of those organic experiences which are independent of our will and opposed to our will has always appeared to me quite puerile, though it is urged by some of the great minds of the world. It proves too much,—that the extra-volitional cause of every experience is *non-ego;* for this is its major premise, and it is utterly inadmissible. Within ourselves there is a variety of non-volitional causes, whose operation we long and vainly antagonize with all the energy of our will. There are natural organic appetites which operate with great force irrespective of our volition, and often against its sustained and strenuous endeavors, such as hunger, thirst, the sexual feeling, and certain acquired appetites for things which are confessedly injurious, as alcohol, opium, tobacco, and other narcotics. All bodily diseases exemplify the same principle. They are the effect of forces which begin their operation without our consent and continue in spite of our opposition, and are yet wholly subjective. All physiological functions operate irrespective of volition, and are pre-conditionally necessary to its action.

I do not forget that all organic appetites and all physiological functions would soon perish but for a force assimilated by the organism from without. But neither do we forget that all known extra-organic force and phenomena are egoistic; so that their causative relation to the organism is nothing against my position, no proof of a non-egoistic cause of our organic experiences. There is not in all the universe a single known example of a non-egoistic cause, though non-volitionary causes are innumerable, including all the sensible universe. The known *ego* is the known source of all known experiences on earth or in the heavens. To infer any other cause is equally unscientific and illogical, except on the theory that the *ego* is confined to the organism. If the *ego* is conceived as confined to the organism, the causes of its experiences are found in the external world; but these causes are not inferred and unknown, but they are experientially verified. This, however, is confessedly erroneous. The known external world, equally with the organism, is admitted to be a series of subjective states. If we infer a cause of all this, we reach either the Deity of theism or the "Great Unknown" of agnosticism, which is not the material world contended for. It is clear, therefore, that the *ego*, or subject, has the causes of its own non-volitionary experiences within itself; and, until we have the impossible proof that all non-volitional causes are *non-ego*, we shall have no ground for the inference that there is a non-egoistic material world. We know ourselves as the subject and source of an immense and infinitely various non-volitional causation, which dispenses with the need of any such world.

Alleged Necessary Belief.

To say that we cannot help thinking and believing that there is such a *non-ego* called matter, or the material world, is false as a universal proposition. Some men may feel so; but all do not, else this debate had never been. For one, I am unable to do other than disbelieve it, because it stultifies my intelligence. "The universal postulate" does not apply here for want of the universal conviction.

Spencer's Negative Proof of Transfigured Realism.

While I regard Mr. Spencer's *Principles of Psychology* as a very able production, yet I know nothing in the whole range of philosophical literature weaker than his nineteenth chapter, styled "General Analysis," in advocacy of his "Transfigured Realism." After refuting the "assumptions of metaphysicians," the "words of metaphysicians," and the "reasonings of metaphysicians," he presents a "negative justification of realism," which consists in "an argument from priority," an "argument from simplicity," an "argument from distinctness," and two or three other arguments less definite and quotable. It is quite a startling novelty for a man to claim "priority" for the most recent invention or discovery, and it is surely richer in comic than in logical force. The "argument from priority" is futile, unless it covers his own peculiarity; and this peculiarity is set forth as an original conception. Equally striking, and for a similar reason, is the claim of superior distinctness in favor of a world which is void of every definite element and distinctive quality, so that it cannot be either known or conceived. The "simplicity" of such arguments, it must be allowed, is quite manifest.

Spencer's Positive Proof of Transfigured Realism.

Mr. Spencer next furnishes a positive justification of transfigured realism in five chapters. Here I agree to all he says (though not to all he means) on the subject under discussion. He says (*Principles of Psychology*, § 442), "If the states of consciousness are adequate to frame a disproof of the *non-ego*, they must be held adequate to frame a proof." This is true, but it is irrelevant. No one affirms a positive disproof of the *non-ego* from the phenomena of consciousness. That would indicate a blind temerity of which idealists are never guilty. They only say that consciousness furnishes no proof of a material *non-ego*, which is a very different statement. We say that all we know is *ego* or subjective states, and that from the existence of this known fact there is no logical or psychological warrant for the assumption of the *non-ego* in question. We thus virtually say that consciousness cannot furnish a positive disproof, still less a positive proof of a material *non-ego*.

But, when we advance from psychology as a study of the phenomena and conditions of consciousness to an analysis of the conception and logical implications of dualism of every form, then we become more positive. We see that the conception is unreal, because it has no logical unity, its self-contradictions being obvious and manifold. Mr. Spencer acknowledges this confliction, and consoles himself by saying that this is always inevitable whenever, from any point or in any direction, we attempt an ultimate analysis, whence he is called, with his own consent, an agnostic. But subjective evolution escapes these contradictions, carry analysis as far as you may; and on this account it is to be preferred. And it only is entitled to the name of philosophy, because of its ultimacy and completeness.

Mr. Spencer (*Principles of Psychology*, § 443) next argues as follows: "Realism, then, is positively justified, if it is shown to be a *dictum* of consciousness working after its proper laws. When normal acts of thought, like those which establish truths we hold most certain, are proved to be acts of thought which yield the antithesis of subject and object, no further demonstration need be asked." To all this, those whom he designates as anti-realists thoroughly assent. They hold rigidly that all the normal acts of thought yield the antithesis of subject and object. But they never forget (like Mr. Spencer) that object and subject are always equally egoistic or subjective states. We therefore need go no further with him in this discussion, because we agree to all he proposes to prove, the existence of the subjective states of subject and object in all the normal acts of thought. In all his discussion of this subject, Mr. Spencer strangely assumes that the sensible object in antithesis with the conscious subject is *non-ego*, and that, therefore, in proving the existence of such object (which no one ever questioned), he proves his transfigured realism.

In further proof that I have not misconceived him on this point, I will adduce two other passages. He says (*Principles of Psychology*, § 404): "The postulate with which metaphysical reasoning sets out is that we are primarily conscious only of our sensations, that we cer-

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tainly known that we have these, and that, if there be anything beyond these, serving as cause for them, it can be known only by inference from them. I shall give much surprise to the metaphysical reader, if I call in question this postulate; and the surprise will rise into astonishment, if I distinctly deny it. Yet I must do this. Limiting the proposition to those epiperipheral feelings produced in us by external objects (for these are alone in question), I see no alternative but to affirm that the thing primarily known is *not that a sensation has been experienced*, but that there *exists an outer object*." He occupies nearly six octavo pages in the illustration of this singular statement, that an outer object is not a sensation, and that, in affirming an outer object as the primary phenomenon in sensible action, he contradicts "the primary postulate of metaphysicians." How does it come to pass that his wonted penetration here so utterly fails him that "he is unable to discern that this outer object" is analyzed by all psychologists, himself included, into a sensation simply and solely? There is but one explanation. He pays the penalty which is exacted from all its votaries by dualism, which can be served only by the blind; and, hence, the ablest minds lose their usual perspicacity as soon as they become its advocates.

Elsewhere (*Principles of Psychology*, § 438), Mr. Spencer says: "Now let him contemplate an object, this book, for instance. Resolutely refraining from theorizing, let him say what he finds. He finds that he is *conscious of the book as existing apart from himself*. Does there exist in his consciousness any notion about sensations?" Here, it is obvious that the writer identifies the sensible object, the book, with the *non-ego*, contrary to the united utterance of modern psychology. He confessedly makes an appeal from scientific analysis to spontaneous impression, and this crude impression he substitutes for his own better intelligence.

Perhaps it will be well here to remind the reader afresh that, in denying the right to affirm the existence of an unknowable material world, I raise no question concerning the existence of the known material world. A known and indubitable world as a fact of experience there is. It constitutes the visible heavens and earth and all tangible things. The existence and reality of this world I never doubt, nor does any other man; and no philosopher ever pretended to doubt it. It cannot be doubted, for the doubt implies it as a subjective state. Nor can it be intelligently mentioned except as the object, the "outer object," of sense, and as such existing constant and uniform, fixed and stable, so far as any experience testifies. But this is the extent of our experiential knowledge. What remains for us now to do is to analyze these sensible phenomena, and determine what they are and what are their psychological connections and their logical implications. This task has in the psychological aspect been well performed, and has resulted in the doctrine of the egoism of all phenomena as the general scientific verdict. Here, I take my stand, and refuse to obscure my position by throwing over it the dark pall of the unknowable and inconceivable. The logical implications of these phenomena have not been so fully explored as the psychological, and this is our task.

The Subjective World a Real World.

The subjective character of the world does not render it any less real than if it were *non-ego*. Surely, the *ego* is at least as real as the *non-ego* We know the *ego* to be real. But we do not certainly as yet know anything beyond the *ego*. This is the point of debate. The egoistic theory of the material world is therefore a genuine realism quite as much as any theory which has appropriated the name; and it is not properly designated, because not defined by the term idealism. It is pre-eminently philosophical, because it is the simplest possible theory, and comprehends in purity all the facts of the case, and discards all needless conjectural and obscuring additions. Hence, Philosophical Realism is its proper designation. The term realism is in these days very popular. Everybody, even a metaphysician or an evolutionist, feels bound to be apparently real; and so his theory shall be called realism, however unreal it may be. And nothing that was ever in the brain of lunatic or philosopher or poet could be so thoroughly unreal as the material world of our metaphysical dualists, including the objective evolutionist. It has less reality than the purest phantasm, because it presents no form to the imagination nor any concept to the intellect. Yet this supra-phantasmic world, with the help of obscure and inconsistent special pleadings, and buttressed by various supposed characteristic adjectives, has repeatedly and too successfully endeavored to get itself accepted as realism, pure, proper, and sole. With Sir Wm. Hamilton the distinguishing epithet is "Natural," with George Lewes it is "Reasoned," and with Mr. Spencer it is "Transfigured." I therefore follow in the wake of illustrious predecessors in sticking to the word "Realism." I cannot call my theory natural realism, because, though infinitely more natural than that of Hamilton, it can appear natural only to philosophic minds; and I prefer not to call it reasoned realism, because it may be elaborately reasoned without being proved or provable, and least of all would I be willing to call it transfigured realism. We want a realism which is not transmuted either in figure or any other way, and a realism which is not only reasoned, but reasonably proved, and which will seem natural in the judgment of competent minds who have given to it due attention. Such a theory will be justly designated as philosophical realism; and philosophy will seek this till it is attained, however prolonged the search may have to be.

Nature and Evolution shut us up in the Ego.

By this time, it is surely growing quite clear that along no recognized route can we find any philosophical exit from the vast cavernous enclosure of the *ego*. And, if we could, it would bring no advantage to the main thesis of objective evolution, which affirms the ultimate unity of subject and object, of consequent and antecedent, of effect and cause, of all diversity in One ultimate Source. Hence, the method of reaching the *non-ego* by reasoning from subject to object, from effect to cause, would destroy evolution by destroying the unity of the universe in the persistence of force or the identity and continuity of all force as that which is the same under all changes and in all forms. In short, a *non-ego* thus reached would not be the natural cause of known phenomena; and the process by which these are generated would not then be one of evolution, but of creation. A creative Power is not one with the created. An evolving force is always one with all the forms evolved. Therefore, by the law of evolution, we can never transcend the *ego*. We stultify ourselves in the effort. Let the evolutionist heed the ancient oracle, "Know thyself," and he will labor no longer in this direction. Wherever evolution holds, there is unity and identity of essential being or force.

There is indeed a common method of transcending the *ego* by an arbitrary and artificial invention, the easy and not infrequent method of defining terms to meet the wishes of the definers. We easily transcend the *ego*, if we define it as limited in space (and time) to the organism, which is tacitly done very generally, though it contradicts the united testimony of modern psychology (at least in its implications, not in its articulate utterances); and that testimony I consider a sufficient refutation, and so leave it.

Objective evolution is the half-way house of scientific exposition and analysis. A more profound and thorough study shows that all that is included in that theory, combined with its forced confession of the subjective nature of all sensible phenomena, is justly described by the repulsive term, solipsism, since ultimately its universe is wholly subjective and egoistic, beyond which it knows nothing. In whatever direction we turn, we turn only toward ourselves, and never by any possible method can we directly know or experience anything but ourselves. Forever and ever, each man constitutes all the universe directly knowable to him. All the so-called men and animals, land and water, and all the celestial bodies, are myself, affections and modes of my own all-pervading and perduring individuality. Hence, too, all that unknown and unknowable, whence the known is *evolved*, being one with the known, is one with the *ego*; and thus so far an absolute solipsism is the logical result of our investigations, whether as subjective or objective evolutionists. Since we directly and indisputably know ourselves as conscious subjects and agents, and thus know ourselves as a force and reality, it follows that wherever we go, by the law of evolution and persistence of force, we only go from some to other modes of the same one force, which is our own conscious being, and which we call *ego*. Evolution and solipsism are therefore terms of coincident meaning, and from opposite poles Fichte and Spencer meet in an immortal embrace: only, Fichte understood his logical position better than Spencer seems to understand his.

From this view of the *ego*, it will follow that I must speak of it very variously, because it is modally various and multifarious, and yet ever essentially the same. There is but One and that One existing through all times and in all knowable spaces, under an infinity of different phenomenal forms and aspects, contemporaneous and successive; and, in reference to any class or to all classes of these phenomena or to the transphenomenal source and subject of them all, we may speak of the *ego*. To thus change the standpoint of observation and contemplation is not indicative of any vacillation of mind; nor does it imply any obscurity or ambiguity of thought, nor can it becloud or befog any reader who has once grasped the conception of the universal *ego*.

This solipsism, it will be agreed, is theoretically unendurable and practically impossible as the final result. But let us be patient and consistent, which in the present situation, and in any situation, will best prove our philosophical spirit. Above all things, let us stand firmly and fairly by what we have clearly and unitedly determined,—that all the knowable is *ego*, and that within all that realm evolution reigns. Neither of these two cardinal discoveries of modern philosophy and science must be discarded or mutilated or overlooked. All further procedure must be in accord with these, if not based on these. It must, therefore, be henceforth an unquestioned, because proved, postulate that solipsism is true to this extent,—that every individuality includes the whole knowable universe, and universes are just as numerous as such beings; that every being is hence absolutely alone; that no being or universe can ever overlap or interact. Each is forever without any knowable boundary, just because the object and subject of consciousness are one; so that the knower can never transcend himself, though he travel forever swifter than the light. His latest stepping-stone and object of knowledge will always be himself. All other beings are removed from him by the diameter of his boundless universe, on the outer verge of which he can never even stand to hail a brother from afar.

A distinguished writer has kindly suggested (privately) that perhaps I might more fully utilize M. Comte in the prosecution of my task. I will, therefore, say that the essential spirit of Positivism (liberally construed) presides over my work. I hold to the succession of the three methods of thinking and inquiry—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive—in the development of the human mind. And it is the metaphysical method which now stands in our way, opposing the progress of psychological science in regard to the theory of sense-perception.

Positivism cannot limit its inquiries to external phenomena, nor even to sensible phenomena; for, then, it would not entertain its own expressed ultimate object in the region of sociology and morals, which involve supersensible feelings, thoughts, and volitions. And it would have to exclude all the pure mathematics, the first in the order of its hierarchy of the sciences, whence all science would be impossible; for this science deals only in conceptions, never in actual experiences, except so far as the conception is one form of experience,—thought-experience.

Positivism cannot justify mathematics, cannot, therefore, justify itself nor take its first step in the philosophy of sciences until it has vitally connected this pure abstract science of mathematics with sensible experience, its base of supplies. This it has not done, nor intelligently attempted, nor even recognized its obligation, so that here it discloses a fatal deficiency. This deficiency is supplied in the philosophy of mathematics given in my *Analytical Processes*. Pure mathematics is a science of pure and and abstract conceptions; and, from beginning to end, its procedure is analytical, the conclusion being but the explicit affirmation of the implicit contents of the premises,—a part designated as contained in a larger whole. But the premise must have its base, not only in experience, but in sensible experience,—in the experience of extension, whether by touch or sight, because conceptual extension is the staple of geometry. The conception of extension is the intellectual light of the experience of sensation, and conception and experience are inseparable. And, in the conceptions involved in all sensible experience, all pure mathematics are contained and thence analytically evolved.

It would be too much to expect that one man, in originating and expounding a great system, would be

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able to do it justice at all points, though Comte himself thought he did. There are several errors and deficiencies which the spirit of Positivism, in its further development, will correct or supply. The subjective study of psychology is one of these. This is a region of experience, and implied in all other experiences, and their ultimate light and guarantee. While, therefore, I attempt to work in this region a little, I claim to be strictly within the legitimate field of Positivism.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

Easter and After-thoughts about Resurrection, the Rising Faith, Peter Cooper and the Cooper Institute, the Labor Union, and the New Theistic Society.

My experience on Easter Sunday in New York city will be made the groundwork for this letter. On this day is celebrated the event of "the Risen Christ," and everywhere is sung

> "Love's redeeming work is done,
> Fought the fight, the battle won.
> Lo! the sun's eclipse is o'er;
> Lo! he sets in blood no more."

The Newspaper.

A glance first at the morning papers. What a magazine of entertaining and instructive matter one of these metropolitan sheets really is! The daily newspaper is one of the seven modern wonders. It is no less a summary of the world's news than of the world's achievements, past and present. Type, steam, and electricity are its compositors, the Spirit of the Age its editor-in-chief. It is the proof-sheet of man's perfections and imperfections, the trial-balance of his rights and wrongs, victories and defeats. "Read the papers," said the President of Yale to a graduating class. But all do read them; for it is Bible and text-book in one, a rival of the Church and a supplement of the schoolroom. In its way, it treats of matters temporal and spiritual; and its voice is heard every day in the week by rich and poor alike. Prophet and educator, nothing less. But, ah! what a comment are its daily items on the boastful lines of the hymn just quoted! In to-day's issue are book notices covering the whole distance between theology and fiction (be that distance great or small), and science and art shedding their glories on its page. There are yesterday's happenings in all the great countries of Europe, in whose sky are signs of a gathering tempest, the outcome of long ages of oppression and wrong. Nor is this "foreign news," for the hemispheres are bound together by interests and ties that cannot be broken. Among "home affairs" are notes, on the fall of a once great party, and the rise to power of a rival no more honored; on the growth of monopoly, and the enraged popular sentiment that giant evil has evoked; tales of distress from the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, the *Herald* Flood Fund closing with the ebbing of the waters; story of the life of John Howard Payne, author of "Home, Sweet Home"; a glimpse at the home of the Vanderbilts, on Fifth Avenue, which outrivals all others in that city of palaces; and a glimpse of Gotham at large, where spires and turrets let fall their shadows on haunts of iniquity, abodes of poverty and distress. But there is also the opening of the spring trade, the arrival of Barnum's "great moral show," and Joseph Cook's lecture in Chickering Hall. There is "Help Wanted,"—parties with gilt-edge references with five hundred dollars to loan, or who can speak in half a dozen tongues, and a salary of the Beecher standard,—not what *he* receives, but what he thinks the workingman should be content with. Added to all this is the announcement of church services, the nearly universal theme being "The Resurrection." But what are these two columns of church notices, I cannot help asking myself, but an advertisement of sectarianism? And what that word means the world ought to know. Every new sect has been denounced as "a damnable heresy," and every new creed has been the only way of salvation. But one sermon arrests my attention, "The Rising Faith," by M. K. Schermerhorn, in the New Theistic Church just, or about to be, organized. A matter of deepest interest this; for in this city—nay, throughout Christendom—there is not such a thing as a church of God, the places of worship being dedicated to some saint, apostle, or Christ. Even the Unitarian Church of the Messiah is a proof of this, for the glorification of the Christ is made a feature of its architecture. The empty pews everywhere seen are the prophecy, however, of a change. But there is another announcement that does not come under "Religious Notices,"—the meeting of the Central Labor Union. This is in the afternoon, Mr. Schermerhorn's discourse in the evening. I shall attend both. But a call must be made at Cooper Institute, where *The Index* is on file, which I have failed to read the past week.

Cooper Institute.

It is worth noting that on the way are passed the Beer Garden and the Museum, which share with the churches the privilege of being open on the Sabbath by their substituting "sacred" for "profane" music. The place is passed where the Passion Play has been long in preparation, but which the law has pronounced too sacrilegious for public representation. Then, the Cathedral is passed, where is seen the body of the Christ in life size on the cross, and where the whole Christian drama is pictured before the sight. Can anything be more sacrilegious than this (considering the dogmas it is meant to express) to one who feels a reverence for the life and precepts of the Nazarene? Reaching the Institute, I can but recollect how short the time since its doors were permitted to be open on Sunday. Why, it would have been in my power, since the year 1882, to have had that little scamp arrested who just called out, "Want your boots blacked?"—as if they had not already a fine polish! But I stop thinking of the Blue Laws as I ascend the stairway of Cooper Union, with illustrative views of many branches of study on either hand. How ample, bright, hospitable, the reading-room, where the world's standard and current literature is found! Hundreds of visitors are there, yet not a whisper and scarce a footfall is heard. But what forces are at work midst this brooding silence! Is not this the miracle of the resurrection? And do not the angels of Light, Purity, and Peace, hover within the spaces of this Polytechnic Institute, though its founder is no chief of the apostles, and no priestly rite gives it sanctity? Founded in 1864, and "to be forever devoted to the union of science and art in its application to the useful purposes of life," says its dedicatory act. Twenty-five hundred persons enter its reading-room daily. Two thousand pupils attend its evening schools, and the same number its lecture courses. And all this is free,—the work of one man, and he an infidel, as the great majority of the Christian Church would say. Peter Cooper accepted none of the creeds of Orthodoxy. In glancing through *The Index*, which brought me to the Institute to-day, I notice an article on "The Secret of the East," which reveals the links connecting the career of Buddha and his Galilean successor. Christianity was a regenerated faith, a resurrected Buddhism, *ex oriente lux*. I notice articles, also, on "The Ethical Movement" and "The Religion of Humanity,"—the same thing under different names,—the "Open Secret of the *West*," or that new birth from the womb of time to whose scattered omens the Free Religious Association seeks to give a voice.

Since writing the above the news comes that Peter Cooper is dead. Everywhere, the flag is run up at half-mast. On every hand, it is whispered, "Peter Cooper is dead." He was a philanthropist, an inventor, a thinker, and an experimenter, and ever modest, persevering, hopeful. He took the initiative in efforts not likely to be popular, and his philanthropic endeavors were on a scale often seriously to impair his own business operations. He attributed his great success in business to an early determination that he formed of giving to the world an equivalent, in some form, of useful labor for what he consumed in it. But he attained to even a deeper view than that of life: "While I have always recognized that the object of business is to make money in an honorable manner, I have endeavored to remember that the object of life is to do good." Not what is called an educated man himself, few men have done more for the education of others. "The Latin on the sheepskin is all Greek to me," he said, when the LL.D. was conferred on him by the University of New York. He did more for the city than it was willing to do for itself; for, at this day, its Public Library is not worthy the name. Remembering his own early struggles to acquire knowledge and seeing how defective were the seminaries of the land, he resolved to do what was in his power for aspiring youth. So he erected the Institute, which approaches the nearest, I venture to say, to the model for the school of the future. He placed a modest estimate on his own labors. The thoughts of few men, he said, made the turning-point in human destiny; but it was within the power of many to make their discoveries known, and assist in executing their plans. In this latter class, he placed himself. He was nominated, in 1876, for the presidency, by the National Greenback Labor Party; and, in the triumphal light of the future, that event will appear otherwise than it does to-day. Of him it will be said that he not only built the first steam-engine in America, raised a temple to science and art, but was the first standard-bearer of a party whose platform came the nearest to striking the key-note of those radical reforms to which the humanitarian spirit of the age is giving birth. Peter Cooper's creed was simple: "My experience has compelled me to believe that it is to the application of science to the laws of life that we must look for all future improvement in the condition of mankind. For one, I indulge the hope that science will fully unfold the mystery of our being, and show the law of our progress written on all the varied leaves of creation, demonstrating the wisdom, power, and goodness of God, who gave immortality to man." "I have always given a friendly welcome to new ideas, and I have endeavored not to feel too old to learn; and thus, though I stand here with the snows of so many winters on my head, my faith in human nature, my belief in the progress of man to a better social condition, and especially my trust in the ability of man to establish and maintain self-government, are as fresh and young as when I began to tread the path of life."

The Central Labor Union.

From the Institute, it seemed a natural step to Clarendon Hall, where meets an organization representing probably nearly two hundred thousand of the proletariat, or working classes, of New York and Brooklyn. Sunday is the only day on which they are able to come together. There were present to-day between one and two hundred delegates. The matters discussed touched on the labor question in many of its phases. Several bills before the New York Legislature were first drafted by this body. A paper called *The Voice of the People* has just been started under its auspices. The Union to-day made its protest against Gov. Cleveland's veto of the bill for five cent fare on the Elevated Railroad, and against a bill introduced into the Legislature, for placing arms into the hands of the Grand Army of the Republic. This measure was denounced as a move of the aristocracy, and the constitutional right of all citizens to bear arms for purposes of self-defence was asserted. A recent official act of Gen. Butler, which gave this view of the matter, was applauded. Butler is by no means their idol: he is only made to appear a hero in comparison with the politicians of the time, who either stand on the side of monopoly or are dumb on the issues that most concern the people. The history of the working people is the world's unwritten history, and governments have accordingly ignored the interests of this class. Such men as Henry George are more truly favorites. "*Poverty and Progress*," said one speaker, "is the Bible of the working-man." They respect him for his courage as well as for his ideas, though he rather failed in coming to time at the mass meeting lately held in Cooper Union, in honor of Karl Marx, the founder of the *Internationale*, whose death had just been cabled from Europe. Announced as one of the speakers, Mr. George sent a written address. It was eulogistic of Marx, and in perfect sympathy with the objects of the meeting. Was George afraid of elbowing such men as John Swinton or even Herr Most? I trust not: the occasion was worthy the man, and that was enough. Herr Most was not on the list of speakers; but, at near midnight, he was called for, and held that packed audience spell-bound for half an hour or more. There were some inhuman utterances in that speech, but it was not all husks. Be on hand with something that is better, and the people will receive it. The Central Labor Union assisted at this mass meeting; and, though it might not indorse the blood-red flags displayed there, it would most assuredly the inscriptions they bore: "The reorganization of society, without priest, king, capitalist, or loafer." "Organize Industry, and prevent war." "Workingmen of all countries, unite." As the name of Karl Marx is a sort of bugbear to the times, and all sorts of rumors are afloat as to the aims of the *Internationale*, it may

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be well to state its principles briefly, as advocated by its founder. They are: abolition of standing armies and of State frontiers; fusion and union of the peoples; labor creates all wealth, and all wealth belongs to the labor that creates it; the productive capacity of society is superior to its consumptive capacity; workingmen must accomplish their own emancipation, but their weapons must be ideas and their method organization and agitation.

The New Theistic Church.

Horticultural Hall on this evening was nearly full. In each seat were a collection of hymns in pamphlet form, a blank card of membership, and a card advertising a series of sermons, under the general heading "The Mistakes of To-day." The subjects, however, were affirmations of the leading truths of the new gospel, the untruths to which they were opposed being expressed in parentheses. The congregation, accompanied by the organ, sang King Robert's hymn:

"O thou most tender Love,
Deep in our spirits move," etc.

A prayer (the "Lord's Prayer") was offered, and some explanatory words regarding the movement followed, which seemed to connect it in some way with the work of O. B. Frothingham in this city,—it being the design to fill up the gap left by him; and, for historical reasons only, the name of "Third Unitarian Church" would be retained; certain usages of the past might serve as scaffolding for the new edifice. The tenor of these remarks did not impress one listener, at least, at all favorably, and for the reason of their ambiguity. Those words, "Frothingham," "Unitarian," "historical," "scaffolding," tended more to bewilder than enlighten. How much or how little they meant, who could tell? The sermon, on "The Rising Faith," had three divisions,—its difficulties, its methods, its promises. The new faith, it was distinctly stated, was to be Theism. Christianity, Catholic or Protestant, no longer met the religious needs of man. But there was a frequent use of Christian Scripture, for proof and illustration, the discourse being founded on a text from Hebrews. Socrates and other lights of the Gentile world were quoted, but the great central figure was Christ. It may sound like a personal criticism to say that the thought and delivery were both tame; but, surely, it is a fact worth recording that, on an occasion where they were specially needed, both boldness and fervor were lacking. And there is a cause for this which must be sought for in the organic conditions themselves. The "methods and promises" may be best traced in the Articles of Faith or Bond of Union. One of the principles standing alone reads well: "All who profess to be seeking for righteousness and truth, and whose lives are in accordance with this profession, will gladly be received into the membership of this Church, with no other creed or condition imposed." That is Free Religion. But what can such an invitation mean, in the face of other statements? "God, humanity, worship, duty, providence, prayer, inspiration, revelation, repentance, retribution, holiness, and the immortal life,—upon these twelve principles, rationally interpreted and always kept open to increasing light, this Church will be built. With reference to them and their promulgation will be its fellowship, teachings, and work." Here are two creeds which conflict, and neither of them is pure Theism. The first says nothing of God, and the other buries him beneath a load of dogma.

Certain things may be predicated of the Religion of the Future. It will say what it means, and mean what it says. It will not be creedless, though its creed will be far simpler than that of the "Third Unitarian (Theistic) Church," or any Unitarian church in existence. It will have fewer principles and more principle. Its appeal will be *to and from* the heart and the mind. Its votaries will be taken from every grade of society, and represent every phase of culture. Its office will be to make men, not to receive them when already crowned. Where shall we look for such a religion to-day? Max Müller's congratulatory missive to Mr. Schermerhorn was too hasty, in saying, "It is always a satisfaction to see the budding germs of the seed which one has helped to sow." For this surely is not the "budding germ" of the seed sown by *Chips from a German Workshop*. The words of approval and sympathy from James Martineau, Robert Collyer, Minot J. Savage, and John W. Chadwick, were consistent enough; for, illustrious as have been their services to the cause of religion, they have remained identified up to this hour with those who make the terms "Unitarian" and "Christian" the badge of religion and the test of fellowship.

T. W. CURTIS.

PETER COOPER AND THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY.

Editors of The Index:—

To-day, the day of the funeral of Peter Cooper, when all are united in one feeling of deep respect for this unblemished character, I venture to fill a void in the press, and to put before the public some facts which will not be mentioned by the so-called "leading" papers of this country.

The "leading" newspapers usually represent the powerful class which, in France, is called *bourgeois*, but here, for the lack of a better word, must be called *money-makers*. Philanthropy is not only a fashionable occupation of this class, it is becoming more and more a "safety valve," well adapted to allay the discontent and to postpone the day of judgment. No wonder that all these "leading" papers represent Peter Cooper as a philanthropist, and count him as one of their number.

But, in the name of humanity, I protest against such an insinuation.

Peter Cooper was not a philanthropist. His doing good was not a pleasurable or optionable act with him: it was an imperative duty, a moral obligation, a result of his denouncing the very foundation of the individual property. He was one of those who proclaim the urgent needs of humanity without recognizing the existence of this Supreme Being. He belongs to those "Positivists" who never read Comte. He is, in fact, a prophet of the New Religion. But let him speak for himself:—

"Having also acquired what is regarded as riches, if the use I have made of them renders it proper for me to give any advice or speak a word of encouragement to others who, by the will of God, are intrusted with the great responsibility of wealth, I feel impelled to record my conviction, derived from personal experience, that *the rich man who regards his wealth as a sacred trust to be used for the welfare of his fellow-men* will surely derive more true enjoyment from it in this world than from the most lavish expenditure on mere personal enjoyment and social display. I do not pretend to prescribe any standard of expenditure for others; and I am quite ready to subscribe to the doctrine that a just and faithful trustee should be liberally paid for his services, and should not be restricted in the reasonable gratification of his desires, so long as the rights of others are not thereby infringed; and I desire to give the fullest recognition to the sacredness of private property and the conservation of capital as for the best interests of society and all the members thereof; *but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the production of wealth is not the work of any one man, and the acquisition of great fortunes is not possible without the co-operation of multitudes of men; and that, therefore, the individuals to whose lot these fortunes fall, whether by inheritance or the laws of production and trade, should never lose sight of the fact that as they only hold them by the will of society, expressed in statute law, so they should administer them as trustees for the benefit of society as inculcated by the moral law.*" (From the address delivered by Peter Cooper, at Cooper Union, May 31, 1871.) He conscientiously practised it during his long life.

One remark more. The words of Peter Cooper resemble so much the words of Auguste Comte that one can hardly believe they were uttered by one who never claimed to be a Comtist. And yet this coincidence is not an accidental one: it repeats itself more and more often. Hundreds of men proclaim certain thoughts as their own, while these very thoughts have been pointed and elaborated by Positivism. Even those who object to Auguste Comte's views are very often the best contributors in sustaining and strengthening the Religion of Humanity. These men, together with Peter Cooper, are the forerunners of the approaching moral revolution. They show what a vitality, what a genuine spontaneity there is in Positivism, what a bright triumph is waiting for it.

The time of sneering at Comtism is rapidly passing away. Another time is coming, when both capitalists and laborers will imitate the example of Peter Cooper, and completely renounce their own rights to any property; when poor and rich alike will confess that to humanity alone belong the products of wealth. Then, only, will become possible that healthy, normal distribution of wealth which will provide every cell of the Supreme Being with everything necessary for the physical, intellectual, and moral development. And the dawn of the "millennium" will be seen only when all distinctions between capitalists and laborers shall voluntarily cease, when all men shall become *brothers* equally, owing to humanity their labor, love, and worship.

WILLIAM FREY.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1883.

COL. HIGGINSON CORRECTS A NEWSPAPER ITEM.

Editors of The Index:—

I notice in the last *Index* a sentence attributed to me which I never uttered,—"Col. Higginson avers that George Eliot, if she had ever held a dead babe in her arms, would have wanted something more to console her than the philosophy of Herbert Spencer." Every public speaker soon grows accustomed to such misstatements; and I, for one, rarely correct them. In this case, it is one of those common instances, in condensed reports, where the reporter "telescopes" a speaker's sentence by condensing several into one: so that, as in a railway collision, the front end of one car is inserted in the rear end of another. In some very off-hand remarks, I made some passing allusion to Herbert Spencer, and afterward to George Eliot. These allusions were in separate sentences, having no connection with each other. It is the reporter who, for economy of space, "telescoped" my little train of ideas. What I said of George Eliot was that, if she had ever held her dead baby in her arms, she would have wished for some more definite personal immortality than that described in her "Choir Invisible." I no more spoke of Herbert Spencer in that connection than I used the word "babe."

CAMBRIDGE, April 15, 1883. T. W. HIGGINSON.

INGERSOLL ON DEATH.

The following words were uttered by Col. Ingersoll last Sunday at the funeral of John G. Mills, a Positivist, who died at Washington, D.C., on the 13th inst.:—

"Again we are face to face with the great mystery that shrouds this world. We question, but there is no reply. Out on the wide waste of seas there drifts no spar. Over the desert of death the Sphinx gazes forever, but never speaks. In the very May of life, another heart has ceased to beat. Night has fallen upon noon. But he lived, he loved, and was loved. Wife and child pressed their kisses on his lips. This is enough. The longest life contains no more. This fills the vase of joy. He who lies here, clothed with the perfect peace of death, was a kind and loving husband and good father, a generous neighbor, an honest man. And these words build a monument of glory above the humblest grave. He was always a child, sincere and frank, as full of hope as spring. He divided all time into to-day and to-morrow. To-morrow was without a cloud, and of to-morrow he borrowed sunshine for to-day. He was my friend. He will remain so. The living oft become estranged. The dead are true. He was not a Christian. In the Eden of his hope there did not crawl and coil the serpent of eternal pain. In many languages he sought the thoughts of men, and for himself he solved the problems of the world. He accepted the philosophy of Auguste Comte. Humanity was and is God; the human race, the Supreme Being. In that Supreme Being he rested. We believe that we are indebted for what we enjoy to the labor, the self-denial, the heroism of the human race, and that, as we have plucked the fruit of what others planted, we in thankfulness should plant for others yet to be. With him, immortality was the eternal consequence of his own good acts. He believed that every good thought, every disinterested deed, hastens the harvest of universal good. This is a religion that enriches poverty, that enables us to bear the sorrow of the saddest life; a religion born not of selfishness and fear, but of love and hope, that gladly bears the burdens of the unborn. In the presence of death, how beliefs and dogmas wither and decay! How loving words and deeds burst and blossom! Pluck from the tree of any life these flowers, and there remain but the barren thorns of bigotry and creed. All wish for happiness beyond this life, all hope to meet again the loved and lost. In every heart there grows this sacred flower of eternal hope. Immortality is a word that Hope, through all the ages, has been whispering to Love. The mira-

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cle of thought we cannot understand; the mystery of death and hope we cannot understand; the mystery of death and hope we cannot comprehend; this chaos called the world has never been explained; the golden bridge of life from gloom emerges, and our shadow rests. Beyond this we do not know. Fate is speechless, destiny is dumb, and the secret of the future has never yet been told. We love, we wait, we hope. The more we love, the more we fear: upon the tenderest heart the deepest shadows fall. All paths, whether filled with thorns or flowers, end here. Here, success and failure are the same: the rags of wretchedness and the purple robe of power lose difference and distinction in this democracy of death. Character alone survives, goodness alone lives, love alone is immortal. But to all there comes a time when the fevered lips of life long for the cool, delicious kiss of death. Tired of the dust and glare of day, they hear with joy the rustling garments of the night. What can we say of death? What can we say of the dead? Where they have gone reason cannot go, and from there revelation has not come. But let us believe that over the cradles Nature bends and smiles, and lovingly above the dead in benediction holds her outstretched hands."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

CAMBYSES AND THE CALF-GOD.

Cambyses, son of Cyrus, was an epilept;
And, being sovereign of the world, he in
His moods outdid Orlando the Furious.
He ran amuck 'gainst Egypt's superstition,
And disentombed her mummied kings, where they
In sculptured, palm-leafed sepulchres reposed,
And had their undecaying carcasses
Most soundly whipped. Egypt's priesthood
Were scourged at his command like caitiffs vile.
'Twas after his mad march southward against
The Ethiopians, who by a zone
Of burning, trackless desert dwelt intrenched.
At last, the lurid simoom blew the soil
All light and granular into burial-mounds
O'erwhelming horse and rider; and the desert
One mighty sepulchre became, wherein
Lay massed in death far Susa's chivalry.

Returned to conquered Memphis found the king
In festal raiment all the land of Nile,
With banquets and ovations celebrating
The visible advent of a deity
Made flesh, but flesh of grazing kine, not man.

The fierce Parsee the ill-timed, general joy
Interpreted as exultation o'er
His army's loss. Mayor and aldermen
Of Memphis summoned he for explanation.
They told the jealous king that Egypt had
A god, at distant intervals who showed
Himself unto his votaries, whereat
The land rejoiced. The Magian monarch deemed
Their tale a lie, and ordered them to death.
Then summoned he the priests, and they confirmed
The ill-starred magistrates. "Has Egypt, then,
A god so tame and manageable? Produce this Apis."

And, at the word, the priests led in
A calf with forehead starred with white, which on
His back the figure of an eagle bore,
And on his tongue a scarabæus. Rage
In eyes of fierce Cambyses shone, as he
The calf-god saw. His dagger drawing swift
He stabbed the harmless creature in the groin.

To roars of laughter changed the monarch's ire.
"O stupid knaves, and this is, then, your god!
It is a god of Egypt truly worthy!
Compact of flesh and bones, vulnerable,—
But me a laughing-stock think not to make
With backs unscarred!" And then the scourge
Raised bloody weals upon the priests' bared flesh,
While in his shrine the god languished and died.
And secretly his worshippers performed
His funeral rites, Cambyses' anger fearing.

For not to form enshrined of man or beast
The haughty Persian knelt: the mountains he
His altars made; his incense was the mist
Of morn; the azure air, his temple-dome;
His god, the Sun, of all the immortals fleetest,
Most luminous, life-giving, radiant.

B. W. BALL.

THERE are three friendships which are advantageous, and three which are injurious. Friendship with the upright, friendship with the sincere, and friendship with the man of much information,—these are advantageous. Friendship with a man of specious airs, friendship with the insinuatingly soft, friendship with the glib-tongued,—these are injurious. — *Confucius.*

BOOK NOTICES.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES: Poet, *Littérateur*, Scientist. By William Sloane Kennedy. Boston: S. E. Cassino & Co. 1883. For sale by Clarke & Carruth. Price $1.50.

This is the third of Mr. Kennedy's biographies of American poets, the two preceding volumes treating of Longfellow and Whittier. This handsomely bound, clearly printed volume of over three hundred and fifty pages is no unworthy successor to those previously noticed in these columns. The writer says of it in his "Prefatory Note" that it "does not profess to be a biography in the strictly technical sense; but it is designed to serve as a treasury of information concerning the ancestry, childhood, college life, professional and literary career, and social surroundings of him of whom it treats, as well as to furnish a careful critical study of his works." The writer's admiration of his subject is summed up in the following sentence on page 129: "A perfect thing in its kind is always admirable. Hence, to the autocrat and laureate of Boston, to Holmes the consummate cit, the most perfect and delightful oppidan, richest distillation of the old Puritan strain of blood, master at will of smiles or tears,—to him we are constrained to yield our homage." But Mr. Kennedy, having yielded that homage, does not hesitate to acknowledge and declare the faults and weaknesses in the character of his hero, egotism and class pride being chief among the faults of which he accuses him, with considerable show of truth. The volume is interesting from beginning to end, and most so in those portions where the biographer has free play for his own expression of opinion, as in the following description of Boston and the genuine Bostonian, such as Holmes is. Mr. Kennedy characterizes Boston as the "city of the brown loaf, and the marrow-searching icy winds; city of the brave heart and powerful hand; city beloved of freedom." Boston, he declares, "idealizes itself in its artists' *ateliers*, enjoys artificial æsthetic aspiration in its wealthy ecclesiastical clubs, sublimates its emotions in Music Hall, martyrs its comfort with the arid inanities of drawing-room receptions, speculates in its granite exchanges, intellectualizes New England with its pale cast of thought, and in the intervals subjects the universe in general to the remorseless inspection of its critical eye-glass." The genuine Bostonian, he says, "is simply an Americanized Englishman. . . . As the Englishman is the physical bully of the world, so the Bostonian is the æsthetic and intellectual bully of America. Underneath the high polish of consummate manners (the Pheidian faces finished with a hair-pencil, the animal faultlessly encased) there lurk the stony glare of self-aggrandizement, the icy complacency of ancestral pride (*odi profanum vulgus*), the *de haut en bas* air of an intellectual and social aristocracy well ballasted by the weighty annals of the past." That Dr. Holmes had good reason for his aristocratic tendencies is shown in his good lineage and the interrelationship of his family with such historical families as the Olivers, Wendells, Quincys, Hancocks, Phillips, Bradstreets, Channings, Danas, and others; and his beginnings were exceptionally propitious as "the son of one of the most influential and beloved citizens of the place, connected with the noblest families in the community, and living in a spacious old mansion consecrated by historical memories, and surrounded by flowers and trees and gardens breathed over twice a day by the sweet breath of the sea." Dr. Holmes' college days are sketched at considerable length, and his leading works somewhat carefully criticised. An excellent and life-like portrait of the poet graces the first page; and, in addition to a copious index, there is a very complete bibliography of the writings of Dr. Holmes.

RECENT numbers of the Elzevir Library received at this office are: *The Commentaries of Cæsar*, by Anthony Trollope (paper, 15 cents; cloth, 30 cents); *How Lisa Loved the King*, by George Eliot (paper, 2 cents); *Demosthenes*, by W. G. Brodribb, *Cicero*, by W. Lucas Collins, *Herodotus*, by George C. Swayne (each, 15 cents); *Highways of Literature*, by David Pryde, 10 cents; Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" and "Traveller," in one volume, 2 cents; with several others equally cheap. From the same publishers, we have received several numbers of *Choice Literature*, a monthly magazine on the plan of the *Eclectic* magazine. Price $1 per annum. John B. Alden, publisher, 18 Vesey Street, New York City.

THE SANITARIAN, published at 113 Fulton Street, New York City, has been vigorously discussing in late numbers the question, "Is Tubercular Consumption Dangerous?" and the yellow fever question in its relation to New Orleans; also many other sanitary subjects equally important.

WE have received from D. Lothrop & Co., 32 Franklin Street, Boston, the April numbers of the *Pansy* and *Babyland*, both, as usual, rich in illustrations of the pleasing stories and poems with which these publications for the younger members of the nursery are always filled.

THE HERALD OF HEALTH for April has articles on "The Treatment of Criminals," "Dyspeptics, and the Sick," "Massage in Diphtheria and Croup," "Coeducation of the Sexes," and other current questions in hygiene.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

THE position selected for the Longfellow bust in Westminster Abbey is a column standing between the memorial niche of Chaucer and the independent bust of Dryden, with a full and uninterrupted stream of light falling on the position, so that the bust will occupy a central and conspicuous place in the Poets' Corner.

THE following letter from Blue Horse, a Sioux Indian, was received at the Indian Office a few days ago: "I am a friend of the Great Father's, and am going in the white man's ways. I have noticed white men cutting wood, and I thought I would be like a white man and chop some wood for my wife. A piece of wood flew up and put out my right eye, and now I would like the Great Father to send me another eye. I can have it put in here. I have always been a friend of the white man, and am bringing my children up in the white man's way. I am getting old, and wish my Father would send me a cane. When you send the eye, please send a brown one, as that is the color of my other eye. I hope the Great Father will do as I ask. I shake hands with a good heart. Your friend."

THE recent dinner to Oliver Wendell Holmes, in New York, brought together most of the intellectual lights of that city. An occasion which is honored by a poem from the "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table,"—now reigning as despotically within his lettered jurisdiction in New York as in Boston,—the rhetorical brilliancy of William M. Evarts, the instructive and finely turned periods of George William Curtis, should have an exalted place in the memorabilia of the times. Boston can loan New York its accomplished medical professor for a few fleeting hours as an illustration of what its much-derided culture produces, but would never consent to part with his marked personality, or lose the glory reflected upon the city of his residence by his achievements as a writer and poet.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH in the *National Reformer* previous to the death of Mr. Ashton Dilke, brother of Sir Charles Dilke, wrote of him as follows: "I read without surprise, but with very great regret, that Mr. Ashton Dilke is constrained by ill health to relinquish parliamentary life; and my feelings of regret are deepened, because I fear that Mr. Ashton Dilke's state of health was seriously affected by his attendance and speech at the last great meeting held in St. James' Hall in favor of Northampton's right. The free-thought party will share in this regret; for Mr. Ashton Dilke is the only member of the English parliament who, as far as I am aware, in the whole of its history, ever thought it his duty to declare in the House that he did not hold the Christian faith. I was sitting in the House at the time, and remember the sort of stilled attention and surprise with which the speech was received. In a time when manliness and sincerity are at a discount, while hypocrisy and servility rule, the character of a man like Mr. Dilke shines out brightly. Let all radicals honor him by imitating his example."

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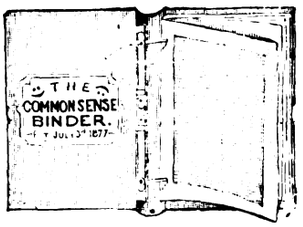

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 505

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Philanthropy: What is its Essence? Wm. J. Potter, . 506
A Michigan Indian Reservation, Charles Ellis, ... 506
Shakspere's Politics and Theology, B. W. Ball, ... 507
Man and his Show, W. D. Gunning, ... 508
Is Volition Lawless? B. F. Underwood, ... 509
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., F. A. Hinckley, . . . 511

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 510

POETRY.
The Ineffable Name, John W. Chadwick, ... 511
Heredity, ... 515

ESSAY.
The Criticisms upon the Ethics of Herbert Spencer, S. J. Stewart, ... 511

CORRESPONDENCE.
Norse Literature, Lita Barney Sayles, ... 514
The True Foundations of a Religious Society, W. H. G., 514
Count Goblet d'Alviella on Rational Religion in the United States, H. E. A., ... 514
Incomes of the English Bishops, A Briton, ... 514
A Tariff upon Foreigners, D. McLaren, ... 515
English Universities, D., ... 515

BOOK NOTICES.
The Modern Sphinx, and Some of her Riddles, by M. J. Savage; Emerson as a Poet, by Joel Benton, . . . 515
The Popular Science Monthly, Century Magazine, Unitarian Review, ... 515

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 515

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE New York Police Commissioners approve of the proposal to diminish the number of saloons to one in every five hundred of the population, and to increase the license fee to $500.

FIVE Protestant clergymen are now being tried by the Prussian Government in Lithuania for performing marriages where both parties were not Lutherans, and baptizing children born of these mixed marriages.

THE telephone is doing its best to "annihilate time and space." A few days ago, conversation was held between Chicago and New York, a distance of nine hundred and forty miles, by means of this modern scientific miracle-worker.

THE Bishop of Bohemia has become so much alarmed at the rapid spread of Spiritualism in that country that, believing proscriptive measures necessary, he has declared any one professing belief in Spiritualistic doctrines to be guilty of heresy.

THE *Independent* says the report that a certain London society has proposed to bring a suit against Tyndall, Huxley, Spencer, and other scientists for having inculcated infidelity is "a pure invention," and adds, "A society for the suppression of 'Lying Literature' would have a broader, if not a more useful, field than one for the suppression of 'Blasphemous Literature.'"

THE cause of female education is rapidly advancing in Calcutta, where the number of non-Christian women who can read and write has doubled in the last five years. It is said that there are now more than four thousand Hindu girls in mission day-schools in Calcutta and its suburbs. Indeed, they exceed the number of boys in the schools and colleges by about one thousand.

IT seems that the press censor of a Turkish post-office in Armenia recently came across a copy of a Moody and Sankey's hymn-book, sent to the address of a missionary stationed there. He could read English very imperfectly; but, looking through the book, he made out the words, "Hold the Fort," and, deciding that these words meant treason, he promptly expurgated the page containing this hymn before sending the volume to its destination.

WRITING in *Longman's Magazine*, Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., says: "There are in Ireland about 93,000 houses with only one room in each, and that of the rudest and poorest kind. Of these 93,000 one-roomed huts, most have floors of rough, damp earth and roofs of rotten thatch. Their walls are without plaster, and a hole in the gable serves them for a chimney. Into some of these cabins will be crowded a goat, a donkey, a pig, and several fowls, along with the occupant and his family."

THE Young Men's Christian Society, of Lynn, England, recently decided, after some discussion, to adopt a resolution recommending the committee "not to admit to the Association persons of doubtful moral character, Unitarians, or free thinkers." The London *Inquirer*, commenting on this action, remarks, "Christian young men are quite at liberty to make their own conditions of membership, but it is not likely that any of the Unitarians of Lynn would wish to belong to what might more appropriately be termed The Young Men's Pharisaical Society."

WE clip this from the *Herald* of this city: "It is a little singular that the Spanish Chamber of Deputies has exhibited a greater amount of liberality in the matter of the religious tests imposed upon its members than has been shown in the English House of Commons. Under the new bill passed last week, a Spanish Bradlaugh would find no difficulty in obtaining entrance to the Spanish Cortes. This is all the more remarkable when one considers the strong influence that the Roman Catholic Church possesses in the Iberian peninsula. Such a change would have been absolutely impossible a generation ago; but, at the present time, religious toleration seems to be making more rapid progress in Southern Europe than in the northern part of that continent."

SAYS the St. Louis *Post Despatch*: "Judge McCrary this morning delivered a verbal opinion in the case of Dr. Wood, *alias* Kaltmeyer, who was indicted for sending circulars of an improper character through the mails in violation of section 3893 of United States Statutes. The evidence against the doctor was procured by means of the decoy letter system, employed by the postal inspector's department, aided by the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The question of admitting such testimony is ruled adversely to the government in cases of sending obscene literature through the mails. No conviction can be had in a case where it rests upon testimony of that character. In cases of mail-robbery and counterfeiting, evidence established by the decoy system may be used."

THE *Interior*, an Orthodox Presbyterian journal, thus condemns the action of the society whose prosecution of the *Freethinker* was the subject of Mr. Conway's letter in a recent number of *The Index*: "The English rationalists, while they might be ashamed of such an exhibition for the sake of the good repute of their nation, could ask no better means for breaking down public respect for Christianity than that now afforded by the operations of this new society of indiscreet and fanatical zealots. The issue thus raised will inevitably result in a victory for religious liberty, but it will not end with the vindication of religious rights. The sentence of a man to a year's hard labor in the penitentiary, and another to nine months, and another to three months, and the lodgement of an innocent newsdealer in jail with a heavy fine, all for the expression of religious or irreligious convictions, is an assault upon English liberty that will arouse the most intense and vindictive animosity against the religious organizations of the realm. The English Parliament is an absurdly conservative body; but the most stolid statesman cannot fail to see that, in re-establishing religious persecution, he is lighting a fire in comparison with which the Irish troubles are insignificant."

DR. JAMES STRONG, superintendent of the Northern Ohio Insane Asylum, in a recent lecture in Cleveland, on "Alcohol and the Nervous System," said that alcohol has a special affinity for those portions of the brain which constitute the seat of the mental offices, and initiates a process which sooner or later results in untold evil by its power to permeate the delicate cell tissues of the brain and thereby break its nutritive balance, the process by which the vital work of supply and waste is maintained. Its habitual use weakens and destroys the will, removes the checks and balances and restraints, and not only permits the lower and naturally subordinate functions to assume undue sway, but stimulates them into morbid activity. Persistence in the alcoholic habit cannot fail to produce those nutritive changes in the brain cell which result, sooner or later, in mental ruin and moral decay. Alcoholic intoxication Dr. Strong declares is temporary insanity. The symptoms of the one are reproduced in the other. The only difference is that the insanity of a fit of alcoholic intoxication is of short duration, and is produced by the voluntary act of the sufferer, and therefore is without excuse and renders him unworthy of sympathy. The alcoholic habit having destroyed the nerve tissues composing the superior portion of the brain, in which the higher order of sensations and powers are lodged, paralyzed the will which kept the lower order of faculties in check, and stimulated the latter abnormally, the victim of the alcoholic habit sinks lower as the alcoholic poison progresses through his nervous system. "The alcoholic habit," says Dr. Strong, "is the training school whence the great criminal army draws its fresh recruits."

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PHILANTHROPY: WHAT IS ITS ESSENCE?

Our respected contributor, Mr. Frey, in last week's *Index*, through his eagerness to defend Peter Cooper from the repute of a pseudo-philanthropy which has too much following in the world, fell into what seems to us the great error of confounding all philanthropy with the *pseudo* article. In our view, Peter Cooper was a genuine philanthropist; and we should assert this, even if we depended only on Mr. Frey's own illustrations of his career for testimony. We would not give up so fine a word to the usage of those who do not know at all the real thing, yet seek to imitate it.

It is evident what Mr. Frey has in mind. He sees a good many men who have risen to great wealth by dishonest and unjust practices,—men who enrich themselves by a long-continued system of oppression, cheating, and despoiling of their fellow-men,—but who, at last, for the sake of purchasing a better fame or, it may be, only for the better security of their ill gotten gains, devote a pittance of their wealth to some public object of beneficence; or who, all the time that they are laying up riches by their inhumane and unscrupulous methods, may for the same reasons ostentatiously bestow a small portion for the relief of some of the miseries they have helped to cause. Against all such efforts in the name of philanthropy, every manly soul can but utter its indignant protest. The very classes of people who are thus aided will cry out, "It is not charity, but justice, that we want,—not your dole of gifts from dishonest riches, but our natural rights to adequate wages for our labor and to adequate opportunities for the improvement of our own faculties." But, for applying the noble word *philanthropy* to such efforts, no rightful claim can be made either on etymological or historical grounds. Nor has the word yet by any means become so damaged by such false use that its true meanings do not readily come uppermost. Philanthropy, we should say, in any proper usage of the word, means much more than charity, more than benevolence: it includes, also, necessarily and first of all, personal and social justice.

Philanthropy is comparatively a modern word in the English language. It did not become domesticated from the Greek (from which it was taken directly, with only a slight change of termination) until the eighteenth century. Before that, it was used but sparingly. Dryden, near the end of the seventeenth century, spoke of it as a foreign word, for which there was no proper equivalent in English. But what occasion was there for adopting a new word? Why did not such old words as benevolence, charity, kindness, compassion, humanity, pity, continue to serve every purpose? The reason is that a larger idea of affecting human welfare had dawned among English-speaking people than any of these words fully covered. The word *philanthropy* is properly applied to a phase of good will and good action somewhat different from any of these forms of kindred virtues. A philanthropist must be a benevolent, humane, charitable man, but every benevolent, humane, and charitable man is not a philanthropist. And whence came this larger idea? In our opinion, it was one of the results of the Protestant Reformation,—that movement which carried so many mighty intellectual and moral forces in its bosom. It is a significant fact that it was in the century which felt the first practical effects of that movement that English writers were seeking a new word for this idea. The Protestant Reformation was a Declaration of Independence for the human soul. It was a new awakening of thought, a new assertion of the rights of human reason, and it involved a corresponding new idea of human dignity and worth. Hence, there sprang from it as a natural consequence a greater regard for man *as man;* that is, as a being, however oppressed, ignorant, degraded, and miserable he might be, yet with faculties to be developed, with dormant energies to be awakened, with rights to be secured, with possible virtues and happiness to be achieved, with the lineaments of a complete manhood to be brought to light. And for the desire and effort on the part of any of the better conditioned class of mankind to lift the depressing burdens and remove the obstacles from any of their wronged fellow-creatures and to set them in the way of securing their natural rights, opportunities, and privileges as human beings, a new word was wanted. The idea was of something larger and deeper than charity: that was known before, and was chiefly alms-giving. It was of something more than humanity: that was the general refining influence of a higher culture. It was different from compassion or sympathy: these might relieve suffering and yet touch not the sources and causes of suffering. And, for this new and larger idea, the Greek word *philanthropy* was chosen,—a most admirable selection, since it means by etymological derivation *love of man,*—not love and sympathy merely for this or that individual man who may chance to be in distress, but love of man *as man;* or love of the human race for its capacities and possibilities. And the idea which the word was borrowed to cover was just this: Love and help for man in his capacity as a human being; love and help for him, because of the boundless possibilities of good that inhere in his nature. This is the special phase of that beneficence which the word *philanthropy* signifies.

It would not be far wrong to say that philanthropy is a Protestant word for a Protestant idea. No such word was needed in Christendom until the Protestant Reformation. The Roman Catholic Church institutes and encourages charity, but not philanthropy. Catholicism loves not man as man, but only as churchman. It has always allied itself most naturally with despotism. That people should be oppressed or ignorant or poor or in deprivation and suffering has given that Church no concern except to inculcate upon those thus afflicted the duty of resignation, humility, and submissiveness to their lot. It has openly taught the permanence of poverty and even the voluntary assumption of it as a virtue, in order that the rich may have the balancing virtue of alms-giving. Its charitable institutions, of which it has many and excellent, are all based on the idea of alleviating suffering, and not of preventing and permanently curing it. Even in our own day, it has, through its official head, denounced the ideas of popular liberty, of popular education, and of equality of natural rights as most dangerous and damnable errors which faithful Catholics must put away. However much, therefore, the Roman Catholic Church may be commended for its charities, it has done little or nothing for philanthropy. It does not embrace the idea which makes the special significance of the English usage of this word.

Even Protestantism has not yet risen to the full height of its own idea. But, with the help of a better science of human society, it is now making rapid progress in the direction its idea points. Relief of suffering is, indeed, often the first thing to be considered and secured. But beyond that comes the question, Why the suffering? May not the cause of it be found, and a permanent remedy be effected by destroying that? Cannot the wrong be traced to its root, and then eradicated? The spirit that puts this question is the spirit of philanthropy. And the persons who work against the ills of mankind on this line of relieving suffering by drying up its sources, of removing miseries by extirpating their conditions, of lifting ignorance from men's minds and fetters from their limbs, so that they may be free to secure by their own efforts the happiness which belongs to them as human beings, are philanthropists. What the saint was in the Catholic Church, the philanthropist is in Protestantism.

Philanthropy is nineteenth century beneficence. It is benevolence guided to action by scientific philosophy. It is faith, hope, and charity for man, all working together to secure him justice as the first and most requisite condition of his welfare. There was humanity even among Southern slaveholders,—the kind master, who gave his slaves plenty to eat; the kind mistress, who nursed them when sick. But it was philanthropy that emancipated the slaves. Charity ameliorates effects: philanthropy reforms or removes causes. Charity pityingly sends food and fuel to the drunkard's family: philanthropy would regulate the traffic in drunkard-making liquors as stringently as it would the traffic in gunpowder, and meantime strive to educate the coming generations above the level of the drunkard's pleasures. Charity builds almshouses for sick and starving pauperism: philanthropy would seek to bring about such readjustments of the relations of wages to industry as would prevent pauperism. Soft-hearted amiability—not rising even to the height of a charity—sends slippers and bouquets to criminals in prison: philanthropy would establish such methods as would both deter from crime and reform the criminal. Charity tenderly swathes and poultices any diseased limb of the complicated organism of human society: philanthropy would ferret out the poison which has produced the disease, and expel it from the social system. In fine, charity, with its hundreds of hands stretched out in all directions, is ever striving to soothe away the pain of the ills to which humanity is subject; while philanthropy, with its hundreds of eyes going before its hands, is searching out the hidden causes of evils; and, through better appliances of education, industry, moral culture, recreation, legal and social justice, sanitary knowledge and observance, is laboring so to improve the mental, moral, and material conditions out of which individual and social life springs, that those ills which now most grievously afflict mankind shall be destroyed in the germ, before they have themselves any power to destroy. Charity gives man a crutch: philanthropy, more deeply kind, puts him into possession of his own faculties, and bids him walk alone.

WM. J. POTTER.

A MICHIGAN INDIAN RESERVATION.

I.

An editorial in *The Index* a few weeks ago stated that it is believed, by those who have made satisfactory investigation, that the Indians of the United States are in no danger of dying out; that, in point of fact, they are increasing in numbers. The writer of that article is a zealous advocate of justice and fair play toward, and a general kindly and encouraging treatment of, these people. There are in New England many men and women who believe that the Indian has never had an opportunity to show what he can become under the influences of civilization; but that, as far as he has been allowed to remain in peace and permitted to direct his attention to industrial pursuits, he has given evidence of a general race capacity for development. There are in the State of Michigan good opportunities not only to observe what the Indians can do for themselves, but also how thoroughly they may be prevented from doing. I have re-

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cently taken a trip to an Indian community here, for the purpose of seeing and hearing for myself the history of a sincere and generous effort on the part of the United States to elevate this people.

In 1855, a treaty was concluded between the United States and the Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River bands of Chippewa Indians, in the lower peninsula of Michigan, by the terms of which the Indians ceded all their lands—of which they held small tracts in various parts of the State—and all their rights in annuities by prior treaties to the United States, and were to receive in return about two hundred thousand acres of land lying chiefly in one block in Isabella County—which was then unbroken wilderness—and about $300,000 in money, over one-third of which was to be distributed *per capita* among them in twelve annuities: $30,000 to be used for educational purposes, in ten annual payments; $40,000, in ten like payments, for agricultural implements, tools, building material, cattle, furniture, and whatever was needed to insure a permanence and success to their settlement; $12,400 to be used to keep up a blacksmith-shop for ten years; $8,000 to build and equip a grist-mill on the reservation; $4,000 for a saw-mill; $20,000 to liquidate the outstanding debts of the Indians; $8,000 per year, for five years, for an agent and interpreter,—longer, if necessary; $20,000, in ten yearly payments, for the support of a manual labor school, to be under the management and control of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Indians were authorized as follows to select land anywhere on the reservation: Each head of a family, each single person (male or female), each family of orphan children under twenty-one years, containing two or more persons, should select and hold eighty acres; and each single orphan, under twenty-one, should have forty acres. To these, the United States would grant patents, which were to specify that the land so settled by these people could never be alienated by them, could never be disposed of. Each child, as it became of age, should be entitled to select forty acres, until the entire lands should be exhausted. The Indians went upon the Isabella Reservation in 1856. There were about fifteen hundred of them then, and land enough to supply all with farms for several generations. The United States was to act as guardian of their property, and evidently intended to have them under her immediate supervision for some time; for she appointed the lieutenant-governor of the State, the superintendent of public instruction, a committee to act with a member to be appointed by the Methodist Missionary Society, whose duty should be to visit the Indians once a year for the purpose of making a thorough examination into the condition and conduct of the labor school, and to report the same to the President. Besides the offices of these eminent men, the government furnished an agent and an interpreter, whose time and attention should be given to the Indians; and it is not surprising if, having done this, she should have felt that her wards were doing well, as long as she heard no reports to the contrary. The head of the State, the head of the State's educational interests, and the representative of a large and influential theological body had been put forward to take care of the rights of these Indians in their new home, and to see that the intentions of the government were being fulfilled. This committee was pledged by every sense of right, justice, and duty, pledged by every humane feeling, pledged by the holy lips of religion, to see that these unlettered, ignorant children of the woods should receive all the benefits of their treaty. Government built them a mill. She built school-houses and churches for them. She furnished them with tools, teams, seeds, with furniture for their houses, and food to live upon until they could raise their own. Year after year, she paid regularly the several instalments specified in the treaty; year after year, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church received $2,000 from the United States for taking charge of the school of manual labor among these Indians; year after year, we must suppose that the aforesaid committee visited the reservation, found everything going well with the people, and so reported them to the President. Such being the case, the country has a right to look toward this community now, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, for a solution of the problem of Indian civilization. During this period of time there has been no disturbance, no outbreak, no agitation of any kind in which the Indians ever took any part against the whites. They have given the State no trouble in that time. In fact, as far as a knowledge of his presence is dependent upon his old warlike habits and customs, he has in this State entirely disappeared. Under the new State Constitution, adopted in 1852, the male Indian born in the United States and twenty-one years old is a citizen, and may vote and be voted for. In short, enough has been done with the intention of elevating the Indian in Michigan to warrant assurance that he will be found there far in advance of his old tribal condition,—a prosperous, intelligent, contented, and happy citizen, an honor to his State and nation. How far the facts harmonize with the colors of our reasonable expectations will be shown in another communication, in which I shall give the results of the experiment as they may be seen to-day on the reservation.

CHARLES ELLIS.

SHAKSPERE'S POLITICS AND THEOLOGY.

I.
His Politics.

Shakspere was never accused, as in later times Goethe was, of incivism and a lack of patriotism; but he is generally regarded as having been an aristocrat in sentiment, though not by birth, and a contemner of the people and of popular rights, although, in Shakspere's time, there was no "people" in the current sense of the word, there being then only an ignorant, property-less, mindless populace of serfs and drudges. It was doubtless his "Coriolanus" which has given the impression that he must have held not only the common people, but even the well-to-do citizenry, in utter contempt. But Shakspere, in correctly delineating the haughty Roman patrician, and in putting in his mouth words which voiced the contempt entertained by his class for the plebs or rabble of the Rome of that far-off time, was simply true to historic facts. He was not speaking his own sentiments through his hero as a mask or mouthpiece. He might as well be charged with having been a murderer at heart, or a man with intense murderous instincts, because he has with such marvellous life-likeness delineated such model and high-placed murderers as Macbeth and Richard III. There is a passage in Milton's *Paradise Regained* which he puts into the mouth of Christ; and there is also a passage in one of Emerson's essays, in which the fickle, unreflective, and anonymous rabble or multitude is characterized in terms almost as severe and contemptuous as those which the Shaksperean Coriolanus pours forth with such a fierce gusto, when he is denouncing the Roman populace or plebeians. Coleridge says that Shakspere was a philosophic aristocrat, delighting in those hereditary institutions which have a tendency to bind one age to another, and in that distinction of ranks, of which, although few may be in possession, all enjoy the advantages. Shakspere might have been in effect what he is here represented by Coleridge as having been; but he was not consciously or deliberately so.

Shakspere was not only a world-poet, but he was also the poet of the feudal period, when there was no intelligent, average population, and no apparent possibility of popular self-government; when the masses of mankind were still an anonymous, undeveloped multitude, many-headed, but brainless; when ignorance and illiteracy were the rule with nobles and peasants alike. An age of general knowledge and popular enlightenment, of industrialism instead of militarism, of science and genuine democracy, of telegraphs, telephones, daily newspapers, of sewing machines, power looms, railroads and steamboats, and of cosmopolitanism, and of instantaneous intercommunication between the ends of the earth,—such an age as that in which we are now living even Shakspere could hardly have anticipated. A certain stationariness and immobility had characterized the world down to his time. There had been great changes caused by war and conquest now and then, but there had been no "progress" in the current sense of that word. There had been no radical, social, and political revolutions, but only the overthrow of one dominating nationality by another. The spirit of social and political revolution and progress was not abroad in the world of Shakspere's day. The modern spirit was beginning to dawn in Bacon and others, but the dayspring had only begun. The masses were still in a state of serfism without thought or aspiration; and, as for the kings, high priests, and nobles, they were haughty, bloodthirsty, treacherous, tyrannous, and cruel, hesitating at no means which would accomplish the aims of their ambitions. Coleridge says that Shakspere is never angry with the mob, but hugely content with holding up its absurdities to its face; and, sometimes, you may trace a tone of almost affectionate superiority, something like that in which a father speaks of the vagaries of a child. Of the rights of man as promulgated by the French National Assembly of 1793 and as set forth in our Declaration of Independence, and of universal suffrage, Shakspere could hardly have dreamed. Citizenship in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, of which he read in Plutarch, was not based on any so-called rights of man as man, but it was the privilege of a jealous, haughty, and exclusive class in the State, who disdained all traffic and traffickers, and all useful labor and occupations, as badges of serfdom and a degradation to freemen whose only proper vocations were politics and war. The Attic and Roman republics or democracies, from the stand-point of the popular sovereignty of to-day, were really oligarchies and aristocracies. The Athenian people or, as it was known in its aggregate, personified shape, the Athenian Demos,

"Who dwelt in the town of the violet crown,"

regarded themselves as autochthonous, or as actually sprung from the sacred soil on which they dwelt, and scorned the idea that their franchises could be bestowed on aliens or slaves. Brutus, when he made, in the language of Byron,

"The dagger's edge surpass
The conqueror's sword in bearing fame away,"

was no champion of popular freedom and social equality. He was simply the vindicator of his class, of an exclusive class liberty, of the oligarchic rights of a patrician Senate as against the one-man power, which Julius Cæsar, the man of destiny of decaying Roman republicanism, was wielding in consequence of the inexorable logic of events. Thus, it is not true, as Coleridge avers, that Shakspere has depicted "the man of freedom" in his Brutus. Neither Brutus nor Cassius was

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a revolutionist in the modern sense of the word "revolution," which is a movement in behalf of the rights of man as man. Brutus and Cassius were ultra-conservatives and would-be restorers of the old Roman social and political order with its slaves and plebeians and patricians; that is, with all its glaring inequalities. They were also actuated by a mean jealousy of the foremost man of the foreworld in statesmanship, generalship, and general intellectual capacity. For such was Julius Cæsar, who was a progressive when compared with his assassins.

Hazlitt, in his comments upon Shakspere's "Coriolanus," says: "The arguments for and against aristocracy and democracy, on the privileges of the few and the claims of the many, on liberty and slavery, power and the abuse of it, peace and war, are, in the play in question, very ably handled, with the spirit of a poet and the acuteness of a philosopher. Shakspere himself seems to have had a leaning to the arbitrary side of the question, perhaps from some feeling of contempt for his own (low) origin, and to have spared no occasion of bating the rabble. What he says of them is very true, and what he says of their betters is also very true, though he dwells less upon it. The cause of the people is indeed but little calculated as a subject for poetry." (Mr. Emerson did not seem to think so. On the contrary, in his "Boston Hymn" and in his verses entitled "Voluntaries," he demonstrates that "the cause of the people" is well "calculated" for poetry of the loftiest kind.) Says Hazlitt, "The language of poetry naturally falls in with the language of power." *Per contra*, Byron and Shelley so managed "the language of poetry" as to make it fall in with the language of intensest hate for and indignation at arbitrary "power" and despotism. Hazlitt goes on to say that "poetry is right royal. It puts the individual for the species, the one above the infinite many, might before right. A lion hunting a flock of sheep or a herd of wild asses is a more poetical object than they; and we even take part with the lordly beast." This is not true. To the credit of human nature be it said, or of enlightened, kindly human nature, as it manifests itself in the foremost communities of to-day, it invariably takes the part of "the under dog" in the fight rather than the side of triumphant power. But to quote still farther from Hazlitt. He says: "We feel some concern for the poor citizens of Rome, when they meet together to compare their wants and grievances, till Coriolanus comes in, and with blows and words drives this set of 'poor rats,' this rascal scum, to their homes and beggary before him. There is nothing heretical in a multitude of miserable rogues not wishing to be starved, or complaining that they are like to be so; but, when a single man comes forward to brave their cries, and to make them submit to the last indignities from mere pride and self-will, our admiration for his prowess is converted into contempt for their pusillanimity."

Homer, like Shakspere, sided with the Achaian kings and nobles of his day, and denounced the rule of the many, or what we should denominate universal suffrage, as an unmitigated evil. In other words, neither Homer nor Shakspere admired rabbles or the leaders of rabbles, as their manner of serving up Thersites and Jack Cade sufficiently indicates. We have in this Commonwealth a lineal descendant of Thersites, in full feather and activity, with all his physical and mental traits. But, aristocratic as Homer was in his proclivities, he yet, away back in that far foretime in which he flourished, could see that slavery was a grievous wrong, and denounced it as such. The truth is, had Homer and Shakspere lived in these days, they would have sympathized with a popular rule, based on popular intelligence; that is, with a popular sovereignty, exercised by people fitted by education and a mutual respect for each other's rights to exercise sovereignty over themselves.

Mob-rule and the rule of demagogues continue to this day to be just as great evils as they were in the days of Homer and Shakspere. But Shakspere and Homer could, in their times, have no experience of large, average populations fitted by a generally diffused intelligence and prosperity to carry on "a government of the people, by the people, for the people." There are only a few such highly enlightened average populations in the world of to-day even. Demagogues and ignorant rabbles, even in this country, are doing their best to make popular rule a failure. The English of Shakspere's time were a proud, invincible people, jealous of their rights and independence. But British constitutional liberty, as it was finally evolved by the long struggle with the Stuarts, which ended with the Revolution of 1688, was a long way off in the days of Shakspere. England was even then "the inviolate island" that it has ever since been. But the English Plantagenets and Tudors were as absolute despots as ever reigned. Shakspere shows up the kings and high priests of the feudal times of England in such a manner as to make them forever detestable; and in this way he may be said to be a most potent enemy of absolute personal rule, whether royal or hierarchic. The able but hideous Richard III., as he is presented in Shakspere's play of that name, is not calculated to make readers or spectators enamoured of royalty; and the ambitious, unscrupulous, wily, and haughty high priest is equally well drawn in Cardinal Wolsey, who is a model of the usurping and domineering hierarch. Thus was Shakspere in effect the enemy of kings and priests both. He was in full sympathy with the hostility of his countrymen, at all periods of English history, to the rule of a foreign priesthood in England. In his "King John," that monarch says to Cardinal Pandulph,—

> "Tell the pope this tale and from the mouth of England,
> Add thus much more,—that no Italian priest
> Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.
> But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,
> So under Him, that great supremacy,
> Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
> Without the assistance of a mortal hand,
> So tell the pope, all reverence set apart
> To him and his usurped authority."

King John in these words voiced the innate hatred and contempt of the English race for priestly sway,—a contempt which still burns in the breasts of all the offshoots of that race in both hemispheres, a contempt which has made that race superior to all other races in manliness, civic freedom, and general intelligence and morality. There is no danger of the readers of Shakspere becoming enamoured of tyranny through his delineations of it, or learning from him any lessons of slavishness and base servility. The great feudal poet of England, with all his aristocratic proclivities, was not in love with "the oppressor's wrong" or "the proud man's contumely" or "the insolence of office" and high rank. He did not applaud "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes." Indeed, the social and political ills which he saw all about him, and which seemed to be ingrained in civil society, made him at times tired of life and to long for "restful death." He saw that men were aristocrats or democrats according to their circumstances. One of his characters exclaims:—

> "Well, whiles I am beggar I will rail
> And say,—there is no sin but to be rich;
> And, being rich, my virtue then shall be,
> To say,—there is no vice but beggary."

B. W. BALL.

MAN AND HIS SHOW.

It is Tennyson who says that

> "The highest is the measure of the man,
> And not the Caffre, Hottentot, Malay,
> Nor those horn-handed breakers of the glebe,—
> But Homer, Plato, Verulam."

There is a butterfly called "Parnassus," whose habitat is high mountains. Poets may take their butterflies from Parnassus, but theirs is a partial science. Our excursion to-day shall be on the valleys and lowlands.

Lubbock has made the flowers which attract insects reveal

> "The mind which stirs between the wings of bees and building wasps."

In the same spirit, we propose a study of the average human psyche by its allurements.

To learn Rome, I do not care so much to know what Cicero was thinking in his villa at Tusculum as to know what was attracting the Roman crowd to the Colosseum. The bull-fight at Madrid is a better revelation of the Spaniard than the eloquence of Castelar. A theatre in Canton is a better index to the Chinese than the maxims of Confucius.

One of the most instructive men it has been my fortune to meet is the purchasing agent of a great "show." He had never been on Parnassus, but he knew well how to catch the butterflies on the plain. "The public mind," he said, "is setting strongly for quail-eaters. I shall make a good thing out of Myrick." At that time, one Myrick was eating quails in New York on a wager. He was to eat a brace of quails every dinner for thirty days. He was only half through, and yet within fifteen days he had become famous. New York papers were telling the world what throngs attended him to the eating, and how, having devoured the quails, "he piled up the bones neatly on a side-dish." Myrick was great, and the world had need of him. For what? A few years ago, insects were infesting the trees in our city parks. We inquired for the greatest gourmand of bugs; and, finding him in the English sparrow, we brought him hither. Is there a portion of the globe overrun by quails? Let it send for Myrick. For what is Myrick? To travesty Victor Hugo on the Cat and Mouse, Myrick is a correction. God made a quail, and said, "Behold, I have created a quail." Then he made Myrick. Myrick is the *erratum* of the quail.

But our civilization wrests this quail-eater from the function assigned to him by a line of gluttonous ancestors. We make him a *show*. Not long ago, some lecture bureau would have put him on the platform. That is past; but the circus and the side-show, like the poor, we have always with us.

"What is the demand," I said, "for objects in natural history,—lions, tigers, and the like?" "Not much demand," he answered, "in that line. They're too common. I made a venture once in zebras. I gave Patterson an order to make me a lot of zebras out of mules. He was to have five hundred dollars. He turned them out so well, you would never dream that they were fakes. But his paint didn't hold color. The show was caught in a rain-storm, and it was worth a whole side-show to see them zebras."

"What is the demand," I said, "for what you call 'freaks of nature'?"

"Demand! Why, Patterson can't turn out enough to supply the demand. I tell you that man's a genius. He can make more freaks of nature than any other man in the country. He can set a glass eye in the middle of a cow's forehead. He can put four horns on a cow, and two of them will seem to grow out of her eyes. He tried his hand once on a winged mule. Patterson, I tell you, is a genius."

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"I see that your show advertises a double-headed girl. Did Patterson manufacture her?"

"Oh, no! She, or they,—we call her *they*,—isn't a fake. She's genuine. And, let me tell you, she's the best article in that line that was ever put before the public. She's a great card."

"I see you have a 'spotted man.' Does he draw well?"

"We have a spotted man and a leopard boy; but, between us, they're only diseased negroes. They don't draw very well."

"Your show has an 'India-rubber man.' Is he a good card?"

"Well, at first, he was a great curiosity. But we've got tired of him. He offends good taste. Ladies don't like to see a man pull his lip up over his forehead."

"Tattooed men,—how do they draw?"

"The people are tired of them. They're almost all fakes. By 'fake,' I mean that they are manufactured for the market. Patterson makes them."

"And wild men? I see you have a wild man in you show."

"Wild men are pretty much played out. I've just had a letter from the agent of the Wild Man of Madagascar. I believe he's a fake. I tell you, there never was a genuine wild man before the public. The Wild Man of Afghanistan was the first I ever heard about. He was a mulatto. Tom Courtney found him in a poorhouse somewhere in New York, and made a good deal of money out of him. Then, Sam Ashbridge got a wild nigger. But he was a fake. Sam wanted the greatest thing in that line, and so he had the fellow's teeth pulled and tusks put in their place. The tusks didn't fit. You never saw anything look more like a gorilla. He was a great card, but he lived only one season."

"Fat men?"

"The market is glutted with them. A man must be mighty fat or lean to pull in the dollars now."

"Champion eaters or fasters, do they draw generally, as you think Myrick will draw?"

"No: the public cares nothing about them, unless they are very famous. We tried the champion mince-pie eater, but he didn't draw. Tanner, you remember, tried lecturing; but it wouldn't do."

The show is level with the mind which it attracts. When the historian tells us that bull-baiting was the favorite amusement of the ancient Thessalian, he has given us a key to the Thessalian character. My showman threw more side-lights on American character and culture than you will find in a volume of Bancroft. How large in us is the survival of that primitive cult in which the unnatural, the monstrous, was worshipped? White cows, white elephants (thought to be unnatural, because rare), deformed men, dwarfs, giants, idiots, lunatics, have been deified. The "leopard man" and "India-rubber man" might once have found their place in a temple. Their place to-day is in the side-show.

Larger still is the survival of Thessalian savagery as expressed in the bull-fight. Let the showman advertise an acrobat to walk on a rope a foot above the ground, not a man would come to his ticket-office. Let him put the height at a hundred feet, and the performance wins an audience. That which attracts is the chance to see a man kill himself. Frank Frayne is an ignoramus who knows not so much of the histrionic art as Buffalo Bill. But he is good with a rifle; and he will shoot an apple from the head of a woman, pointing the gun backward over his shoulder. Frayne is a "star," and fills every theatre he enters. To fall back on our entomological illustration, here is a flower with no beauty of form or color. It is the carrion flower known to science as *Smilax herbacea*. Its smell is that of decaying flesh. Nothing could find it except for its odor; and nothing would want to find it except a botanist, or an insect which delights in putridity. The flower attracts the blow-fly. As the carrion flower in the floral world, so is "Si Slocum" in the histrionic. What audience will it attract? Not a man in whose mind does not lurk the thought that he may see Frayne shoot amiss, and kill a woman. And, when the reckless fool did miss the apple and shoot the woman through the head, one of the largest theatres of Cincinnati was packed to suffocation with men and women who came, taking their chances to witness the deed. The smilax has but to unfold its bloom and exhale its odor, and its audience of flies is larger than the audience of butterflies the sweetest zinnia can attract. Within a month after the histrionic murder, Frayne is blooming again in Boston, the flies are buzzing, the theatre is crowded, and only one paper in the city utters a word of reprobation and shame.

Man, as measured by the show, has grown; but he is still in embryo. When cock-fighting was a favorite pastime in England for children, and bull-baiting for men; when these cruel pleasures were checked by legislation for the only reason—written in the law—that "they were diverting the people from archery, so necessary to the military greatness of the nation"; when humanitarians like Saint Francis enjoined tenderness toward the lamb, assigning as the only reason that the lamb is the symbol of Christ; when reformers like Luther grew sad and tristful over a hunted hare, not through pity of the hare, but because it represented a soul hounded by the devil; when an entire people refrain from baiting the stag and the ass, sparing only these, and these only because the ass bore Christ into Jerusalem and the stag reveals the bones of saints,—if we forget the one Plato and the few Verulams, we might regard our race as just emerging from brutedom.

In a future age, when the antiquarian shall find an inventory of the great American show of the nineteenth century, — "Spotted Men," "Leopard Men," "India-rubber Men," "Gorilla Men," "Mermaids," "Three-eyed Cows," "Double-headed Girls," genuine freaks of nature made by Patterson, and Myrick and Frayne made by themselves,—he may say, "Of the press and the platform, of the college and the academy, of all that helps men to work out the beast and work in the man there was crying need."

W. D. GUNNING.

IS VOLITION LAWLESS?

Volition involves the idea of action and desire for its accomplishment. Between two different conceivable actions and conflicting desires, we decide in favor of one and against the other. The power thus to decide is popularly called the "will," which is generally referred to as though it were a sort of metaphysical entity,—a something forming no part of the phenomenal world, being independent of law and causation, that presides over the operations of the mind so far as to interpose between conception and action, and by a "categorical imperative" determining the decisions of the mind, sitting in judgment over all motives, itself uninfluenced by motives, being wholly unrelated to the succession of phenomena which we call cause and effect.

But what proof is there of the existence of an entity called "the will"? "Physiologically," says Maudsley, "we cannot choose but reject the Will: volition we know, and will we know; but the Will, apart from particular acts of volition, we cannot know.... We have to deal with will not as a single undecomposable faculty unaffected by bodily conditions, but as a result of organic change in the supreme centres, affected as certainly and seriously by disorder of them as our motor faculties are by disorder of their centres." Modern psychology knows nothing of "the will." The power of willing which is correlated with physical conditions forming part of the cosmic order we are all conscious of possessing. Man cannot take himself out of the phenomenal world. In every moral as well as in every physical struggle, we have to do, as Lange says, "not with the thing itself, but with our conception of ourselves and of our will; and this conception remains unavoidably phenomena."

Men's actions are determined by motives which have their proximate cause in personal character and external circumstances. The actions of men are a part of the natural order, are links in the chain of causation, and not mere arbitrary events without antecedents and outside the realm of natural phenomena. Of course, men can do as they choose, if no obstacle be interposed; but can they choose otherwise than as their character and circumstances determine? Could Emerson have chosen to be a thief? Can a Digger Indian choose to act like an enlightened man, in whose physical, mental, and moral nature are organized the experiences of thousands of years of civilized life? If evolution be a fact, the present is an outgrowth of the past, and cannot, therefore, be independent of the past. The volitions of men to-day are determined not simply by their surroundings, but by the character and conduct of the millions of men who have lived in the past. Says Lewes: "The language we think in and the conceptions we employ, the attitudes of our minds and the means of investigation, are social products determined by the activities of the collective life. The laws of intellectual progress are to be read in history, not in its individual experience. We breathe the social air, since what we think greatly depends on what others have thought."

Not only are we influenced in our volitions by all past human life, but, if the ascent of man from the lower animals be admitted, by all the past *brute* life with which we have a genetic kinship. Those who say they accept evolution, and at the same time claim that man has what brutes have not, freedom of the will, should, to show that they have any well-matured or consistent thought on the subject, indicate at what point in the development of intelligence, or how possibly at any point, a change occurred so great as is implied by the distinction between a creature whose volitions are caused, dependent, and subject to law, and a creature whose volitions are uncaused, independent, and lawless. It is evident that the dogma of the freedom of the will is utterly inconsistent with evolution, the distinguishing characteristic of which is *continuity* in the processes of nature. William I. Gill, in his remarkable work, *Evolution and Progress*, sagaciously observes: "In regard to the will, the only question bearing on evolution is whether its volitions are the exercise of a natural or of a supernatural force, or, in other words, whether its action transcends the known and accepted law of cause and effect, which everywhere prevails in the universe of nature; whether, in spite of all natural forces, and in opposition to all natural forces, both internal and external, the will can determine its volitions, so that there is no absolutely certain and uniform and causal connection between volitions and antecedent phenomena.... Those who proclaim the most loudly the freedom of the will are by no means clear that the will is strictly and fully a supernatural power; and nothing else will save them." Mr. Gill is a thinker, and knows what he is talking about.

The only natural meaning "freedom of the will" can have is the power of acting or not acting as the mind determines; that is, of following the

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strongest motive. Within certain limits, we can do as we choose. Choice is the inevitable impulse resulting from more or less conflicting feelings, determined by motives; and the action which follows is just as necessary as is the circular motion of the earth from the centripetal and centrifugal forces. But what determines our choice? We did not make our constitutions. As Huxley says, "The passionate assertion of the consciousness of their freedom, which is the favorite refuge of the opponents of the doctrine of necessity, is mere futility; for nobody denies it. What they really have to do, if they would upset the necessarian argument, is to prove that they are free to associate any emotion whatever with any idea whatever; to like pain as much as pleasure, vice as much as virtue; in short, to prove that, whatever may be the fixity of order of the universe of things, that of thought is given over to chance."

"The designation of 'liberty of choice,'" Bain observes, "has no real meaning, except as denying extraneous interference. If I am interfered with by another person compelling me to act in one way, then it may be said, intelligibly enough, that I have not liberty of choice. But, as between the different motives of my own mind, there is no meaning in the use of the word 'liberty.' Various motives—present or prospective pleasures and pains—concur in urging me to act. The result of the conflict shows that one group is stronger than another; and that is the whole case."

Replying to those who maintain that all phenomena, mental as well as physical, occur in accordance with law, Voltaire asks: "Well, would you have everything rendered subject to a million of blind caprices? Either all is the consequence of the nature of things, or all is the effect of the order of an absolute master." Than this nothing can be more evident. Superficial minds imagine that they lose their liberty, if they concede that their wills are subject to law. But even a God, uncaused and eternal, if he exist, must exist in accordance with the principles and conditions of his being. If he is just because justice is one of his attributes, he is just because of the determinations of his being; in other words, because of that nature which he did not make, and which is the basis of his character and the cause of his volitions.

Exposure of the fallacies of the doctrine of "freedom of the will" is sure to be met by its adherents with the statement that it is affirmed by *consciousness*, or, to use the language of the Kantian, that it is a deliverance of consciousness. But, as Bain says, "it is a great stretch of asseveration to call the construction of an enormous theory an act of consciousness so simple that we cannot make a slip in performing it." What we are really conscious of is the power of willing. Certainly, consciousness does not tell us that our volitions are uncaused or lawless, that they are unrelated to antecedents, that they belong to a domain exempt from causation. "We feel that our actions," remarks Hume, "are subject to our will on most occasions; and imagine we feel that the will itself is subject to nothing, because when, by a denial of it, we are provoked to try, we feel that it moves easily every way, and produces an image of itself (or a *Velleity*, as it is called in the schools), even on that side on which it did not settle. This image or faint motion, we persuade ourselves, could at that time have been completed into the thing in itself, because, should that be denied, we find upon a second trial that at present it can. We consider not that the fantastical desire of showing liberty is here the motive of our actions."

Prof. Felix Adler, in a lecture recently printed in *The Index*, says that "Kant, in his critical philosophy, gave the first real statement of the freedom of the will." Kant's method of dealing with the subject was briefly this: He maintained that the mind is no part of the phenomenal world, but the *Ding an sich*, the *noumenon*, and consequently subject to no laws of the phenomeral world. Of the noumenon, Kant says we can know nothing whatever; and his assumption, therefore, that it is free, or beyond law and causation, is a statement of very little value. "When," says Huxley, "the good and evil angels fought for the dead body of Moses, its presence must have been of about the same value to either of the contending parties as that of Kant's noumenon, in the battle of impulses which rages in the breast of man." Lange, who is one of the ablest and fairest thinkers of this century, well observes: Kant's philosophy "stands with Janus countenance on the borders of two ages," and "the false subtleties in his deduction of freedom may speedily be forgotten," especially when we remember that "the loftiness with which he conceived the idea of duty kindled a flame in youthful minds; and many a passage of his writings, in all the simplicity of their awkward expression, exercised an entrancing influence as of heroic song, upon those spirits that were seized by the ideal character of the age."

In his lecture, from which we have quoted, Prof. Adler says, "The freedom of the human will is the corner-stone of every genuine ethical system." We believe, on the contrary, that the theory of the freedom of the will is utterly inconsistent with any genuine ethical system, and that the maxims of every-day life, all codes of morals, all systems of jurisprudence, all forms of governments, all the industrial and commercial enterprises of the world, presuppose that volition belongs to the region of law and causation, and that there is a necessary connection of certain actions with certain states of mind, without which praise and blame would have no foundation, and the word "responsibility" would be meaningless. Paradoxical as it may seem to some, we do not hesitate to say that, were the doctrine of the freedom of the will true, a murderer might be as innocent as a new-born babe. The most advanced systems of theology even, whatever be their theoretical teachings, are founded upon what they teach should be the object of the greatest admiration and adoration,—the necessary justice and goodness of God. But the moral aspects of this subject will receive attention in another article.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK, this year, begins on Sunday, May 27.

AMONG the works just announced by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. is "Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts," by Richard P. Hallowell.

THE *Critic* of April 7, in an interesting article on the Co-education of the Sexes, gives publicity to the opinion of several college presidents and others interested in educational matters. Of the sixteen persons whose letters are given, it is a little noticeable that only one (Julia Ward Howe) is a woman.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS have issued an expurgated edition of the Bible, from which has been eliminated "all improper, irrelevant, theologically or ethically unnecessary, and inadequately confirmed parts" of the Scriptures. The selections from the ancient Persian, Egyptian, Hindu, Buddhist, Chinese, Grecian, Roman, and Arabian Scriptures, which are included in the volume, give it additional value.

THE Springfield *Republican*, referring to the statement of Dr. Stow, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, that "small-pox is sent by the Almighty as a judgment upon land monopoly, money monopoly, and transportation monopoly," remarks that this is "not only distressing, but, unless Dr. Stow can advance the strongest proofs, it must be regarded as distinctly libellous."

THE London *Truth Seeker*, of which Rev. John Page Hopps is editor, quotes from *The Index* Mr. E. C. Towne's statement—"that very great ignorance of America is well-nigh universal in England; that the most false ideas of American characteristics and life prevail everywhere, even among those who are generous and friendly in their feeling; and that, with the vulgar majority, which embraces from two-thirds to four-fifths of the population, contempt for our country, our people, our products, our public life, and our private manners, is as natural and hearty as ignorance and prejudice can make it. It is one of the largest and most extraordinary facts to be met with in England"—and replies as follows: "We should like to assure our brothers on the other side that this is a misjudgment. At the worst, the proportions are about the other way; but it would be nearer the truth to say that the 'contempt' spoken of is very seldom to be found anywhere. What curious people Mr. Towne must have seen, or what a curious state of mind he must have been in when he was here!"

SAYS the New York *Evening Post*:—

The success of Mr. Cook's sonorous platitudes in Boston, which passes in the eyes of foreigners for the most cultivated city in America, has probably given far more gratification to the enemies of democracy than any shortcomings on the part of the American press. His books, his lectures, and himself have furnished to foreign critics more materials for "merciless sneers" directed against the mental standards of the community which produced him and which can listen to him than even the worst American newspapers have ever done. A bad newspaper can always be explained away by decrying the character of its readers, who are an invisible and unknown body. But Mr. Cook gathers his subscribers into a hall, where they can be counted and inspected. That they have a very respectable appearance and make certain claims to "culture" nobody can deny, and this is all the cynical foreign enemy of our institutions asks for. He then turns on us, and says that when such people as these can take Cook for a prophet, and bear up under the revelations which have been made of his incompetency, what hope can there be for our intellectual future? Why should there be "first-class dailies" or weeklies in a community, they ask, which can find mental food in a "Monday Lectureship," and which can take his collection of chromos for a gallery of old masters? One cannot answer a sneer of this sort off-hand. To explain Mr. Cook would need a small volume.

FROM the annual report of the executive committee of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, which completed its twentieth year on the third day of this month, we learn that the Society is in a flourishing condition. Mr. W. H. Spencer has been engaged to fill the office of resident speaker for another year. During the past year, he has spoken for the society thirty-seven times. Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer has spoken ten times. The report concludes thus:—

The first work of a pioneer society like this must, of necessity, be in a great measure negative or destructive. It finds that a path is to be made; and, in doing this, a forest of error and bigotry has to be cut down and removed. It seems strange that all great movements for the advancement of man, all noted discoveries in science, should be opposed by the dominant church influences. So it was, as we have seen, in the Anti-Slavery conflict; and so we find it in the Woman's Rights movement. The most splendid discoveries in astronomy could be announced

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only at the peril of torture and death by the hand of the Church. Our globe was a heretic, forbidden, by church creeds, to turn on its axis or to revolve around the sun. But the old planet has kept on its infidel course through the heavens, until ecclesiastics have finally decided to let it move, provided it shall be admitted that the great achievements in astronomy could never have been wrought but for the civilizing and benign influences of their holy religion.

ANNUAL MEETING, FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston, beginning Thursday evening, May 31, and continuing through Friday, June 1.

Business session, in Parker Fraternity Hall, Thursday evening, at 7.45 o'clock, for reports, election of officers, and general discussion of methods of work.

The Friday morning session will open at 10.30 o'clock, in Parker Memorial Hall, with an address on "Emerson and Darwin" by Col. T. W. Higginson, to be followed by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Thought-side by Emerson," and by Mr. John W. Chadwick, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Matter-side by Darwin."

The Friday afternoon session will open at three o'clock with a paper on "Co-operation and Progress," by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, N.Y. This will be followed by an address from Mr. James Kay Applebee on "Social Disintegration and its Arrest by Co-operation." Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and others will also speak to the question of the afternoon.

The Festival will be held in the large Horticultural Hall, Tremont Street, and will begin with a supper, with tables and seats for all, at about six o'clock, or as soon after the close of the afternoon meeting as possible. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. After the supper, five-minute speeches are already promised from John W. Chadwick, B. F. Underwood, James Kay Applebee, and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and a poem from Minot J. Savage. Other speakers for the Festival will be announced hereafter. Miss Lucy Garlin's Euterpe Quartet have kindly consented to add the attractions of their fine music to the occasion. Tickets of admission to the Festival, with reserved seats at the tables, at 50 cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, of the Secretary, Providence, R.I., and of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass. It is desirable that early application for seats should be made.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

THE INEFFABLE NAME.

I see an angel with dilated eyes
  Filled with a wonder sweet beyond compare,
  Around whose brows her wind-blown golden hair
Makes aureole splendor, and her finger lies
Upon her lips. Dear angel of surprise,
  The symbol thou of spirits high and fair
  Who to be silent still serenely dare
Before all wonders of the earth and skies.
How name aright the Power that surges through
  All times and worlds, nature and humankind?
  O Light of light, such spirits are not blind
To thy perfections, old yet ever new!
  When speech but mocks the overburdened heart,
  They, choosing silence, choose the better part.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

BROOKLYN, N.Y., April 12, 1883.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 26, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

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For *The Index.*

The Criticisms upon the Ethics of Herbert Spencer.

BY S. J. STEWART.

There is an opinion among many persons that society is fast reaching a condition in which men will no more recognize any principles of morality or necessity for good conduct. Very often, men, who themselves are doing nothing to suggest moral principles, profess great sadness that the very foundations of faith and virtue are being removed, and that nothing is to take their place. Now, it is undoubtedly a fact that old theories of ethics are no more accepted as authoritative by many people. It is not true, however, that there is no basis for morality: neither is it true that all who reject old conceptions are indifferent to the situation. There is in process of construction a system of morality definite and comprehensive, a system that is self-consistent and builded upon facts. It is the system or theory of scientific morality, or, in other words, the ethics of evolution.

For good reasons, the morality of evolution is very closely connected with the name of Herbert Spencer. It is not that he is the only man who has taught evolution or who is trying to construct a system of morality in consistency with science. Many men before him, and many before they had come under his influence, have felt the necessity of discovering principles of natural morality. Moreover, any system of natural or scientific morality does not depend upon the infallibility of any one man. But because of his recent visit to this country, and the fact that the attention of men has been specially directed toward his opinions on ethics, it is appropriate to notice them. For good general reasons, too, we may consider the ethics of Herbert Spencer and that of evolution as synonymous. He was called, even by Darwin, "our greatest philosopher." He has undertaken to construct a system of philosophy which will embrace all special sciences and all isolated principles. Darwin treated of the origin of species, and thus applied evolution to one department of investigation; and many scientists and moralists have worked in a particular direction, but Mr. Spencer began his system of philosophy before the doctrine of evolution was formulated by Darwin, with the direct object of making all facts, at last, suggest the true law of conduct. Moreover, he has definitely and directly in his *Data of Ethics* applied the theory of evolution to the question of morality; and his book is universally accepted among believers in science as the most complete and suggestive and authoritative statement on that subject. If for no other reason, his writings in general have been made the direct object of attack by critics of science and evolution, and therefore become especially representative. It will not be then, in any spirit of blind hero-worship, that we consider the ethics of Spencer and that of scientific morality as practically synonymous.

It may be well to state the general method and theory of Mr. Spencer. His method is to apply the general law of evolution to ethics. "If the entire visible universe has been evolved, . . . the life in general which the earth bears, as well as that of each individual organism,—if the mental phenomena displayed by all creatures up to the highest. . . conform to the laws of evolution, then the necessary implication is that" conduct in man also conforms. Conduct comprehends the adjustment of acts to ends and acts adjusted to ends from the simplest to the most complex. The ultimate end of all conduct must be to produce more pleasure than pain, as the excess of pain would at last end life. Life, then, in its length and quality, becomes the standard of conduct; and, practically, that is the best conduct which produces the most life in self, in offspring, and in fellow-men. Morality, or "the science of right conduct, has for its object to determine *how* and *why* certain modes of conduct are detrimental, and certain other modes beneficial." This is a scientific theory of morality, because it is builded upon facts and laws. There are certain reasons in the constitution of things which make certain conduct good. It is no mere guess-work by which men are to do what seems pleasant to one part of their nature at the moment; but, as there are certain causes which produce certain effects, it becomes the work of science to find out "from the laws of life and the conditions of existence what kind of actions necessarily tend to produce happiness." "Having done this, its declarations are to be recognized as laws of conduct," and not merely some momentary desire for pleasure. The explanation, however, will be best given by considering popular objections.

First, then, the superiority of Mr. Spencer's philosophy is shown in the fact that his object is ethical. This is not the common idea of those who have criticised his philosophy. Men urge as an objection to evolution that it is not practical, and leads to no moral conclusions. "What has all this philosophizing about biology and psychology to do with good conduct?" men ask in criticism. "How does it at all affect human life and love and conduct to tell us of mollusks and the belief in dreams?" The fact is, however, that the direct ultimate object of Mr. Spencer's philosophy is the discovery of the laws of good conduct. His series was to conclude with a consideration of "The Principles of Morality." Not only was morality his object, but so anxious was he to suggest moral principles to men that he anticipated his intended order, and wrote his *Data of Ethics* before he came to it chronologically in his system, and even omitted a consideration of inorganic evolution. He saw plainly that multitudes of men were about to give up their old belief in an old morality founded upon theology. Instead of ignoring the situation as many do, he resolved to meet it. He did, however, resolve to reach his moral teachings by a faithful observance of facts and laws, and by a philosophical method. He has built his system up from the bottom, beginning with the lowest forms of life and showing the working of the law of evolution up to the highest known culmination of life in man. But the very comprehensiveness of his method and the profundity of his thought have been a principal object of criticism. Men who think that moral questions are all to be settled in their little crucibles criticise him for not talking in their commonplace. Because he does not write in the language of the politician or the temperance reformer or revivalist, they cannot understand or appreciate him. They forget that a philosopher cannot adapt himself to the ideas and expressions of the thoughtless or superficial.

But even those who are educated, and who sometimes talk in the most obscure language themselves, apply their criticism to the very breadth of Mr. Spencer's system. Forgetting that he is tracing life up from its lowest forms, and that he wishes to apply evolution to every form of life, and to approach

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human morality from its origin, they criticise him really for his faithfulness. Even Prof. Goldwin Smith* criticises him for beginning his *Data of Ethics* by a reference to mollusks, and implies that he measures all human conduct by the action of the lowest animals. One writer, who is on all occasions anxious to criticise Mr. Spencer's system of ethics, suggests that he is principally occupied "by observations of the wrigglings of worms and the blind activities of insects," and writes of Mr. Spencer s "pedantry."† From many quarters there come criticisms upon what is really a merit in Mr. Spencer's philosophy, as far as it applies to ethics. For it is the attempted comprehensiveness of that philosophy, and its consistency with the truth that all life has developed from a lower form, that makes Mr. Spencer begin with the lower forms of life and conduct, and work his way up to the highest known form in man. He begins with biology, and shows the growth of thought and feeling, and at last reaches human society and individual morality. It is most superficial, therefore, to criticise him for not asserting his practical conclusions at every point in the process. What could be more absurd than to ask him to talk about Plato and Shakspere at that very point in his argument when he is showing the lowest development of life? What consistency would there be in some man going along the streets without any visible means of support, and criticising the stone-mason for beginning by laying a foundation for a house? What would we think of his judgment, if he were to insist on the future occupant beginning at first by working frescos and trying to make a tower stand on nothing while utterly ignoring a foundation? This is an illustration of the criticisms of those who find fault with Mr. Spencer for not beginning first to talk in transcendental language about the highest form of life. It especially comes with a poor grace from those who, like Prof. Goldwin Smith, are not certain that the morals of Theism or Christianity are true, and who, therefore, without any seeming foundation of morals of their own criticise those who are honestly trying to build one.

In general, on this point, it is sufficient to say that Mr. Spencer has ethics for an ultimate object in all of his writings; but it is utterly unfair to insist that at every particular point of his argument, which consists of many volumes, he should state his conclusions.

But kindred to this is the fact that the evolutionist believes in the essential morality of the universe. He believes that the universe is essentially moral, and that, if men can find out its laws in any particular direction, we will receive some light upon the law of conduct. Even when Spencer wrote the essays which furnish the basis of *Social Statics*, he recognized the invariable law in all social phenomena. He recognized that human progression is determined by the same general law, and that men are modified by social discipline in consistency with such a law. It is only those, then, who talk of the degradation of plant and animal life, and who sneer at all attempts to show the universal law revealed in all phenomena, who deny the essential sanity and morality of the universe.

The ultimate object of Mr. Spencer is to find out the laws and principles of good conduct, and to explain them. Believing that we may discover the natural cause and method of morality, he seeks to trace out the cause and show the method. This would seem to be a laudable object; but a large portion of the criticisms which have been made upon him are because of this attempt. The open or latent assumption underlying many of the objections to his system is that he seeks to make morality intelligible. One form of objection is founded upon the assumption that a man ceases to believe in morality as soon as he attempts to explain it. Because he attempts an explanation, it is often asserted that he does not believe in conscience or duty. Prof. Goldwin Smith boldly urges this criticism, but Mr. Spencer has already replied to it and has shown that it is false. The criticism is a representative one. Mr. Spencer does recognize conscience and duty and moral beauty and ideal righteousness and justice; but, while recognizing them as facts and principles, he also shows what conscience is and how it grew, and what would be ideal righteousness and justice. It is an old method of misrepresenting men, to say they do not believe in principles merely because they try to explain them, or do not believe in principles generally accepted. John Stuart Mill justly criticises Dr. Whewell because, in his argument against Bentham, he asserted that that great writer did not believe in conscience and duty and rectitude, merely because he explained them in a different manner. "I am for these noble things: *you* are for pleasure or utility," said this believer in dogmatism—Dr. Whewell—to his antagonists. But, as Mill said, "we are as much for conscience, duty, and rectitude as Dr. Whewell. . . . The point in dispute is, what acts are the proper object of those feelings?" One critic asserts of Mr. Spencer that he has missed "those most essential factors in all sound ethical systems," thus assuming in advance that systems which have been held in the past are sound. But the very object of those who seek a scientific morality is not to get rid of morality, but to find out, by observing facts, what would be a sound system of morality. With many persons, it always seems to be considered an objection to any system of morality or religion that it explains facts and laws, and can be understood. The belief in the peculiar sacredness of mystery, whenever men treat of religious questions, is an historical fact; and, as they have always supposed morality to rest upon religion, they have some criticism in advance to make of any system of morality which is scientific and rests on proved reasons and facts. Piety and mystery, morality and intellectual confusion, are supposed to be indissolubly connected; and, therefore, when men begin to show for plain reasons why a thing is right or wrong, and to base their reasons upon facts which all rational men can see, there arises a fear that morality is about to be destroyed. Conscience seems to be so much more moral to many persons when they talk about it in a mysterious manner, and treat it as a fetich, than when its origin and nature are defined in terms of science.

But men ask whether the believer in scientific morality really expects that coarse men will be saved from crime and all men be made moral because of explanations concerning the origin and nature of duty in consistency with the scientific theory. The reply is, as Mr. Spencer has shown, specifically that there is no expectation that the scientific *theory* or any *mere* theory will at once make men moral. He, of all modern writers, has insisted that mere intelligence will not make men moral, but that they are controlled by feeling. Men are more or less moral to-day, because of habit and circumstances and even old teachings, which may have contained much error. Morality, primarily, rests on human nature and human necessity, and not on theories. The fact is that, no matter what theory thoughtful men hold, for a long period at least, humanity, because of heredity and environment, will be imperfect in nature and conduct. Nobody but men who have not carefully read Mr. Spencer ever dreamed that he expected coarse men to become refined at once by accepting evolution. It would be quite important to remember, however, that they have not become very perfect thus far by accepting tradition or intuitionalism. Recognizing that morality will be conditioned by the appetites, passions, heredity, and environments of men, the believer in a science of ethics does not expect to create it by theorizing, but, in his capacity of a student or teacher, simply seeks to discover and show the correct principles of moral guidance. The theory, however, will at last have some influence by showing the real object of life and the laws to be obeyed in order to attain that object. There is a necessity for a scientific study of morals too, because of the confusion in those theories which have been held in the past. Some talk about "moral ideas" which are utterly undecomposable, as if there were some particular department in men where there were moral ideas separate from ideas in general. Others declare that the immutability of morality consists in doing what the conscience declares right, forgetting that men differ as to what the conscience declares to be right; and, again, men measure morality by the authority of some ancient code or law-giver, while not agreeing as to the meaning of the code or the essential teachings of the law-giver. The most popular expression of the confused teaching is that a man is to do right because it *is* right, with a seeming unconsciousness that such an expression has no meaning.

The teacher of scientific morality, believing in certain natural laws and principles, seeks clearly to understand them. He begins with that which can be tested,—*conduct*. Men have always been in confusion over the question whether or not the morality consisted in the motive or the act, and have often tried to show that conduct was moral because men meant well. Mr. Spencer begins at once with facts, and without any obscurity shows that the only way of testing conduct is to look at results. No matter what the motive, if the results are evil, then the act is immoral. In other words, there is no mystery about the right and wrong in conduct, but it can be tested by what can be known. The motive of man is important, because, other things being equal, good motive will result in the best conduct. But the scientific test is in the results of conduct itself; and even motives are partly caused by a knowledge or ignorance of facts, and by environment. Mr. Spencer does not ignore conscience, but he shows how it grew and how much it is worth. Beginning away down in the feelings of pleasure and pain in animals, he comes on up to man, and shows that similar feelings have become organized and consolidated in the past generations of men, that certain experiences in the past have produced certain nervous modifications which, when inherited by us, are faculties of moral intuition or conscience,—"certain emotions responding to right and wrong." Conscience teaches nothing, however, as to what right or wrong is. That is to be discovered by studying the laws of life and the conditions of existence.

But it is often urged against the ethics of evolution that it is coarse and material, and ignores all morality except that which has reference to the physical nature. We have read a criticism of this kind from a preacher in this city.* He called this philosophy, in his elegant phrase, "hog philosophy," as Carlyle before him had talked of the "philosophy of dirt." Others, too, as we have seen, suggest the coarseness of beginning a study of morality by a study of mollusks and worms. But, in the beginning, Mr. Spencer has insisted, on all occasions, that he does not believe in philosophic materialism. He recognizes that matter is but an *x*, a symbol to express one of the manifestations of an Ultimate Reality, and that consciousness and thought, or mind, cannot be strictly called material. There is, however, much unnecessary demonstration made over a word. In some sense, of course, all mental or moral activity is material, as in our present condition we only know of thought or consciousness in connection with matter. As many, too, who are technically called materialists believe in the development and reality and supremacy of all that is most refined and ideal in men, then, as far as ethics is concerned, those who dwell so much on the word are only engaged in a superficial logomachy. The fact is, however, that those who believe in scientific morality seek to recognize every fact in human nature. Believing that all life has essentially the same law, they begin by the study of life in its lowest forms, but with no idea at all that man, after he has once become man, is no better than an oyster. They also use perfect physical happiness as an illustration of perfect morality, but with no idea that morality only means physical pleasure. Then, too, the evolutionist speaks of a morality in connection with the physical nature, because all other expressions of life in this world are dependent upon physical life, and because, although thought and feeling are not merely brain and nerve, we know nothing of them separate from brain and nerve. We discover that there can be no perfect life separate from a perfect organism; and, therefore, all morality must depend upon the excess of pleasure over pain,—that is, of life over death in that organism.

But the wonder is that intelligent men should declare that Spencer only bases morality on the physical life. Men even declare that he measures all morality in terms of "duration," whereas he has insisted that morality includes *quality* of life as well as quantity. Because Mr. Spencer says openly that pleasure is an ultimate object of morality, it is at once assumed that he must mean that the highest object of men must be drunkenness or sensuality. But the evolutionist, of all men, insists that, after any form of life is developed, it cannot retrograde into any other form. After man has become man, his pleasure must be manly. As he at last reaches ideality and consciousness and a social condition, he cannot be moral without obeying the laws of his higher nature and the best social ethics. Social morality begins when

*See his article from *Contemporary Review* in *Popular Science Monthly* of April, 1882.

†*Unitarian Review*, January, 1881, p. 47.

*Bangor, Me.

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society begins. A man must not only deny himself for the sake of others, but he finds a large part of his pleasure in the happiness of others. In general, it is moral to seek physical pleasure; but, because of man's higher nature and his social relations and the present condition of society, he must sometimes deny himself momentary physical enjoyment. The evolutionist recognizes that aspiration and conscientiousness and devotion are just as *natural* as physical passion or appetite.

Men talk about the death of devotion and heroism, if the idea of scientific morality is ever accepted. We are asked what there is to keep a clerk from robbing a bank or to make a pilot die for his crew in any scientific theory of morals. In the beginning, it may be replied that there would be as much at least as in any theory of tradition. The clerk who is taught that by some substitution or faith he can at last be forgiven for his crime has no theological inducement to be honest, and the pilot who is especially living for his reward after death has not much motive to make him seek a reward now in the good will of his fellows, success in his work, and in his consciousness of manliness. It is an historical fact that the grandest heroes who have ever lived have been those stoical men who did not need to be coaxed by some promise of reward after death, but preferred heroic actions because of the satisfaction they found in doing their duty and in the approbation of their fellows. The fact is, the real motives for heroism lie in man's own nature and the conditions of existence. Men like the pilot and fireman become so interested in their work, and their happiness because of experience becomes so connected with the approbation of their fellows, that they could not be happy by cowardice. Mr. Spencer has insisted that at last men do not think of momentary pleasure. After discovering that there are certain principles which must be accepted, principles become themselves the direct standard. So, at last, the statesman lives for his country, the pilot for his ship and his crew, and the moralist for his ideals. This talk about the clerk robbing his bank after he learns that the only motive is pleasure is founded on the most superficial conceptions. After society becomes organized, should he expect much pleasure in robbing a bank? His pleasure surely must consist in his safety, in his liberty, in the good will and love of wife and child and neighbor. In other words, love, conscience, duty, honor, are just as supreme motives under the theory of evolution as they could be under any other. Just as long as men live, they will seek to preserve life by laboring in certain directions; just as long as they labor in certain directions, they will have an anxiety to succeed; just as long as they seek to succeed, there will be certain principles of honor and industry and heroism which they will recognize as necessary principles of success, and will at last learn to think of these as supreme, and therefore men cannot get rid of devotion and enthusiasm, whether they are firemen or pilots or statesmen.

But, then, such horrible pictures have been painted by pencil or speech of those who simply try to lead a natural moral life. The most of these moral wrecks have, however, existed only in the imagination of critics and of those who can find no motive for living in life itself. But men who have realized that life is worth living in itself, and who recognize the laws of conduct discovered by experience, have had little need for this abnormal philosophy. It has only been those who have thought there was no reason for refraining from suicide unless the teachings of the Church were true who have morbidly dwelt upon the worthlessness of life. The charge of the belief in a "hog philosophy," or a "philosophy of dirt," does not apply to those who recognize that, according to the laws of nature itself, we must live for honor and ideality and love and virtue. Men can be no better than their nature and circumstances, and the motive brought to bear upon them; but the opinion and action of each man become a part of the influence which is to lead to a perfect morality. He is a child of the past, but he is also a parent of the future; and, therefore, each man is a part of the influence and of the regular development of the race. It is his duty, then, to utter his truth and live his truest life, not with the expectation that he can change fundamental causes, but because he is himself one of those causes. The real materialist, therefore, is he who rests on some literal blood or substitute to help him get rid of evil conduct; and the truly "spiritual man" is he who from conviction and habit becomes devoted to social happiness and love and truth and justice.

But it is asserted that scientific morality ignores religion, and therefore has no supreme authority. The fact is, however, that it embraces all that is real in religion, all aspiration and devotion and conscientiousness. Mr. Spencer began his system by considering "The Unknowable," but his system is not built upon the unknowable. In order to clear up the question, however, he began by showing that the Infinite cannot be known in essence. This was done in order to show that true science or philosophy deals with what can be known. But in no sense does he say that nothing can be known but mechanical matter and motion; and he shows that aspiration, even religion and moral beauty, are realities and can be known, and that their laws can be discovered. By positive proof, it can be shown that morality does not depend upon theology, but that the gods and principles of all theologies have only become moral as men have become moral, and have put their new sentiments into their theologies. It is a superficial objection, too, to urge that a belief in "a Power not ourselves" is necessarily in antagonism with the theory that the source of the faculties of moral intuition have been organized in the race by experience. Not to dwell on Mr. Spencer's own expression of "the naturally revealed end toward which *the Power manifested throughout evolution* works," anything has supreme authority which makes itself felt supremely. Conscience has a more consistent and invincible authority according to the theory of evolution. It no more speaks with one voice and then with another, commanding at one time a mother to offer up her child to a god, and at another time commanding a man to speak for American liberty; but it speaks by the authority of all experience, and commands men to obey law and truth. Nothing is so supreme as when it speaks with the authority of the infinite life in the universe. That life has at last impressed itself in man's nature by its suggestions of pleasure and pain. Out from the heart of the universe, it has at last impressed man's nature with a suggestion of immutable right and wrong. Not because of a whimsical god or uncertain intuitions, but because of eternal life itself, our natures suggest that there are certain immutable principles. The life in the nature of things suggests that there is a right and a wrong. Impressed by this fact, we feel the absolute necessity of opening our eyes and observing what conduct will be in consistency with the laws of life and the conditions of existence.

But the evolution theory of ethics is superior, because it embraces all that is good in all other theories. Its very comprehensiveness, however, in this case, as in others, is often used as a basis for criticism. Mr. Spencer, for example, has taught that in his final state man will not feel the pains of conscience, because the conditions of society and the desires of man will be such that it will be pleasant for him to be moral, and that there will be no painful suggestions. But, all at once, critics declare that this is not original, but that even Jesus taught that men might at last reach a condition in which it would be only pleasurable to do right. The assumption is, therefore, that Mr. Spencer is seeking something absolutely new in morals, and that, if he does not find it, his system is a failure. It is also assumed that he is possessed with the idea that there never was any such thing as morality before, and that he is trying to start moral principles in the universe *de novo*. But Mr. Spencer, of all men, teaches that nothing begins abruptly, but only comes by evolution. He also teaches that men are governed by laws and emotions and feelings rather than by theories. He is not attempting to begin morals anew. He does seek with others, however, to find a certain scientific morality which will embrace and explain facts, and among them will include whatever is true in any old system. "The theological theory contains a part," he says. If, instead of a divine will, "we substitute the naturally revealed, and toward which the Power manifested through evolution works," it is a part of the moral influence. The theory that perfection, or blessedness, is the object of morality, is also a part. As all true pleasure-seeking implies a pursuit of a perfect life, there is a truth, too, in the idea that virtue is the end: as, men must be virtuous, in order to be happy. So the virtue and blessedness in all systems form a part of the scientific theory.

In no direction does the breadth and yet strictness of the scientific theory show itself more than in regard to the utilitarian system especially formulated by Bentham. The scientific theory includes that, as nothing could be moral which is not in some sense useful. But the old utilitarianism suggested, at least, that anything is moral as it is immediately useful. The scientific theory is that, after we find out that morality must be in consistency with certain laws in the constitution of things, then not immediate usefulness or utility, but those laws, become the test. But this theory not only embraces physical pleasure and perfection, but moral and spiritual beauty. No man can live out a perfect life who lives only for his body, because he is a creature of thought and aspiration, and is also a social being. And so Mr. Spencer embraces all that is ideal and poetical and morally beautiful in his nature, because man cannot find the highest pleasure by ignoring anything which helps to regulate or express his life. Is there any teaching of Jesus or Confucius that helps men lead better lives? Then the evolution philosophy has room for it, because, as far as it is true, it suggests the law that morality is the adjustment of acts to ends, and that morality is fundamental, and rests upon the constitution of the universe. That which is urged as a criticism, therefore, becomes a proof of the breadth of the system, as it shows that it is so comprehensive as to embrace every code and fact and law which has helped to make men moral and to live better and more complete lives.

But the last criticism which I shall notice is one of the most inconsistent and contradictory; and it is that Mr. Spencer's standard of ethics is too exalted, and its fulfilment too far in the future, to be of any use to the men now living. This is one criticism of Prof. Smith, it was offered by another critic before,* and is the pet argument of the writer who subscribed himself "The New-Light Moralist" in the *North American Review*. We have here an illustration of the difficulty of pleasing those who are bound to be in opposition. A favorite criticism, as we have seen, is that the ethics of evolution is too narrow and sensual, that it only refers to physical or present pleasures. Then, all at once, these critics turn round, and declare that it does not take enough account of the present, but is "too far off." If Mr. Spencer cannot be condemned for his coarseness and appeal to the present pleasure, he must be condemned for being too ideal. This final criticism, however, suggests the most fundamental principle in his whole ethical philosophy. Mr. Spencer is trying to show certain principles of ethics. He does not attempt to give rules for every individual action. In fact, he declares that there can be no detailed rules for the perfect man, but that he will be governed by principles. But he recognizes the distinction between absolute and relative ethics; that is, between morals as they ought to be and as they must be in the present condition of society. As a philosopher, it is not his business to show what is the most expedient in the present condition of society, but rather to show what ought to be when society is governed by moral principles. He shows that, just as long as society is governed by the military instead of the industrial spirit, there can be no absolute morality. He is criticised, therefore, really for holding up to men an ideal standard of morality to which they ought to seek to conform. It is rather discouraging, however, to notice that men who talk of an ideal realm should criticise a man for holding up an absolute morality rather than expediency or relative morality as a standard. But Mr. Spencer is not even oblivious of the situation. Men must practically adapt their ideal morality to the present situation, in order to lift relative morality above expediency; and they must also test absolute morality by its practical effects, in order to keep it from running into "Utopian absurdities." When critics suggest, therefore, that in the evolution theory of ethics they have no present standard by which to guide men in present temptation, they only suggest an objection which might apply to any standard of ideal morality. The nearer one comes to that standard now, the nearer he comes to moral perfection.

This theory is pre-eminently moral, because it recognizes the morality of the laws of the universe. It recognizes the Power ever manifesting itself, by studying those laws and facts that alone reveal the method of that Power. Scientific ethics is also builded upon everything that is real and vital in human nature. Those who believe in the universe, therefore, can believe that the best way to discover what is

*See page 53, *Unitarian Review*, January, 1880.

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moral in conduct is to find out its natural laws, and they can also recognize all that is true and beautiful in any faith or system. Was there ever a song or a poem or a code or a noble life that suggested that there is an ideal morality, every one of them is embraced in a moral theory which recognizes a cause and a reason for all ideality and devotion, for all heroism and all love, for all aspiration and moral beauty.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NORSE LITERATURE.

Editors of The Index:—

The regular meeting of the Social Science Association of the District of Columbia was held at the parlors of the Spencerian Business College in Washington, Saturday evening, March 31, Dr. Henry Randall Waite in the chair.

The essayist of the evening was Prof. Edward Sandford Burgess, and his subject was "Old Norse and Neighbor Literatures compared." It developed upon the part of its author—a promising young man who is connected with the High School of this city—a searching and comprehensive analysis of the former, and a most interesting comparison, when those of the Anglo-Saxon, the middle European countries, and of Greece and Rome were placed *en rapport*.

In the history of nations, oral song and legend come first. The songs and sagas of the Northmen were their poetry and prose, and compare with that of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers alike in absence of rhyme, in a short, telling effect, and a boldness of melody, and differ essentially from the lower European countries in these particulars. The author reconciled the uniformity of the legends coming to us from these various sources upon the ground of the common origin of the races that peopled this portion of the continent, and the diversity in details to the different circumstances surrounding them, after their several migrations. The poets of the middle and lower countries of Europe were named *Skalds* in the Norse and Icelandic mythologies, and were the companions of the chieftains, either in peace or war. The minstrel preceded his chief upon the coming on of the battle. He hurled the first dart, and was the first to fall dead, and to win his place in the halls of Odin. Their poetry was vigorous and stormy, full of fight and action; while that of the Grecian poets was bright and joyous, refined and subtle. One people entered into battle in a spirit of butchery and brutality; while the other sought for grace and beauty, even in the midst of death and carnage. There was the contrast between the peoples that exists between the strokes of the hammer of Thor and the instantaneous quiet following the lightning shafts of Jove.

There was a close and almost exhaustive examination of the Eddas and Sagas, which, though long, was intently listened to, and enjoyed. The essay called forth an animated discussion by members present, among whom were Rev. A. Floridus Steele, Hon. Jno. Hitz, Prof. Blodgett, Mrs. Sara A. Spencer, Mrs. A. Tolman Smith, Dr. and Mrs. Henry Randall Waite, and Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles. Mrs. Waite, having spent some time in Norway, spoke from personal observation, and was listened to with much pleasure. She told of the isolation of its families, and of the peculiar beauty of its fells and fjords, its forests and mountains.

Mrs. Sayles called attention to the introduction into this country, about two years since, of the written music of Norway (*Norway Music Album*), and of the richness and pathos of the minor undertones so generally prevalent there, and referred to the Hardanger fiddle, one of their national instruments of music, which emits an echoing minor tone from its peculiar fashioning. This is caused by fine metallic strings, which are arranged just beneath those played upon, and respond sympathetically, and is supposed by Jörgen Möe, a Scandinavian author, to be of no accidental construction, but to shadow forth in its murmurs the spirit of melancholy and unrest that characterizes the people of these desolate countries. She also spoke of Prof. Rasmus Anderson of Madison University, and of Auber Forestier, his able assistant, whose translations of Norse music and song and prose have proved so acceptable to the American reader. The music of Ole Bull was mostly memorized or improvised, and what has been written out will be found in the pages of the *Album* referred to.

Mrs. Spencer thought that the "spirit of unrest" which showed itself so strongly in the Norse song and story argued the growing tendencies of the people; that the repose and satisfaction of more effeminate climes betokened their cessation of aspiration toward more than they already possessed. She considered the former to be always a promising token in the lives of individuals or of nations.

Mr. Hitz, in reply to a question concerning the possibility of remembering so perfectly these hundreds of songs, referred it to the fact that many of these entered into their religious ceremonies, and that it was a matter of conscience to render them correctly; and this strengthened their memory.

Dr. H. Randall Waite, the commissioner in charge of the educational department of the United States Census, had also spent time in Norway, and gave excellent illustrations of the influences which climate and the surroundings of nature and the religious beliefs of a people exercise upon their development.

A very interesting and profitable evening was passed, and it is hoped that Prof. Burgess may at some future day reread his paper.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1883.

THE TRUE FOUNDATIONS OF A RELIGIOUS SOCIETY.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Mackie, in his letter published in your February 15th issue, says, "Churches should be academies where the education of man's religious nature is the specialty of every member," also that "this catholic church will be altruistic." These statements fall short of the whole truth, their tendency being to mislead the mind as to the full purport of the Christian verities. The founder of Christianity, adopting a sentiment long before his time enunciated, said that the doing to others as we would have them do unto us, from the love of right doing, is the all of religion, the sum and substance of all law and of all prophecy. The originality was not in the enunciation of the sentiment, but in its application to humanitary evolution. Mr. Herbert Spencer, the best exponent of a science and religion one and inseparable, says in his *Data of Ethics* that the truth must be conceded that egoism comes before altruism, self-preservation being a prerequisite to universal welfare; altruism, however, being evolved simultaneously with egoism. Egoism, he says, unqualified by altruism, habitually fails of its ends, all true enjoyment being conditioned upon ministering to the enjoyment of others. Hence, self-gratification, when made the exclusive object of pursuit, fails of enjoyment by excessive persistence. Mr. Spencer has here given the scientific as distinguished from the theological rendering of the "Golden Rule," which enjoins upon us to love our fellow-man, not better or less than, but just *as* we love ourselves, which, scientifically rendered, is a command so to adjust all business, social, and other relations as to make all individual and societary interests subsidiary and mutually dependent. This can be done in no other way than by advancing from the existing social *Infernus* of antagonistic relations to industrial co-operation as the basis of a true moral, spiritual, and thence social evolution. The rational procedure in the cultivation of the religious sentiment is not through church organization, making "the education of man's religious nature a specialty, with a one-sided altruistic tendency in that direction; but, commencing with a true foundation in co-operative industry, securing a unitary unfolding of our human nature, egoistic and altruistic, and thus establishing a true Christianity in furtherance of the teachings of its founder, in place of the existing ecclesiastical compound of Judaism and paganism falsely baptized in the name of Christ. If there is anything reported of the sayings of the Great Teacher which runs counter to the Golden Rule, it may safely be set down as incorrectly reported, wherever found recorded. This should satisfy your correspondent, Mr. Brinkerhoff, who is gifted with an honest mind, somewhat ecclesiastically confused as to what constitutes Christianity. The Christian idea, under the light of science, calls for no personal adulation addressed to a supposed vain-glorious Supreme Being, demanding such adulation,—a Being the creation of man's own sensuous imaginings,—but for a plenary imbuing with the spirit of Christ, the spirit of humanity, intelligently in quest of rational modes of procedure in view of the destiny of the race, individual and collective. The uniform tendency of all cultivation of the religious sentiment in man as a specialty, apart from a unitary unfolding of our human nature, egoistic and altruistic, is in the direction of that *emotional inebriation* which passes under the name of "revivals of religion." Perhaps Mr. Mackie and Mr. Brinkerhoff will let your readers hear from them upon the points here presented. W. H. G.

SAN JOSE, CAL., February, 1883.

COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA ON RATIONAL RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Editors of The Index:—

I wish to call the attention of your readers to a comprehensive as well as interesting article on "The Origins and Development of Rational Religion in the United States," by Count Goblet d'Alviella, which occupies thirty-four pages of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for April 1, 1883. After giving some account of Unitarianism in the time of Parker, Emerson, etc., the formation of the Unitarian Conference in New York in 1865, the discussion at Syracuse in October, 1866, and the formation of the Free Religious Association, he goes on to say, apropos of the latter: "The first reunion, which took place at Boston, May 30, 1867, was a grand success for the promoters of the movement. To their call responded not only a large number of ministers and members of Unitarian congregations, but also a considerable number of well-known individuals, gathered from the liberal elements of the most diverse sects,—Universalists, Hicksites (progressive Quakers), Jews, and Spiritualists. The Association chose for president a Unitarian minister, who afterward became founder of an independent society in New York, Mr. O. B. Frothingham, and for secretary, one of his associates, of New Bedford, Mr. Wm. J. Potter, whose name was shortly after omitted from the official list of Unitarian ministers on account of his refusal to keep the name of Christian. Besides the annual meeting, devoted to discussions and lectures, the Free Religious Association has instituted a series of conferences in different cities of the nation and published a large number of tracts for the propagation of its ideas. It has for its organ *The Index*, of Boston, a weekly paper which, successively directed by Messrs. Abbot, Potter and Underwood, deserves to be recommended as a model to all the journals of free thought in the two hemispheres, not less for the attractiveness of its articles than for the breadth of its ideas, and, above all, the elevation of its moral tone. During the fourteen years since the Free Religious Association has been constituted, it has accomplished a work at the same time both positive and negative,—negative by its rationalistic propaganda, which undermines more and more the foundations of the dogmatic sects; positive by its efforts to assign a common purpose to the religious activities of its members. . . . The Free Religious Association has become for Unitarianism that which Unitarianism itself has been to the other religious communions,—a leaven of intellectual liberty." H. E. A.

NEWPORT, April 18, 1883.

[A translation of Count Goblet d'Alviella's very interesting article is being made for *The Index*, in which it will be printed next week, or the week following.—ED.]

INCOMES OF THE ENGLISH BISHOPS.

Editors of The Index:—

Pardon me for stating that your paragraph upon the incomes of the English bishops needs revision and emendation. It should be borne in mind that most of the occupants of the English Episcopal bench are not only *ecclesiastical*, but also *State* authorities. They are termed "peers of the realm"; and, therefore, they have two classes of functions to perform, each of which is attended by obligations and *customs*, rights and privileges, which, notwithstanding the *otium cum dignitate* bray of hungry demagogues, constitute an incessant draught upon a bishop's income. Few persons seem competent to discern the difference between "gross income" and "net profits." The items which you have given are clearly liable to large deductions; and, in common fairness to the bishops, as well as for the credit of *The Index*, they should have been shown.

But where did you find that extraordinary bit of information touching the livings, which you say belong to the various bishops? You yourself surely cannot suppose that, because a bishop holds the "advowson" or the right of presentation to a vacant benefice,

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he consequently shares the emoluments appertaining thereto? The idea is perfectly absurd; and the fact of its having been, for a moment, indulged by the editor of an important journal, suggests how perversely ignorant the Yankee mind must be in reference to Anglican ecclesiastical polity.

Yours verily, A BRITON.

A TARIFF UPON FOREIGNERS.

Editors of the Index:—

In "A Plea for Protection," in *The Index* of March 29, Mr. Warr says: "I do not deny a large majority of our manufacturers have reaped the lion's share of the profits earned by labor; and, when the latter has made an effort to obtain a more equitable distribution, it has been invariably defeated by foreign pauper labor, imported, too, by the very men who ask for tariff laws, because they 'protect the American laborer from the pauper labor of Europe.'" Now, since it is admitted as a fact that the end of a high protective tariff is defeated by the free importation of pauper labor, why does not Mr. Warr advocate a high protective tariff upon foreign pauper labor, so that the American laborer may be enabled to compel a fair division of tariff margins? Put a tariff upon Irishmen and Englishmen, or prohibit their immigration as we have the Chinese, and the protection of the American laborer would mean something. As it is, free trade in paupers has brought competition to our doors; and the contest is each day growing sharper and more hopeless. Give us a protective tariff that will protect labor and capital alike, or abandon the pretence. D. MCLAREN.

WARREN, OHIO, April 9, 1883.

ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

Editors of The Index:—

With reference to the article on English Universities, in *The Index* for March 8, 1883, it may be worth noticing that the appointment to the Lord Almoner's Readership in Arabic, now held by Robertson Smith, is *solely* in the hands of the Very Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, the Queen's Almoner, Dean of Worcester, and Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. It is hardly just to Cambridge to say that Darwin received "no impulse" from the place, seeing that his friendship with Henslow and Sedgwick first formulated his scientific tastes, and that it was through Henslow that he obtained the offer of a place in the "Beagle." D.

CAMBRIDGE, ENG., April 8, 1883.

HEREDITY.

A soldier of the Cromwell stamp,
With sword and prayer-book at his side,
At home alike in church and camp:
Austere he lived, and smileless died.

But she, a creature soft and fine,—
From Spain, some say, some say from France:
Within her veins leapt blood like wine,—
She led her Roundhead lord a dance!

In Grantham church they lie asleep:
Just where, the verger may not know.
Strange that two hundred years should keep
The old ancestral fires aglow!

In me, these two have met again;
To each, my nature owes a part:
To one, the cool and reasoning brain;
To one, the quick, unreasoning heart!

—Thomas Bailey Aldrich, in Atlantic for April.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE MODERN SPHINX, AND SOME OF HER RIDDLES By M. J. Savage. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street. 1883.

This is a volume of one hundred and sixty pages, containing ten of Mr. Savage's Sunday morning sermons, phonographically reported by Isabel C. Barrows, to whom the work is dedicated. The titles of the discourses are "The Modern Sphinx," "The Chief End of Man," "What is Business For?" "What are Brains For?" "What is Education For?" "The Newspaper, its Good and its Evil," "A True Republic," "Progress and Poverty," "Religious Transition," and "The Reign of the Dead." They are marked by clearness of statement, breadth of thought, and a truly catholic spirit. Sermons generally are not very interesting reading, but Mr. Savage's discourses have very little in common with ordinary sermons. They are full of good thought on subjects of current interest and practical importance. Even when we cannot agree with him, we are compelled to recognize his ability and to admire his vigorous expression and earnest spirit. In the modest preface to these discourses, the author says, "One more book, then, added to my already lengthened list, only means that I am trying to preach what I believe to be God's gospel of help and hope for man to as large an audience as both voice and type can reach."

EMERSON AS A POET. By Joel Benton. New York: M. L. Holbrook & Co. Price $1.50. For sale by A. Williams & Co., Boston.

This is a beautifully bound and printed book of one hundred and thirty-four pages, of which eighty-eight are devoted to Mr. Benton's appreciative and eulogistic essay on Emerson and his poetry, and forty to a much-needed and very complete "Emerson Concordance," compiled by W. Sloane Kennedy. The outside aspect of the book will delight the hearts of all Emerson-lovers in its artistic design and finish. On the cover of dark brown is the design in gold of a tall, scraggy pine, emblematic of self-contained strength and endurance, also the lower half of a window-sash on whose sill rests an Æolian harp, emblem of poetic inspiration, and, in the upper right-hand corner, a golden bee signifies the garnering of sweets in the world of thought and sentiment. It is a thoroughly æsthetic essay, which is sure to delight the admirers of Emerson, and makes pleasant reading for the cultured everywhere. Mr. Kennedy's "Emerson Concordance" will be a great help to the busy few who have not time to read the great American poet in detail, but are eager to learn all that is best of him in the shortest time and with the least labor.

THE opening article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for May is by Dr. Felix L. Oswald, on "Consumption." It is the first of a series on the hygienic treatment of prevalent disorders, under the general title of "The Remedies of Nature." Prof. T. S. Perry, in "Science and Conscience," sketches a scheme by which science and religion may be reconciled. "Physics in General Education," by Prof. T. C. Mendenhall, an address delivered at the last meeting of the American Scientific Association; "Microscopic Life in the Air," by Louis Olivier; "How Much Animals Know," by F. A. Fernald; "How the Ancient Forests became Coal," by M. G. De Saporta; "A Superstitious Dog," by Eugene N. S. Ringueberg; "Why are we Right-handed?" by W. C. Cahall, M.D.; "On Brain-work and Hand-work," by R. M. N.; "Sketch of Prof. Richard Owen, F.R.S.," with portrait,—are among the interesting articles in this number. The editor, in his "Table," presents vigorous arguments in favor of the study of nature and science against the demands of those who claim that preference be given to the classics, and sustains Dr. Dix in his position on the woman question. The number is one of unusual interest.

THE *Century Magazine* for May gives us a splendid array of literary names among its contributors. The present efforts of these authors may not be their best; but, when we read the names of such writers as W. D. Howells, Henry James, Charles D. Warner, C. Kegan Paul, Sidney Lanier, "H. H.," Edward Eggleston, R. H. Stoddard, Oliver Johnson, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Washington Gladden, Richard Watson Gilder, Frank H. Cushing, J. J. Piatt, Joel Chandler Harris, Frank R. Stockton, and others equally famous, all contributing to *one* number of a magazine, we may feel quite sure of the fact of that number being a most brilliant and readable one, and especially when, as in this case, these writers treat of pertinent and current questions which are illustrated in the highest style of art by the best artists. The *Century* has made a new departure, and a most delightful one, in its "Open Letters." One of those in the present number, from Oliver Johnson, will interest our readers.

THE *Unitarian Review* for April is an excellent number. Rev. R. P. Stebbins writes of "The Hebrew Prophets." Rev. James T. Bixby has an article entitled "The Two Worlds One." "Calvinistic Theology and the Andover School" is the subject of John C. Dodge. Rev. Francis G. Peabody treats of "The Method of the Psychology of Religion." Mrs. Caroline Healy Dall has an interesting review of Miss Oliver's *Maria Edgeworth*. "Conventional Lying" is the subject of Charles T. Jerome's article. Rev. E. C. Butler has an article on "Heroism and Sacrifice." The editorial notes are full of suggestion and earnest discussion of current events and literature.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

PRINCE BISMARCK was sixty-eight years of age on "All Fool's day," 1883.

WENDELL PHILLIPS hopes that the day will come when no man will smoke on the streets. He is not alone in that hope.

DOROTHY DIX, the Elizabeth Fry of America, is still living, at an advanced age. She has recently been very ill, but is now recovering.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S health causes his friends some anxiety. It has been impaired, apparently, by his American journey. Since his return, he has been unable to perform his usual quantity of work; and he declines all invitations.

MISS SARAH J. EDDY, of Providence, R.I., is painting a portrait of Fred Douglass. It is three-quarters length, and represents the subject standing, holding a roll of manuscript in one hand. The portrait is spoken of by good judges in terms of praise.

A. WILLIAMS, the well-known publisher and bookseller, and the proprietor of the "Old Corner Bookstore" in this city, has retired from business, much to the regret of the many friends he has made during his fifty years' career as one of the leading caterers to the literary taste of Boston readers and authors.

SERGEANT BOSTON CORBETT, the man who killed the assassin of President Lincoln, is living in Kansas, engaged in the cattle business. He has become a religious enthusiast, and in a letter to a friend in Camden, N.J., says that he has been directed by God to inflict daily corporal punishment upon himself as a penance for having taken human life.

THE memory of Margaret Fuller will soon be honored by the appearance of two new memoirs. T. W. Higginson, as already announced, is writing one for the "American Men of Letters" series; and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe is preparing to begin a series of "Lives of American Women" for Roberts Brothers with a life of the same remarkable woman.

MRS. CAROLINE S. MORGAN, of New Bedford, died in that city on the 21st inst. She was a woman of fine intellectual appreciation, of tender sympathies, and practically interested in all good works of humanity. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan have been members of the Free Religious Association almost from its beginning, and among the best friends of *The Index*. He has our heartfelt sympathy in his great sorrow.

"WHAT Newton is it that the newspapers are talking about?" asked a gentleman, just returned from Europe, to a friend, in one of our up-town clubs the other evening. "Is it my old friend, Gen. Newton, of the army?" "Not exactly," was the reply; "but I am not surprised at the mistake, for both Rev. R. Heber Newton and Gen. Newton are engaged in the same business." "What's that?" asked the late arrival. "Why, removing obstructions from Hell Gate."

WHEN John Brown's body was carried to the grave at Balmoral, the coffin was covered with a tartan plaid belonging to the Queen, and sent by her from Windsor expressly for the purpose. What is more, Dr. Profeit, as Her Majesty's representative, laid upon the grave a wreath of artificial violets to which was tied a large mourning card. On this card the Queen had written the following words: "A tribute of loving, grateful, and everlasting friendship and affection from his truest, best, and most faithful friend, Victoria, R. and I."

"WAUKEEN" MILLER says that old Commodore Vanderbilt was, before he died, very apprehensive that, owing to his wayward life, people would believe him an infidel. "Once, he held my hand in his," wrote Dr. Deems to Miller, "and his voice was tender as he said to me in substance that he should rely upon me to do the service of saving him from ever being thought such a fool as not to believe in the Bible, miserably as he might have let it govern his life." The Commodore is not the only man that ever lived who was more solicitous about his religious belief than his every-day conduct.

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Dreams and Duties.
Creed and Conduct.
Divorce between Creed and Conduct.
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Forgiveness.
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God is Love.
The Three Pentecosts.
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The Resurrection of Jesus.
Rights and Duties.
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Demand of Religion on the Age.
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The Threefold Radicalism.
The Faith of Jesus.
The Dimensions of Life.
The Unseen Sources of Character.
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This will be his last lecture this season; and the committee hope all his Boston friends will come to greet him on this farewell occasion, as it has been found impracticable to arrange the formal reception lately announced.

Sunday morning, May 6, Samuel P. Putnam, on "The Spirit of Humanity in American Poetry."

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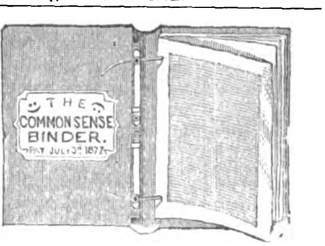

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 517

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
- Benevolent Lying, Wm. J. Potter, ... 518
- Shakspere's Politics and Theology, II., B. W. Ball, . . 518
- Human Ideas of God, Robert C. Adams, ... 519
- Notes and Reflections on Liberal Work, C. D. B. Mills, 520
- Causation, not Free Will, the Basis of Ethics, B. F. Underwood, ... 521
- Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., F. A. Hinckley, . . . 522

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 522

POETRY.
- Forgiveness, Sara Ward, ... 523

ESSAY.
- The English Blasphemy Laws, William Clarke, . . . 523

CORRESPONDENCE.
- Eusebius and "Pious Frauds," 524

MISCELLANEOUS.
- Paine and his Priestly Visitors, ... 525

BOOK NOTICES.
- History of Christianity, by Edward Gibbon, ... 525
- Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by William Tirebuck, ... 526
- Spiritual or Magnetic Forces, by Charles Holland, Ph.D., 526
- North American Review, Atlantic Monthly, Catholic World, St. Nicholas, Wide Awake, Our Little Ones, 526

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 526

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Gambetta monument fund at Paris has reached $12,000. Minister Morton has subscribed $200.

To a statement of the *Christian Union*, that "the weight of scholastic authority is still in favor of the theory of a Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch," *Unity* replies: "This is doubtless true; but the scholarly evidence seems, to our mind, to be quite the other way. *Scholasticism* is the closed learning of the past, scholarship is the growing learning of the day."

SAYS the Springfield *Republican:* "The Russell license act, lately passed by the Ohio Legislature, requires a license of three hundred dollars from spiritualist mediums; and the Spiritualists denounce it as a tax on their spiritual advisers and priests, and a measure of bigotry. They attribute it to the Methodists. Judge Carter, of Cincinnati, having declared that Mayor Stephens is a Spiritualist and his wife a medium, the mayor makes denial on behalf of his wife, but admits that he had given some time to an investigation of Spiritualism. The legislation is certainly of doubtful propriety."

THE London *Despatch* says: "We emphatically demur to the doctrine that it is the business of a court of law to protect the sensibilities of devout Christians by punishing those who offend them. Is not a free thinker a citizen as well,— fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases as a Christian? If the sensibilities of one kind of British subjects are entitled to legal protection, then, unquestionably, those of all British subjects are equally entitled to it; and, in that case, we should at this moment have the poet laureate serving out his twelve months' imprisonment for having hurt the free-thinking sensibilities of the Marquis of Queensbury," and more to the same purpose.

THE Montreal correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* gives the following illustration of priestly despotism in that city: "Two young ladies, sisters, entered the order of Les Sœurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et Marie four years ago. The younger sister, who was then fourteen years of age, tired of her seclusion, asked to be released from her vows, but failed to obtain the consent of the bishop. She is afraid to leave the convent without the consent of her religious superiors, dreading excommunication. It is said her family will apply for a writ of habeas corpus. Bishop Fabre refuses to grant a dispensation, and tells the family that the matter is one in which lay persons have no right to interfere."

THE *Sunday School Times* says: "Even in scholarly and sceptical Germany, honey-combed as that land has been with rationalism and materialism, signs are not lacking that evangelical religion is not dead among the people; nor is it ready to die." In support of this statement, it is affirmed, on the authority of *Der Sonntagsschulfreund* (the *Sunday-school friend*), that since 1862 six German translations of "Rock of Ages" have been published. Our contemporary thinks, "One such hymn as that, popularly known and popularly sung, will be more potent to win and keep the hearts of the German people for Christ than all the writings of Strauss and Hartmann and Haeckel to win those hearts to infidelity." But what of the relative intellectual calibre, and the influence, in the long run, in an age of activity and progress, of the two classes to which "Rock of Ages" and the writings of German thinkers appeal?

APPLICATION has been made for release from custody of Freeman, of Pocasset, Mass., who killed his five-year-old daughter four years ago in the belief that God demanded the sacrifice, and who has been confined in the lunatic asylum at Danvers. It is said that Freeman's present sanity is beyond doubt, and that there is no reason why he should be kept longer under restraint as a lunatic. Dr. Peter Pineo, of this city, a physician of much experience and acknowledged ability, who had a long interview with the fanatic four years ago, after another interview with him this week, pronounced him entirely sane, and added: "This man is unusually conscientious. He has a strong sense of duty and a very logical mind, evidently well read in Biblical literature. His mind, after much meditation and study of the book, made certain logical deductions. His faith was strong, and he saw no reason why he could not have communication with the Lord as well as Abraham. He explained his state of mind to me to-day quite clearly, and the statement is a very interesting one."

DR. R. HEBER NEWTON was arraigned last week before the ecclesiastical authority of his diocese for heresy. A long and serious indictment against him was presented to Bishop Potter, by Dr. Samuel Buel, Rev. R. H. McKim, and Dr. B. F. DeCosta. The bold and plain-spoken rector of All Souls' Church is charged by his pious associates with holding and teaching publicly doctrines contrary to those held by the Protestant Episcopal Church, denying the divinity of Christ, representing the religion of the Jews as a polytheistic and idolatrous religion, representing falsely the mission and teaching of the Old Testament, representing Christianity not as a direct revelation from God, but as an outcome of natural, historic evolution, rejecting the supernatural character of the Christian religion, and denying the predictive character of prophecy, and thus impeaching the authority of Christ. The presenters of the indictment think that Dr. Newton has preached doctrines which strike at the very root of the Christian faith, since they reduce Christianity "to a transient phase of natural religion." Their object is to defend the Church, not to attack Dr. Newton as a person. They declare, "If we have misjudged Mr. Newton's real sentiments, if we have mistaken the real consequence of his teaching, if we have been unconsciously biassed in our judgment, if we have conceived an erroneous view of our duty in the premises, we trust that we shall be found ready to acknowledge our error when it shall be shown to us." Whether Bishop Potter will, in the exercise of his authority, quash this presentment of three Episcopal clergymen or order a trial, remains to be seen.

THE address of Prof. Du Bois-Reymond on "Darwin and Copernicus," delivered before the Berlin Academy of Sciences at their last annual meeting, has been severely criticised by the clerico-conservative newspapers of the German capital. It is declared to be a eulogy on "one of the worst and most dangerous atheists, by a member of a society supported by the State." A number of the orthodox clergy, following the example of the notorious court chaplain, Stöcker,—whose harangues against the Jews are fresh in the public mind, and who preached a violent sermon against Du Bois-Reymond some months ago,—have made the distinguished Professor and his views the object of fierce denunciation. Stöcker, not satisfied with his refutation of Darwinism from the pulpit, being a member of the Prussian Parliament, introduced the subject in the House, and found sympathy from a few of the Ultramontane party. The questions of the court chaplain were answered by Prof. Virchow and the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction. *Nature* says that a whole sitting of the Prussian Landtag was taken up by a debate on the graceful tribute to the memory of Darwin, and adds: "That such things should take place in Germany, which has always been considered the home of philosophic freedom, really seems to justify the remark of the author of 'Darwin and Copernicus,' that freedom of thought, which, after taking its rise in England in the middle of the eighteenth century, passed through France to Germany, where it attained a fuller and more systematic development, seems now to be passing away from the latter country again. Let us hope that it is coming to our shores once more, as the Professor says it is."

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BENEVOLENT LYING.

In several of the orthodox journals on our list of exchanges, a discussion has recently been going on upon the old question whether a falsehood becomes right when told from a benevolent motive. Our own opinion sides without hesitation with those who answer this question in the negative. Of course, a falsehood told for a supposed benefit to another person is not to be put on the same grade of wrong-doing with a lie of self-interest; but, however strong might be the grounds for pardoning such a well-intentioned violation of truth, we do not think it is to be justified. We have no purpose here to go into the whole argument, *pro* and *con*, on this matter; but there is one point of it which does not seem to us to have been brought out so prominently as it deserves to be in the discussions to which we have above referred.

When a person deliberately adopts the principle that a benevolent falsehood is right, and accustoms himself, in consequence, to picture in his mind the possible occasions when departure from truth would be justifiable, he is more likely to meet such exigencies practically than would be the case if he had not adopted such a theory of action. To foresee and arrange all the conditions and details of these exceptional cases to the rule of truthfulness is plainly impossible. There being no one fixed pattern of circumstances by which such occasions come, they cannot be accurately defined beforehand. All that can be said is that under certain circumstances, where benevolence is clearly the motive, or where adherence to truth and kindness to another person come into direct conflict, a falsehood may be morally justified; and one may imagine certain classes of cases liable to arise in his own experience. But there are various degrees and shades of benevolence, and the pressure against speaking the truth may vary much in intensity in different cases. Hence, one who follows this principle of action cannot determine in the coolness of deliberate reflection whether an occasion justifying a falsehood, even on his own theory, has arisen or not. He must ask and answer this question in the stress and trial of the occasion itself; and, with the theory already in his mind that a falsehood in certain moral conflicts is a rightful mode of escape, the probability is that he will resort to that mode at once, without stopping to consider whether some other course compatible with both truth and kindness might not be practicable. In other words, to adopt such a theory beforehand, and to hold one's self in readiness to act upon it, is to expose one's self to temptations to falsehood—to invite them, indeed—without that natural shield for protecting one's veracity which consists in the instinctive adherence to truth possessed by every morally healthful mind. Such a principle of action tends to break down this moral instinct; and, hence, its influence is to weaken moral character at one of its most vital centres. And, in our opinion, at this day particularly, the virtue of unflinching adhesion to truthfulness stands in greater need of being strengthened than does the virtue of benevolence.

On the other hand, one who sets out with the determination to act on the principle that a falsehood is never justifiable will not be so apt to meet the occasions where veracity and benevolence come into irreconcilable conflict. His very habit of adhering to truth, and his desire and determination to do so in all circumstances, beget a mental and moral alertness which either prevents such exigencies, or, if they arise, is able to discover some way of exit from them without departing from the truth. There is a quality of character which we may call *moral* presence of mind. It belongs to natures that are both highly sensitive to truth by nature and habitually faithful to it in principle and in practice. And whoever possesses this fine quality of moral presence of mind is not pushed into many of the emergencies which befall weaker moral natures, where a benevolent intent can only be accomplished by the sacrifice of veracity. And, if these virtues come in antagonism, truth pointing one way and benevolence another, such a character is happier at finding means for reconciling and saving both.

A person whose whole personality, mental and moral, is thoroughly permeated with a sense of the inviolable sacredness of truth, is not liable to have his veracity overthrown by any sudden attack. He cannot be taken by surprise: a sleepless sentinel is at every point of approach. He carries within him a full armory of moral expedients for the exigencies of life's conflicts, of which those not thus endowed know nothing; and questions (if they spring up in his path) which have puzzled casuists for centuries he settles as easily as he breathes. Truthfulness is so ingrained in his nature and habit that mind, tongue, and hand instinctively do its bidding, and yet do the right thing also for any sentiment of pity or philanthropy that may plead to be heard. Where other persons may come out of these moral crises weakened by compromises and humiliated by a sense of not having done the highest thing, he comes with conscience clean and with virtue all the stronger for the encounter. Even if the encounter be with rough and evilly disposed men, the moral heroism of simple unswerving fidelity to truth, standing across the path of their evil purposes unmoved and immovable, will often more abash and baffle them than could the most cunningly contrived deceit of word or deed, in which they themselves are adepts.

WM. J. POTTER.

SHAKSPERE'S POLITICS AND THEOLOGY.

II.

His Theology.

So far as Shakspere's *dramatis personæ* are concerned, they of course are represented as conforming to the dictates of the feudal Church. The Roman Catholic Church is a relic, to this day, of what may be called spiritual feudalism. It treats its spiritual vassals as though they could have no rights where its interests are concerned. As in the case of the great Athenian dramatic poet, Sophocles, we find him countenancing in his dramas the mythic religion of his age and country; while, at the same time, he recognized those eternal laws of right and duty which are found in the conscience and pure reason, and which can never become obsolete, but are everywhere and always valid, so it is evident that Shakspere himself had a religion of the pure reason, even while he countenanced the creed which formed the established theological environment in which he was born. We know what he thought of the world; namely, that it was an unsubstantial fabric of a vision or sense-illusion and passing show, and that we are such stuff as dreams are made of, and that our little life is rounded with a sleep. A recent writer on Hamlet bids us "remark Shakspere's habit of looking upon the world as a mask and pageant, not to be treated with too much respectful anxiety, as if it were as real as ourselves." Shakspere was, indeed, an idealist; and the philosophy of such idealists as Kant, Fichte, and Hegel, and of their English expositor, Carlyle (*vide* his *Sartor Resartus*), is latent in his "Tempest," "Midsummer-Night's Dream," and "Hamlet." The writer whom I have just quoted says: "We find scattered through the dramas of Shakspere a dissatisfaction with the world as deep-ingrained as it is comprehensive; and we find the various elements of it—the contempt of fortune, the ideal virtue, the disinterested passion, the mysticism, the fellowship with the oppressed, the distaste of the world's enjoyment and the weariness of its burden—concentrated in Hamlet for a full and exhaustive study, thus presenting the interior or fundamental drama of the soul and the world." In Shakspere's dramas, we find the popular theology, demonology, and ghost-belief of the feudal times or ages of faith. But Shakspere's ghosts are subjective, the inner phantoms of guilty souls, diseased and horror-stricken with remorse. On the stage, of course, and for scenic purposes, they are objectified, and made palpable to the spectators. Such were the ghosts that struck terror to the soul of Richard; and such was the ghost of Hamlet's father, who announces to his son that he is

> "Confined to fast in fires,
> Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
> Are burnt and purged away."

Here is an indorsement of the Romish doctrine of purgatory. But the papal theologians found this doctrine formulated and ready to their hands in the sixth book of Virgil's *Æneid*, where departed spirits are represented as undergoing various purgatorial penalties by way of expiation and purification. Some, we are told, were suspended to bleach in the wind; while others were disinfected of the stains of sin and crime by fire and water, by a process of combustion and immersion in whirlpools, until they were finally thoroughly cleansed of moral taint, and fitted for transmission to the Elysian fields, and for the life of unmixed bliss which there awaited them.

As Shakspere's profoundest thought is found in "Hamlet," so his attitude toward those mystical subjects which lack actuality, and in regard to which popular creeds, theologies, and superstitions of all sorts and names have always been and still are so absurdly explicit and circumstantial, can be learned from the famous soliloquy of Hamlet. The beyond or the hereafter is in that soliloquy termed,

> "The undiscovered country, from whose bourn
> No traveller returns."

These lines sufficiently indicate that Shakspere "took no stock" in ghosts, so called, otherwise than as merely subjective phenomena due to the peculiar states of the consciences and nerves of ghost-seers. His psychology in this particular was as correct as ours of the present day. To Shakspere, man's future destiny was an insoluble mystery, as it is to all great minds who are incapable of entertaining vulgar and popular beliefs and credulities on that subject. "Solemn before him," as before the next greatest poet of the Germanic race, "were veiled the dark portals,"—

> "Goal of all mortals."

Beyond death, for him stretched an undiscovered and, with our present faculties, indiscoverable country. He evidently regarded all the theological hereafters as simply this present world *in excelsis*. Shakspere existed in an environment of dense, irrational, and unmitigated superstition, such an environment as travellers in Oriental countries find themselves in at this day. In such countries, it is still believed by everybody that supernatural persons and agencies are constantly interfering in the every-day affairs of men, for ill rather than good. In such a moral atmosphere, European and American travellers, in spite of their rational common-sense education, acknowledge that they occasionally find themselves unable to resist the superstitious influences to which they are constantly subjected. So Shakspere, in the theological, priestly, and feudal days in which he lived, was more or less infected by

> "A dread of something after death,"

such a dread as ages of priestly and monkish ter-

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rorism had engendered in all the generations of the Dark Ages. Thus, in the matter of suicide, even when life had become an intolerable burden under "the whips and scorns of time," he could not represent Hamlet as inspired with the stern resolution of the ancient Stoics and Romans: —

> "To die: to sleep,—
> To sleep! *perchance to dream:* ay, there's the rub;
> For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
> When we have shuffled off this mortal coil;
> Must give us pause. There's the respect
> That makes calamity of so long life.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But that the dread of something after death,—
> The undiscovered country, from whose bourn
> No traveller returns—puzzles the will,
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of."

The old Stoics and heroic Romans, if they had been subjected to ages of priestism and ghastly superstition and terrorism, would have been made cowards of, but their manhood had never been thus cowed and degraded. Shakspere lived near enough to the times of the Crusades to appreciate the spirit of the crusaders, who "chased"—

> "The pagans in those holy fields
> Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
> Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed,
> For our advantage, to the bitter cross."

But "the pagans" or Saracens who were thus "chased" by the Christian knights of Western and Northern Europe were really the civilized people of that day who, at Cordova, Bagdad, and elsewhere, kept alive the traditions of a rational philosophy and of old Greek science, while their Christian invaders were really barbarians and mere mindless fighters and manslayers.

B. W. BALL.

HUMAN IDEAS OF GOD.

The idea of God has gradually developed in the human mind through stages corresponding to the intellectual condition of the race. Graduating from the regions of fetichism and idolatry, the early Hebrew writers conceived of God as a powerful being who, by the might of his word, called everything into existence ready-made at a moment's notice, and controlled current events by direct supervision. At later periods, we observe changes in the names and nature of God. Ewald has noted distinctive names of the God of the five great periods of the history of Israel. He was Almighty to the patriarchs, Jehovah to the priests, God of Hosts to the kings, the Holy One to the prophets, and Our Lord to Judaism. We see an increasing approach of God to man from the Creator to the Leader, Rock, Fortress, Helper, until he is known as the Father. It may be said that God thus revealed himself progressively to the race, but it is harder to conceive of an omnipotent and omniscient God thus playing hide and seek with his creatures than it is to believe that men in each age have evidenced the nature and extent of their needs, desires, and aspirations by the conception they have formed of a supreme being. God is always the complement of the weakness of man. What man consciously lacks of perfection he attributes to God.

Down through the Middle Ages, we see a varying God, suiting the degree of light and darkness that pervaded the mental world. The Puritan made a stern God glorying in his decrees, in accordance with the resolute self-sacrificing devotion to the view of truth which inspired his own breast. And, now, Moody and his kindred evangelists are proclaiming the God of whom they have learned from the English "Brethren,"—a God of love, his attribute of vengeance softened to justice, and all his characteristics put into a nineteenth century dress. The Brethren evangelists have flocked over to America for fifteen years past, making the Young Men's Christian Associations their rallying points; and, telling their ardent disciples that they were "living by faith," their needs have been bountifully supplied by voluntary contributions "from the Lord." Through preaching services and Bible readings and the circulation of their literature, they have widely indoctrinated the associations and churches with the truths of a full and free atonement, assurance of salvation, the presence of the Holy Spirit, and the pre-millennial advent of Christ. They have been mostly good men, and have substituted a better and more Scriptural theology for that of the New England churches of the previous half-century. Moody's preaching only became noted and effective after he had been indoctrinated by Needham and Moorhouse. When you find an evangelist gaining converts by exposition of the Scriptures, not by sensationalism, you will usually discover the theology of the Plymouth Brethren as the inspiring influence. Their doctrines about prophecy prevail widely in the Church of England, and are spreading through the various sects of America. Their missionaries are all over the world, living by faith and preaching a "pure gospel," the needs of many being "supplied by the Lord," through George Muller, of Bristol. My father* came under these influences in his later years, and preached a sermon called "The Free Gift," which was considered such a contrast to the "hyper-Calvinism" which had previously characterized his preaching that it was printed and widely circulated by an enthusiastic parishioner who held the Brethren's theology. He afterward said to me on a voyage at sea, "If I could live my life over again, how differently I would preach!" He said he had proclaimed too much the terrors of the law, and alluded to certain good lady parishioners who had lived and died in gloom, feeling that they were lost sinners, as they felt no evidence that they belonged to the number of the elect. He said he had not made the gospel free enough. The sermons in his volume, *At Eventide*, were written at this period, and breathe a milder spirit than those of his earlier ministry. His God changed as his mind mellowed. If individual Christians are now questioned about God, it will be seen that quite different beings are worshipped under that name; each man creating his own mental image of the deity whom he loves, fears, or adores. We set up a standard and try to attain to it, and we call that standard God. One beauty of the Bible is that, being written by men of varied capacity in different ages, there are correspondingly varied views of God's nature, so that different temperaments will find something to suit their phases of mind. If God had written the book, it would have been consistent; and there would have been a pattern deity revealed, who, while more noble in design and elevating in influence, would not have been so comforting to imperfect creatures who enjoy a God "after their own hearts." The Delphic Oracle said, "The best religion is that of a man's own city."

Now comes science, and asserts that nothing has been made all at once, and that all the facts of creation are or will be accounted for by the theory of the evolution of matter. Everything now and in the past has grown or developed by slow stages from simpler forms, in accordance with laws which are just beginning to be clearly understood. There is no such thing as the "act of God," as that term has usually been understood; but every event, from the lightning's stroke to the mosquito's sting, is traceable to the workings of law. God never interferes by miracles or special providences, and it is only our ignorant and sluggish minds that seek such a solution for our baffled investigations into the subtle laws of nature. It is convenient to say, "God did it," when we cannot explain a matter. Where knowledge ends God begins.

Some call this great law and force God, and rightly consider that it is a far loftier conception, to think of the Being who could originate matter and endow it with the properties of evolution, so that for ages it could work on without a single act of interference, and produce the wonderful diversity we now behold in nature, working in never-failing precision, than it is to enthrone one as the Supreme Being, who, like a necromancer calls up what he wants upon emergencies; who takes a notion to have a new kind of butterfly, and makes it on the spot; who causes a profane man to step on a bit of orange peel and break his leg, and sends a tornado to an infidel village. These tell us we can know nothing of God beyond the revelation of his works, and must content ourselves with the investigation of secondary causes.

Others, having traced all the variations of matter back to a single atom, and believing that every form it has assumed can be accounted for by the workings of natural law, are averse to calling in the supernatural even here, and think that qualities inherent in matter may have initiated the first movements which have led to "differentiation." This leaves only the origin of matter to be accounted for, and some are daring enough to believe that the intellect of man will yet solve this problem. They claim that, as the most complex organism can be traced back to the simple cell, so the profoundest operations of the mind are the result of an unbroken ascent from the first instinctive effort of the lowest animalcule to propagate its species or obtain food, and this gradual development of mind can be followed through all the animal kingdom up to man, the difference between the mental operations of man and animals being differences of degree, not of quality. The ant, the horse, and the dog think the same kind of thoughts that men do, as far as their range of thought extends. The operations of mind are found to depend entirely upon physical organs, and can be suspended or altered by changes in the conditions of those organs. Anatomists and physiologists find a correspondence between the brain, the contour of the head, and the mental faculties, so that a man's or animal's mental powers and characteristics can be predicated from his physical formation. This chain of sequence is so well traced that it is made clear that the link between the brightest dog and the lowest Hottentot is closer than that between a Hottentot and a Newton. Wallace remarks that the faculties exercised by savages are very little above those of the animals. If mind, therefore, can be followed down to the first instinctive motions of the earliest forms of matter, and is proved to depend on the organism, may it not yet be shown that the first motion that signifies intelligence is as truly a development from the inherent nature of matter as is the growth of the structure? The assumption that there is an eternal distinction between mind and matter, and that it was necessary at some point for a God to step in and conjure the principle of mind into matter, would thus be shown to be false by the proof of the theory that matter has always possessed the principle of determining its actions which we call mind. May not mind be traced as truly in the vegetable world? When plants catch and devour insects, reach out tendrils toward supports, close their flowers in the shade or at the approach or touch of a person, may it not be called an operation of mind, as truly as when a dog answers the dinner bell or a man opens an umbrella when it rains?

Thus there is a mind or soul in all nature, and it is so connected with and inseparable from the out-

*The late Nehemiah Adams, D.D.—ED.

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ward form that they may be considered one, the mind, the later manifestation, being an inherent property of matter from its first existence.

These facts and theories either place God away back at the beginning of all things, and then leave the puzzle of his existence to be accounted for, or, ignoring any idea of a personal God, they consider the existence of matter as the only mystery to which we have not found a hopeful key. Nothing is arbitrary in the action of nature, implying an exceptional discrimination. As a general rule, the good and the bad reap the results of their acts in the long run. Just so many accidents of a given kind occur during certain periods under similar circumstances. The number of suicides in London in each decade and the number of misdirected letters in certain periods is about the same. There is no event in the world of mind or matter which it is not easier to account for as the result of natural consequences than as being the direct act in each case of a superintending God. The blast of lightning from a clear sky, which struck twenty men resting under an oak-tree, was not specially directed by a God with reference to those men. But a sufficient knowledge of natural law could show a chain of causes extending back for ages, which required that flash to gleam and that it should strike that tree; and laborers are apt to rest under trees at noon in hot weather. As the mind revolts from the idea of a God who deliberately ordains some men to eternal life of his own free will and leaves others to perish, so it rejects the thought of a being who consciously distributes the accidents and ills of life, and orders the daily warfare and destruction which pervades all orders of nature.

If, then, it can be shown that all the present forms of existence may be accounted for by natural laws, reason obliges us to prefer this theory to that of the special creation of the various orders of life by the magical word of a Supreme Being. Man's ignorance has always taken refuge in the act of God as an explanation of what could not be understood. God was supposed to cause cholera, plague, and small-pox by direct exercise of his will, until the germ theory of disease showed that these calamities could be accounted for by natural laws. God made the lightning, in popular estimation, till Franklin flew his kite and brought it down from heaven to the realm of nature. God caused storms, rains, and droughts, till the science of meteorology showed the power of natural causes to produce these effects, and foretold their occurrence. So, in earlier ages, the mysteries of life were conveniently referred to God; but, now, we see the laws of nature satisfactorily explaining all the facts of existing forms, and we only refer back to God the origin of matter and force. This is merely saying that as yet we are ignorant of the first cause of all existence; but, having resolved so many of the acts of God into intelligible processes of nature, does not analogy suggest that what is still unknown may yet be discovered by the advancing mind and unceasing investigation of man? Thus there is no "unknowable," and no limits need be placed upon man's mental progress, nor need any barriers be raised to stop his researches.

It is imprudent to express a decided opinion upon these theories about God, upon which the wisest of men are at variance. None of them solve the great mystery of existence. We are all groping through the dim day-dawn toward God, if, haply, we may find him. My only object in writing is to show that the ideas of God in the Bible are human conceptions, just as are the ideas of theologians and philosophers of to-day. They are not authoritative; but they are instructive, and show an orderly progression which ranks them among the evidences which pervade all orders of nature of a development through which an inscrutable force, or "God," is working.

Many, from policy or conviction, are making a compromise with Christianity as to belief in God, and thus avoid an open rupture. They say, in the words of an intelligent scientist, "The mind with its yearnings for and capabilities of religion is as much a part of nature as are the objects we may handle with our fingers; and the moral education of mankind has as much followed the lines of development, which the survival of the fittest demands, as has the physical advance of structural forms. Viewed in that light, the history of the human race, whether drawn from sacred or profane sources, is a history of the evolution and advance of moral sentiments." But they go on to call the manifestation of this growth in the Bible a "revelation," and the principle, unknown and inscrutable, which thus works for good or "makes for righteousness," they call "God"; and thus they retain their status among Christians as believers. This is a use of terms in a sense entirely different from their general acceptation. In this way, most rationalists believe as truly in God and revelation as they do; and I know honored men among Christians, who practically think as I do, who, by this accommodation of old phrases to their new ideas, are still accounted orthodox, and are held up to me as examples of the agreement of science and faith. The God of evolution is not God, as men in the Christian Church understand the name; and, when they call the Bible a revelation, they believe it is the direct, authoritative, and final word of God, communicated in a miraculous manner to man,—not that it shows how men have gradually grown in religious knowledge, and is, therefore, a revelation to us. For the present, it seems wise and honest not to use the old phraseology, until men cease to misapprehend the intention and infer agreement with their own supernatural ideas. In this sense, the Unitarian use of the terms, "Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ," "Our Divine Master," while they utterly deny his deity and atonement in the orthodox sense, appears inconsistent and injurious to the progress of the demolition of superstition.

True freedom of speech will not be attained until men can be permitted to express their ideas about God as freely as their notions about geology. The First Cause is as legitimate an object of research as is electricity. The loftiest intellects of this age, who have gained conceptions of the Infinite Power as far above the Hebrew notions of Jehovah as are their differing ideas about astronomy, are liable to prosecution by some anti-blasphemy club, composed of men who believe that God has revealed nothing about himself for eighteen hundred years, and who accept as final the ideas of deity entertained by men whose opinions upon almost every other subject they despise. In their minds, to agree with the ancients in any of their opinions about nature is to show an ignorance and stupidity that is beneath contempt; but to differ from the ancients in their estimate of the greatest of all mysteries is blasphemy.

To sum up, in a few words, the main truths I desire to impress, I would say: The Bible, like all other books, is the product of men's minds. All ideas about God and the various doctrines of religion, are likewise the products of men's minds. There has never been a revelation by God to man of final truth, given directly and all at once, either by word or vision. But all human ideas of religion are the result of a progressive development of man's mind, in accordance with the laws of evolution which pervade the universe, through which all growth in nature and all progress in man are promoted by the working of what men variously call "the inscrutable force," "eternal matter," "the great first cause," "the eternal and infinite spirit," "*the Almighty God.*"

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

NOTES AND REFLECTIONS ON LIBERAL WORK.

A word in regard to two or three of the places in the West that I of late have visited may not be without a measure of interest to the readers of *The Index*.

Cleveland, Ohio, the senior editor of the paper will remember as the place where together in November last we halted for a Sunday, spending the day with Mr. Hosmer and his people. It was to me a day of unusual interest and enjoyment. In the morning, we were privileged to hear from Mr. Potter upon that "Glory of God" which is

> "Least like
> What men agree to praise";

in the evening, from Mr. Mead upon Whittier.

This city, containing at present about two hundred thousand people, has many earnestly thoughtful and liberal minds. It was formerly, almost without any qualification, intensely orthodox, and both religiously and in all other ways rigidly conservative. Something, perhaps much, of that character holds to it still; but there is a relief to the picture, a marked amelioration to be witnessed within recent time. The town carried the impress of its ancestry from Connecticut and Western Massachusetts, whence almost wholly it was first settled. Mr. Hosmer has now a very flourishing liberal society, made up from the brightest and most progressive people, and is exerting upon the community at large a wide and most wholesome influence. The cause of free and advanced thought is probably making headway here as rapidly as in any other part of our country.

Twice have I visited Cleveland within recent weeks, and my good impressions are confirmed by farther acquaintance. The people have solidity, substance, character, and are withal broad in their hospitalities to fresh thought, awake, and progressive. Here is New England with its best qualities, and something more,—New England improved and enlarged by a transplanting, through Western contact and quickening.

Here, as is well known, is the home of Mr. J. H. Wade, a gentleman of large wealth and great benevolence, who has long meditated and studied upon the idea of founding a school or college that should be devoted to the largest investigation of religious truth and the training of young men for the work of public teachers. He would, as I understand it, have it perfectly broad and free, uncommitted to any dogma or denomination; a school for the study of universal religion. In the few words which he spoke at the National Unitarian Conference in Saratoga last fall, he expressed his emphatic desire that this school should be kept "always open at the top."

Such an institution might be of immense worth in the cause of education, of that broader and indefinitely higher religious culture that is to come in the ages of the future. It would draw upon the future, would be building for the coming time. It would anticipate, but would also realize; for it would meet a want already present and to be more and more pronounced as the years go by. Every lover of religious growth must wish Mr. Wade abundant success and seconding in carrying out his noble and most worthy design. May the way open clear before him, that we may have one school of the prophets in our land that shall have no denominational bias or label, that shall be free

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from even Christian name and limitation, standing sole for truth and for the church and fellowship of humanity.

There are such prophets of the faith and such religious societies coming. In Battle Creek, in Michigan, is a minister, who in the pulpit of a church heretofore orthodox in its name and denominational connection, is dispensing from Sunday to Sunday freely of the truths of life,—a minister, in the best sense, of the absolute religion. He is one of the most deeply devout, sweet, alert, and progressive souls I have ever met. He is courageous, manly, outspoken, maintaining the utmost fealty to the ideal truth within. The multitudes come to listen, filled apparently with a glad surprise: they go home fed and enriched, delighted with what they have heard. His recently proffered resignation the society in large majority refuse to accept. They long to receive more and more of this fresh and living word.

The work this clergyman is doing is, as far as I know, without precedent in this country: it promises to emancipate and to elevate an entire community. And I look for more such examples as the years roll on of deliverance coming in the very bosom of the orthodox churches. There goes forward a revolution, far-reaching and fundamental, greater than any of us yet see or even think. There was never the like before in history, for there never before was the class of mind for its material. Two thousand years, yes, three hundred, have ripened somewhat human intelligence, have enlarged the mental horizon, and furnished in all ways a broader base, and changes not possible at the time of the advent of Christianity or the Lutheran reform are now become natural and inevitable.

In States farther West, particularly in Iowa and Nebraska, is excellent field for work. People are ready to hear, and they will greet with the most cordial approval the most out-spoken expression for freedom and radical ideas. They have grown in most instances beyond denominational limitations, and no catchword or symbol of any sect will draw them or rally their suffrages. They must be gathered, if at all, in organization on a platform as large in aim at least as truth and humanity itself. In Des Moines, Iowa, a piece of brave and true work is being done by Rev. S. S. Hunting, one that is sure to bear the best of fruit; and the like is being performed by Rev. W. E. Copeland, of Omaha, Nebraska. And in Humboldt and Algona, Iowa, a most faithful and effective missionary, whose whole soul is in the cause of human deliverance, you find in Miss Mary A. Safford. All of these friends, as far as I know their attitude, are substantially on the ground of free religion. They work for the upbuilding of that kingdom of light.

The liberal sentiment of the West is to a great extent unvoiced, unrepresented, and therefore mostly unfelt, unknown. There is next to no organization of any kind, no banding together, and there is little disposition to do in that direction. There is a great congregation, but it is ungathered; a large army, but uncollected, unmarshalled, the men scattered and unknown even to each other. They have not yet even a common watchword. Hence, for such a material and constituency as there is, there is great waste, little accomplished. A serious defect in this regard obtains everywhere: it is one that must be remedied ere we can see the inauguration of the new day.

Another grave lack is the providing of fitting instruction and helps for the young. In large part, the minds of the children and the youths are neglected. Things are left here, as so much elsewhere, to drift. And the drift may be often seized and turned into channels of Orthodoxy. It is all-important that the mind in the young and impressible years be guided and furnished, at least be guarded and fortified against false impressions in religion. These become often in after years like a piece of jugglery or sorcery, an incantation hard to break, the growing out of them painful, tragic in the experience. I look upon the children in the families of liberals, and others, too, that they might easily reach, and I ask, What are they doing for them to open before them the right views, and insure as far as possible the true direction for life, at least to give them opportunity to come into possession of that which has so refreshed and enriched themselves? As a general thing, nothing.

There is, I can see, great lack of the right aids, books written from the higher point of view, bringing before the mind in apt language, such as shall speak to the thought of childhood, the realities of the spiritual. There is work here for a true genius, one who shall use the methods of symbol, of imagery, so addressing the love of the objective and picturesque which dominates in all childhood, and at the same time keeping the mind up and above all the entanglements of the external and the sensuous, that mesh into which all the historic faiths of the world, all churches and the teaching they have dealt, have fallen. It is a lack that I hope will erelong be supplied. A liberal reward might well be offered for the best book that should furnish instruction, impart clear but elevated thought in the realm of transcendent and unseen truths, should give the objective form of presentation, but keep and insure ideal recognition. It would doubtless embody the best we have in bright apothegm, in apologue, myth, legend, tale. Indeed, the stores of this literature, I think, could be freely drawn upon and utilized in that service.

To the discerning eye looking over the field at this hour there is nothing to depress or dishearten: there is much to encourage, yet more to incite, to nerve to renewed effort in this never-ending battle for the enfranchisement of man.

C. D. B. MILLS.

CAUSATION, NOT FREE WILL, THE BASIS OF ETHICS.

The law of causation is an expression which generalizes the universal experience of the order of nature. It is as applicable to the order of the mental as to that of the physical world. Experience is valuable, because knowledge of the past furnishes grounds for expectations in regard to the future. This is as true of experience of human conduct as of experience of the habits of the lower animals, and the qualities of non-living things, for the reason that the order of our thoughts is as fixed as the order of nature in general. This fact makes possible the lessons of history, whose use, as an historian well observes, "is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature by showing men in all varieties and situations, and furnishing us with materials from which we may form our observations, and become acquainted with the regular springs of human action and behavior." "To write history," says Fiske, "on any method furnished by the free-will doctrine, would be utterly impossible."

True, the actions of individuals sometimes appear capricious and unaccountable, but so appear some of the manifestations of force in the physical world. Why should our inability to co-ordinate any mental phenomenon with the sequence of natural events be proof of the absence of causation, when our inability thus to co-ordinate physical facts is conceded to be proof only of our ignorance? The complexity of man and his relations, the multitude of incident forces to which he is continually subject, the dependence of volition upon a great number and variety of principles, many of them hidden by reason of their remoteness, and liable to the secret opposition of numerous contrary causes, are sufficient explanation of the relatively greater incalculableness of human volitions and actions, as compared with the habits of animals and the operations of the inorganic world. It is only when we take into consideration a vast multitude of facts that we are able to arrive at the conception of an order of phenomena, either in the physical or mental world. The reasoning of Buckle, who showed from the statistics of crime, suicide, and marriages, that voluntary actions conform to law, was as legitimate and conclusive as that of Darwin, who, from a multitude of facts in the field of biology, demonstrated the principle of natural selection. Of what use would be statistics in regard to crime, or anything else, if human conduct were not subject to the law of causation.

Responsibility implies a necessary connection of certain actions with certain states of mind. We infer intentions from actions. Certain actions, we say, indicate insanity,—a deranged mental condition, in which neither argument nor threats of punishment have their usual effect in furnishing motives,—other actions indicate criminal purposes, others avarice, while another class of actions indicate a benevolent and philanthropic disposition. This we are able to say only because in considering human conduct, the same as we consider the movements of the physical world, we reason from effects to their causes. If our inferences prove erroneous, we never doubt that like causes produce like effects, but conclude that our observations were imperfect, or that we failed to consider all the circumstances relating to the motives and intentions which led to the act.

But, if volitions were outside the domain of causation, as the advocates of free will claim, it would be manifestly absurd to infer from actions the states of mind proceeding from them; and, on hearing of the assassination of Lord Cavendish and Under-Secretary Burke, we would have had as little reason *a priori* for ascribing the deed to Irish malcontents as to the premier of England or persons employed by him for that purpose. Only because volition, which leads to action, is caused, and therefore in some degree calculable, is it possible to frame a theory of action and have a basis of morals. Were volition lawless, of what use would be self-discipline or appeals to the reason of men or enacting laws and attaching penalties to the violation thereof? The wise man might at any time act like a fool or the fool like a sage. Conduct would be no criterion of character, and a friend would be as much to be feared as an enemy.

"The very reason," says Grote, "for giving notice that we intend to punish certain acts, and for inflicting punishment if the acts be committed, is that we trust in the efficacy of the threat and the punishment as deterring motives. If the volition of agents be not influenced by motives, the whole machinery of law becomes unavailing, and punishment a purposeless infliction of pain. In fact, it is on that very ground that the madman is exempted from punishment, his volition being presumed to be not capable of being acted upon by the deterring motive of legal sanction. The *free* agent, thus understood, is one who can neither feel himself accountable, nor be rendered accountable to or by others. It is only the *necessary* agent (the person whose volitions are determined by motives, and, in case of conflict, by the strongest desire or the strongest apprehension) that can be

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held really accountable, or can feel himself to be so."

"It is," says Voltaire, "a foolish and commonplace expression that, without this pretended freedom of will, rewards and punishments are useless. . . . If, when a robber is executed, his accomplice, who sees him suffer, has the liberty of not being frightened at the punishment,—if his will determine of itself,—he will go from the foot of the scaffold to assassinate on the high road; if, struck with horror, he experiences an insurmountable terror, he will no longer thieve. The punishment of his companion will become useful to him, and moreover prove to society that his will is not free."

If a man is just, honorable, and noble, he is so not because behind all his acts and decisions is a metaphysical entity called "the will," which acts uninfluenced by motives, but because he is so constituted, or has been so influenced by his education and surroundings, that his desires and aversions determine his actions in accordance with just, honorable, and noble principles. The harmoniously developed and truly moral man is he with whom the performance of an act that is right, far from involving a struggle, is easy and pleasant, whatever sacrifice it demands. The sense of coerciveness, the feeling that the act must be done, gives way to a cheerful readiness and desire to do what is right. "Conscientiousness," says Herbert Spencer, "has in many outgrown that stage in which the sense of a compelling power is joined with rectitude of action. The truly honest man, here and there to be found, is not only without thought of legal, religious, or social compulsion, when he discharges an equitable claim on him, but he is without thought of self-compulsion. He does the right thing with a simple feeling of satisfaction in doing it, and is, indeed, impatient if anything prevents him from having the satisfaction of doing it."

"The libertarian doctrine," says Fiske, "has obtained currency, because it has talked loudly of human freedom, with which nevertheless analysis proves it to be incompatible. Substitute for the unmeaning phrase 'freedom of the will' the accurate phrase 'lawlessness of volition,' and the theory already looks less plausible. In place of the vague and ambiguous word 'necessity,' write the clear and definitely connotative word 'causation,' and the scientific theory at once loses its imaginary terrors. The title with which the free-will doctrine decorates itself and those with which it brands its opponents are alike 'question-begging epithets.' They serve to prejudge the point at issue. . . . Whatever voice of tradition we may be in the habit of echoing, we do equally, from the earliest to the latest day of our self-conscious existence, act and calculate upon the supposition that volition, alike in ourselves and in others, follows invariably the strongest motive. And upon this ineradicable belief are based all our methods of government, of education, and of self-discipline."

We are compelled by these among other considerations to dissent from Prof. Adler's assertion that "the freedom of the human will is the corner-stone of every ethical system."

B. F. UNDERWOOD

A WRITER in the *Missionary Herald* makes the following calculation of the Mohammedans in the world: Turkish empire, 20,000,000; Persia and the Caucasus, 12,000,000; India, 41,000,000; East Indies, 23,000,000; China, 5,000,000; Egypt, 8,000,000; Morocco, 2,750,000; Algiers, 2,920,000; Tunis, 2,000,000; Tripoli, 750,000; Sahara, 4,000,000; Soudan, 38,000,000; Zanzibar, 380,000; Central Asia, 14,000,000; total, 173,800,000.—(*Missionary Herald*, March, 1883.) *Science.*

ANNUAL MEETING, FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston, beginning Thursday evening, May 31, and continuing through Friday, June 1.

Business session, in Parker Fraternity Hall, Thursday evening, at 7.45 o'clock, for reports, election of officers, and general discussion of methods of work.

The Friday morning session will open at 10.30 o'clock, in Parker Memorial Hall, with an address on "Emerson and Darwin" by Col. T. W. Higginson, to be followed by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Thought-side by Emerson," and by Mr. John W. Chadwick, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Matter-side by Darwin."

The Friday afternoon session will open at three o'clock with a paper on "Co-operation and Progress," by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, N.Y. This will be followed by an address from Mr. James Kay Applebee on "Social Disintegration and its Arrest by Co-operation." Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and others will also speak to the question of the afternoon.

The Festival will be held in the large Horticultural Hall, Tremont Street, and will begin with a supper, with tables and seats for all, at about six o'clock, or as soon after the close of the afternoon meeting as possible. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. After the supper, five-minute speeches are already promised from John W. Chadwick, B. F. Underwood, James Kay Applebee, and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and a poem from Minot J. Savage. Other speakers for the Festival will be announced hereafter. Miss Lucy Garlin's Euterpe Quartet have kindly consented to add the attractions of their fine music to the occasion. Tickets of admission to the Festival, with reserved seats at the tables, at 50 cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, of the Secretary, Providence, R.I., and of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass. It is desirable that early application for seats should be made.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

ALL checks and drafts for *The Index* should be made payable to the order of B. F. Underwood, the general business manager of the paper.

"LECTURES, ESSAYS, AND SERMONS OF SAMUEL JOHNSON," with a Memoir by Samuel Longfellow, for sale at *The Index* office. Price $1.75.

SAYS Monroe's *Ironclad Age*, "A man is a man in proportion to the delicacy of his sense in the discharge of duties and the payment of debts." Will those of our subscribers who are in arrears, after reading this, send to *The Index* its just and legal dues?

THE *Canadian Baptist* says: "And now the cry comes from the Presbyterians of the United States. It is said that the number of vacant churches looking for acceptable ministers is unprecedented. 'The number of candidates in our theological seminaries and colleges is on the decline. This year, those in our seven chief seminaries are sixty fewer than seven years ago.'"

THE *Independent* observes, reviewing Bishop Vail's book upon *The Comprehensive Church:* "He desires union, and sees that union is to come by way of comprehension. Unfortunately, however, with him it must be Episcopal comprehension; and the scheme freezes up in the attempt to show that the Episcopal Church offers, both in *esse* and in *posse*, the comprehension required. The trouble with all these schemes for church union is that they yield nothing and broaden nothing. They are zealous for compromise; but, like the man who wanted linen sheets and at last compromised a chronic quarrel with his wife, who wanted cotton, they compromised on linen."

HOW THE ancient Egyptian young men and maidens confessed their love, and rejoiced or mourned, may be learned from Maspero's translation of the hieratic papyrus of Turin, published in fac-simile by Pleyte and De Rossi, pl. 79-82. This had been translated by Fr. Chabas (*Rec. of Past*, vi. 156); but a rearrangement of the broken parts of the papyrus has enabled Maspero to gain a clearer view of the whole. Maspero sees a clear resemblance between the Hebrew and the Egyptian conception of love, and suggests that a comparison of the Hebrew with the Egyptian language of love would explain some points now obscure.—(*Journ. Asiatique*, Jan.) *Science.*

OUR national Indian policy is well hit by the following extract from a private letter, written to a lady in this city, by an Indian, educated on his reservation:—

If you can convince people that education is the only thing with which they can civilize the Indians, it will do some good, and they may turn their attention in that direction. I don't believe in this going to New York and buying cheap sugar, coffee, and pork for the Indians. That will never help them any. If they [the Indian Bureau] send among the Indians good farmers who will teach them how to farm, and not lie in the shade while the Indians teach themselves and cut their legs with reaping machines, etc., as some of them do, it would do good. But men who are sent among them seem to care more for the money than anything else. That's the reason, I think, that educated Indians should be given such places, who have interest in their people more than the white people who are sent to them. This sending out circulars, saying that Indians who are able to work should be given the preference to work as agency employés, is merely nominal. It is more like an article of dress that you can't wear, and made for show, than anything else. When an educated Indian asks for employment, he isn't even looked at; and the agent applied to only sticks up his nose, and seems to say, "What do I care for an animal like you!" Your people seem to think that the Indians fight just because they like to, and for deviltry, but they are mistaken; and they call us "Red Devils," and all sorts of ugly names, when they do worse than we do. If I should tell you what the white people did to a Yankton Indian (a man), after binding him hand and foot, it would make even a brute ashamed. The Indians fight, when they are treated in this manner. And I have no doubt that even a preacher would fight, placed under such circumstances. These things are not very pleasant to talk about; but, sometimes, I get so mad when I am called a *Red Devil* that I feel like fighting myself. If we *are* Red Devils, we are made so by the whites.

SOON after the death of Dr. George M. Beard, Rev. Joseph Cook, in an address in this city, said:—

When Dr. George M. Beard lay dying in New York City, a devout Moravian said to him, "Trust in Jesus." With unimpaired faculties, he answered: "I DO. I AM." Immediately after this, he rose up in bed and lifted up his hand, his face brightened, and he said with great emphasis: "*Higher!* HIGHER!" and, in a few seconds, passed into that trance from which no man or angel could waken him.

Religious journals generally quoted this statement from Mr. Cook's printed address, and indulged in the usual comments on the conversion of an infidel in his dying moments. Even the *Independent* had to make the statement quoted above the text of a leading editorial, in which it said, "We are glad that, if faith came late, yet it came to the soul of him who doubted whether he had a soul. Now, it turns out that the story of the Moravian nurse,

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which Mr. Cook dressed up in his characteristic fashion, was, as we thought and intimated at the time, without any substantial foundation. The intimate friends of the deceased, including his own family, who were with him during his last illness, utterly discredit the story. Mr. W. A. Croffut writes to the *Independent*:—

Mrs. Beard herself, who died of the same disease within a week, said in the interval, "George died, as he had lived, as a scientist." Her brothers, both of whom I have seen, repudiate the report of Dr. Beard's recantation. The last words Dr. Beard spoke to me are, "You look upon a dying philosopher." This, with a forced smile on his face, as he continued: "I have not much longer to live. My sensations are blunted. I am racked with terrible pain. I can scarcely breathe. My sight is failing, and I am stone deaf." This was during the last day of his life. He put an ear-trumpet to his ear, and, in the interval of groaning, said, "You must shout in it, or I shall not hear you."

The appeal to "trust in Jesus," Mr. Croffut says, must have been made through the ear-trumpet in a high tone of voice; but, of the several persons about his bed, nobody except the pious Moravian nurse heard either the words uttered to him or the response. Mr. Henry Crell, who had the care of the patient, testifies: "I was with him almost continuously. During the last two or three hours, I did not leave his side. He could not hear anything toward the last. I heard nothing about Jesus; but, as he gasped for breath in the pressure on his lungs, he said, 'Higher! Higher!' I immediately lifted him. He still said, 'Higher!' and I lifted him to a sitting posture. 'That'll do,' he said. In that attitude he died. I am a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church; but I have no doubt the doctor died a materialist as he lived."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

FORGIVENESS.

I found one day in bitter mood
My tenderest trust had been betrayed:
My selfish good, another's need,
In conscience' scale I'd troubling weighed.

'Twas all I had, I willing gave,
And wept to think the gift was poor,
Beside the richness of my trust,
My inwrought faith so deep, so pure.

Crushed in the dust with careless tread,
The gift I'd nourished in my breast,
So great to me, so small to thee:
False friend, my pain is but thy jest.

Beneath my feet the reeling earth,
Above my head the mocking sky.
The sudden roll of wheels, and lo!
A funeral train is sweeping by.

A trembling heart, a burning tear,
The vision of an open grave,
A vacant chair, an unturned plate,—
My hate had vanished like a wave.

Recompense.

Life is too short, the grave too sure,
To waste our little lotted span
In vain regrets and cankering hate
'Gainst e'en the weakest mortal man.

Full soon the grave will right all wrongs;
The ill-spent life, the sodden face
Are *dead*, when Death upon that heart
His cold and pulseless hand he lays.

The generous life, the noble face
Of him who wronged says, "I forgive:
No matter what thy sin may be,
Thou art my brother," still shall live.

SARA WARD.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 3, 1883.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index*.

THE ENGLISH BLASPHEMY LAWS.

BY WILLIAM CLARKE.

I do not know whether the recent English prosecutions for blasphemy have been watched with any interest in the United States; but, in England, they have caused considerable ferment, and I am probably not wrong in saying that liberal American thinkers will be likely to be much concerned in these matters. Few scenes in an English court of justice have ever been more remarkable than that which might have been witnessed by a visitor when Mr. Justice North passed sentence on Foote, Ramsey, and Kemp for publishing blasphemy in the Christmas number of a periodical called the *Freethinker*. Loud groans and hisses burst forth from the crowd of people who filled the gallery of the court, and Mr. Foote told the judge that his sentence was worthy of his creed. Strange that the new law courts of London should have witnessed such a scene in the latter half of the nineteenth century! I may say at once that few persons of any culture, much less of the slightest spirit of reverence, can have any great personal sympathy with these prisoners. I only chanced, through a friend, to see a copy of the periodical in question, and a more disagreeable production I have scarcely, if ever, seen. The *pièce de résistance* was a series of wretchedly executed pictures, taken from the French comic bible, and illustrating scenes and events in both Old and New Testaments; but the whole number was, all through, offensive in tone, spirit, and intent, though not, perhaps, more so than much to be found in Voltaire, Diderot, and other great classics. It was written by vulgar people for vulgar people; and it was pervaded, too, by an essentially coarse spirit. It would be difficult to imagine anything more painfully disgusting, in its flippancy, vulgarity, and want of reverence, falling into the hands—I will not say of an orthodox Christian, but—of an intelligent and earnest free thinker. Thus much I must in honesty say as to the impression made upon my mind by a brief perusal of this publication. On the other hand, nothing can excuse the address delivered by the judge in summing up, in the course of which he informed Mr. Foote that he was serving the devil with those powers which were intended for God's service. In fact, the judgment was in the worst taste, being in reality a vindictive theological harangue; and proceeding, too, from a judge who, very likely, has as little actual belief in Christianity as is common among his class in English society. But neither the bad taste of the judge nor the flippant vulgarity of the *Freethinker* can be held to affect the real point at issue, which is simply this: Is the Christian religion to be defended in England by the powers of the law, or is it to be placed—so far as the law is concerned—on a footing of equality with any other religion? Foote and his colleagues were not sentenced to imprisonment because of the character of their attack upon the Christian religion, but because of the attack itself. That is plain from the decision of the judge; and it must be admitted that, under the existing law, no judge—however much he might dislike it—would have any other course open to him than to punish, and punish severely, those who attack Christianity. Those ignorant of this matter may be surprised to learn what laws are still in force in England respecting the utterance of religious opinion. I will venture to give a brief historical summary of English law on this important subject, which may be of interest to American readers.

The English clergy first required the support of the civil power for punishing heresy in the latter part of the fourteenth century. By an act of Richard II., passed in 1381, the sheriffs are enjoined to arrest heretical preachers, who are called "divers evil persons," and to "hold them in arrest and strong prison till they will justify them according to the law and reason of Holy Church." In 1400, the terrible writ, *de heretico comburendo*, was just legalized, by which persons, who taught "contrary to the Catholic faith or determination of the Holy Church," were to be burned, "that such punishment may strike fear in the minds of others." This was strengthened by further legislation in 1414. This period, the reign of Henry IV., was stained by the execution of persons under these abominable laws for the expression of opinions disagreeable to the ecclesiastical authorities. William Sautre was burned in 1400; William Thorpe was thrown into prison, where he is supposed to have died, in 1407; John Badby was burned in 1409; and Sir John Oldcastle was burned while still hanging, half-alive, on the gallows, in 1413, the first year of the reign of Henry V. There is no evidence to show that these men were, in any proper sense of the word, unbelievers. They simply disputed the authority of the Church and the doctrine of transubstantiation, arguing the latter point generally on a rationalistic basis.

William Thorpe gives a long account of his examination by the Archbishop of Canterbury, from which it is evident that he was condemned because he struck at church abuses and gave some sharp thrusts at the idle and wealthy church dignitaries. And, indeed, all these martyrs were what we should now call democratic reformers, pleading the cause of the weak and poor against the strong and rich, and denouncing ecclesiastical corruption. Up to the reign of Henry VIII., the authority in these cases was purely ecclesiastical; but that pious and much-married monarch extended this authority to lay persons, and in other ways confirmed the laws on this subject. The result of his legislation is described thus by Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen (the eminent English judge, who is in these matters the first recognized authority in England): "The effect of this statute was that hardly anything could be affirmed about heresy, except that it was *not* heresy to deny the doctrines of the Roman Catholics"; *i.e.*, of those who had made the original law on the subject. By a further act of Henry VIII., those who erred about transubstantiation were to be burned as heretics, and those who erred on matters of a slightly less metaphysical nature were to be graciously indulged by being hanged as felons. A see-saw process went on in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, acts being alternately repealed and revived. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, the High Commission Court was established for dealing with the growing schisms and heresies; and constant prosecutions of both Catholics and Puritans took place. In James I.'s time, one Bartholomew Legatt, an Arian, described as "an obdurate, contumacious, and incorrigible heretic" (the Church has always been renowned for her command of vigorous language since the days of Tertullian) was tried by the Bishop of London, and burned for his "damnable tenets," as was also one Wightman at Lichfield.

But the age rendered forever famous by Cromwell, Milton, Sidney, and Harrington was at hand; and,

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spite of much Puritan intolerance, a new era dawned. Milton and others were themselves "incorrigible heretics"; but they moulded the thought of their time, and pointed to a coming day when liberty of thought should be free. "Give me," said Milton, in his great treatise, "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." And his appeal to Cromwell in the famous sonnet ("New foes arise, theatening to bind our souls in secular chains: help us to save free conscience!") was responded to by that great ruler, who was the first chief magistrate of England who introduced some measure of religious equality into the land. In 1678, four years after Milton's death, the writ *de heretico comburendo* was abolished, and, as Lecky eloquently says, "the soil of England was for the last time stained with the misbeliever's blood." But this act of 1678 still leaves untouched the old ecclesiastical law of heresy; and, to this day, ecclesiastical courts have power to proceed criminally against any person, whether Catholic, Jew, or infidel, but they cannot inflict any punishment of death. "I think," says Judge Stephen, "that Mr. Mill might have been prosecuted and excommunicated for his three essays on religion." By an act of George III., the court can make the party pay costs, and can enjoin on him performance of penance, or, as an alternative, imprisonment not exceeding six months until penance is performed or costs paid. Of course, this law is not, and never will be, enforced. But it would be amusing, indeed, to see Mr. Spencer, or Justice Stephen's brother, Leslie Stephen, or the apostle of "lucidity," condemned by Anglican bishops to do penance for their "damnable tenets." Another statute left over from the time of Edward VI., and still in force, awards penalties against those who shall "unreverently speak against the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar." But the most terrible violation of religious freedom dates, curiously enough, from what Englishmen used to call the "glorious revolution" of 1689. The Toleration Act of William III. gave liberty to orthodox dissenters, but to no others. But a statute known as the 9 and 10 William III., c. 35, contains this provision: "If any person or persons having been educated in, or at any time having made profession of, the Christian religion within this realm shall, by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the persons of the holy Trinity to be God, or shall assert or maintain there are more gods than one, or shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of divine authority," he shall, upon conviction for the first offence, "be adjudged incapable and disabled in law . . . to have or enjoy any office or offices, employment or employments, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, or any part in them, or any profit or advantage appertaining to them, or any of them." In the case of a second conviction, "he shall from thenceforth be disabled to sue, prosecute, plead, or use any action or information in any court of law or equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office, civil or military, or benefice leccesiastical forever within this realm, and shall also suffer imprisonment for the space of three years, without bail or mainprize from the time of such conviction." In 1813, this act was so far modified as to admit of the expression of Unitarian opinions; but the rest of it remains, and is in force to this day in the country of Spencer, Huxley, Arnold, and Morley,—in a country where fashionable drawing-rooms and workmen's clubs are alike permeated by unbelief, and where serious arguments against not Christianity alone, but Theism generally, are delivered to large audiences week after week and year after year, and where books and pamphlets literally pour from the press denying or calling in question all the "fundamental verities" as understood, not only by the framers of the act, but by the orthodox of to-day. This statute, says Mr. Justice Stephen, "might at any moment be applied to any one who denies the divine authority of the Bible, or the truth of the Christian religion, in private conversation." And he goes on to say, "In most cases [he is speaking of sentences passed for ordinary crime], two years' imprisonment is the maximum which can be given; but, for the most temperate admission made in private conversation—say, by a father to a son—of disbelief in the divine authority of Scripture, nothing less than three years' imprisonment and civil infamy can, upon a second conviction, be awarded by law." Such is the care our "spiritual pastors and masters" have taken of us that, at the present day, such a man as Mr. Arnold might legally be sentenced to three years' imprisonment and deprivation of all civil rights for what he has written, if any bigot should choose to set the legal machinery in motion.

But the bigots are wise in their generation: they attack such humble people as the editor and publisher of the *Freethinker*, and leave the wealthy and cultured and influential alone. Pious and high-minded guardians of the public welfare! Their spiritual forefathers acted in the same way in the last century. Hume was allowed to attack miracles and Gibbon to assail Christianity in his famous History; but poor London booksellers, like Williams, Eaton, and Hone, were prosecuted in the courts of law. These trials of the last century are worth reading now: the long and formidable indictments with their silly charges, and the senseless repetitions of senseless phrases, will move to laughter; while the attitude of the judges will frequently call forth such contempt as that which one feels for the *odium theologicum* of Mr. Justice North in the recent case. Lord Kenyon observes people taking notes at the trial of Williams for publishing Paine's *Age of Reason* and says, "This publication is so shocking that I hope nobody will publish this." And Lord Ellenborough, when trying Daniel Isaac Eaton for blasphemy, found himself constantly compelled to interrupt the arguments of the humble man before him in this kind of style: "You are evidently coming to something reprehensible, and it is necessary you should be checked." "You must omit those passages which cast any reflection on the Scriptures." And when poor Williams, after he was sentenced, said, "I trust it will not be too great an indulgence that I may have a bed," Lord Kenyon replied: "I cannot order that. I dare say you will be treated properly. I wish to have it understood that this sentence is a very great abatement of the punishment, as in modern times, within the period I have sat in Westminster Hall, three years' imprisonment has been ordered for an offence of much less enormity than this; for this publication is horrible to the ears of a Christian." Mr. Justice Stephen sums up his researches on this subject as follows: (1) The application of abusive language to God, Jesus Christ, the Bible, Christianity in general, and perhaps to some other persons and things which are the objects of reverence among Christians, is a crime. (2) Language which would be criminal under (1) does not cease to be criminal merely because it is mixed up with and forms part of a serious argument against the truth of Christianity or any Christian doctrine. (3) The question whether the simple denial of the truth of the doctrines of natural or revealed religion is or is not criminal at common law may possibly admit of some doubt. So far, then, as the written law of England is concerned, we are living under a rigorous despotism, which does not generally press heavily upon us, because it is more than outweighed by the force of an enlightened unwritten public opinion. It has often been said that Christianity is part of the law of the land,—an assertion which was apparently made use of first by the great judge, Hale, in 1676; but Sir J. F. Stephen says very truly that "the expression has hardly any specific meaning," while Mr. Frederic Harrison, in a most admirable address which I heard him give a short time ago on this subject, said that an eminent judge had told him the phrase was meaningless and nonsensical.

Such, then, is the law of England at the present moment with reference to what is called blasphemy and to the expression of opinion on religious matters; and to state it is to condemn it. It is an imposture and a fraud; for it is notorious that it cannot be generally enforced. It is unjust; for, if enforced, it is certain to crush the humble and to spare the influential offender. It suffers Mr. Arnold to liken the three persons of the Trinity to three Lord Shaftesburys, but it punishes Mr. Foote for casting ridicule on the Deity of the Hebrews. And it is a despotic law in reference to expression of opinions, and, therefore, leads inevitably to hypocrisy and cant. It may be hoped that the bigots whose action led to the late prosecution may be "hoist with their own petard"; and that, as generally happens in this strange world of ours, a great onward step in freedom may date from the action of the enemies of freedom. It was rumored some time ago that prosecutions were to be instituted against Messrs. Spencer, Arnold, Huxley, Tyndall, Morley, and Leslie Stephen, and Dr. James Martineau, for their writings and "advised speaking" against the Christian religion; and, in order to clear the air of existing cant, it would be very desirable that such prosecutions should take place. But there is no likelihood of it, while humbler game can be run down. It would be interesting to witness the disputes of a number of lawyers as to what Christianity means,—intensely interesting. The discussions of the early church councils would be nothing to such a scene in the law courts of England. But the orthodox bigots (numbering, I am glad to think, only a mere fraction of the orthodox Christians of England) are now busy praying against the bill for the substitution of affirmation for oath in Parliament, and in signing petitions against it, which is, perhaps, more to the purpose. And, therefore, not being remarkable either for their logic, courage, or honesty, they are likely to leave the eminent persons alluded to alone. A new crusade will be waged in England against these blasphemy laws, and there can be little doubt as to what the ultimate result will be. Christianity will be relegated to the same position occupied by all other religions in England: it will be called on to defend itself by its own instruments, and not to snatch for its aid the weapons of the law. Deliberate and studied insult of a very revolting character should, perhaps, be punished, but as a distinct offence against society, not as an attack on Christianity. Some persons would have mere ridicule punished by law, but this is clearly inadmissible; for ridicule has in all ages been a powerful auxiliary to reason. On this point, Matthew Arnold has said some very true words, in defending his use of the three Lord Shaftesburys as illustrating the popular orthodox conception of the Trinity. "As regards the three Lord Shaftesburys, we say boldly that our use of that parable shows our indulgence to popular Christianity. Polycarp sternly called the disfigured religion he saw prevalent around him *atheism*. We have said, and it is important to maintain it, that popular Christianity at present is so wide of the truth, is such a disfigurement of the truth, that it fairly deserves, if it presumes to charge others with atheism, to have that charge retorted upon itself; and future ages will, perhaps, not scruple to condemn it almost as mercilessly as Polycarp condemned the religion of heathen antiquity. For us, the God of popular religion is a legend, a fairy tale: learned theology has simply taken this fairy tale, and dressed it metaphysically. Clearly, it is impossible for us to treat this fairy tale with solemnity, as a real and august object, in the manner which might be most acceptable to its believers."

CORRESPONDENCE.

EUSEBIUS AND "PIOUS FRAUDS."

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index* of April 12, your "Maplewood" correspondent takes exceptions to my statement that "Eusebius confesses he was by no means scrupulous in recording the whole truth concerning the early Christians, and that he suppresses everything which would be detrimental to them," and, as though he had settled the question—that Eusebius did not mean what we consider his words imply—in the minds of every one, exclaims, in a triumphant manner, "Now, we are ready for another 'pious fraud'!"

Although we may be altogether in error in the matter—though decidedly unconvinced of it at present—and your correspondent correct, it will be necessary, before we surrender to the gentleman, for him to prove that other persons have been as short-sighted as he would have us believe we have been.

We will state, to commence with, that our words are simply a reiteration of those of a Christian doctor of divinity,—whom we have reason to believe an impartial critic,—supplemented by those of a celebrated historian.

The Rev. Dr. Giles, Rector of Sutton, Surrey, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, England, after quoting from Casaubon, who says that "there were many in the earliest times of the Church who considered it a holy task to lend to heavenly truth the help of their own inventions in order that the new revelation might be more readily admitted by the wise among the Gentiles," and that "these officious lies, they declared, were devised for a good end," remarks as follows: "The celebrated Eusebius, Bishop

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of Cæsarea, and friend of Constantine the Great, is our chief guide for the early history of the Church, *and we learn from his own confession that he was by no means scrupulous to record the whole truth concerning the early Christians in the various works which he has left behind him. . . .* But, notwithstanding *all the disingenuousness of which he was capable,* and which has been the safer from detection in consequence of the destruction that has befallen the chief works written by the enemies of Christianity, we nevertheless observe that he has constrained to mention," etc. (*Hebrew and Christian Records,* vol. ii., p. 19, London, Trübner, etc., 1877.)

This statement is made by Dr. Giles, with a reference to the passages we referred to; but perhaps (?) he was only "detecting a 'pious fraud' where *none existed.*" If such was the case, however, he was but doing what the learned Gibbon had done before his day.

In his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (vol. ii., p. 79), Mr. Gibbon says: "The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, *indirectly confesses that he has related what might rebound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion.* Such an acknowledgment will naturally excite a suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other; and the suspicion will derive additional credit from the character of Eusebius, which was less tinctured with credulity and more practised in the arts of courts than that of almost any of his contemporaries."

Thus, it is seen, if I have been crying "pious fraud" when none existed,—as your correspondent attempts to show,—I've been in tolerably good company all the while, and that the words of Eusebius are not interpreted by every one to mean what the gentleman from Maplewood seems to think they do.

That Eusebius' character as to veracity does not stand remarkably well among Christian writers is seen from the fact that many churchmen of undoubted Orthodoxy believe he has related falsehoods in his history. Baronius and other sincere professors of the Christian faith have branded him as the great falsifier of ecclesiastical history, a wily sycophant, a consummate hypocrite, and a time-serving persecutor. And, notwithstanding what the gentleman from Maplewood may think or has said, we believe, as one who has studied the subject asserts, that "Eusebius, like many other great men, was drawn into the frightful vortex of superstition, and had no alternative but to whirl round in it or sink. Like thousands of his order at this day, he both preached and wrote what he never believed himself, nor could believe.

Respectfully yours,

AUTHOR OF *Bible Myths.*

BOSTON, April 15, 1883.

PAINE AND HIS PRIESTLY VISITORS.

The *Christian Statesman* makes the recent celebrations of the one hundred and forty-sixth anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Paine the occasion for copying into its columns an account of a visit to that "infamous man," in his last illness, "from the pen of a priest, who afterward became one of the best bishops that Church has ever had in this country." "It may seem like polluting the columns of a Christian paper to insert such a narrative," says this pious sheet; "yet, as a fearful description of the end to which the sceptic and the infidel may come, it might give timely and useful warning to some young men, especially at this time." We quote the concluding part of the account:—

As soon as we had seated ourselves, F. Kohlman, in a very mild tone of voice, informed him that we were Roman Catholic priests, and were come on his invitation to see him. Paine made no reply. After a short pause, F. Kohlman proceeded thus, addressing himself to Paine in the French language; thinking that, as Paine had been to France, he was probably acquainted with the language (which was not the fact), and might better understand what he said, as he had at that time a greater facility, and could express himself better in it than in English.

"Mons. Paine, j'ai lu votre livre intitulé *L'Age de la Raison,* où vous attaquez l'Ecriture Sainte avec une violence sans bornes, et d'autres de vos écrits publiés en France, et je suis persuadé que"— Paine here interrupted him abruptly, and in a sharp tone of voice ordered him to speak English, thus: "Speak English, man! speak English!" F. Kohlman, without showing the least embarrassment, resumed his discourse, and expressed himself heartily as follows, after his interruption, in English: "I have read your book entitled *The Age of Reason,* as well as your other writings against the Christian religion, and am at a loss to imagine how a man of your good sense could have employed his talents in attempting to undermine what, to say nothing of its divine establishment, the wisdom of ages has deemed most conducive to the happiness of man,—the Christian religion, sir." "That's enough, sir! that's enough!" said Paine, again interrupting him. "I see what you would be about. I wish to hear no more from you, sir. My mind is made up on that subject. I look upon the whole of the Christian scheme to be a tissue of absurdities and lies, and Jesus Christ to be nothing more than a cunning knave and impostor."

I felt a degree of horror at thinking that in a very short time he would be cited to appear before the tribunal of his God, whom he so shockingly blasphemed, with all his sins upon him. Seeing that F. Kohlman had completely failed in making any impression upon him, and that Paine would listen to nothing that came from him, nor would even suffer him to speak, I finally concluded to try what effect I might have. I accordingly commenced with observing: "Mr Paine, you will certainly allow there exists a God, and that this God cannot be indifferent to the conduct and actions of his creatures." "I will allow nothing, sir," he hastily replied. "I shall make no concessions." "Well, sir, if you will listen calmly for one moment," said I, "I will prove to you that there is such a Being; and I will demonstrate from his very nature that he cannot be an idle spectator of our conduct." "Sir, I wish to hear nothing you have to say. I see your object, gentlemen, is to trouble me. I wish you to leave the room." This he spoke in an exceedingly angry tone, so much so that he foamed at the mouth. "Mr. Paine," I continued, "I assure you our object in coming hither was purely to do you good. We had no other motive. We have been given to understand that you wished to see us; and we are come accordingly, because it is a principle with us never to refuse our services to a dying man asking for them. But for this, we should not have come; for we never obtrude upon any individual."

Paine, on hearing this, seemed to relax a little. In a milder tone than he had hitherto used, he replied: "You can do me no good now, it is too late. I have tried different physicians, and their remedies have all failed. I have nothing now to expect [this he spoke with a sigh] but a speedy dissolution. My physicians have, indeed, told me as much." "You have misunderstood me," said I immediately to him. "We are not come to prescribe any remedies for your bodily complaints: we only come to make you an offer of our ministry for the good of your immortal soul, which is in great danger of being forever cast off by the Almighty on account of your sins, and especially for the crime of having vilified and rejected his Word and uttered blasphemies against his Son." Paine, on hearing this, was roused into a fury. He gritted his teeth, turned and twisted himself several times in his bed, uttering all the while the bitterest imprecations. I firmly believe such was the rage in which he was at that time that, if he had had a pistol, he would have shot one of us; for he conducted himself more like a madman than a rational creature. "Begone!" said he; "and trouble me no more. I was in peace," he continued, "until you came." "We know better than that," replied F. Kohlman. "We know that you cannot be in peace: there can be no peace for the wicked. God hath said it." "Away with you, and your God, too! Leave the room instantly!" he exclaimed. "All that you have uttered are lies, filthy lies; and, if I had a little more time, I would prove it, as I did about your impostor, Jesus Christ." "Monster!" exclaimed F. Kohlman, in a burst of zeal: "you have no more time. Your hour has arrived. Think, rather, of the awful account you have already to offer, and implore pardon of God. Provoke no longer his just indignation upon your head." Paine here ordered us again to retire, in the highest pitch of his voice, and seemed a very maniac with rage and madness. "Let us go," said I to F. Kohlman: "we have nothing more to be done here. He seems to be entirely abandoned by God. Further words are lost upon him."

Upon this, we both withdrew from the room, and left the unfortunate man to his thoughts. I never before, or since, beheld a more callous man. This, you may rely upon it, is a faithful and correct account of the transaction. I remain your affectionate brotner,

† BENEDICT, *Bp. of Boston.*

We do not see how a fair-minded man can read the above narrative without regretting that the "author hero of the Revolution" did not possess the physical strength to exclude from the room two impertinent priests who could thus annoy and insult a man who was the victim of a most painful disease and almost in the agonies of death.

THE longer I live, the more clearly I see that the individual is more than is usually imagined Truth is not the work of committees, but of solitary thinkers. Discoveries are not made by societies on platforms, but oftener by single, patient, secluded watchers of the ways of nature.—*George Jacob Holyoake.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE New York *Examiner* (Baptist) says that "the great defect in Peter Cooper's life and character was his lack of religious development. . . . As a citizen and a friend, his character was admirable; but, of his duties to his Maker, he showed a strange forgetfulness." Of the same man, the *Christian at Work* observes: "Mr. Cooper was one of the simplest-minded men who ever lived. There were no hidden recesses in him, no sinuosities in his nature, no secret closets from which dark designs would spring. The transparent honesty of the man was apparent to everybody. He told at once what he wanted. He confessed what he thought. And people trusted him utterly where they would not confide in others. . . . He exemplified that enthusiasm of humanity which is the soul of all greatness of intellect as well as of character. Mr. Cooper was essentially a religious man, though his religion, like that of Bryant, was of the ethical rather than the emotional type."

FROM the fuller report now given us by Mr. Croffut, we learn that, however honestly the nurse may have reported the story about Dr. Beard's conversion, it is intrinsically improbable, and that no one else of those about him believe it. When she "said to him, 'Trust in Jesus,' and, with unimpaired faculties, he answered, 'I do. I am,'" he was so deaf that he could hear only when shouted to through an ear-trumpet, and was in intense pain. Others who were with him heard nothing of the sort. He did say, "Higher, higher," when gasping from the pressure on his lungs, and his attendant lifted him, as desired, to a sitting posture. His wife, his brothers, his attendants, all of them say that he died as he lived, "a scientist," "a philosopher," but not a Christian believer. Such seem to be the facts.—*Independent.*

AN Independent Church has been formed at Monmouth, Ill., which is one of the most orthodox communities in the West. Among its declarations is a protest "against that religion which would make man's salvation, either here or hereafter, dependent upon belief in any abstruse doctrine, dogmatic creed, or ecclesiastical tenet," and a statement "that the object of this association is to encourage the growth of a pure religion, inculcating absolute freedom of speech, inquiry, and belief; teaching the justice and necessity of an all-pervading spirit of charity; and upheld by an unswerving confidence in that Power whom we all adore as the infinite sum of all that is beautiful and all that is strong, wedded to illimitable wisdom and boundless love." Mr. Arthur Beavis, the pastor of this new church, which is called "Unity Church," writes:—

The population of Monmouth is about nine thousand. Of ten churches, five are Presbyterian. Such was the state of affairs when the liberal element decided to have a church of its own. Ten of the best business men in this part of the country stepped forward, and furnished $2,000 for a suitable building, which the ladies proceeded to make attractive; and so well have they succeeded that we now have as pleasant a lecture-room as one could wish for. The completion of this work, settlement of pastor, etc., occurred Feb. 1, 1883. Our support numbers some thirty families, and the prospects for the future are encouraging.

WHAT this country longs for is personalities, grand persons, to counteract its materialities. For it is the rule of the universe that corn shall serve man, not man corn.—*Emerson.*

BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY: Comprising all that relates to the Progress of the Christian Religion in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* and a Vindication of some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With a life of the author, preface, and notes by the editor, including *variorum* notes by Guizot, Wenck, Milman, "An English Churchman," and other scholars. New York: Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton Street. 1883.

Since this work of over eight hundred pages is composed chiefly of selections from the writings of probably the greatest of all historians, it is unnecessary to say that it possesses merits of the first order. In this volume, for the first time, is published separate from the other portions of Gibbon's great work, all in it that relates to the history of the Christian religion. The editor gives as a principal reason for this publication "the fact that a revised and abridged edition of Gibbon, called the 'Student's Edition,' edited

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by William Smith, LL.D.,— which is deficient in a most important feature,—has gained a wide circulation in our schools and colleges. This edition claims, by omitting certain portions, to have gained space for narrating at length those grand events which have influenced the history of the world. 'The most important omission,' he naïvely remarks, 'relates to the history of the Church, in which Gibbon too frequently displayed the hostility he felt toward the Christian religion.'" In this work, these "most important omissions" are supplied, Gibbon's statements in regard to Christianity being given in full, without alteration. The notes of the editors of the various editions of the *Decline and Fall* are reprinted; and to these are added notes by the editor of this volume, which give evidence of considerable reading, but not of careful scholarship, discriminative critical ability, or an unprejudiced spirit. "The great merit of Gibbon's writings," Mr. Eckler correctly observes, "consists in the fact that he was strictly impartial, and wrote as an historian, not as an advocate." But Mr. Eckler writes not as an historian, but as an advocate. He is captious in spirit, often offensively dogmatic, and quotes as authorities writers, some of whom have no standing whatever among scholars. At the same time, the notes contain no small amount of information for general readers; and the publication will help to make known to the public, to some extent, a writer of whom Guizot says, "If words can add to Gibbon's glory, I conclude, with these, that before him no such work was ever written; nor, whatever attempts might here and there be made to continue or complete it, has he left any room for such another."

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI: His Work and Influence, including a Brief Survey of Recent Art Tendencies. By William Tirebuck. London: Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row. 1882.

This appreciative essay on the dead poet-artist by one of his English admirers is written in a charming style, and the volume is neatly printed and bound. Of the artist, Mr. Tirebuck says, "He was a surviving plenipotentiary of early Italian feeling, presenting credentials to British common sense." He describes Rossetti's paintings thus: "A subdued Southern warmth pervades some of his pictures. They are like a deep sunset seen afar through a lacery of wood; or a sun-illumined glass window caught in its highest warmth, and transfixed in a frame to give glory to a sun-impervious wall." The writer is evidently in sympathy with the pre-Raphaelite school of art, and in these pages makes an excellent plea in favor of that school. Of Rossetti the poet, he has not so much to say. The volume will be welcomed by Rossetti's many admirers.

SPIRITUAL OR MAGNETIC FORCES. By Charles Holland, Ph.D. Second edition. New York: Asa K. Butts. 1882.

Apparently, this volume is the effort of a conscientious, earnest, and kindly natured Spiritualist to reconcile Spiritualism with science, as he understands science. The style is unstilted, yet refined; and the writer is evidently an earnest believer in his own theories,— theories which are upheld by the usual proofs of spiritual manifestation, the say-so of numerous "reliable" witnesses, who, no doubt, fully believe in their own testimony, but whose ghost stories are not of any great value as evidences to establish any claims according to the scientific method.

THE *North American Review* for May contains several articles, by able writers, devoted to the discussion of questions at the present moment prominent in the public mind. Senator John T. Morgan, in an article on Mexico, sets forth the considerations of commercial advantage and international comity which are bringing about a more cordial feeling between that country and the United States. Rev. William Kirkus replies to Bishop McQuaid's recent statements in regard to the decay of Protestantism, and makes a vigorous counter-charge upon the papal system in an article entitled "The Disintegration of Romanism." Edwin P. Whipple discourses on the diverse mental and moral characteristics of "Emerson and Carlyle." Prof. Felix Adler, in an article entitled "A Secular View of Ethics," argues in favor of a system of practical ethics based primarily on observation rather than on revelation, and the need of a new ethical movement. James Freeman Clarke, in "Affinities of Buddhism and Christianity," argues against the theory that the analogies between these two systems of religion have been derived the one from the other. The other articles are: "Communism in America," by Prof. Alexander Winchell; "Woman as an Inventor," by Matilda Joslyn Gage; "College Endowments," by Rossiter Johnson; and "Extradition," by A. G. Sedgwick.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for May has come to hand. Henry James' dramatization of his story of *Daisy Miller* is not particularly interesting, but occupies nearly twenty-one of the first pages. Those who read Howells' *Wedding Journey* will be interested in the sequel to it in this number, "Niagara revisited Twelve Years after their Wedding Journey." Oliver Wendell Holmes is just now, by reason of his return to his first love, "the bright particular star" of the literary firmament; and his three-page poem on the transit of Venus, entitled "The Flaneur," will, in consequence, be read with additional interest at this time. The stories are by Sarah Orne Jewett and Charles Egbert Craddock. Edith M. Thomas has a capital out-door essay, entitled "The Rain and the Fine Weather." The historical paper of this number is by Henry Cabot Lodge, on "Colonialism in the United States."

THE May number of the *Catholic World* opens with a vigorous article on "Religion in American Law," from the Catholic stand-point, by C. H. Robinson, in which the writer declares that, in America, "societies for the prevention and protection of everything in nature are protected by law," except societies "to prevent cruelty to conscience and for the protection of common sense. The atheist loudly and insolently blasphemes and denies his Maker, and, inconsistently enough, 'thanks God' that he lives in a country which will protect his freedom of conscience to utter his blasphemies." The other leading articles of the number are "A Visit to the Russian Church," by Mary H. Allies; "Albertus Magnus," by Rev. James J. Dougherty; "The Three Sisters," by M. P. Thompson; "Celtic Architecture," by Bryan J. Clinche; "Who were the First Germans?" by C. M. O'Keefe; and "Queen Elizabeth's First Clerical Victims," by S. Hubert Burke.

"ST. NICHOLAS" for May has for its frontispiece a finely engraved portrait of the great artist Vandyck, a sketch of whose life and works will be found in the twelfth paper on "The Stories of Art and Artists," by Clara Erskine Clement. In addition to Trowbridge's "Tinkham Brothers' Tide-mill," two new continued stories appear in this number, "The Story of Robin Hood," by Maurice Thompson, and "Swept Away," a realistic story of the Mississippi floods, by Edward S. Ellis. "Chalk-talk," by Frank Beard, is an excellent study, full of practical hints to young artists. "Curious Items about Birds" will be interesting to all young naturalists.

ONE of the most excellent features of that most excellent treasure-house of juvenile literature, the *Wide-Awake*, is in its selection every month of some short but famous poem from the works of standard authors, like George Eliot's "Oh, may I join the choir invisible!" and Mrs. Browning's "Mother and Poet." The selection in the current number—for May—is Burns' "A Man's a Man for a' that!" These selections are always accompanied by full-page illustrations by the best artists.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for May is adorned on every page by beautiful engravings, in which birds and animals are very prominent. In addition to the song, "The Lady Moon," with music, seven of the articles in this number are in verse, and all the articles in prose or verse are written in a wide-awake and interesting manner.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. GEORGE D. LAWSON will lecture in this city at Paine Hall next Sunday afternoon at 2.45 o'clock, on "Atheism in Nature." Admission is free.

M. RENAN has just published in Paris a pamphlet defending the Jews. The Russians and Germans would do well to read it, and see how like mediæval fiends they have acted.

ONE of the most faithful and industrious advocates of woman suffrage, almost since the movement was inaugurated, has been Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, formerly of Boston, but now of Georgetown, D.C. She has delivered three hundred and fifty public addresses during the last twenty-two years in behalf of the cause, besides doing not a little writing for the press.

THE Crown Princess of Germany is an assiduous reader of English and German books and newspapers, and keeps herself well acquainted with all that is going on in politics and society in both countries. She pays especial attention to all phases of radical and religious agitation, and never rejects without studying it a new idea, no matter how violently expressed in print.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR, of New York, proposes that, in strict harmony with the sentiment and purposes of Decoration day, it should be also a day of tree-planting. In many rural villages there is one day in spring when the villagers turn out and smooth the village street, and trim the paths and grass, and prune the old shade-trees and plant new. This pleasant work might well be done on the memorial holiday, and it would increase its beautiful associations.

THE London correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* is Mr. William Clarke, whose occasional articles in *The Index* upon current English intellectual and social movements have been so interesting. Mr. Clarke is a pronounced radical in politics as in religion, with a mind singularly penetrative, vigorous, and well informed; and certainly no English letters now coming to our American papers are better worth the reading of thoughtful people who wish to get at the true inwardness of current English politics than these letters of his to the *Advertiser*.

MISS ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH, the lady principal of Lady Margaret Hall, the new girls' college in Oxford, has published a little volume of graceful and simple poems, *In-doors and Out*, which will be of special interest to those of our people who are interested in the movement for the higher education of women in England, with which the author is so prominently identified. Miss Wordsworth is clearly a woman of varied talents and culture and of fine feeling. Several modest works from her pen—all, apparently, directed to practical purposes—have appeared before the present volume of poems.

ARABI BEY, in his exile in Ceylon, is learning English, in order, as he says, to know what the newspapers are saying about him. He and his fellow exiles are anxious to have their children well educated, and are perfectly willing to have them educated by the English. They desire that their daughters shall have exactly the same advantages as their sons. When told that the bishop of Ceylon had established a good school, they at once expressed an intention of sending their children to it. They were quite willing, they said, that their daughters should be instructed in Christianity, which was itself a good thing, and, as their children were well grounded in the Koran, it was impossible they could become Christians at heart; for God was good, and they fully relied on the virtue and power of the Koran to keep their children in the true faith, but educated they must and should be.

EDWIN BOOTH met with a most flattering reception in Hamburg, Germany. The house was crowded, every seat being sold a fortnight before the performance. The actors in the cast were wild with delight; and men and women alike embraced and kissed the great tragedian, much to his discomfiture. When the curtain fell, he was repeatedly recalled and vociferously cheered; and, after that, he was embraced by all the dramatic company, except the poor little extra girls who acted as pages. As he left the theatre, these girls were waiting for him in the hall; and, in a perfectly artless and modest manner, one of them approached him, and in broken English said through her tears, "Mr. Booth, you make us cry: we do want so much to kiss you." After the osculations of a number of enthusiastic German gentlemen, this surely was no bad change. He had to take home a number of floral contributions; and, as he passed to his carriage, several hundred persons were in waiting to catch a glimpse of him and to say good-night. He received seven beautiful wreaths, two or three bouquets, and a great basket of flowers from the girls of the ballet. At Berlin, his Othello was a great hit. At Hamburg, his Lear carried all before it. Scholars like Werder and Leo, who have seen the best that the stage of Europe has known for sixty years, extol both his acting and his scholarship; and, by the dramatic profession, he is hailed and habitually addressed as "Meister." A public presentation of a silver wreath was made to him February 21.

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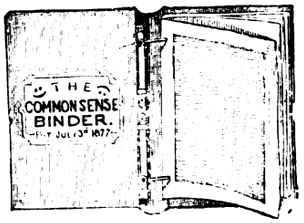

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 529

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Fate of Dr. Beard, Wm. J. Potter, ... 530
Passion-Playing, Moncure D. Conway, ... 530
A Michigan Indian Reservation, II., Charles Ellis, . . 531
Affirmation and the Oath, B. F. Underwood, ... 532
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., F. A. Hinckley, . . . 533

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 533

POETRY.
The Old Bible and the New, E. P. Powell, ... 534
Natura Rerum, B. W. Ball, ... 534
The Affirmation Bill, ... 534

ESSAY.
The Genii in Council, F. M. Holland, ... 535

CORRESPONDENCE.
A Letter from Canada, Allen Pringle, ... 536
Letter from Milwaukee, B., ... 537
The Functions of Governments, S. E. Moffett, ... 538
Mr. George's Theories Again, A. Bate, ... 538
Aristocracy in Religion, C. K. W., ... 538
A Solution of the Indian Problem, J. William Lloyd, . 538

BOOK NOTICES.
Christian History, by Prof. J. H. Allen, ... 539
The Story of Theodore Parker, by Frances E. Cooke, . 539

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 539

CURRENT TOPICS.

MR. TREVELYAN declares that, next to the eman cipation of the serfs of Russia, the Irish Land Act is the most radical measure any government has undertaken, and that it has reduced rentals by $1,000,000 a year.

THE Campbell penal code amendments, signed by Gov. Cleveland last week, practically repeal what are known as the Sunday blue laws, which have been so obnoxious to a large class of people in New York and Brooklyn.

A DESPATCH from St. Petersburg says that "all dates are new style," the Czar and his officials, it seems, having done what the revolutionary propaganda did years ago,—adopted the calendar of civilization. The popular reckoning throughout Russia is according to the old style, which is eleven days behind the new style.

THE Crown Prince of Germany recently gave an address before the Royal York Lodge in Berlin, which has been the subject of much comment among his brethren of the Order. He said that Freemasons should be more progressive, and that, instead of clinging tenaciously to old traditions, whose value consists solely in their antiquity, they should distinguish themselves by being in the front rank of seekers after new and living truths.

THE Methodist ministers of Nashville recently passed resolutions condemning all theatrical entertainments as "detrimental to the interests of morality and religion," and warning Christians against attendance upon the dramatic festival held in Cincinnati last week, of which some of the members of Methodist churches in Nashville were known to be supporters. The entertainment, which extended through six evenings, was a great success, in spite of the resolutions of the Tennessee parsons. The audience one evening comprised fifty-seven hundred persons, probably the largest number before which a dramatic representation was ever given in this country; and the receipts for that night, including premiums, amounted to about $11,000.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, the Premier of Canada, announces, as a part of his reform programme, suffrage for unmarried women. Many of our woman suffragists are likely to be dissatisfied with this discrimination against married women, whom the Canadian Premier evidently believes are sufficiently represented by their husbands. The Springfield *Republican* pertinently remarks: "To be completely admirable, the law should place wives on a level with their husbands in political rights, for there is no more sense or justice in making marriage an obstacle for women than for men; but, even as it is, this measure, introduced by the government of the Dominion of Canada, is, even should it be defeated, the most significant and influential step that has yet been taken in this great and inevitable reform." The opposition to the bill in the Canadian Parliament is strong, and is growing bitter.

THE Providence *Journal* states that, at a recent Jewish wedding, the bride's hair was cut off immediately after the ceremony, in accordance with an ancient custom, in order to render the bride unattractive to other men than her husband. This custom, it is said, is observed only by the most orthodox Jews. Referring to this, the *Investigator* sensibly remarks that "the custom is very foolish, both for bride and bridegroom, and especially for the latter, when we consider the reason for the shearing process. The man who has no confidence in his wife unless she is clipped, and particularly if she is endowed with 'Hyperion curls,' as some Jewesses are, deserves to be clipped himself as bare as a bald-headed eagle; and we wonder that the bride didn't insist upon making the bridegroom take his own medicine. 'What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.' We go in for even-handed justice and an equal reciprocity in all things."

JUDGE COLBURN of the Supreme Court of this State, after hearing the testimony presented at Barnstable last week in regard to the condition of Freeman of Pocasset, who killed his little daughter four years ago, declared that he must, on the evidence, decide that the man is now sane. This decision left Freeman under the indictment for murder found in 1880, and in the custody of the sheriff. His counsel moved that he be discharged from custody, and permitted to go at large on his own recognizance. The judge responded that he did not think it was within his power to discharge a prisoner indicted for murder on a recognizance, either with or without sureties. He directed that the proper papers be issued for discharging Freeman from the asylum and remanding him to the custody of the sheriff. It will be remembered that this unfortunate man was adjudged to be insane a few months after the murder was committed; and, although there seems to be no doubt in regard to his present sane condition, it is certain that, in the interests of society, great care and caution should be exercised in regard to giving full personal liberty to one who has been under an insane delusion strong enough to nerve his arm to kill his own little daughter.

MANY people in this country are ready to accept almost any statement that reflects upon the Chinese. It may be well to mention to their credit that a Frenchman, who was a consul several years in one of the cities of China, has written a description of that country, in which he asserts that in the interior provinces, where the people have had no intercourse with foreigners, there is an unparalleled absence of crime; that in some of these provinces which have more inhabitants than any European country, Russia only excepted, the criminal records show that intervals of years have occurred during which not one murder was committed; and that the number of robberies and thefts with which its courts have to deal is exceedingly small. If these representations be correct, the Chinese have, in some respects, advanced far beyond the Western nations. But should those portions of China, which the French writer says are so free from crime, awake to the modern life and engage in its active and ambitious struggles, it is very probable that the ratio of crime would be about the same as in those countries which represent the progressive civilization of the century.

MR. GILES B. STEBBINS, replying to the statements in regard to Garrison by Rev. Leonard W. Bacon in the *Century* for March, writes in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal:* "In the early days of the anti-slavery movement, Dr. Bacon was not an abolitionist, but was in church fellowship with the apologists of slavery and with slave-holders, helping thus to sanction and sanctify slavery. He could call Garrison an infidel and could fellowship as pious Christians men who, as Whittier said, would

> 'Torture the hallowed pages of the Bible
> To sanction robbery and crime and blood,
> And in Oppression's hateful service libel
> Both man and God.'

"For this Garrison gave him fit and stern rebuke, as he did others like him; and, in memory of that merited rebuke, his son uses the *Century* to belittle Garrison and his co-workers. In his weak effort to show that they had no influence on the conscience of the nation, he only shows his own weak folly. It is too late in the day for that. As to Lincoln being the 'object of his calumnious vituperation,' I know that they treated each other as personal friends during Garrison's visit to Washington in the days of the Civil War. Mr. Garrison never spoke of any man in the spirit of vituperation. He told the truth, without compromise and without malice. In the last years of his eventful life, he was greatly beloved and respected by the best and most eminent persons. His name is historic and honored the world over. At his funeral in Roxbury, a suburb of Boston, the thousands in attendance were made up of the noble and eminent, and of the poor and persecuted whom he had befriended; and clergy and laity, orthodox and heterodox, paid tribute to his excellence and moral heroism."

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THE FATE OF DR. BEARD.

As stated in *The Index* last week, the story related by Joseph Cook in one of his Monday lectures about the death-bed conversion of Dr. George M. Beard to the Christian faith has, like many other of "the Monday Lectureship's" statements, fallen to pieces on being put to the test of evidence. It is becoming more and more clear, the longer Mr. Cook addresses the public, that in his reports of matters of fact he is exceedingly loose. Even the devoted disciples who have flocked to Tremont Temple to hear him must begin to question whether his accounts of things in his journey around the globe, which have furnished the principal material for his last course of lectures, are not to be received with a good deal of allowance. The trouble with him appears to be that his sense of the importance of certain dogmas entirely overpowers his sense of truthfulness, and thus he is often led into criminal carelessness in sifting the facts which he reports concerning people and events. The *Nation*, referring to some comments in the *Independent* on the subject, well says: "What the collapse of this story of death-bed conversion ought to check is not simply 'the abuse of a great truth' [the truth of a possible conversion in the very article of death, as the *Independent* had put it], but plain falsehood, and the reckless conversion of signs and wonders into moral pabulum. Truthfulness, strict truthfulness, and careful examination of facts are the lesson of this collapse for all prelude mongers, lectureships, and other moral and religious teachers."

But our present concern is not so much with Mr. Cook as with the *Independent*. The latter journal, having published Mr. Cook's lecture and given wide currency to the story therein of Dr. Beard's conversion (having also improved the occasion for an editorial upon the matter appropriate to its columns), promptly contradicts the story on learning through an authoritative correspondent the real evidence, and then supplements its previous editorial with the remarks of which the moral is chiefly that to which the *Nation* refers. But, incidental to this lesson, another statement was made which struck our attention more than that which the *Nation* quotes. It was this: "It pleases us to hear that those who have lived in unbelief have accepted the Christian faith, and we are glad to publish their conversion as an encouragement to others; but it is better that the Church should *let a hundred souls go down to their own destruction* than that it should attempt to convert them by falsehood or force." The part of this sentence which particularly arrested our thought we have put into italics. It is true that the *Independent* does not directly say that Dr. Beard has gone to destruction, now that the story of his conversion proves to be untrue. But, if it does not by implication say this, what does the latter half of this sentence mean? What else can the words mean, considering their connection, than that it would be better for the Church to let Dr. Beard go to destruction than attempt to make out that he was converted when he was not converted?

But does the *Independent* really believe that Dr. Beard has gone to any kind of "destruction"? We had supposed that a journal of its liberal proclivities in the orthodox ranks would take the ground that the "conversion" which is needful and saving is conversion from actual wickedness, or from a depraved heart and conduct, to a life of goodness, and that the evangelical faith comes in as the supreme instrumentality for effecting such a change of character. And we are, accordingly, surprised that the *Independent* did not seize the occasion to draw a distinction between a conversion which means a reformation of character and life and a conversion which means merely a change of intellectual belief. We can well understand how one who looks at mankind from the point of view of the evangelical faith should honestly believe, even though inclined to a liberal interpretation of that faith, that nothing less than that form of belief should have power to reach and convert the vicious, degraded, and sinful classes of society. But here was a man whose life had been neither vicious, degraded, nor sinful, but a singularly useful one. Against Dr. Beard's character, no word of reproach has been uttered. He appears to have been upright and true in all the relations in which he stood to other people, private and public,—a man of pure purposes and noble achievements, unselfishly and enthusiastically devoted to the discovery and spread of those truths of the universe which are adapted to the improvement of mankind. He may not have been a faultless man. But who among his Christian judges will claim to be faultless? We have, however, not seen any moral faults charged against him as among the things imperilling his salvation. What, then, had such a man to be saved from, what to be converted from? Plainly, only from a certain order of intellectual opinions. But is the *Independent* still in the ranks of those narrow, bigoted dogmatists who declare that, though a man's character may be as pure and his life as useful as was Dr. Beard's, he will yet go to "destruction" after death, if his logical faculties will not allow him to accept one set of opinions rather than another? The *Independent* has certainly lost an opportunity of setting forth what must be one of the vital articles of the New Orthodoxy, if there is to be any New Orthodoxy worth talking about,—namely, that the personal "conversion" of chief concern and moment is conversion from moral evil.

The *Independent* speaks of souls being permitted to "go down to their own destruction." By the use of the word "own," it would seem to teach the rational doctrine that human souls bring upon themselves their fate as the natural consequence of their own doings. It would be interesting, therefore, to know what sort of "destruction" our contemporary imagines has befallen Dr. Beard as the result of his life. We cannot think that it believes that he has suffered annihilation. That might be a consistent belief for the New Orthodoxy in the case of a man subject to vices that plainly consume the powers of body, mind, and soul. But the distinguished scientist was not the victim of any such destructive vices. He retained, evidently, his mental and moral faculties unimpaired till the last. The *Independent*, we are sure, will not adopt the materialist's doctrine that his life vanished to nothingness with the death of his body. Will it, then, say, with Swedenborg, that each soul will gravitate at death to that condition of existence in which it has been wont to find its supreme satisfactions in this life, and that, if those satisfactions have been illicit or irrational, the soul will still be forced by its own impulse into them, though they weary and nauseate and disgust? That would be a good explanation of the process by which a self-indulgent soul might find its own destruction. But would it apply to Dr. Beard? If he could have believed in a future life, would he not have looked forward to devoting that life to essentially the same interests and pursuits which absorbed him here? And, if he has found another life, would he not find in such employment his highest and a very noble felicity? Such a life, then, as would be the natural continuation of the thoughts and impulses that had become the habit of his mind could not properly be called "destruction." What other alternative is there left but that Dr. Beard has gone to that "destruction" which in ecclesiastical dialects signifies eternal misery. But does the *Independent* mean that? If not, what does it think has become of Dr. Beard? Will it not agree with us that the creative and sustaining Power of the universe is likely to find a better use for so noble-minded a man than to let him go to this or any kind of destruction, and especially for not being able to interpret certain facts of the universe in the same way that certain other people do?

WM. J. POTTER.

PASSION-PLAYING.

Last year, a clergyman at Evesham, England, made a brave effort to interest the humble working people of his parish by a series of *tableaux vivants*, with choruses, representing scenes in the life and passion of Christ. The performances were so impressive and successful that the evangelical clergy of that region and the dissenters, with their instinctive antipathy to everything beautiful, sounded an alarm; and this year, when a question came before the magistrate of licensing the hall in which the sacred tableaux had been exhibited, the license was given only on condition that there should be no more passion-playing. The magistrate was also a canon, and it had been stated before him that the performances immediately proposed in the hall were the sacred tableaux and "Puss in Boots." The canon said, We have no objection to "Puss in Boots"; but the religious performance has given offence to many sober-minded churchmen, and must not be repeated. This is the latest of a series of repressive acts by the authorities, which may be summed up as a determination that the Christian legend shall be taken literally and gravely. But all the world is still a stage, and the ecclesiastical world in England is no exception. The natural way with legends and myths, the outgrown creeds and traditions of mankind, is to be transformed by art into new pictorial or dramatic shape, and so enter on a fresh and real career as artistic creations. "Puss in Boots" is an instance of the way in which this is freely done, as regards the faith of our pre-Christian ancestors. But the traditions of one particular faith—the Christian—are resolutely withdrawn from artistic treatment; and minds which incline to see that also in scenic and dramatic expression are compelled to mount it on a stage in the imagination, and group together the costumes and actors distributed through the country. In this, however, they are aided by surviving church festivals, and particularly by Passion Week, which is a famous season for ghosts of the past to start up and play their parts in the guise of English men and women.

The Passion Week on which the curtain has just fallen was an especially successful performance. For instance, when a glorious burst of sunshine ushered in the day when the national God was crucified, the masses celebrated the event by crowding to the Crystal Palace and other attractive places, to indulge in the national sports. A few of the more sanctified shuddered, on their way to church, as they passed by the cricket players, and Kissers in the Ring, and racers on donkeys and ponies; and the clergy frowned on the vacant pews before them. But the great English newspaper, the *Times*, —which has resumed its early rôle of *Thunderer*,— spake out in an ominous way: "The conversion of Good Friday into a purely secular holiday from which all trace of religious meaning has vanished, as far as the bulk of the population are concerned, strikes many people as a ghastly anomaly. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. It is simply the application to a Christian festival of the practical denial of Christian precepts which obtains during

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the rest of the year. Paganism was kinder to its children than the Christianity of this country has been during the last two or three generations to the toiling masses. We shake our virtuous heads over the vice and corruption of Rome; but it is easy to mistake a change of ethical fashion for moral advance, and it has yet to be proved that Rome had anything to match our Black Country or to outdo the East End of London. Good Friday has been seized for holiday purposes, because all other holidays were denied by a system which ignored the spirit of Good Friday through every other week of the year."

This plain speaking by the chief English journal was read along with reports of the preparations at Canterbury to seat on a throne the Head of the Church. The next few days were occupied in watching the Procession of the Cross. A worn and weary man was seen starting out with a cross on his shoulder, surrounded by people and soldiers, who scourged him, put a crown of thorns on his head, and scoffingly hailed him as a king. But, when they got passed through the gate of a grand cathedral, the crowd turned to bishops and clergymen in many-colored gowns, and officials with golden decoration. The man with the cross went up the cathedral aisle in fine raiment, his long train held by two young men in evening dress (rosettes in lappets, as if just from a ball), and he was set upon a throne. All the popular sports of Good Friday appeared in that pomp and purple and parade of the disciples of Him who was crucified, only it was not vulgar like the merry-making of the plebeian passion-players. And, now, a curious sort of ventriloquial entertainment took place. Services were read, which conveyed a reverse sense to people inside the chancel and those listening from the gallery. The former understood the readers and responders to confess themselves miserable sinners who had erred and strayed and had no health in them; but, to more distant ears, these sounds announced: "We are the elect of the land. They who do not belong to us are the miserable sinners. We have done those things that we ought to have done, and have left undone those things that we ought to have left undone, and there is health and wealth in us. In the name of Him who was crucified for blaspheming the gods of respectable Jews, we give thee, O my Lord, a throne next to the monarch's, and many thousands of pounds, and before thee pledge ourselves to crucify all who speak against the gods of respectable Englishmen."

No doubt, my reader has sometimes seen on the stage a representation of two rooms, with a partition between them, in which contrasted scenes go on at the same time. Artists have painted pictures of that kind. Indeed, in that famous Christmas number of the *Freethinker*,—for which three men are now in prison,—the chief cartoon represented a company of exceedingly unctuous Christians saying grace over a well-loaded Christmas dinner-table, —pictures of the crucifixion and of Mary with her Babe being on the wall,—while just outside the door in a snow-storm is seen a woman in tattered clothing, with her baby in her arms. Well, it so happens that at the very time when the new archbishop was taking his throne a poor man in London was committed to prison for really believing in the archbishop's creed. This poor man is one of "The Peculiar Family." His name is Cozzens. His daughter was taken ill, and he followed the command of what the law declares to be the Word of God,—"Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." The law demands that the faith shall be reposed in a doctor; but this parent loved his child, and believed that to summon a doctor was inconsistent with the saving "prayer of faith." The child died. The father is in prison, awaiting trial for manslaughter. It is possible that this genuine believer in the Bible may be at this moment conversing with three fellow-prisoners, put there for genuinely *not* believing in the Bible. If the peculiar believer should be converted by the peculiar unbelievers, and, when he comes out of prison, should draw a picture of the Lord as a modern doctor, he would stand a chance of going back to the same cell. We are under a mixed-up kind of law, which punishes, with the same prison, belief and unbelief; and the only clear thing about it is that our rulers don't want us to take Christianity seriously and really either way.

You will observe that here are the elements of a good melodramatic passion-play. It is well mounted and well acted. But it is necessary to add that an increasingly large number of people, used to seeing such plays only in regular theatres, do not realize the theatrical character of this piece, and occasionally get excited and interrupt the performance,—just like that Californian miner who threatened to blow out Othello's brains, if he harmed Desdemona. For instance, while Bach's Passion Music was going on in St. Paul's Cathedral, a man leaped on the altar, pitched off the cross, kicked off the candlesticks, and went off to gaol, contented that he had called attention to the continuance of papal practices in his beloved Master's church. Then, again, there are three or four churches which, every Sunday, are the scene of fisticuffs, literally, between the evangelicals and the ritualists. The clergyman in one of them has just been roughly handled. Now and then, too, a pathetic tale reaches the public, which shows how much sorrow may be caused by the simplicity of young people who take this passion-playing in earnest. One of these is still before the public, and relates to the lovely and emotional young girl of sixteen, who has become a sort of martyr as a preacher of the Salvation Army, in Geneva, whose authorities she has found, to use her own words, "in a very unsaved condition." Her father, the Rev. Samuel Charlesworth, is a clergyman of the Church of England, and was in great distress when he found his daughter had gone off with the Army. In vain he appealed to her to return, and to the generals, male and female, to send her back. "I regret to say," he wrote to the *Times*, "that my appeal met with no responsive sympathy. Indeed, I must add that, both with respect to my child and to other young persons of whom I have heard, I fear the Army influence has a direct tendency to wean the converts from home associations and interests under the idea that its work is paramount in importance to all other pursuits and obligations, and even to the known wishes of parents. At all events, I then discovered, to my deep sorrow, that one of the most loving and devoted children had found stronger interests and more absorbing pursuits in the arena of the Army than in her own home."

This is all the more pathetic, because the deserted father appears so unconscious (such is the spell carried by a surplice!) of the source of his calamity. Through how many years has that emotional child sat beside her mother in the family pew, listening to her dear father as he declared mankind to be under the curse of God, millions daily sinking into eternal fires; that one only way of escape was provided, of which many have not heard or do not heed! How often had his reverent voice impressed on her the appeal of her Saviour, "Go into all the world, and preach my gospel to every creature"! How often conveyed a Saviour's warning that, if she loved her father or mother more than him, she was not worthy of him! Was that trustful daughter to suppose that, when her father said these things, he did not mean them? Was that tender heart to suppose that the appeals of her Saviour to try to save poor lost sinners only meant that she should dance and sing and play tennis, and follow the merry life that makes the English parsonages exceptionally gay? It is but too apparent that the unhappy clergyman must have been passion-playing so long that his unreal world and perfunctory phrases were parted from his consciousness. He evidently cannot comprehend that anybody should take his creeds and ejaculations seriously. But his daughter had faith in her father, took his teachings to heart, and her love of him is told in her leaving him.

This, as the clergyman says, is not an isolated case. The Salvationist excitement steadily gains on the educated ignorance of England; and a number of emotional ladies are alienating their property to give it to the Army. General Booth has floated a stock to net such moneys as the hysterical may be willing to lend to the Lord without earthly security. Religious insanity also increases: there is more than a nominal connection between Bethlehem and Bedlam. Of course, if all this increases, the passion-playing cannot go on very long. The "Furies" of Æschylus of Athens had to be prohibited, because of its effect on the nerves of weak women; and it is much the same sort of thing that is now performed in conventicles frequented by weak women. It is doubtful whether the actual and earnest preaching of the old-fashioned doctrines of hell, devil, and blood atonement, will be long freely permitted in England.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

A MICHIGAN INDIAN RESERVATION.

II.

At the town of Mount Pleasant, Isabella County I left the train, and soon learned that I was even then upon Indian territory, that the town is partially built upon land that the United States gave to the Indians; but no Indian now owns a foot of it. Through the kindness of a prominent citizen of this town, I procured a team and a guide who was familiar with the Indians, and drove over a considerable portion of the settled part of the reservation. It was two miles away from town that I saw the first Indian house,—a shabby, unattractive little log building. There was a barn of a similar kind standing close by, and a little three-cornered lot of land covered with last year's cornstalks indicated the extent of the farm. This man, however, as my guide informed me, did not own the place on which he lived. At Isabella, on the Chippewa River, I saw the remains of the old dam that the government built there years ago for the grist-mill. Here had been the first Indian settlement; and, from this point, the lands had been occupied back along section lines for several miles. The mill was burned some years ago, and never rebuilt; and the dam is quite rotted and washed away. Driving through this entirely "deserted village,"—as far as the original inhabitants are to be named,—and up the hill that once formed the bank of the river, when it was a mighty stream compared with its present volume, we stop at a section corner on the upland, where I can see along the level road in front a regular succession of farm-houses and barns on either side of the way for a long distance. Ever since we had started, my guide kept pointing to cleared spots along the way, and saying that there had been the home of some Indian. So it was here. Pointing down this

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road, he said: "All them places wuz Injuns'. Injuns cleared all them farms 't you see there, 'n' some of them houses 'n' barns wuz built by Injuns." "But where are the Indians?" said I. "Oh, they're all back in the woods on new land." Turning to the right a section's width, we came to another long, level road, down which we drove several miles. It was the same here. Almost every farm we came to had been the home of an "Injun." Here and there, an Indian family still lived by the roadside; and, occasionally, my attention was called to one away back from the highway. Coming to a painted house, I remarked that that must be a white man's house, but was informed that it was built by an Indian. He had settled there, built a log house, and got along well for a long time, then became proud, wanted a fine house, mortgaged his place to build it, and was turned out of it when built; and he, too, is "back in the woods on new land." The most prosperous places along the way had been held for years by industrious Indians, who had at last been "euchred" by the whites, and had to get back in the woods. At length, we came to two farms, where lived two Indian families that represented the best, the very few bright and successful men among the whole. One of these men is about sixty years old. He selected the land, eighty acres, where he lives, when he came here in 1856. He has forty acres under cultivation, lives in a frame house of good size,—plastered, but unpainted. He has a fair-sized barn. He has horses and cattle and sheep, hogs and dogs. He raises wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, and, in short, all the crops. He has a family of eleven children living and some dead. He is a self-possessed, good-natured old fellow, who is glad to see me and talks easily and with pleasure about himself. His place and family would pass easily in the average of homes and persons among the backwoods whites, and I am quite sure it is much better than many I have seen of the pioneer sort. The other man is thirty-two years old. His father selected eighty acres here, and settled in 1856. The son has sixty acres under cultivation, he said, and has made much improvement since his father's death. He, too, has a frame house and a good barn, and, altogether, as good a place as the average of homes among the whites in any woodsy district. This man is bright and keen. He has been elected to office in his township, and has the respect and confidence of everybody. His wife is a neat and pleasant-looking woman of perhaps twenty-four, and their two children are as bright-looking as could be found among many of our best families. These two families are enough, if there were no more, forever to set at rest any doubt as to the possibility of the Indians' adaptability to the environments of civilization. They have demonstrated the Indians' capacity for evolution; and it will be seen that they did it, too, in the face of somewhat discouraging obstacles. Besides these two, there are a few more in different parts of the reservation who have also good farms and are living well. But why have not more of them done as well as these few?

As far as I can, in the brief space at my command, I will answer the question. The land of this Isabella Reservation was valuable. Much of it is as good farming land as there is in the State, and it contained a large quantity of standing pine. White men grew hungry and thirsty for it. The country to the south and west filled up with whites; and this reservation lay there before them, withheld from sale, but little of it cleared, paying no taxes, raising but small crops, occupied, as it seemed to the enterprising whites, with a lot of "d—d, lousy, good-for-nothing Injuns!" Nobody cared for the Indian. He was the ward of the government. He was the legitimate prey of the whites. Just as it seems to be a common thought that it is not wrong to take what belongs to the general government, so it also appears to be the common belief among the whites who come in contact with the Indians that, as they are the recipients of government bounty, it is not wrong to take what they get in that way. There have been many men quite largely enriched by thus virtually stealing the money that government has paid to not these alone, but to Indians in general.

In 1864, a plot was set on foot to defraud the Indians here of their homes. An appeal was made to the United States, ostensibly by the Indians, but in fact by white "speculators" behind them, to have the title to the land issued in fee-simple to the Indian settlers. Government seems to have been suspicious that all was not right, for she insisted that this should be done only after it had been satisfactorily shown to her that the Indians were capable of taking care of their property. She said they should be carefully classified, according to their capacity, as "competent" and "not so competent"; and to the competent she would issue the patent in fee-simple. Had government agreed to grant titles to all of those who had selected land, the Indians would have been turned out of their homes several years earlier than in fact they were. The thousands of dollars paid by government for the support of schools among them had been of small good to the Indians. They knew but little more than when they went on the reservation. Their old habits had lingered among them. They had no practical white men among them to help them in their efforts to farm. The chief solicitude of the whites for them was to instruct them in regard to the future life and get their treasures in that. Consequently, but few among them, in 1866, were "competent." So it took five years to coach them up to a state in which they could be classified, with a possibility that the government would order an investigation; but, finally, the classification was completed, the schedule passed upon by the Secretary of the Interior, and to the Indians was given the power to do as they pleased with their homes. No sooner had they received titles to their lands than they disposed of them—the most of them did—to white men who had been waiting, working, for years to get them. The Indians did not know what they were doing. I am assured by a white man, who has been familiar with the whole history of these people for years, that they were utterly incapable of taking care of their own interests as against designing men. They did not know the value of money or of land. They "sold" out for a song, and were themselves sold every time. They were, in point of fact, swindled, robbed, without violence, it is true, and perhaps by Christian men; but they were robbed, nevertheless, just as thoroughly as if they had been driven from their homes by force. Then it was, and this is why it was, that the men who had begun the farms that I saw along the roads had gone "back into the woods on to new land." Turned out of their homes, they had no longer any claim for a foot of land upon government, or for a dollar. They were paupers. But their children might, as they came of age, select each forty acres. And, thus, the old folks went with their children into the woods to begin life anew, without teams, without money, without food, driven back by the wicked greed of designing white thieves to their old status of wigwam savagery. Yet not a hand was raised against their enemies. They bore this hard fate with their old proud fortitude, but it broke their hearts. They died and died, until there are now but five hundred of them left. Not a man among them to-day but who would as soon think to kill himself as to attempt to deprive any white man of his home by force or fraud, and yet the State and religion winked at the scoundrelism that turned these people out of doors, that destroyed almost the entire effort of the government to elevate them, and that made itself riches out of the homes they had made for themselves.

The few who still live in their homes had to resist long and repeated efforts of whites to coax or swindle them out of their places, and they show what the others might have become had they been treated as they should have been. I believe that government did not know what was being done, but she is none the less answerable for the acts of her agents. These Indians, as far as they have had an opportunity, have demonstrated, as I have said, the capacity and capability of their race for improvement. Most of them have been swindled out of their opportunity by dishonest whites. Government, having intrusted the care of these people and the fulfilment of her desire to make good citizens of them to men who evidently did not do their duty, it is the duty of government to try the work again. Taking a lesson from experience, she should withdraw her consent to issue the title to these lands in fee-simple until the Indians have lived upon the land for two generations. She should then place practical white farmers among the Indians, to show them how to work. She should place practical teachers in their schools, who should instruct them in things necessary to be known, to enable them to take care of their own affairs in a world of whites whose ruling motive is the greed of acquisitiveness. She should encourage among them only practical teachers of religion, who should impress upon their minds the importance of cleanliness, chastity, and health, making a good, honest, successful, happy life in this world the best and wisest preparation for that to come. Under such a course, pursued steadfastly for two, or perhaps even one generation, it is my opinion—based upon my observations among these people on this reservation—that the Indians will show themselves to be more useful and less dangerous citizens than are that large class of foreigners and naturalized citizens who run the rum-shops of our country.

CHARLES ELLIS.

AFFIRMATION AND THE OATH.

In the House of Commons, on the 3d inst., the Affirmation Bill—the immediate object of which was to enable Mr. Bradlaugh to take his seat as a member from Northampton—was refused a second hearing by a vote of 292 to 289. The next day, Mr. Bradlaugh had a hearing at the bar of the House, when he declared that he had been duly elected, and that his exclusion was an act of flagrant iniquity; and that since the Affirmation Bill, which would have enabled him to take his seat in the House, had been defeated, it was now his duty to take the official oath. A vote was then taken, on a motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, that Mr. Bradlaugh be precluded from going through the form of the oath, which was carried by a vote of 271 to 165, Mr. Gladstone voting with Mr. Labouchere against the motion. The London *Daily News* says that, by the rejection of the bill, the forces of bigotry and intolerance have triumphed. A despatch states: "There is general satisfaction throughout Ireland over the defeat of the government on the proposed Affirmation Bill. The feeling is so strong among Ulster Presbyterians against the recognition of atheism that Attorney-General Porter abstained from voting. Only two Home Rulers voted with the ministry, Donoghue and O'Shaughnessy. Both expect places, and cannot get re-elected."

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Mr. Bradlaugh is disliked personally,—disliked on account of his antichristian and atheistic views, and disliked for his advocacy of republican principles and his strictures on the House of Brunswick. The strong feeling against him has made him an object of gross injustice and mean and bitter persecution. The clergy as a class, to their great discredit, have used all the influence they could command to arouse a public sentiment against the man, and to prevent his taking his seat in the House of Commons, to which he has been repeatedly elected. In their blind zeal for their faith, in their anxiety to defeat and punish a man who has had the courage to oppose Christianity from the platform in language the masses could understand and with arguments suited to their intellectual condition, the clergy have disregarded the commonest principles of justice, and demonstrated the utter worthlessness of the religion they profess to make men fair and honorable in their treatment of an avowed free thinker and open opponent. They have circulated petitions very industriously against the Affirmation Bill, which has just been rejected, and the rejection of which they know encourages insincerity, hypocrisy, and dishonesty. Rev. Malcolm MacColl, in a letter giving some of his reasons for refusing his signature to a petition against the Affirmation Bill, stated the plain truth in the following language: "As the law now stands, an avowed atheist may be elected a member of Parliament, and may take his seat in the House of Commons by taking the oath. There is not a member of Parliament who did not know what Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions were when he first appeared in the House of Commons. Yet, if he had then gone up to the table and taken the oath, there would have been no objection,—no objection, that is, if Mr. Bradlaugh had added profanity to atheism. There are now men in both Houses of Parliament who are perfectly well known to disbelieve in a personal God, and these men are compelled to take God's holy name in vain. The profanity, remember, is not on their part; for they do not believe in God. If forced to it, they do not object to a word which to their minds means nothing more than impersonal, unintelligent force. The profanity is on the part of the Christians who force unbelievers to go through what—to the Christian much more than to the unbeliever—is a mockery of the God of truth."

Oaths, Mr. MacColl might have added, are emphatically condemned by Jesus, whose teachings they who insist upon the oath profess to accept, but which they generally do not hesitate to disregard whenever they conflict with their interests or prejudices. The whole tendency, too, of the oath is to lessen the feeling of obligation to speak the truth when the oath is not taken. The oath does not insure the utterance of the truth for the very obvious reason that religious belief which gives meaning to the oath does not insure regard for the truth. Says Judge E. P. Hurlburt, in his work on *Human Rights:* "The religious sentiments are independent of that faculty of the mind which respects the truth. They may exist to a striking degree, and the possessor may, nevertheless, commit perjury with great facility. I speak as well from the constitution of the human mind as from a liberal experience of testimony from all sorts of men."

A man may believe in God and a future state; and yet in him the *moral* sense may be extremely weak, imagination and the power of reflection may be deficient, and there may be almost a total inability to realize in thought a causal relation between acts here and the condition hereafter. Rewards and punishments after death may seem so remote or, by reason of certain beliefs, so contingent as to exercise no perceptible influence on the conduct. Yet such a man, although he be destitute of integrity and honor, is permitted to testify; while a man like George Jacob Holyoake—who is unconvinced of the existence of a personal Deity or the immortality of the soul, who has the honesty to say so whatever odium he may thereby incur, who will not dissemble when he knows that by so doing he could conform to the requirements of the law—is regarded, by the stickler for the oath, as incompetent to tell the truth. Says Livingstone, in his *System of Penal Law for the State of Louisiana:* "If the truth could be demonstrated, it would appear that the fear of the consequences in a future state is not half so operative, taken by itself, as the fear of dishonor and punishment here. Therefore, in itself, this belief does not destroy the credibility of the witness. On the contrary, from the mode in which alone it can be proved, it must add to his credit. To avow this disbelief requires some courage. The atheist is a character not favored in society. A repugnance to utter a falsehood, for the most part, would be the motive for making the avowal; yet, the moment he has given this evidence of his regard for the truth, he is declared unworthy of belief. If, being an unbeliever, he answers falsely that he believes, he is a good witness. If he answers truly on this point, the presumption is that he will answer untruly to every other question that may be put to him; for remember that, whatever proof you may have to convict him of disbelief, it must all end in that to be derived from his own examination."

It is sufficient to say that a qualification which would exclude the testimony of a Humboldt, a Darwin, a Huxley, a Spencer, a Lewes, a George Eliot, and a Harriet Martineau, while admitting the testimony of a Guiteau and the James boys, has so little foundation in justice or the general weal that nothing but ignorance and religious bigotry and intolerance, and the selfishness and greed of demagogues who pander to the weaknesses of human nature for position and preferment, can explain opposition to its removal. And yet, in several States of the Union, a lack of belief in God or a future state is deemed sufficient reason for refusing to permit a witness to testify in a court, and denying a citizen the right to hold office. Thanks to the liberality of those who founded our Republic and framed our national constitution, no religious test is required as a qualification for office under the general government, and the testimony of the atheist cannot be excluded from our Federal courts. "It was deemed advisable," says Mr. Justice Story, probably the most thorough jurist this country has produced, "to exclude from the national government all power upon the subject. The Catholic and the Protestant, the Calvinist and the Armenian, the Jew and the Infidel, may sit down at the common table of our national councils." In the courts of England, affirmation is permitted. We hope yet to see the House of Commons just and courageous enough to rise above the religious bigotry and intolerance under the influence of which it acted last week in rejecting the Affirmation Bill, and put itself in harmony with the liberal thought and spirit of the age which demand that Bradlaugh or any other fairly elected member shall take his seat in that body regardless of his religious belief.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

THE *Independent* says that Dr. Dorner raises the question "whether Mr. Cook does not lengthen out the dying moment so prodigiously as to make it possible that all the cases of miraculous resurrection from the dead described in the New Testament were mere cases of suspended animation."

ANNUAL MEETING, FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston, beginning Thursday evening, May 31, and continuing through Friday, June 1.

Business session, in Parker Fraternity Hall, Thursday evening, at 7.45 o'clock, for reports, election of officers, and general discussion of methods of work.

The Friday morning session will open at 10.30 o'clock, in Parker Memorial Hall, with an address on "Emerson and Darwin" by Col. T. W. Higginson, to be followed by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Thought-side by Emerson," and by Mr. John W. Chadwick, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Matter-side by Darwin."

The Friday afternoon session will open at three o'clock with a paper on "Co-operation and Progress," by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, N.Y. This will be followed by an address from Mr. James Kay Applebee on "Social Disintegration and its Arrest by Co-operation." Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and others will also speak to the question of the afternoon.

The Festival will be held in the large Horticultural Hall, Tremont Street, and will begin with a supper, with tables and seats for all, at about six o'clock, or as soon after the close of the afternoon meeting as possible. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. After the supper, five-minute speeches are already promised from John W. Chadwick, B. F. Underwood, James Kay Applebee, and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and a poem from Minot J. Savage. Other speakers for the Festival will be announced hereafter. Miss Lucy Garlin's Euterpe Quartet have kindly consented to add the attractions of their fine music to the occasion. Tickets of admission to the Festival, with reserved seats at the tables, at 50 cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, of the Secretary, Providence, R.I., and of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass. It is desirable that early application for seats should be made.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE *Religion of Humanity* is the title of a neatly printed pamphlet, comprising the essays by Mr. William Frey, recently printed in *The Index.* A few copies are for sale at this office at fifteen cents each.

WE have received from Mr. Netterville Briggs, photographer, 20 Baker Street, London, Eng., a very finely executed cabinet photograph, from life, of Miss Frances Power Cobbe, which will delight the admirers of that lady's character and genius. Miss Cobbe herself says of the photograph that it is "the best done of me by any artist."

ACCORDING to the *Canadian Baptist,* which itself seems inclined to sympathize with the anti-Chinese movement, there is in Canada a strong feeling against Chinese immigration to the Provinces. "The Chinaman," says this Christian paper, "develops so many characteristics which make him an unwelcome resident that the generous invitation to people of all lands to pitch their tents with us does not include him.... He is a very undesirable citizen, whether he is to be legislated against or not."

A YOUNG lady of Springfield, writing over her own name to the *Republican* concerning what she conceives to be abuses in the postal service of that city, seems to have no real need of the ballot for

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herself, as she concludes her note to the *Republican* thus: "Put up a good man for Democratic candidate in 1884, and I will be good for half a dozen voters myself." And it is said that women take no interest in politics, when here is one who avows herself so skilful in political "wire-pulling" that she pledges herself "good for half a dozen voters."

THE *Independent* withdrawing its statement regarding the last moments of Dr. Beard, remarks:—

If the collapse of this story of death-bed conversion shall do anything to prevent the abuse of the great truth, that, so long as moral power exists, there is the theoretical possibility of conversion and salvation, whether in health or sickness or death, whether on earth or in purgatory or in hell, we shall be glad.

The New York *Evening Post* quotes this, and pertinently adds:—

This is all very good, as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. What "the collapse of this story of death-bed conversion" ought to check is not simply "the abuse of a great truth," but plain falsehood, and the reckless conversion of signs and wonders into moral pabulum. Truthfulness, strict truthfulness, and careful examination of facts, is the lesson of this collapse for all prelude-mongers, lectureships, and other moral and religious teachers. The value of truth, its supreme, overwhelming importance, is the lesson of every death-bed, and is furnished by that of an agnostic or scientist as well as by that of a Christian.

A CLEVELAND paper, referring to the law's wearying delay in the case of Archbishop Purcell's creditors, observes: "The Roman Catholic Church has determined to fight this case to the bitter end; and all its enginery and means will be employed to render the fraud complete, or prolong it until the great mass of the Archbishop's creditors find rest in the grave. Numbers of them have gone in that direction already, having sickened and died from want and starvation. The 'majesty' of the law is a great thing; but

'Justice, like lightning, ever should appear
To few men's ruin, but to all men's fear.'

Laws should be so constructed as to make justice speedy and sure. Long delays are intolerable. While they may be borne by the wealthy, yet they are death to the poor. Even the estates of the rich are too often sacrificed and their owners reduced to poverty through the latitude and delay furnished by the law. The fact is that we have too much law and too little justice, and the truth of this is well exemplified in the case of the Purcell creditors."

THE London *Inquirer* (Unitarian) says: "We are sometimes told that the hideous doctrine of eternal torment is dying out, at least in its more repulsive aspects. The Rev. Dr. Momerie, professor of Logic and Metaphysics in King's College, London, and one of the select preachers before the University of Cambridge, gives unimpeachable testimony that we are apt to overrate the progress of liberal sentiments in other churches. In his recent work on *The Basis of Religion*, he says that only a year or two ago he heard a clergyman deliver himself from the pulpit as follows: 'My brethren, you may imagine that, when you look down from heaven, and see your acquaintances and friends and relatives in hell, your happiness will be somewhat marred. But no! You will then be so purified and perfected that, as you gaze on that sea of suffering, it will only increase your joy.' For our part, we should prefer hell itself to a heaven where such hellish joy would be possible."

A FREE SCHOOL LEAGUE, with head quarters at Washington, D.C., has been organized; and it has an organ called the *National Free School Advocate*, which favors national support of the free schools in all the States of the Union. The following is given as the platform of the new organization:—

We ask no man where he was born.
We attack no man's religion.
We interfere with no man's politics.
We are opposed to any interference in civil affairs by organized ecclesiastical bodies.
We are in favor of taxing every rood of ground and every dollar of personal property, except public property and burying-grounds.
We are opposed to any appropriation of public money for sectarian purposes, however disguised. Let sects support the parochial schools and academies in which their respective catechisms form any part of the curriculum.
We are in favor of fixing a definite date, after which all who become voters shall be able to read and write.
Ignorance is the fertile soil in which crime is bred. We are, therefore, in favor of compulsory education, supplemented by generous appropriations of public money for common schools.
We are in favor of incorporating these principles in the fundamental law by the speedy enactment of constitutional amendments, emphasizing all of them not already embodied in that instrument.

FROM the new edition of Messrs. George P. Rowell & Co.'s *American Newspaper Directory*, which is now in press, it appears that the newspapers and periodicals of all kinds issued in the United States and Territories now reach the imposing total of 11,196. This is an increase of 585 in twelve months. The present total in New York State is 1,399,—a gain of 80 in the past year. The increase in Pennsylvania is 48, the existing number being 943. Nebraska's total grew from 175 to 201, and Illinois' from 890 to 904. A year ago, Massachusetts had 420 papers: now, the number is 438. In Texas, the new papers outnumbered the suspensions by 8; and Ohio now has 738 papers instead of 692. In the Territories, the daily papers have grown from 43 to 63, and the weeklies from 169 to 243, Dakota being the chief area of activity. The number of monthlies throughout the country grew from 976 to 1,034, while the dailies leaped from 996 to 1,062. The figures given above are exclusive of Canada, which possesses a total of 606. It is interesting to note that the newly settled regions of the Canadian North-West are productive of newspapers as well as of wheat, for the number of journals issued in Manitoba was nearly doubled during the year.

"PECK'S SUN," referring to the death of a cranky individual at whose funeral, by his request, was sung on the way to the grave "When Johnny comes marching Home," and on the return from the grave "Good-by, my Lover, Good-by," remarks that it is hard to make people laugh at a funeral; but, when the corpse prepares the programme of hilarity, people who are mere spectators are apt to smile, even if it hurts their feelings, and very sensibly adds: "Most infidels desire to have a certain solemnity to attend their interment, even if they do not have the attendance of clergy; and this case of the deceased editor, who made his funeral a variety show, is an unusual one. The funeral of Ingersoll's brother, a year or two ago, though not under the auspices of the Church, was very solemn, and the brother of the deceased made some most beautiful and touching remarks, which caused people of a different belief at least to respect his views of the hereafter. But if Bob had invited in a lot of nigger singers to sing 'Shoo Fly, don't bodder me' on the way to his brother's grave, and had them sing 'Mulligan's Picnic' songs on the way back, people would have said he was lacking common sense. The grave is a solemn thing, and death is no picnic; and those who make the grave a variety show and consider death a joke are lacking in sense, whatever their views may be on the hereafter."

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE OLD BIBLE AND THE NEW.

The Bible that I love is not the modern screed,
Denouncing doom on those who fathom not its creed,
Above the rime and reason of elder Nature's thought;
To serve a chosen few by inspiration wrought,
A gross interpolation in the eternal law,
A second thought of God to patch creation's flaw;
But the dear old Bible, with my mother's love inside it;
And my boys' prattled love written there beside it;
By the finger of my Father on the pages of my soul,
In the golden text of life, a divine illumined scroll.
I sit beside Confutze, and I con it o'er and o'er,
When he reads, with ancient accent: "Go and sin no more.
What you would another should not do to you
Do not thou to him: keep thy neighbor's weal in view."
Gentle Buddha's breath of roses touches now my cheek,
While he whispers: "To be wise is only to be meek;
For the only end of life is evermore to learn,
And the end of learning is for wisdom still to yearn."
And when Jesus leans in sorrow, writing on the sand,
He copies from this book a lesson rich and grand:
"'Tis charity and tenderness for every sinning soul
Will lift again the fallen, and make the bruised whole."
Here, Plato's stylus found "The Good, Beautiful, and True,"
Which he bade us mortals keep evermore in view.
While, from the heights of human brotherhood, St. Paul
Reads aloud, "Faith, Hope, and Charity comprise it all."
Here, I find the Decalogue of old Mosaic wit,
In Persian and Egyptian underneath it writ.
And each Beatitude first learned in Nature's school
Is here in golden text beside the Golden Rule.
While everywhere are parables tinted with the art
That images itself within the human heart.
Page by page each day, and o'er and o'er, I turn it,
Its lessons and its love as God's true word I learn it;
And the only interpreter of the dear old book
Is my soul's experience, when with faith I upward look.

E. P. POWELL.

For *The Index*.

NATURA RERUM.

Nature of things, or God, or vast
Sum total, datest Thou
From no spent yesterday, no past
Effete, but an eternal now;

As organs usest us, weak men,
Whose days so swiftly glide;
With Cæsar tam'st the world, and then
Him fling'st, mere dust, aside.

From thee and thine immortal years
Pour men like drops of rain:
The race no frost of death e'er seres;
It ever comes again.

O'er dust of bards, who hymned of yore
Her beams, the moon ne'er pines:
Fresh lovers and fresh bards adore
Her orb, whene'er she shines.

And still the welcome spring comes back
With bird and flower and bee:
Of heat or sheen there is no lack,
Of sap in blade and tree.

Thus on the eternal current runs
Of life and light forever,
Thus glow in boundless space the suns,
That numbered may be never;

Thus, God, no sluggard potentate
Above the world lies dreaming,
But with his life of life elate
Planet and star are beaming.

B. W. BALL.

THE AFFIRMATION BILL.

BY A SCOTCH COVENANTER.

"Thou shalt not swear," said Christ: "thou shalt speak true;
Thy word shall be thy bond to God and man.
True speech is holy, and there are not two,—
On truth-blaspheming oaths I lay my ban.
Thou dost but desecrate God's Throne anew,
And this his glorious earth, evoked for man,
Each time thou giv'st thy daily life the lie,
And swearest down thine own integrity."

But thou shalt *not* affirm, the House declares,
And swear thou *shalt*, by God and by his Throne.
Sir S—— N—— puts on pious airs,
And pretty R——h joins his hollow moan,
'Tis thus the Great High Priest with these men fares,—
His words neglected and his truths unknown.
England is tired of them, and they may go,
We will not have these Tulchans always. No.

—*Manchester Examiner.*

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 10, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

☞ PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For *The Index*.

THE GENII IN COUNCIL.

BY F. M. HOLLAND.

Part II.—The Test from Sociology.

Morality will never reign supreme until its nature and basis are better understood than has been shown to be the case in the previous essay. Nor can individuals grow in virtue without some standard by which they may tell right from wrong. With those who find a perfectly satisfactory and trustworthy standard in the Church, or in the Bible, or in conscience, or in utilitarianism, or in any other established theory, I seek no controversy. But there are some who feel that none of these systems has fully and accurately pointed out the differences between right and wrong, or given all the help we need in acting on the benefit of this knowledge. Believers in the authority of conscience generally admit that it needs to be educated, which means that it is not infallible. The advocates of the system most in favor with advanced thinkers—utilitarianism—have not yet, I think, succeeded in telling why any one should prefer other people's happiness to his own, or in proving that vice is alway so much less pleasurable than virtue as to make it certain that the right choice will be made by the aid of this theory alone. J. S. Mill says, "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied." He does not say why, and dissatisfaction certainly means unhappiness. Many of the men and women to whom the world owes most—like Jesus, Paul, Roger Bacon, Joan of Arc, Servetus, Roger Williams, Madame Roland, and Mazzini—have not led such pre-eminently happy lives that he who aims merely at happiness would imitate them. The tramp might say to the utilitarian, "I am more happy than if I were hard at work, and I make no one less happy; for people like to be charitable." And he might further plead that his own conscience approves of his way of life, as well as that it greatly resembles what Jesus recommended to his disciples. So drunkards urge that their habits give them pleasure and hurt nobody. We need a system of morality which will put drunkards, tramps, and all other idlers plainly in the wrong, and give martyrs and reformers all the honor they deserve.

Whatever may be the defects of the different systems hitherto proposed, they have at least one common excellence,—that of recognizing the authority of such precious maxims as "Render to all their dues," "Do as you would be done by," "Keep yourself pure," "Seek wisdom." The most sacred books announce such duties as the will of God. The churches vie with each other in teaching purity and brotherly love. Conscience and public opinion agree in telling us to treat our neighbors kindly and honestly, and develop ourselves nobly. Every utilitarian knows that such precepts are the necessary conditions of happiness. These current ideas about right and wrong are not to be disparaged, but rather confirmed and enforced. And, therefore, it is necessary to know from what source they proceed, and on what authority they really rest. It is also necessary to know this, in order to be able to tell how these current ideas may be improved, as well as how some differences, such as prevail about the limits of free speech, the duty of giving to every one that asketh, the right of resistance to evil, and the proper way to treat drunkards, may best be reconciled. Public opinion is highly instructive, but not infallible. How are we to tell when it is right or wrong?

Study of human history has shown that these various rules and precepts, whose authority is recognized by conscience, the Bible, the churches, and all systems of morality, are necessary conditions of social existence and progress. Human beings could not live together, if they did not respect each other's property, care for each other's needs, and carry on some sort of training for the common good. A family or tribe in which little children were neglected utterly, or in which no one was allowed the benefit of his labor and skill, would soon cease to exist. And a tribe whose members were less able to feed and defend themselves than their neighbors would erelong be reduced to servitude. Those nations which have been faithful to the laws of justice, kindness, and self-culture, have outstripped and supplanted the nations which have not. For these precepts are the conditions of social progress. They are written in our Bibles and our consciences, but it is by all the experience of our race. These great commandments are mighty in the authority they have gained from our universal knowledge that thus we must do, in order to be able to live together. Society insists on their observance as the necessity of her own continuance. The question which of the various observances we find enjoined in different states of society, and regarded with more or less favor by different consciences or other oracles, is to be regarded as right and which as wrong, may now be answered by seeing which are really the necessary conditions of social existence and progress, and which are merely imaginary ones. In other words, public opinion is right when it follows the laws of social development, and wrong when it does not.

The only real problem is how to discover the true conditions of social progress, that therein we may find the moral laws. Many students are throwing light in various ways on this great question. Its solution may, I think, be facilitated by gaining as clear a view as possible of the essential characteristics of civilization, so as to distinguish high forms of society from low ones; for, then, we can safely pronounce such moral precepts as we find most favored in the highest civilization essential to social progress, and therefore authoritative. Herbert Spencer's definition of "the formula of evolution as a progress toward greater size, coherence, multiformity, and definiteness" (*Principles of Sociology*, vol. i., p. 618), is not to be set aside lightly. We all know that a civilized nation is more prosperous than a savage one, as well as that it has more division of labor and diversity of habits, and much firmer and more complex social organization. Here, as everywhere else, is fulfilled the great law of change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the indefinite to the definite, and from the incoherent to the coherent. Perhaps the progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, or, in other words, from uniformity to variety, is best seen in the change in the occupations of women. Valuable as is Spencer's definition, I venture to suggest that it may be somewhat modified with advantage to ethical study. The case of heterogeneity and complexity here most important seems to me that of institutions. The most civilized countries are those whose institutions are best fitted for promoting, first, security of person and property; second, intellectual and æsthetic culture; third, business activity; and, fourth, charitable relief. To know how far any country has advanced, I should ask, Has it just and comprehensive laws, impartial and generally respected courts of justice, and an efficient police? Is there a system of schools and colleges giving primary, liberal, professional, and artistic education? Has it banks, brokers' boards, merchants' exchanges, agricultural societies, and other associations of men engaged in various kinds of business? And, finally, has it almshouses, hospitals, asylums, and benevolent organizations able to take care, not only of poor people in general, but of the blind, deaf and dumb, insane, and others specially afflicted? Those institutions providing security are exclusively managed by the State; but those facilitating education, business, and charity, are sometimes carried on by the government and sometimes by private individuals.

Whatever be the origin of philanthropic, commercial, educational, and legal institutions, their multiplicity and efficiency are greatest in those forms of society which are admitted to be most highly civilized. For instance, there is a marked superiority in this respect of modern times to the middle ages, as well as of New England, Great Britain, and France to Central Africa. Other ways of stating the difference between such periods and countries might be adopted, without giving up the essential point of the theory I am setting forth. Laying stress on the existence of philanthropic, legal, educational, and commercial institutions, has, however, the special advantage of justifying the existence of four great classes of moral precepts,—those of love, justice, and self-culture, and also those of industry, economy, and enterprise, which really form a separate class, though without any comprehensive name, and which are now rising into unprecedented importance. Whatever definition of civilization we may adopt, we shall see that its progress is marked by increased respect for the three great duties first named, especially self-culture; but still more plainly by a wholly new sense of the value of what may be called the business virtues. Formerly, the nobles were the idlers, and the laborers were all villains. Now, we are beginning to see that useful labor is noble, and we can look forward to the time when habitual and needless idleness of healthy adults will be accounted villanous. Society has already become wise enough to say to the beggar, whose mode of life was once thought saintly: "I don't care whether your habits make you happy, or how far they are in harmony with the Bible or your own conscience. I know they are hostile to my law of progress; and, therefore, I shall put them down." Gamblers and drunkards are already treated as stumbling-blocks in the upward path, and this is simply just. Our forefathers persecuted differences in opinion with sword and fire, but we are learning to honor them as needed teachers of the race. The old ideal of the saint who resists not evil is giving place to the new ideal of the reformer who fights against every evil for the sake of his own growth as well as that of his brethren,—ready for any labor or danger, but not willing to allow any infringement, either to his own injury or his neighbors', of that justice in which we all are safe.

Auguste Comte and his followers have fully proved that there is nothing impracticable in trying to rest morality on sociology. In fact, it is only by doing this that we can ever have scientific ethics, instead of the theological and metaphysical systems which are passing away. Utilitarianism has some foundation in sociology, for progress requires healthy activity, and that involves happiness; while the unhealthy circumstances most fatal to progress cause immediate pain. Unhealthy excitement, however, is often so pleasurable for the moment as to offer temptations which are not easily resisted without some stronger motive than fear of ultimate loss of happiness hereafter or possible pain to others. The more warmly I love those moral laws which are necessary to social progress, the more easily can I trample on every temptation to sin against them. And there are motives by which these laws are adapted to every part of my nature. My conscience has been trained to think them sacred, so that I cannot disregard them without doing violence to myself. All my social sympathies and friendly feelings urge me to do what my friends and neighbors wish. Desire for improvement makes me seek to advance in the path marked out by the experience of the race. Whatever advantages I would secure depend on the maintenance of social relations which are founded in morality. Only the faithful to those relations can hope for praise. For the unfaithful there are punishments, even the

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severest. No greater calamity can fall on any man than for society to treat him as one of her worst enemies. What else can he expect, who grossly violates those laws on whose observance she rests? Idle is the fear that the sanctity of morality will grow less as science advances. Rather must it increase, for thus will the real authority of virtue be brought to light as it has never been before. As we learn the true relations of morality to sociology, we shall become full of reverence for those great moral laws which have been recorded in the Bible, and are still sanctioned by conscience and public opinion, because they are the necessary conditions of social existence. And we shall honor these laws all the more, when we do so intelligently, with full knowledge of their value and of their difference from such imperfect precepts as have from time to time originated in blind superstition or the selfish caprice of despots. If we doubt the propriety of any regulation urged upon us, we have only to consider what public or private benefit it was designed to secure, and what are the actual results of its enforcement or disuse. If it has been found favorable to social progress, it is right; but, if it is or has been a hindrance to the world's advance, then it is wrong. All conduct may be classed as right or wrong, according as it helps or hinders human progress; but, in practical life, it is usually enough to look at those general rules which are universally accepted because experience has shown that it is by their observance that we advance. And it is those men and women who have best served that great march onward, caring nothing about their own pleasure or interest in comparison, that we shall always honor most.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A LETTER FROM CANADA.

Editors of The Index :—

In sending you a few words from Canada, noting the progress of Liberalism here, I do so with broad ground for encouragement and anticipation for the future. Canada, like her mother England, has the reputation of being a little slow and conservative, especially as compared with her big sister, your great Republic; but, for all that, I am inclined to think that we Canadians will compare not unfavorably with you Americans in some aspects of our mental development and national progress. If our mental evolution on the lines of theologic and political progress is not quite so rapid as yours, it is perhaps more substantial and consistent and less spasmodic. We do not often witness the anomalous "reversions" or liberal solecisms here that frequently turn up in France and the United States, where, for instance, editors are incarcerated for exercising the right of free discussion, even political discussion, obsolete laws utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the age are revised, and the testimony of even theists ruled out of court. In France and the United States, these anachronisms are from time to time showing themselves, to the bewilderment and dismay of the liberal statesman and the agnostic philosopher. But no Canadian editor run any risk of arrest and incarceration for advocating almost anything, such, for instance, as annexation, independence, home governors-general, abrogation of the Senate and the Lieutenant-governorship, or even "pitching into" the "sham court at Ottawa." And, as the law now stands in this Province, the testimony of any free thinker, rationalist, agnostic, materialist, spiritualist, or even ultra atheist, must be received in all *civil* cases in all the courts. This, certainly, is tangible evidence of substantial progress. As further evidence of the extent to which liberal ideas prevail among our legislators, I may say that this Evidence Amendment Bill which passed the Legislature a year ago, giving us this right, was only opposed by a *single* member from some remote constituency. Every other member of both political parties agreed to it. In our Parliamentary Library, we have the works of the great scientists and agnostics. An ex-Member of Parliament, who has completely outgrown the popular theology, told me that he first got his "eyes opened" by reading the works of Darwin in the Parliamentary Library. Our High Court judges are also broad and liberal-minded men, having been nearly all in favor of admitting the testimony of free thinkers into the courts. It is true, in the celebrated "Napanee Town Hall Case," they decided against us; but they did so, because they felt compelled to administer the law as they found it, at the same time expressing their strong sympathy with the plaintiff in the justice of his case. Our High Courts have also recently decided against the Sabbatarians who in Toronto had put the law in motion against barbers and others for doing business on Sunday. We may possibly have a fossil on the bench of Canada like that Delaware gentleman (Conegys), but I doubt it. Before the passage of our Evidence Amendment Bill, although agnostics were in some courts unceremoniously ruled out of the witness-box, yet in my own county here (Lennox) our county judge never, to my knowledge, rejected the evidence of such, always putting the most liberal construction upon the law in order to admit them. Secularism has without doubt made greater progress in the county of Lennox during the past ten or twelve years than in any other part of Canada. As another evidence of this, I may mention the fact that a well-known agnostic here has just been elected in this county to the Provincial Parliament. This is Mr. A. H. Roe, who will be remembered by the junior editor of *The Index* as having actively assisted us in the Napanee Town Hall struggle some years ago, when the town council violated their contract with us, and refused the town hall which we had secured for Mr. Underwood's lectures. But the change in public thought and feeling has been great since that bitter struggle; and Mr. Roe, who actively participated in it (whether in all respects wisely or not) is now elected to Parliament by a majority of nearly two hundred over his orthodox opponent, notwithstanding that the religious "hue and cry" was raised to the highest pitch. And, although the candidate deemed it expedient to modify his position somewhat (solely, however, on his own responsibility) before the bigoted element of the electors, still his return in the face of his well-known heretical opinions is evidence of the great progress liberty of thought and belief has made in this once bigoted locality.

We have worked steadily and persistently for a dozen years among our neighbors and fellow-citizens to break down bigotry, live down prejudice, and promote liberty of thought and freedom of speech, and naturally feel gratified at the auspicious results and encouraging prospects. Indeed, the liberal outlook is now encouraging over the whole of this province. While there are well-conducted and flourishing societies in Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal, still we are not yet strong in organization; but, in numbers, we really are. Then, there is, besides, a large element of "sleeping partners" in the free-thought company of Canada,—people whose sympathies and thought are more or less with us, and whose substantial assistance is often extended, but who, for various reasons best known to themselves, keep "mum." Among the people everywhere in Ontario, advanced thought in religion and politics is taking root and steadily growing; while the whole of our educational institutions are permeated more or less with the new philosophy. It is to be expected, as a matter of course, that the non-sectarian universities and the secular-learned professions will take the lead of the sectarian colleges and clergy in liberal thought: the latter naturally bring up the rear. In our leading provincial university at Toronto, the doctrines of evolution and Darwinism are fully recognized in the science teaching, if the *monistic* theory of the universe has not quite or wholly superseded the *dualistic* in its philosophy. But even the sectarian theological colleges are not without the leaven of rationalism, as shown in the altered text-books and changes of curriculum.

As to the clergy in the cities of Canada, the pulpit is far behind the pew exoterically; while, in the country, the former is perhaps ahead, at least esoterically. The clergy of Canada are, however, making encouraging progress in exoteric as well as esoteric liberalism. As one proof of this, I may cite the case of Rev. G. J. Low, a prominent Episcopalian clergyman of the diocese of Ontario, who has published two pamphlets within a year filled with heterodox utterances. The contents of these pamphlets are two discourses, originally delivered before the Anglican Synod of the diocese of Ontario. The advanced positions taken seemed to meet the general approval of the Synod, "whose kind encomiums and generous assistance prompted its [the first pamphlet's] publication," so the author says. The learned rector says that, though historical criticism should prove the Bible unauthentic, "it would not in the least affect the catholic position, which is that the great historical Church of God existed in all its corporate integrity before the Holy Scriptures were written at all." After stating fairly some of the fundamental principles of Comte's positivism and Spencer's sociology, this progressive theologian avers that the Church, fully embracing what he calls this "sociological aspect of Christianity," will work "for the very purpose of bringing about that perfection of corporate humanity which is the boasted aim of the Positivists." In the second and recent pamphlet, on "Eschatology," this Broad Churchman directs an able and forcible argument against the "hideous and revolting" dogma of eternal punishment, and points out the terrible and inevitable rationalistic "storm" approaching, and warns his brethren of the pulpit to prepare for it. "That such a storm is coming," he says, "and is daily gathering force, must be evident to any reader of even the secular press."

In animadverting against the orthodox doctrine of eternal punishment, Mr. Low says: "The brutal murderer,—who, convicted and executed upon earth, expiated his crime on the gallows,—being now in glory (for all such characters, if we may believe their own or their chaplain's statements, invariably go straightway to glory), will amuse himself by watching the agonies of his unhappy victim (who, of course, having had no 'time to prepare,' will be in hell); and, when satiated with the sight of his or her anguish, will return to sing the praises of Him whose mercy endureth forever,—toward himself. Now, when we regard the end attained, it matters not what view a man may take as to what brought these creatures to this awful, hopeless, endless torment. . . . Whatever the cause, the result is alike horrible and revolting, and the end the same,—untold joy to the few, unutterable anguish to the many: the award in either case quite disproportionate to their little day on earth, however good and holy, or however execrable, that little day may have been."

Mr. Low declares the "Protestant presentment of eschatology is most hideous, most ghastly, . . . compared with which the Roman doctrine is infinitely more humane" (meaning the doctrine of purgatory). The Protestant presentment of hell, which some "unlettered and barbarous revival preachers" put forward, the reverend gentleman says "makes infidels of the strong-minded and maniacs of the weak."

This is but one of the evidences of exoteric advancement of the clergy here in liberal thought; while, if all of them who know, but keep quiet, were suddenly revealed, the strictly orthodox minority would stand aghast. Goldwin Smith says, in his *Bystander* (which, I am glad to say, has been recommenced in Toronto since the professor's return from Europe, and which is a very able as well as liberal review, quite fairly reflecting the trend of modern thought), of the Protestant pastor, that, "if he reads what is read by other men, his step must sometimes falter as he mounts the stair." And to say that the average minister does not read more or less the rationalistic literature so conspicuously before him in this age is to impute to him a little too much of stupidity. For as Goldwin Smith further tells us: "No one can read a batch of books on theological or philosophical subjects without seeing that the world has arrived at a crisis wholly unparalleled in the history of opinion. . . . For all who think seriously, and still trust their religious instincts, the hour is one of fearful perplexity. It must be one almost of agony for many of the best and most cultivated among the clergy." Why, then, continue to remain in the pulpit and preach a Christ "whom," Mr. Smith further tells us, "the most intellectual portion of the world seems to be making up its mind to disown"?

In thus giving so favorable an account of the condition and progress of free thought in Canada, I must say, however, that one sombre cloud still hovers over us; but even it will soon, I trust, be dispersed. I refer to the continued seizures by the customs officials of heretical books which our people from time to time import from England and the United States. But even this unfortunate and very bad-looking fact, when rightly understood, has not by any means the ominous significance against Canadian Liberalism that it appears to have, and that has been attached to it by American and English liberal papers. An explanation of the matter will make clear the fact that not the Canadian government or even public sentiment is virtually responsible for those seizures, but simply a few bigoted custom-house officials and the bigoted editor of a party organ. The books which are now being seized and confiscated (Voltaire's and

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Paine's), as well as many other works much more heretical, had been imported into Canada by Canadian Liberals and booksellers for years before the first seizure in Toronto, a year or two ago. But it so happened that a narrow-minded official at that port, noticing the *Age of Reason* and *Pocket Theology* passing through the customs, seized them as being "obscene and immoral" under the statute prohibiting such. Anything which attacks such a man's religion is of course, in his oblique moral squint, immoral. Had the matter not been at once taken up by the government organ, but quietly submitted to the Premier at Ottawa, the books would undoubtedly have been speedily released; but, before there was any time to do anything, the Toronto *Mail*, the government organ (which, unfortunately, happened to be in the hands of a bigoted Ultramontane editor), immediately opened up in defence and justification of the seizure; while the opposition organ, the *Globe*, as promptly and vigorously opened fire against the seizure; and the warfare continued between the two leading party organs, followed on both sides by their satellites, for days and even weeks. The *Mail* had thus prematurely and imprudently committed its party and the government to the bigoted action of the local and subordinate official, when neither really approved it. But the stand had been taken, and it would never do to "back water" in the matter, especially as the great opposition organ, the *Globe*, was daily belaboring them. This would be too much like yielding to the enemy. The best of the party and the government saw at once that a mistake had been made, and that their party organ had foolishly led them into an awkward position. But retreat they would not. Oh, no! This would be humiliating, and the *Globe* would triumph. And here we have more proof of the curse of partyism in government.

This is the proper explanation of this miserable business of seizing "infidel" books, which has since the Toronto seizure been repeated in three or four other places in Canada, wherever there happens to be a bigot in the customs chair. But the disgraceful business must not be charged either upon the public sentiment or government of Canada. The latter is of course nominally responsible; but, virtually, it is not, further than this, that its partisan character makes it too cowardly to do its duty, and what it thinks ought to be done at the dictation of the opposite party. The Prime Minister told me with his own lips that he was against the seizure of the *Age of Reason*, that he had read it many years ago, and that it was not obscene, but a "classic"; and that while the *Pocket Theology*, which is a compilation of the coarsest passages in Voltaire's writings, did, he thought, fairly come within the statute, Voltaire's writings as a whole were not obscene, and would pass the customs. The right honorable gentleman said he had Voltaire's writings in his own library, and that Voltaire was undoubtedly a great man and a brilliant writer. The Premier of this Dominion has his faults no doubt; but he is very far from being a religious bigot, and it is not with his approval that a few customs officials disgrace their office and their country by dragging their private bigotry into their public duties. These, however, are only the unworthy exceptions, not the rule, as many of our officials pass both Paine's and Voltaire's writings through the customs, which shows that a fair construction of the statute does not warrant their seizure. If it was a plain violation of the law to pass Paine and Voltaire, these officials would not dare to do it. And the fact of their doing so proves that it is only the bigots who seize, by stretching the statute, knowing that the Ottawa government will not now stultify itself by interfering. I have received the *Pocket Theology* (which is considered the worst of the books seized) through this port of entry (Napanee) since the Toronto seizure, and heard nothing about its obscenity from our officials. The whole matter will, however, I trust, soon be tested in the courts, as one of our friends in Montreal has taken legal proceedings against the customs official of that city for seizing and confiscating Paine's and Voltaire's writings which he had ordered for his own library. Meanwhile, we have resolved that, so far as this Province is concerned, the people who want to read Paine's *Age of Reason* can do so, in spite of a few customs officials and the Toronto *Mail*. We are at the present time getting out in Toronto a large Canadian edition of the immortal *Age of Reason* in paper and cloth, and intend to place it before the people of this Province through the booksellers at a merely nominal price. Mr. Charles Watts, the distinguished English secularist, gave five lectures in Canada recently before his return to England from the United States,—two in Montreal, two in Toronto, and one in Belleville. The Montreal lectures were, I understand, very successful, as were those in Toronto under the auspices of the *Secular Society*; and in Belleville, where I had the pleasure of being present and making Mr. Watts' acquaintance, the lecture was well attended and appreciated. Mr. Watts is a cultured thinker and powerful speaker, and, socially, a very pleasant and genial gentleman. His Canadian lectures were, I believe, in every way successful. The Toronto *World*, which is an independent and excellent paper with a large circulation, gave very fair abstracts of the Toronto lectures. ALLEN PRINGLE.

SELBY, LENNOX CO., ONT., April 30, 1883.

A LETTER FROM MILWAUKEE.

Editors of The Index:—

The annual report of the Milwaukee House of Correction, recently published, contained statistics worthy of comment.

Comment was initiated by the *Catholic Citizen*, April 14, in a somewhat sensational article with these startling head-lines: "Is it Bigotry?" "Something the Matter with our Local House of Correction." "Manufactured Statistics."

The article opened by saying: "It is a very liberal estimate to place the Catholic population of Milwaukee at two-fifths of the entire population. There is consequently something disagreeably worthy of explanation in the published statistics of the House of Correction. These statistics show that, of the entire number of prisoners committed during the past year, over one half or eight hundred and seventy-eight were 'Catholics,' the Protestants of all sects being only five hundred and seventy-two, and one hundred and ninety-nine professing 'no religion.' We say that there is something disagreeably worthy of explanation in these statistics. If they are accurate, Catholics want to know it and ought to know it. If they are not accurate, they are not worth keeping, collecting, and printing at the public expense. And if there is exaggeration in the number of 'Catholic' prisoners, through the ignorance and carelessness or bigotry of the superintendent or his subordinates, we have just ground for complaint in the unlearned imputation thus cast upon the moral influence of our Church. If the figures presented in the report are true, a fearful indictment is drawn against the relative criminality of the Irish. The German population of this city is fully eight times the Irish-born population. The report says the number of prisoners of German birth is three hundred and seventy-three; of Irish birth, two hundred and fifty-one. This amounts to the statement that in an equal number of each nationality there are six times as many Irish criminals as German. We think there has been inexcusable carelessness in this table of statistics, and that many malicious and mendacious persons have been classed as Irish-born who are not of that nationality. The practice is not an uncommon one."

In reply to this article, Col. Reis, Inspector of the House of Correction, says: "If the writer of the article had taken the trouble of ascertaining how the statistics are obtained, he would not have given currency to the article. To show how groundless his insinuations are, I will simply state that, when prisoners are received, they are asked the questions as prescribed in the prison record, and each person's answer is recorded just as given. This record is kept by the clerk of the institution, who is himself a member of good standing in the Catholic church. We have no other way of ascertaining a man's history; but, in the matter of religion and nationality, I believe that ninety-nine out of every hundred will tell us the truth. To show the utter absurdity of the article, I will show from reports of former inspectors that, under their administration, the ratio of Catholics to non-Catholics was even higher than during the past two years of my administration:—

Years.	*Total No. of prisoners.*	*Catholics.*	*Per cent.*
Ending March 15, 1877.....	624	345	55.12
Ending March 15, 1878.....	702	344	49.00
Ending March 15, 1879.....	936	508	54.27
From March 15 to Dec. 15, 1879..	790	428	54.17
Year ending Dec. 31, 1880.....	1,022	557	54.50
Year ending Dec. 31, 1881.....	1,420	751	52.88
Year ending Dec. 31, 1882.....	1,626	865	53.19

"These figures speak for themselves. As to the comparative number of prisoners of Irish birth against those of German birth, the figures are equally striking. From the time this institution was opened in 1866 to Dec. 15, 1879, when I assumed charge, the number of prisoners of the two nationalities was as follows:—

Number of prisoners of Irish birth.....	1,621
Number of prisoners of German birth.....	1,590

"While the three years of my administration show the following figures:—

Number of prisoners of Irish birth.....	625
Number of prisoners of German birth.....	883

"The figures as here given," concludes the Inspector, "are taken from the official records on file in the office, and are always open for inspection. Would it not be better to profit by the lessons as shown by the statistics rather than create a popular prejudice against the compiler, who simply presents the facts as he finds them?"

The rational comment upon the matter is that the methods of the Catholic Church cannot, or at least do not, conduce to a high standard of ethics among the persons it controls.

The Evangelical Alliance of New York has recently sent a protest to the Legislature against the passage of a pending bill that has for its object the granting of power among Catholics to appoint chaplains for mass and confession in the House of Refuge, and all institutions for the support of the poor receiving public aid, except asylums for the insane, urging as chief argument that the great majority of the inmates are children of Catholic parents. To which reason, the Alliance replies by asking, "If this is so, what does it show but that Catholic teaching and Catholic schools are what produce pauperism and crime? In the State of New York," the Alliance avers, "the Roman Catholic parochial school system turns out three and a half times as many paupers as the public school system."

It is little wonder that the Catholics of Milwaukee are disturbed by the report of the House of Correction, remembering that their strong, in fact their only, argument in the late contest upon the taxation of church property was that their churches and schools inculcated a morality which made peaceable communities; and, therefore, communities should in return give to these institutions the utmost freedom to carry on the work of promoting morality.

Morality is the cant word in the Catholic category in all discussions upon schools and their management; but it becomes rather difficult to determine just what virtues the term represents, in view of the facts and figures of other criminal records besides those of Milwaukee.

The narrow use and the misuse of the word "morality" by other Churches as well as the Catholic, and the continuous developments of delinquencies and crimes among church members, bring to mind these words of George Eliot: "The most serious, wide-reaching duties of man lie quite outside both morality and religion; the one of these consisting in not keeping mistresses (and perhaps not drinking too much), and the other in certain ritual and spiritual transactions with God, which can be carried on equally well side by side with the basest conduct toward men."

Crime, as related to church systems and shown in criminal records, would seem to be, if sufficiently well considered by the rationalists of every community, a stimulating cause for the immediate organization of ethical societies,—societies established on Prof. Adler's confession of faith, "the supreme excellence of righteousness."

A suggestion from Mr. George Schumm, the talented and earnest editor of the *Radical Review* of Chicago, made to me a few days since, was excellent, and I at least would rejoice if it could be set on foot at once; namely, that Mr. W. M. Salter, the leader of the Ethical Society of Chicago, might, if sufficient encouragement were given him, organize a similar society in Milwaukee and take partial charge of it temporarily.

Milwaukee has a proportionately large number of liberal-thinking and a preponderance of philanthropic people, who are well fitted to engage in the work peculiar to such societies as those led by Prof. Adler and Mr. Salter. They are in need of a leader. It waits to be seen, if one comes, if they will, as Mr. Potter says, "have the readiness to accept him and give him an opportunity." S.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., April 29, 1883.

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THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENTS.

Editors of the Index:—

Beyond a doubt, the importance of governments can be and has been exaggerated, but just now the danger is of the opposite nature. Cowed by the weight of authority rather than convinced by argument, the reading public seems disposed to accept the *laisser faire* theory with too little qualification. By a natural reaction from the old idea of legislative omnipotence, we have the Spencerian doctrine of legislative impotence.

Men can gain certain ends alone. They can gain certain others by joining with their neighbors to form stock companies, others by joining with those of similar religious belief to form churches, and still others by joining with all the inhabitants of a particular territory which is the State. To find what objects can best be attained in one of these ways and what in another is a matter of experience. That widest organization of all, the State, has certain manifest advantages and certain disadvantages; and it is only by experience that we can determine when its action should be invoked, and when we should try some other agency. To lay down iron-clad limits to the functions of government is mere dogmatism, as baseless as that which announces the cubic capacity of the New Jerusalem.

If it were ascertained that the public welfare would be promoted by a line of balloons from Wrangel Land to Ujiji, and that the American government could maintain that line to better advantage than a private company, I know of no authority competent to say, "You are overstepping your bounds: your functions cover nothing except the security of order, freedom, and peace."

What we desire is the greatest possible economy of force, whether we employ the agency of the State, the Church, or the limited association. Consequently, the function of governments covers precisely those things which governments can do best. And it is by no means certain that experience will prove those things to be very few. In the power of enforcing its decisions, the State has a tremendous advantage over any other form of association, and that advantage should be utilized to the utmost. To let it run to waste would be as unwise as for us dwellers on the parched Californian plains to let our rivers flow idly to the sea, while our thirsty fields are crying out for water.

Whether protection or free trade should be our national policy is a question of economic and political expediency, and not, as Miss Hardaker would have us believe, one of the proper limits of legislative action. The free-trader should prove his case, not enter a plea to the jurisdiction of the court.

When the British government embarked in the banking and telegraph business, it was guilty of what political purists would call a palpable trespass on the domain of private enterprise. But what shall we say of the continental State railways, the Gothenburg plan of liquor-selling, the ministries of fine arts, and the subsidies to theatres and operas? We can say this: If the English postal savings banks are hampered a little by red tape, their depositors never lose the earnings of a lifetime by the foreign tour of a pious cashier. If the postal telegraph system is managed with less rigid economy than it would be in the hands of a niggardly corporation, it is not obliged to spend so much in buying up rival companies, corrupting legislatures, and paying dividends on watered stock. If the public railways of the continent are a little over-officered and unwieldy, they have developed no such hideous cancer on the body politic as the Central Pacific. If Gothenburg throttles private enterprise in the liquor business, she has less need of public enterprise in building jails and poor-houses. If France makes the fine arts a Cabinet subject, and puts the grand opera and the Théâtre Français in the annual budget, her capital is the pride of the world, and her people have learned the meaning of taste.

When paternal government, in its anxiety for the welfare of the individual, interferes with his personal liberty, it goes too far. But when it taxes him for the maintenance of free schools, libraries, art galleries, parks, gymnasia, baths, and the hundred things that would be such a light weight on the public revenues and such an incomparable aid to the public happiness, it does what, if not originally among its duties, ought forthwith to be included in them.

We have not yet learned to realize the benefits that can be gained from the united action of a community. We are so timid about spending money for what will really benefit us that, while we bore, with only a mild murmur of disapproval, a pension list inflated to bursting with fraud, we set up a howl of rage at the thought of giving our rivers and harbors a pitiful $19,000,000, of which fully thirty-nine fortieths were for useful and necessary objects. Instead of eliminating the remaining fortieth, we were so transported with wrath that, at the next session of Congress, we forbade the appropriation of a single cent.

In the past, governments have been little but engines of oppression. In the future, we look to see their gigantic possibilities utilized for good. Under the national authority, we hope to find a magnificent system of harbor and internal improvements, lighthouses and life-saving stations, school ships, geological surveys and scientific expeditions to the ends of the earth, and a capital that shall focus the wealth and culture of the Union. Upon the States we depend for the perfection of our public schools, crowned by a group of universities that shall be such in fact as well as in name, for the maintenance of experiment stations in agriculture and science, and for the preservation of such natural wonders as California cherishes in the Yosemite and New York neglects in Niagara. But it is the cities and towns that most nearly approach the every-day life of the people. Through their agency, we expect the citizen of the future to swim in a public bath, exercise in a public gymnasium, read in a public library, ramble in a public park, take his Sunday recreation in a public art gallery, and to feel through it all not the humiliation of one who is accepting charity but the independence of one who is enjoying his own. Many of these things are already accomplished: the rest I trust soon will be; and, when that time comes, we shall hear less about the limits of governmental action, and more about the possibility of finding new outlets for the public activities. S. E. MOFFETT.

MR. GEORGE'S THEORIES AGAIN.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. J. H. Allen, in *Index* April 19, is "sorry to see my young friend, Mr. Kennedy, taking stock in the deleterious nonsense of Mr. George's book." He pats Mr. Kennedy on the back in a patronizing fashion, and talks to him in this wise: "My young friend, I have a sincere esteem for your abilities. I am, therefore, sorry to see you captivated by Mr. George's excellent philanthropic sentiments, his brisk style, and inordinate confidence in a few pet theories. A little reflection might easily put you right. You state three positions of Mr. George's, all of them flagrant and manifest sophisms. They concern the three points of wages, population, and land. You take for truth a poor joke of Mr. George's, but in your sober second thought you know better. Go to with such nonsense!"

"As to the first," asks Mr. Allen, "was it the added value that paid the wages of cutting the Hoosac tunnel?" "The man who dug holes in the ground and then filled them up would hardly make a subject for political economy," says Mr. Salter, *Index*, January 25. "But they didn't fill the Hoosac tunnel," Mr. Allen will say. Well, you will find an answer to your query in the article by Mr. Salter, if you read diligently. "Was it the added value that paid the wages for building a house which burns down when it is half done?" We never pay wages for *building a house* which burns down when it is half done. Go to with *your* nonsense.

As to the second position, Mr. Allen says: "Mr. Kennedy thinks that Mr. George has confuted Malthus with a few fine phrases, which he copies." I don't know what Mr. Kennedy *thinks* about it. I know he doesn't say so in his "Digest of *Progress and Poverty*." He says, "It seems to me that George disposes of *the foolish bugbear of Malthusianism* in a very effectual and handsome manner." It seems so to me, too, Mr. Allen, even after you have "stripped the theory of Malthus of all verbiage." We knew the theory before stripping.

"But, for one thing,"—now Mr. Allen has got Mr. Kennedy in a hole,—"has Mr. George ever asked himself what we are going to do for *lumber*, if civilization and numbers go on another century with as reckless waste as now?" Give it up! I don't suppose Mr. George ever asked himself anything about "lumber." The thoughtless fellow has seen the big trees of California, and has no idea but lumber-producing forests are inexhaustible. Go study Malthus, Mr. George, and then tell us "what we are going to do for lumber."

"As to land,"—this is the third position of Mr. George, and appears to Mr. Allen to be a flagrant and manifest sophism,—nevertheless, Mr. Allen says: "As to land, I fully believe, with Mr. George, that the State, if wise and virtuous enough, ought to make a great many inalienable reservations, such as mines, forests, water-power, and perhaps the plot laid out for a city that is sure to grow rapidly." Such as the marsh on which Chicago is built. It would have been easy to have kept squatters off that "plot." "But we seem to find that States, as they are now, are not wise and virtuous enough." Therefore, it is better not to reserve any part of the land, but hand it over to "independent owners."

Thus, with a dash of the pen, does Mr. J. H. Allen dispose of Mr. George's *Progress and Poverty* and Mr. Kennedy's "Digest" of the book. Why should he not? Did not Herbert Spencer read it just a few minutes, and then throw it aside when he found what pernicious doctrines it contained? I quote Spencer from memory, and consequently may not get the words used, but this is the impression left on my mind. An acquaintance was at one time telling me what Paine believed and what he did not believe. I asked him if he had ever read any of Paine's writings. "No," said he, very indignantly. "Do you think I would read his writings?" "No," I answered, "I don't think you ever would." I hold a similar opinion in reference to *Progress and Poverty* and Mr. J. H. Allen. A. BATE.

MILWAUKEE, April 30, 1883.

ARISTOCRACY IN RELIGION.

Editors of The Index:—

In a very interesting article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1880, Count Goblet d'Alviella writes respecting the fiftieth anniversary of the Brahmo Somaj in India, a theistic society founded by Ram Mohun Roy, and lately under the leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen. This movement was a reform from Hinduism. Of one of its distinguishing features, the writer says:

"Up to the time of this reform, the most important part of the [Hindu] worship, the recitation of sacred texts, took place among Brahmins alone with closed doors, and the members of other castes were admitted only to hear the sermon and the hymns. The Brahmo Somaj allowed no such distinction."

This theistic society ignored and opposed the whole caste system, as well as the polytheism prevailing in India. Its reformatory action, mentioned in the paragraph above quoted, reminded me of the similar movement here in Boston, a repudiation by the Young Men's Christian Union (Unitarian) of the aristocratic feature of the (orthodox) Young Men's Christian Association.

The association, the orthodox body, consists of two grades or castes, an upper and a lower, the point of distinction being church-membership. The price of admission is the same for all; but the church members are the nobility, or governing class, the others forming the subject class, having no vote either in the adoption of by-laws or the choice of officers. The Union, a Unitarian body of later formation, have never allowed this invidious distinction, but admit all their members equally to all the advantages of the institution. C. K. W.

A SOLUTION OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

Editors of The Index:—

I was much interested in the recent communication from Mr. W. S. Kennedy on the Indian question In my opinion, it is one of the most sensible and practical articles ever written on the subject. I was on the Kansas border during the Cheyenne raid of 1878, and know something of the horror of an Indian invasion. Though I do not pretend to have given the subject any such exhaustive investigation as Mr. Kennedy appears to have, yet from my boyhood I have been a close student of Indian affairs, and have never lost my interest in the subject. Years ago, I arrived at what I considered a solution of the Indian problem. It differs from Mr. Kennedy's in some details, but is the same in spirit. Briefly stated, my plan is this: Allow matters to go on as at present until some tribe gets on the war-path. Then send out the troops, with orders to continue the war till every buck,

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squaw, and pappoose belonging to the tribe is captured. Experience shows that most Indians fight through the summer, and surrender on the approach of cold weather. Once captured, move the whole tribe to Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, or some other thickly settled State, where land is good, and not too dear. Here let the whole tribe be settled. Let each head of a family be given one hundred and sixty acres, a comfortable house and out-buildings, live stock, seed, farming utensils, etc. Station a sufficient body of military near them as police, but give them no judicial power over the tribal affairs. Abolish the chieftainship (I lay great stress on this), and, as Mr. Kennedy suggests, put the whole tribe under civil government. Take away the annuities, or devote them for a time to public improvements for the benefit of the tribe. Disarm them. Prohibit the use of alcohol. Make education (especially industrial education) of all under a certain age compulsory. Make labor compulsory, but give them the profits. As soon as one is able and willing to be self-supporting, make him a citizen of the United States, with all the rights, privileges, *and responsibilities* of a free man. Thus surrounded by a white population, there would be no trouble about outbreaks. Experience shows that an Indian never cares to fight, unless he has a chance to run; not because he is a coward, but because such is his habit of warfare. Every tribe should be served in the same way as soon as they give trouble; but the tribes should be scattered, not located together. The value of the vast tracts over which he now terrorizes would more than compensate the government for the perhaps heavy expense of buying cultivated land for the Indian, and fitting him up for civilized life.

This work accomplished, the whole West could be thrown open to white settlement without fear, and our savage wards would become as civilized and peaceable citizens as the Scottish Highlanders now are.

J. WILLIAM LLOYD.

TRACY CITY, TENN., April 24, 1883.

BOOK NOTICES.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY in its Three Great Periods. Second Period, the Middle Age. By Prof. J. H. Allen. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

This the second volume of Prof. Allen's *Christian History* is a most luminous exposition of the significance of the Middle Age, of its Feudal Society, Chivalry, Religious Orders, Scholastic Theology, Religious Art, Crusades, Ecclesiastical System, etc. It closes with an account of Dante and the Pagan Revival, or reaction of the human spirit against the asceticism, stupid dogmatism, gloom, ignorance, priestism, intolerance, and blind credulity of the mediæval period. Prof. Allen leaves, as it were, a phosphorescent wake behind him in his exposition of this momentous period in the history of man. His account of Nominalism and Realism and the Scholastic Theology is specially readable and admirable. Truly, the European man had to be put through a rough course of experiences and discipline to make him the rational, orderly, intelligent person that he now is in the foremost nations. It seems that feudalism and mediæval ecclesiasticism and chivalry and monkery and scholastic theology, and religious persecution and intolerance with their penal fires, were all necessary steps in the evolution of the modern man. But "let us thank God" that they are steps which have been taken, and which need not be repeated. We, as a race, are happily done with that part of our development. But we can revert to it, even with pleasure, in the luminous pages of Prof. Allen, who makes the Middle Age extend from the dawning of the Empire in the West, in 800, to the dawn of the Protestant Reformation. This Middle Age was, indeed, an iron age, a storm age and wolf age, to borrow the language of Scandinavian mythology. Men went clothed then literally in iron raiment. The rulers of the world then dwelt in frowning and dungeon-like fortresses of stone, the huge lairs of cruelty, robbery, lust, and oppression. Castles and cathedrals cast their shadows everywhere. No wonder that, at the revival of Greek literature and rationalism, men abandoned the gloomy creed of a *dies irae* of mortification, penal tortures, and emaciation, and reverted to the rule of the splendid, joyous, Olympian dynasty once more. Prof. Allen has evidently been a student of Michelet and of his great work,—namely, the *History of France*,—which formed an epoch, as it were, in historical writing. So far as the Middle Age is concerned, Michelet's *History of France* is more than a history, it is an epic poem. Whoever would understand the mediæval period of European development must read Michelet.

THE STORY OF THEODORE PARKER: Written for Young People. By Frances E. Cooke. London: The Sunday School Association, 37 Norfolk Street, Strand. 1883.

No greater compliment could be paid to the memory of America's great preacher than the publication in England, by a Unitarian Sunday-school association, of this condensation of his biography for the instruction and encouragement of the young, by an English writer. Miss Cooke tells the story of Parker's life and work in a simple, straightforward manner, which cannot fail to reach the heart and understanding of the most obtuse child; and she does not fail to "point the moral" painly as she proceeds with the tale. The book is neatly printed and elegantly bound. The motto of the book, a quotation from Emerson, indicates the spirit in which it was written:—

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'
The youth replies, 'I can.'"

PERSONAL ITEMS.

SPEAKING of the history of the abolition struggle, Wendell Phillips said to a visitor the other day: "Garrison was the man to do it. He ought to have done it. He meant to, but was always given to putting off things. At one time, he took a retired study for the purpose, moved his books and papers into it, planning to work at the matter diligently, and—never entered the room again."

PRINCE BISMARCK writes an earnest letter to an officer of a German anti-vivisection society, expressing hearty sympathy with the society's work, and saying that, were he not so overburdened with other business, he would use all his influence for the passage of a law imposing upon every person convicted of vivisection a fine so heavy that he would be likely never to repeat the offence.

THERE were nearly two hundred thousand colored soldiers in the late war for the Union, more than one-half of them from the slave States; and the spirit of these men, says a late re-unioner, was the spirit of the colored Sergeant Planciançois, whose last words, as his regiment was about to storm Port Hudson, were, "Colonel, I will bring back these colors to you in honor, or report to God the reason why."

A TOUCHING incident is related by the Bay City *Tribune* of Prof. Cocker of Michigan University: "Shortly before his death, he called the attention of his pastor to a worn and faded shawl spread on his bed, and requested to have it wrapped around his body and buried with him. He had made it himself when a young man in England; had worn it in all his journeyings to and from over the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; when residing in Australia; when he escaped from the Fiji Islanders as they were preparing to kill and roast him, and when he was shipwrecked. It accompanied him when he landed in the United States, and even clad the remains of his dead child when, penniless and disheartened, he first arrived in Adrian. His wish was gratified."

REV. W. H. H. MURRAY, better known as Adirondack Murray, who recently left Texas and was preceded by a telegraphic despatch which he declared a base slander, was at the Astor House, New York City, yesterday. He appeared to be in the best of health and spirits after his trip to the East. When asked how his lawsuit in reference to his lumber property in Texas was advancing, he laughed and replied: "Oh, that's getting along all right. It will take about six months before it is satisfactorily settled. I don't want to talk about it. I don't want to be interviewed about anything. This interviewing is the curse of journalism in America. I believe it is only a nationalization of the sewing-society. There, a lot of women meet and pick their friends' reputations to pieces for the enjoyment of themselves: the newspapers pick every one's reputation to pieces for the delectation of their readers." Mr. Murray said he was going to be in New York about six months, and would then go to Europe. He was engaged in writing a book on a subject connected with the West, but would not talk about it at present.

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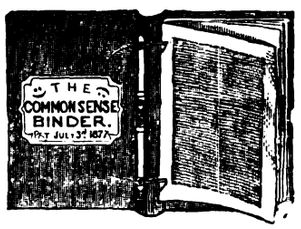

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 541

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Universal and the Special in Religion, Wm. J. Potter, ... 542
The Claims of Religion, A. N. Adams, ... 542
The Secret of the East. No. IV., Felix L. Oswald, . . . 543
The Political Organization of Liberals, B. F. Underwood, 545
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., F. A. Hinckley, . . . 545

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 546

POETRY.
My Gehenna, A. O. C., ... 546

ESSAY.
An Agnostic View of the Doctrine of Vicarious Atonement, Wm. H. Spencer, ... 547

CORRESPONDENCE.
Man and the Triple-headed Monster, T. W. Curtis, . . 549
A Reply to Mr. Bate, J. H. Allen, ... 550

BOOK NOTICES.
Whence, What, Where? by Dr. James P. Nichols, . . 551
Aldernere, by Howard Worcester Gilbert, ... 551
The Revue de Belgique, Atlantic Monthly, ... 551

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 551

CURRENT TOPICS.

ON the 21st, Rome celebrated the two thousand six hundred and thirty-sixth anniversary of its legendary foundation by Romulus.

THE United States Supreme Court has affirmed the claim of the right of the State of Illinois to fix the maximum rates of fare and freight on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad. The question whether a State Legislature can fix railroad rates in this country seems to be settled by this decision of the highest tribunal in the land.

A CABLE message, received at Harvard College Observatory last Monday from Dr. Krueger at Kiel, Prussia, announces the discovery of a new asteroid of the eleventh magnitude. Its position at the time of discovery, May 11, 385 Greenwich mean time, was right ascension, fourteen hours, nineteen minutes, thirty-two seconds; and declination south, fourteen degrees, one minute.

A DESPATCH from Omaha says that Sitting Bull and his followers are about to be received into the Catholic Church. The final disposition of Sitting Bull by the government is awaited before definitely fixing the date of baptism. The ceremony is to take place, probably this month, at Fort Yates, Dakota; and the ceremony will be attended by a number of bishops and priests.

A LONDON paper states that the Japanese government, impressed by the stories of Christian missionaries, sent a commission to England to observe, examine, and report in regard to the influence of Christianity on morals. After passing eighteen months in London, the commissioners have gone home and reported that Christianity has less restraint upon crime, especially upon drunkenness, than Buddhism or the religion of Shinto. So the State religion of Japan will remain unchanged.

NO ACT of President Arthur's administration is more generally commended than his issuance of an order preventing great injustice to the Zuñi Indians in New Mexico, which otherwise would have resulted from an error in surveying reservation lands. The government designed that the reservation should include certain springs which lie directly north-east of the boundary line; but, it is stated, Paymaster William Tucker of the regular army, and others interested with him, lately took up six claims, containing more than two thousand acres, embracing the springs referred to, upon which the Zuñis depend for their water supply. The President's executive order amends the original order, so as to include within the reservation the tract of land on which the springs are situated.

ACCORDING to the New York *Herald*, charges have been made against officials of the Baptist Missionary Union by Burmah missionaries, of manipulating their salaries for the last five years to such an extent as to need an accounting for of $50,000. Since the charge against the Baptist Missionary Union was published, some kind of an arrangement has been made by which the charge is withdrawn. This leads the Springfield *Republican* to remark: "If this is the upshot of all the complaining letters of missionaries, it is a case of great cry and little wool. But charges of mismanagement in these religious bodies rarely get investigated to the bottom,—for instance, those against the management of the American Bible Society, which have only resulted in the withdrawal of confidence and support in a few localities, while the administration remains in the same hands."

A FACTORY bill has been introduced in the Canadian Parliament, which prohibits the employment in any factory of children under twelve years of age. Children between the ages of twelve and fifteen may only be employed when their parents or guardians furnish a written certificate giving their consent to the employment and giving the date and place of the child's birth. Neither women nor children are allowed to be employed, "if the health of such child or woman is likely to be permanently injured" by the employment. The hours which they are allowed to work are restricted to ten per day, or sixty per week. Factories are required to be kept in a healthful condition, and precautions against accidents from machinery and against fire are required to be taken. A health inspector is to visit the factories, and see that the law is enforced.

REFERRING to the Oakes Ames resolution, recently passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, the New York *Times* says: "The man who placed the stock of the Crédit Mobilier association 'where it would do the most good' is in his grave. How far his moral sense was blunted by self-interest and by the corrupting influence of a corrupt and money-making age we will not now inquire. The evil he did lives after him. If his memory is resuscitated and fumigated, who shall disinfect the men who have courted private life ever since he laid before them the glittering bait? If there is any later deliberate public sentiment which holds Oakes Ames in an esteem irreconcilable with his condemnation, who shall issue a clean bill of health to the living and the dead statesmen whom it is a charity not to name? This latest attempt to regild the reputation of Oakes Ames is due to a filial piety which all men must needs admire. It is an appeal to the easy good nature of a generation ready to let bygones be bygones. But the inexorable truth of history demands that the lesson of the Crédit Mobilier scandal shall remain,—a warning and a menace."

THE National Woman's Suffrage Association held its seventh convention at the Town Hall in Bedford, Mass., on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 9, the President, Mrs. Harriette R. Shattuck, of Malden, in the chair. Mrs. Shattuck first spoke of the need of women voting, in order that the influence which makes the home the best institution in the land may also extend to the State. In order to accomplish this, women, she said, must take part in governmental affairs. The Rev. Howard Hanaford and Dr. Hosmer of Bedford, Mrs. French of Boston, and several others, addressed the convention in favor of woman suffrage. Miss Caroline Roach recited, "How I went to election," from the sayings of *Josiah Allen's Wife*. The session closed with the singing of an original hymn, written by Mrs. H. H. Robinson, entitled "Hark, the sound of myriad voices." At six o'clock, the guests partook of a bountiful collation, prepared by the ladies of the town. The convention reassembled at 7.30 P.M., and listened to an admirable address by Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson, entitled "Who represents me?" Mrs. Shattuck explained "Why we want the Ballot"; Mrs. Sara A. Underwood read a paper on "Woman in Politics"; and Miss Caroline Roach gave two of her fine recitations appropriate to the occasion.

THE summer term of the Concord School of Philosophy is announced to begin Wednesday, July 18, and is to continue four weeks. A. Bronson Alcott will not be able to take part in the exercises this year; and Dr. Jones, of Jacksonville, Ill., will not be present to expound Plato. But Prof. W. T. Harris will give four lectures on "Man's Immortality in the Light of Philosophy and Religion"; Prof. George H. Howison, four on "Hume and Kant and the Merits of the Issue between Them"; Prof. William James, three on Psychology; Mr. Denton J. Snider, four on "Homer and the Greek Religion"; Rev. R. A. Holland, four on "Hegel's Philosophy and Religion"; Rev. J. S. Kedney, two on "Art Appreciation and the Higher Criticism"; Mr. F. B. Sanborn, four on "The History of Philosophy in America"; Mr. John Albee, two on "The Norman Influences in the English Language and Literature"; Rev. Dr. Bartol, one on "Optimism and Pessimism, a Personal Equation"; Miss E. P. Peabody, one on "Milton's *Paradise Lost*"; Mrs. E. D. Cheney, one on "Nirvana"; President Porter of Yale, one on "Kant's Categorical Imperative." Mrs. Julia Ward Howe will hold a conversation; Mr. Julian Hawthorne will give a lecture on "Novels"; Mr. D. A. Wasson will speak on "Herbert Spencer's Causal Law of Evolution"; and Mr. Lewis J. Block will give a lecture on "Platonism, and its Relation to Modern Thought." Reading from the Thoreau manuscripts will occupy one evening.

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THE UNIVERSAL AND THE SPECIAL IN RELIGION.

The greatest religious teachers of mankind have always struck the keynote of what is universal in religion rather than what is special. Even though for their services in awakening new religious thought and life they have been reckoned as the founders of special religions or have actually been such, they have themselves taught religion rather than religions. It was so with Buddha, it was so with Confucius, it was so with Zoroaster, it was so with Jesus. The local, the theological, the formal, the ecclesiastical, they brushed aside as of minor consequence. Their main purpose was to put mankind, wandering and weary and wretched, into right practical relations with the great life of the world of which they were a part; that is, to bring them into righteousness. Their intellectual conceptions of this relation may have been various, but their practical purpose was essentially the same. Hence, these chiefs of the religious history of the human race all emphasized not the theology, not the form and institution, but the inward disposition of the heart and the outward conduct. So did the old Hebrew prophets. So did Socrates in Greece, and Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius and Seneca in Rome.

St. Augustine, a few centuries later, may well have believed that the most vital parts of Christianity were nothing new, but only a new development of ideas and sentiments that had been taught long before Jesus appeared. Jesus himself, defining the substance of his teaching, said it was only the same love to God and man which was the religion of the Hebrew Law and Prophets. And in this way it is that these greatest teachers of religion come naturally into one company and fellowship. Their followers may fall apart in manifold disputes over this or that question of theology, or this or that form of worship, or concerning the claims to precedence which they themselves make for their respective leaders; but we cannot conceive that the princely souls of these leaders, could they personally meet, would be torn asunder by any such disputations. These spiritually crowned heads of the race are of one royal blood and brotherhood. To have discerned the law of righteousness was their common title to inspiration, to proclaim this law their vocation.

Yet we are not to say that the special religions and the different theological doctrines, even those now most obsolete, have not had their mission and use. These have formed the matrix through which the fundamental and universal religious sentiments have had their development and been adapted to the understandings of people who otherwise could not have received them. The Messianic idea, which Judaism specially contributed to Christianity; the doctrine of the struggle between the powers of good and the powers of evil, which the Persian religion contributed; and the *Logos* conception, which came from Greece, bringing the seeds of the doctrines of Incarnation and Trinity,—these all greatly helped to adapt Christianity to various peoples, and to give to the new religion that capacity which it soon manifested for absorbing the various decaying creeds of the extended Roman empire and transforming them into a new faith. It was these doctrines which for the time being served as the vehicle for carrying the ethical and spiritual teachings of Jesus.

The Sermon on the Mount, with its simple moral precepts; the inculcations of purity, sincerity, kindness, righteousness; the parables of the Good Samaritan, of the Lost Sheep, of the Talents, of the Prodigal Son,—these were the really vital and valuable parts of the new religion. But it is more than doubtful whether at that time these would have been saved without those vessels of doctrine into which they were placed by his disciples, if not by Jesus himself,—without even that mistaken expectation of the speedy reappearance of Jesus from the heavens to establish his visible kingdom upon the renovated earth, which appealed so powerfully to the rude imaginations and understandings of common people, and furnished for Christianity a dramatic entrance into the world. This belief was soon discovered to be only a drama; but, when the illusion vanished, the finer spiritual and ethical truths which Jesus had taught as the chief things began to be more clearly discerned, and these remained.

There are many signs that the history of religion has come upon an era in our time in several respects not unlike the conditions that prevailed in the Roman Empire just before the advent of Christianity. Old religions are breaking up. Their special claims to have complete revelations of divine truth are all called in question. Active and cultivated reason, especially in the form of science to-day, is undermining all the theological structures of the creeds. The enterprises of commerce and of material civilization in general have been drawing nations and religions that are the antipodes of each other into better mutual acquaintance. The dividing walls between religious faiths, as between sects of the same faith, are thus weakening and falling. More rational, more comprehensive, and more humane beliefs are springing up. A new philosophy of the universe, resting on the basis of science, is dawning; and the consequence is, as in similar eras before, the old religious sentiments and forces are being freed from bondage to the creeds and ecclesiastical dominions which have been crippling their power, and in their own natural shape and strength are coming forth to do a new and higher work for human benefit. The religions, in their special and supernatural claims, are going; but religion, as an ethical and spiritual force for the uplifting of humanity to its highest ideals, remains.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CLAIMS OF RELIGION.

Notwithstanding all the light, science, and even "infidelity" of our age, religion still has its votaries, and is making converts among old and young on every side, Orthodoxy is building up its churches by the same revival means as formerly, and taking captive some whom we would not expect to be its subjects in not a few even of our New England country towns. There is a very general sentiment that piety is somehow intrinsically and supremely important; that the morals of society and a good character are implied in and sustained by religion; that observance of religious ceremonies and forms is essential to right life and character, as well as peace with God and happiness after death.

Now, if this be true, even that religion is the foundation of right life and good moral character, what inference can be more natural and immediate than that the Catholic and evangelical churches are the truest conservators of human weal, and that they ought to prevail and supersede all other organizations of men? It can hardly be doubted that religion is, with most people, an inheritance of sentiments and feelings or emotions which are easily excited into action by contact and sympathy with others. It is not generally argument nor science that awakens religious activity, not culture nor fine preaching, but often the most superficial, simple talk. The most unlearned, irrational appeals convert the man of ordinary learning and judgment to belief of orthodox theology and observance of church requirements.

Belief in God and a future life seldom comes from reasoning or study, perhaps never comes as a result of investigation, but is an inheritance or an intuition. Principal Shairp says: "If God is to be apprehended at all in a vital way, and not merely as an intellectual abstraction, it must be first from the spiritual side of our being, by the conscience, the spirit, the reverence that is in man." "I cannot imagine," he says, "how any one, who has once got into the purely physical way of conceiving the first origin of things, can pass out of it into the moral and spiritual conception except by a radical change in his whole mode of thought, an inward awakening which shall make him know and feel experimentally the need of a moral and spiritual Being on whom his own being can repose, as it never can on any physical centre. . . . In forming a true judgment on religious subjects, it is before all things necessary that a man be in some real sense religious. . . . The absence of this requirement in a man renders his religious judgments of no account, however great his powers and however large his knowledge." He claims that "purity, disinterestedness, reverence, these the finest fruits of the spirit, could not come to full maturity in any soul but one which lived habitually in the divine presence and under the power of the world to come." To the objection that he is reasoning in a circle, he replies, "All who are used to moral inquiries know that the occurrence of such seemingly vicious circles is no strange thing in that region of thought."

Thus, according to Principal Shairp, religion does not claim to stand on logical consistency, does not appeal to reason or the intellect, primarily, but is a state of moral and spiritual feeling, having its roots in the affections, the heart. I am satisfied that religion is not scientific, is not rational, so far as having a basis in intelligence or valid knowledge is concerned. But how about the general claim in which nearly all religions appear to concur, the liberal, so called, as well as the exclusive,—the claim that all moral character and life depend on religion in one form or another? While I believe that as a fact of history and of common observation there are men, not a few, who possess high and delicate moral feelings, who are of the truest and noblest spirit, of irreproachable moral character, pure, disinterested, reverent in the highest possible sense of the word, and who yet make no profession of religion and have no faith whatever in any strictly religious or theological dogmas, I am yet solicitous to know if, on the whole and from a wide generalization of facts, it be true to any extent, as so many thousands of pulpits are continually teaching the people throughout the lands, that the highest and truest life can only be realized by religious faith and the practice of religious rites. It certainly appears to be a fair inference from the orthodox premises of the supernatural creation and government of the world and the lost or fallen state of man. But from the scientific point of view, supposing evolution to be the natural order and to include man, what place and value has religion, considering it, as I do, as the belief in and worship of a God or gods, not to be confounded with morality? I understand by morality the conscientious observance and practice of all recognized obligations and virtues between man and man, which includes and implies, of course, the exercise of brotherly regard, philanthropic feeling, and a genuine reverence for the rights and good of others. Are there qualities higher than these? I know that religion claims that these are of no worth, except in conjunction with faith in a miraculous God; that they

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are "mere morality," to be set aside and condemned of and by themselves as dangerous examples luring men to destruction. But do the lives of the more and most devout church people anywhere—Catholic or Protestant—indicate that they have found any higher or sweeter sanctity, any esoteric goodness better than the devotion to human welfare exhibited by such eminent heretics as William Lloyd Garrison and Peter Cooper?

It will be admitted that the Churches have taught morality, and in many localities have been the principal means, aside from the home and common school, of keeping alive the moral sense and conscience. But is it fair to infer from this that the Churches are vitally necessary on this account, and must be maintained, or the community will go to ruin? that religion is necessary to morality? I do not think that the Churches generally base religion on this ground, however they may sometimes plead it as an argument for help from those outside the Church; but they insist that religion confers a supernatural benefit, an exclusive salvation from an impending doom to which all the irreligious are exposed. Religious people generally hold that, by faithfulness to their public vows, they are guaranteed a secret good which renders them superior to other people. Being human, is it not possible that they should feel a pride and self-gratulation in their peculiar service to a Master whom they hold to be inexorable with sinners? I have many excellent friends who, I think, cherish this pride, and regard with pity those who do not hold to their faith. I am, however, unable to see how or wherein their lives or characters are any better than those of others who make no exclusive claims, who believe in no divine interference with the order of nature. I ask then, in all candor, what is the good of religion? Is it not possible to have all that is excellent and desirable in life without it? And, if so, is it not possible to give it up, set it aside, and by a careful attention to nature, by an intelligent, scientific apprehension of the real laws of life, bring in a nobler and truer state of the individual and society,—a state in which the greatest and best ends of life are realized? I know it is possible to call all moral virtues religion, but are they allied with what is generally understood as religious faith and practice? Are they not distinct from religion and possible without it? I am prepared to welcome any new light on the subject. A. N. ADAMS.

FAIRHAVEN, VT., April 30, 1883.

THE SECRET OF THE EAST;

OR,

The Origin of the Christian Religion and the Significance of its Rise and Decline.

CHAPTER IV.

The Conversion of Europe.

"Consistency is the seal of truth."

The alliance of Christianity and barbarism, and their joint triumph over the civilization of the Roman Empire, form the most fateful episode in the annals of the human race; and in the book of history no other page is so stained with the sweat of laborious sophisms. To what complicated theories of strange coincidences and peculiar mishaps the Christian apologists have to resort, in order to reconcile the alleged merits of their creed with the suspicious circumstances of its introduction and the monstrous consequences of its supremacy! From year to year, the progress of science has obliged them to modify their hypothesis by qualifying its conclusions or falsifying its premises. But the evidence of history remains, and the only theory which can account for the persistent uniformity of that evidence furnishes also the key to the equally persistent duplicity of the theorists who wish to approximate the truth of historical facts and yet dread to divulge the trade-secret of their creed.

The Religion of Antinaturalism appealed to the pessimistic tendency of decrepitude, and thus recommended itself to the instincts of a decrepit generation.

During the first century of the Cæsarean era, the silence of the pagan moralists, and their often alleged blindness to the destiny of the new faith, admit of an equally simple explanation: they did not underrate the influence of the Galilean church, but they overrated the moral health of a nation which, in the incipience of its political abasement, seemed still justified in despising the contagion of a creed which even casual observers had recognized as an "execrable superstition." For the descent from Cato to Nero was really a mere trifle, compared with the fall from Nero to Constantine. The murderer of Seneca was the tyrant of a proud commonwealth, which sought and found means to shake off his yoke. The patron of Eusebius tyrannized a community of submissive slaves, who had lost not only the blessings, but the instinct of liberty. The proud stoicism of the Roman philosopher, the beauty-worship of the Roman poet, the joyous nature-worship of the Roman peasant, had all given way to the whining pessimism of the Galilean bigots,—to a creed which superadded the devil-panics of the Egyptian church to the asceticism of the nature-hating Buddhists. Tacitus misread the signs of his time. But let us put ourselves in his place. Even if the stars of our Republic should be transferred to the crown of a despot, we might still feel ourselves entitled to despise the followers of an Oriental visionary who should deny the value of earthly possessions and the competence of human reason, but profess his belief in devils and witches; who should denounce the observance of sanitary precautions, the promptings of our natural affections, and the cultivation of industrial habits, and advise his disciples to supply their wants by prayer and miracle mongery. Even our Spiritualists, even the Cherokese worshippers of the Great Spirit, would be entitled to execrate the superstition of the bigots who should propagate such dogmas, and blaspheme their Creator by co-ordinating his name with that of their mystagogue.

Tacitus and Suetonius did not apprehend any danger from such sources; but Oriental vices prepared the way for Oriental superstitions, and two hundred years later the countrymen of Scipio Africanus had accepted the yoke of a creed which the countrymen of Judas Maccabæus rejected with persistent scorn.

Worn-out sensualists consoled themselves with the hope of a better hereafter. Cowards pleased themselves in the idea of fulfilling the duty of meek submission to injustice and the "powers that be." Monastic drones denounced the worldliness of industrial enterprises. Physical indolence welcomed the discovery that "bodily exercise profiteth but little." Envious impotence insisted on the duty of self-abasement. Transgressors against the health laws of nature relied upon the efficacy of the prayer-cure. Stall-fed priests sneered at the lean philosopher who wasted his time upon laborious inquiries, while he might wax fat on faith and the sacrifices of the pious. The demon-dogma was a godsend to the spiritual poverty of the elect. The so-called scholars of the Galilean church, who could not encounter the pagan philosophers on their own ground, found it very convenient to postulate a spook for every occult phenomenon.

But moralists who clearly discern the change in the ethical standards of a nation are apt to overlook the *progressiveness* of that change. They see the present and the past, but not the future. In the game for moral supremacy, the pagan philosophers had all the good players on their side; but the Christians, like the gods, played with loaded dice. Two rival crews struggled to row the Ship of State in opposite directions: Health, Manliness, Reason, Science, and Optimism arraigned against Disease, whining Bigotry, Unreason, Fanaticism, and Pessimism. But the Pessimists had the winds and tides in their favor. It was a struggle of declining philosophy against growing superstition. Before long, the imperial despots recognized their mistake in persecuting a creed which inculcated the duty of passive submission to oppressors, and the doom of Roman liberty was sealed when on its grave the despot Constantine erected the cross of the Galilean Buddhist. Claudius Constantine, the Roman Haynau, the man who added the cant of Uriah Heep to the crimes of a Cambyses, became the Pontifex Maximus of pessimism, and, in the view of his ecclesiastical biographers, atoned for all his murders by making Christianity the court-religion of the empire. The despotism which Nero and Caligula had exercised under the influence of temporary insanity, or in defiance of laws which they otherwise recognized, was then elaborated into a system. The last traces of the old democratic institutions were utterly abolished. Where the poorest plebeian of the ancient republic would have claimed a right, the proudest patrician had now to cringe for a favor. The Roman Padisha retired to Constantinople, and surrounded himself with an army of flunkeys and eunuchs. The visitors of the Audience Hall were required to perform the rite of genuflexion, and submit their petitions to the caprice of the autocrat. From the decrees of that caprice there was no appeal. The imperial saint compelled his father-in-law to hang himself. His brother-in-law was strangled in prison. His nephew, the only boy of a widow, had his throat cut. His eldest son was beheaded, and his wife was strangled in a bath. The will of the despot was officially recognized as the supreme law. Every symptom of political or religious independence was rigorously suppressed, and the alliance of Church and State bore its first-fruit in the decree which threatened the readers of Aryan books with capital punishment. "*In hoc vinces.*" The cross had triumphed.

There is an old Indian tradition that Ravan, the Prince of Darkness, avenged himself upon his conquerors by inviting them to a banquet of poisoned soma-vine. The myth of the Python and the legend of Hercules and Nessus are echoes of that tradition, and its meaning has been illustrated in the fate of many a barbarous nation that adopted the vices and superstitions of its conquered rival. The worshippers of sickly saints appealed in vain to the old god of war; and, a century after the death of Constantine, the hordes of the Sarmatian steppe dismembered the empire of the nation which, for centuries, had represented the highest mental and physical development of the human race. But the dying Centaur avenged himself by the bequest of a moral Nessus shirt. With the purple of the Cæsars, the Gothic chieftains inherited the poison of the Galilean pest.

Polytheistic savages are especially apt to conclude that their intellectual superiors must have a superior fetich. A Yankee missionary once confessed that he won the confidence of a Fiji Islander by presenting him with a set of carpenters' tools, and describing the several implements as a *Christian* hatchet, a *Christian* claw-hammer, a *Christian* buck-saw. The barbarians of the North embraced the religion of the *Roman* god as they adopted the code of the Roman lawyer and the trappings of the Roman cavalry. When the savage conquerors returned to their native villages, they could hardly

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find room and names for the quantity and variety of their spoils,—purple, gold cloth, curious glass trinkets, ornamental shields, sweetmeats and incense, musical slaves, dancing-girls, soothsayers, monkeys, and parrots. To commodities of that sort, they had added a few bishops and crosses. They managed to acclimatize them, and quite enjoyed their novel acquisition. The poison had not yet revealed its virulence. A little while after, we find them involved in all the horrors of religious massacres, witch-riots, heretic-hunts, devil-panics, and manias of self-torture. The poison had begun to operate.

The shadow of the cross began to creep over the face of the earth. The sun of pagan civilization still gilded the horizon with its last rays, but the foul birds of darkness were already on the wing; and the spectres of superstition heralded the advent of the dreadful night which for thirteen centuries was to blight and darken the fairest countries of the globe. It is a significant fact that the civilization of the East revived under the influence of the optimistic doctrines of Islam, while the civilization of the West was crushed by the ascendency of a pessimistic religion, and only revived at the decline of its influence. Two centuries after the conversion of Mecca, the sixteen provinces of the Caliph were studded with academies. Their culture and prosperity rivalled the Golden Age of the Grecian republics; and, six hundred years later, the Moors of Spain were still the teachers of Europe in science and arts, as well as in industry and agriculture. Two centuries after the conversion of Rome, the sun of reason had set in a sea of insanity; and that night was broken only by the dawn of modern rationalism. At the end of the fourteenth century, when the power of the Church had reached its zenith, not a single country in Europe had gained by its conversion from optimistic to pessimistic polytheism. Every school had been turned into a seed-plot of superstition, every jail into a grave of liberty; the sword of Themis had become an instrument of spiritual despotism, literature a farrago of silly fables, science a sham; the tillers of the soil were treated like wild beasts, thinkers and inventors as criminals; the enemies of Nature were worshipped as the ministers of her God.

The same Germans and Celts whom the Roman pagans had turned into intelligent citizens the Roman Christians turned into brutish bigots. At the same time, when Moorish Spain rivalled the god-gardens of ancient Italy, and every Moorish town had its schools of poetry and philosophy, Christian Spain was cursed with a chronic plague of mental and physical famines. With every possible allowance for "unfortunate contingencies," "revivals of barbarism," "misunderstood doctrines," etc., we cannot mistake the significance of the contrast. "Bring up a child in the way it should go, and it will not depart therefrom." And nations, too, are, on the whole, what their educators make them. We need not expect that Pusey's "heaven sent gospel of regeneration" should turn every corner of earth into Eden; but, if it not only failed to alleviate, but always and under all circumstances was sure to aggravate, the misery, and intensify the vices of every converted nation, we can have no difficulty in forming an opinion about the import of such facts. The laziest and sickliest Sybarites of ancient Italy would have execrated the systematic health ruin of the Italian monks, who boasted of disease and forced their disciples to treat the body as the enemy of the soul. The Alexandrian Platonists, with all their penchant for gnostic phantasms, would have loathed that mixture of superstition, insanity, and disgusting sophistry which the Alexandrian clergy disseminated as a divine revelation. The warriors of the old pagan Northland, with all their martial truculence, would have shuddered at the mention of the inhumanities which their children perpetrated at the instigation of their priests.

The first Galilean missionaries came in Unitarian and optimistic disguises. Arius Alexandrinus was the patron-saint of the Visigoths, the Suevi, the Vandals, the Celt-Iberians, and the Burgundians. But moral epidemics can rarely be confined to their incipient stages, and there is a curious analogy between mental and physical *poison habits*. Harmless sweets always please. There is no reason why an octogenarian should not relish a cupful of strawberries as much as seventy years ago, when he picked them among the rocks of the mountain glens. Virgil's Eclogues never lose their charm. But the votaries of an unnatural stimulant must continually increase the dose: their tonic palls, the jaded nerves demand a stronger medium of stimulation. The alcohol-tippler has to advance from cider to brandy and rum. The opium-eater graduates from laudanum to morphine. The victims of mental poison habits, too, prove that their vice is progressive. Visionaries advance from hobgoblins to the personal devil. Buddha began with the deserts of Nepaul and ended with Nirvana. The asceticism of the Nazarenes led from celibacy to the Cross. All southern Arians ended by becoming fanatical Trinitarians and persecutors of Arianism: the stronger poison prevailed; moderate absurdity had no chance against absolute nonsense. Their missionary zeal, too, increased. From synods, it rose to riots, to heretic-hunts, to Jew-massacres, to civil wars, to international wars, and culminated in the inter-continental warfare of the Crusades. Intolerance advanced from excommunications to excoriations, from the burning of heretical books to the burning of heretics.

The progressiveness of every poison habit bears an exact proportion to the virulence of the poison. Johnsonian tea-drinkers are phenomenal. For one man who drinks coffee to an absurd excess, we shall find a thousand who swill wine or lager beer. The nature-worshipping Greeks repeated the harmless myths and practised the merry rites of their creed for centuries without troubling themselves about the myths and rites of their neighbors. Their superstition differed from that of the Church as the inspired love of nature differs from the ecstatic fury of her enemies, as the day-dream of a happy child differs from the fever-dream of a gloomy fanatic. "*Procul profani!*" was the cry of the Eleusinian priests. They had more followers than they wanted. Their joy-loving creed could dispense with autos-da-fé. The Hebrews, in stress of famine, conquered a little strip of territory between Arabia and the Syrian desert, and then tried their best to live in peace with heaven and earth, and their sects contented themselves with metaphorical rib-roastings. The Saracens spread their conquests from Spain to the Ganges, but their wars had a physical rather than metaphysical purpose. They needed land, and made a better use of it than the former occupants. They contented themselves with assessing dissenters, and did not think it necessary to assassinate them. But the Galilean pessimists could not afford to tolerate an unconverted neighbor. To the enemies of nature, the happiness of an earth-loving, garden-planting, and science-promoting nation was an intolerable offence: reason had to be sacrificed to faith, health and happiness to the cross, and earth to heaven. Their conquests were generally unselfish: they did not care for the lands of heathendom, they merely felt it their duty to suppress the impious prosperity of those who cultivated them. The Spanish Christians did not annex the property of their Moorish neighbors: they merely destroyed it. They did not covet the gardens of Andalusia: they merely wanted to extend the deserts of Aragon. "How hardly shall they that have riches enter the kingdom of heaven." It was the duty of a pious pauper to relieve his neighbors of such religious disabilities. "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." It was the duty of a pious pessimist to enlarge that basis of spiritual hopes. Year after year, Charlemagne left his Rhineland palace to ravage the villages of the pagan Saxons, who betrayed an undue fondness for bear-hunts and field-sports, when they ought to have been at church, bemoaning their sins. When they declined to slave for his abbots and surrender their children to a band of gloomy fanatics with their unnatural dogmas and secret vices, he endeavored to cure their stiffneckedness by beheading as many as he could catch. For a century and a half, the Spanish Unitarians were burned at the rate of two hundred a year. Jews and Moors were almost the only industrial inhabitants of the peninsula: their expulsion would paralyze agriculture, manufactures, science, commerce, and mechanical arts; but such trifles could not be allowed to outweigh the ghostly interests of the natives, and, at the expense of the national credit, and the irretrievable loss of national prestige, the subjects of the Most Christian Monarch were reduced to a proper state of financial and spiritual poverty. Between the outbreak of the first crusade and the final expulsion of the Andalusian Moors, more than fourteen million human lives were sacrificed to the propaganda of pessimism, and for seven centuries the neighbors of Christianized Europe were exposed to the almost continual horrors of a moral opium war.

The monody of Libanius* was the dirge of pagan civilization. As soon as the light of philosophy had faded, the vampires of the Galilean church became aggressive, and for the next thousand years the moral history of Europe is the history of an unremitting war against Nature, a war which systematically promoted the survival of the unfit by making manliness a stigma and common sense a capital crime. It is this anti-naturalism that makes the study of mediæval history such a sickening task. The moral atmosphere of the old pagan republics, even after the star of their fortune had declined, is pervaded by a spirit of mental and physical health; while the air of the Christian Middle Ages reeks with the miasma of misery and superstition.

Between the morning-light of pagan philosophy and the evening-light of modern science intervened a thousand years' eclipse of human reason, a millennium of madness and misery which but for that unnatural night might have been the happiest period in the history of mankind. The rule of the Cross robbed the Germanic nations of the spring-time of their national development. When they awakened from the morning-slumber of their political infancy, they found themselves in the coils of a strangling hydra; and the prime of their strength, which might have won them the golden prizes of the international arena, had to be wasted in the struggle against the slimy monster that threatened to crush out their reason and their life. In that struggle for life and light, the Hercules of the North finally prevailed; but the Apollo of the South succumbed to the Python: the Mediterranean Paradise was forever lost. Here and there, the worshippers of the Light-god still wreathed his altars in happy ignorance of the impending change; but the shadows of Nirvana gathered fast, and fifty years after the death of Julian the day of the Juventus Mundi had faded into the

* On the death of the Emperor Julian, 363.

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night of the Middle ages. There, the fragrance of a sunlit mountain-forest, resounding with the hunter's shout and the jubilee of happy children; here, the fumes and the groans of a Buddhistic opium-den. FELIX L. OSWALD.

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF LIBERALS.

A zealous Liberal, referring to a paragraph in a recent number of this journal, writes: "I think *The Index* ought to advise and urge the Liberals of this country to unite in a new political party to resist invasions continually being made on our rights and liberties, and to carry out reforms to which the demagogues who have the control of existing parties will never give one word of encouragement."

The proposition to "advise and urge the Liberals of this country to unite in a new political party" is a proposition which we cannot approve. Such a movement was recommended in 1879, and encouraged by well-known Liberals, among whom were Col. Ingersoll and Hon. Elizur Wright. We felt constrained to oppose it, and for so doing were criticised with some severity in the liberal journals which favored the project. In a letter to Col. Ingersoll, we gave reasons for the position we held, in response to which came a telegram as follows: "Are you willing to have your name signed to a call for a convention at Cincinnati simply to consult as to the propriety of taking any political action?" Our reply was as follows: "Yes: if you choose to sign my name, knowing I am opposed to the organization of a new political party" The convention was held, but no new party was formed; and, since that time, Col. Ingersoll, Mr. Wright, and other prominent Liberals who were in favor of the proposed movement, have admitted that it was impracticable and that their action was premature.

We are as distrustful now as we were then of all movements looking to the organization of Liberals into a political party. Such an organization would result in more harm than good. It would cause the sects to subordinate their differences to the one purpose of resisting and suppressing Liberalism, unite them in a solid political body, intensify their zeal, and make them far more powerful and far more aggressive than they now are or have been in this country for many years. The clergy would combine their influence; and, urged on by a common selfishness and a common zeal, they would appeal to the ignorance, the prejudice, and the religious bigotry of the masses. Unscrupulous, office-seeking politicians would even more than they do now pander to the religious element, and, whenever possible, lift themselves into positions by favoring legislation, enlarging the privileges of the religious organizations, and restricting the rights of Liberals.

Herculean efforts would be put forth to revive the slumbering prejudices and the proscriptive spirit of immense numbers who, in ordinary times, are quiescent and indifferent, but who would, in times of religious excitement, be the unreasoning tools of religious leaders, ready to vote and act as they should advise. Tendencies that now, under the influence of various liberal agencies, are kept in check and are slowly growing weaker, and, with the growth of knowledge and the progress of free thought, must ultimately disappear, would be strengthened; and not a few who are now of sceptical proclivities would be brought more or less in sympathy with the religious party, on the same principle which operates to make converts during religious revivals of many who, when outside the range of their influence, are comparatively indifferent to theological matters.

On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether Liberalism would be either strengthened or elevated or the rights and interests of Liberals would be promoted by such a political movement. At the outset, there would be attracted to it a large class that would do our cause more evil than good, that would be an element of weakness, not of strength,— a class that has no knowledge or appreciation of the principles of Liberalism and no interest in their progress; that dislikes the Church more for the good that it contains than for the absurdity of its dogmas or its hostility to intellectual freedom, and whose identification with the movement would only disgrace and injure it to the extent of its influence.

The movement from the first would, of course, be characterized by the orthodox element as the party of license; and the class to which reference is here made would so regard it, and do its best to realize this idea, giving it sympathy and support with little or no comprehension of what constitutes impartial liberty and equal and exact justice. This element would be large, noisy, and vacillating, without any steady principles, without any real moral enthusiasm, easily influenced by demagogues, who would soon appear, and who would be glad to foist upon the movement any issues by which to swell the numbers of the party and achieve temporary success. Such a success, however, would not be the success of Liberalism, but possibly its disastrous defeat and disgrace.

Since there is no unanimity among Liberals on finance, labor reform, woman's suffrage, and other current subjects of popular interest, there is no possibility of their uniting on any of them as the basis of a political organization. They would have to confine themselves to the principles of State secularization, in order to insure unanimity; and we have already been taught by experience how liable even such an organization, in which no political ambitions have entered, is to subordinate its leading object to a question hardly thought of at its formation, and to divide on this question, much to the injury of the cause for which it was brought into existence.

But a political party formed on the basis of State secularization would at the present time, it seems to us, do more to retard than to advance the cause of political justice and equality. There is now a strong sentiment in our favor, widely diffused, steadily growing, and chiefly among intelligent people, whose character and worth unite, with the justice of the cause which they represent, to give strength and promise of success to the principles of State secularization. At no distant date, we believe, these principles will be incorporated in the platforms of existing or of future political parties, and will be made a part of the law of the land, and ultimately be embodied in the Constitution of the United States and of every State of the Union. If impatient of the delay in their adoption by the people or indignant at acts of injustice and exhibitions of the spirit of proscription, which now and then appear, or if elated by the progress liberal principles have made and the deep and extended feeling in favor of State secularization, we attempt to organize a political party, and to use political party methods to accomplish our purposes, we shall only succeed thereby in making evident our want of judgment, sagacity, and good sense.

The most effective way to strengthen Liberalism and to make our influence felt in the legislation of the country is not to attempt to crystallize the free-thought sentiment into a political party, but to continue the work of education and enlightenment by sustaining and extending the circulation of liberal journals and liberal literature; by familiarizing the people with our views, including the positive, constructive side of Liberalism, as well as criticisms of the dogmas of theology; by forming local organizations for intellectual culture and the diffusion of our principles; or, when this is not practicable or desirable, exerting our influence individually in such ways as seem adapted to the place and the situation; by making the platform as effective as possible, as a means of promulgating liberal thought, and at the same time giving our support to the party, in any State or locality, that is most in sympathy with the great principles of justice, equality, and freedom.

A writer in the *Irish World* of last week thinks "no better time was ever presented than the present for the organization of a new party, to be founded upon and for labor interests." This he thinks "can be done by every labor organization in the land uniting under one grand central organization, inviting every workingman to enroll himself and stand firm." A temperance paper wants a new party, founded upon the principle of prohibition. Some of the advocates of woman's suffrage desire a new party, whose distinctive demand shall be the extension of the elective franchise to woman. A few religious fanatics want a party that will declare "that Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations, and that the revealed will of God is of supreme authority in civil affairs." There are others who, like the friend from whose letter we have quoted, think that all the Liberals of the country should unite in a new political party to oppose the encroachments of orthodox Christians in the legislation of the country. All these classes that clamor for new political organizations to represent the real or imaginary reforms with which they are respectively identified would do well to study political history and sociology. They would do well, too, to consider whether it is possible or even desirable to induce voters to desert existing parties, whose triumph means the success of measures which are needed and which without their votes may be defeated, for a new party pledged to reforms in which the people are as yet not generally interested, and the success of which is possible only after years of agitation and education.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

ANNUAL MEETING, FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston, beginning Thursday evening, May 31, and continuing through Friday, June 1.

Business session, in Parker Fraternity Hall, Thursday evening, at 7.45 o'clock, for reports, election of officers, and general discussion of methods of work.

The Friday morning session will open at 10.30 o'clock, in Parker Memorial Hall, with an address on "Emerson and Darwin" by Col. T. W. Higginson, to be followed by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Thought-side by Emerson," and by Mr. John W. Chadwick, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Matter-side by Darwin."

The Friday afternoon session will open at three o'clock with a paper on "Co-operation and Progress," by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, N.Y. This will be followed by an address from Mr. James Kay Applebee on "Social Disintegration and its Arrest by Co-operation." Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and others will also speak to the question of the afternoon.

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The Festival will be held in the large Horticultural Hall, Tremont Street, and will begin with a supper, with tables and seats for all, at about six o'clock, or as soon after the close of the afternoon meeting as possible. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. After the supper, five-minute speeches are already promised from John W. Chadwick, B. F. Underwood, James Kay Applebee, Frederick Douglass (probably), Mary F. Eastman, Wm. I. Gill, Samuel Longfellow, Wm. J. Potter, Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee, and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and a poem from Minot J. Savage. Miss Lucy Garlin's Euterpe Quartet have kindly consented to add the attractions of their fine music to the occasion. Tickets of admission to the Festival, with reserved seats at the tables, at 50 cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, of the Secretary, Providence, R.I., and of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass. It is desirable that early application for seats should be made.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A TRANSLATION of Count Goblet d'Alviella's interesting article on "The Origin and Development of Rational Religion in the United States," which appeared in the April number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, has been made for *The Index*, and will be presented to our readers next week.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to James Madison, written on the 15th of March, 1789, says: "The executive power in our government is not the only, perhaps not even the principal, object of my solicitude. The tyranny of the legislature is really the danger most to be feared, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The tyranny of the executive power will come in its turn, but at a more distant period." De Tocqueville, writing upon the unlimited power of the majority in America a quarter of a century since, says: "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minorities to desperation, and oblige them to have recourse to physical force. Anarchy will then be the result, but it will have been brought about by despotism."

IN a letter of correction to the *Radical Review*, Mr. W. M. Salter writes: —

My purpose in coming to Chicago was not a theoretical, but practical one. Theories of the world and of ethics I wished to hold in abeyance, for a time at least, and to unite men simply on the basis of a righteous purpose. I stated this distinctly in my first lecture. "I am not here," I said, "to propagate transcendentalism or utilitarianism. . . . I do not base ethics on any philosophy: the *fact* of moral obligation is to me surer than any theoretic explanation of it, whether Kant's or Spencer's. I am sorry that you not only fail to recognize this, but maintain that a *certain view of the universe* must be incorporated in any scientific system of ethics and form its basis. The old religions make morality dependent on religious dogma: you seem to incline to rest it on some new philosophical dogma. I think morality can stand of itself. . . . To plant myself on utilitarianism or transcendentalism or materialism would be not only to be untrue to my idea, but exclude many who wish for nothing else so much as to leave behind their intellectual differences, and unite in a movement for a higher righteousness to the world."

"THE more rapidly the bearers of new ideas and new theories snatch at the control of public opinion, the more violent will be the opposition of traditional ideas in the minds of their contemporaries. After being long blinded and stunned, as it were, prejudice gathers itself together, either by external persecution and suppression or by new intellectual creations, to battle with and overcome the inconvenient opinions. If such new intellectual creations are in themselves poor and empty, and endured only from hatred of progress, they can, as in the case of Jesuitism against the Reformation, only prosecute their purpose in alliance with cunning and force and a policy of universal suppression. But if they have, in addition to their reactionary importance, a germ of life within themselves, a content which in other respects leads to progress, they may often produce more brilliant and satisfactory results than the activity of a faction which has become arrogant from the possession of new truths, and which, as happens only too frequently after a conspicuous success, becomes enfeebled and inadequate to the proper following up of what has been attained."—*Lange.*

THE *Christian Statesman*, referring to "the bill to allow atheists in general, and Mr. Bradlaugh in particular, to enter Parliament," says: "We regret that the great statesman [Gladstone] has thrown his influence in support of this measure, and rejoice it has failed. . . . The admission of atheists to seats of power is as absurd as putting the helm of a vessel into the hands of blind men on a dangerous coast and in a stormy sea. It is only to minds corrupted by the heresy that government has nothing to do with God, with religion, or with morals, that the presence of such men in such places seems tolerable at all." Fortunately, the narrow-mindedness and proscriptive spirit of the pious sheet from which the above extract is made find no encouragement in the best and most influential Christian journals of the day. A man, born and brought up in this free country, who would withhold from any class of intelligent and honest men, on account of their speculative beliefs in regard to philosophical and religious matters, the rights of American citizens, must be a fanatic or a crank with a twist in his nature which renders him unfit to form a fair and just judgment on political, social, or moral subjects.

MANY of the representations that have been made in regard to the Tewksbury Almshouse will probably be shown to have little or no foundation in fact, but that there has been much in its administration which affords good ground for complaint is very evident. The subject receives the fairest treatment we have seen in any Massachusetts paper in an article in the Springfield *Republican*, from which we give the concluding paragraph: "The truth about Tewksbury, therefore, so far as we now know, is that there have been great abuses there in time past, that a great hospital and insane asylum has grown up with an old farmer at its head and no competent medical supervision, and that Republican administrations have temporized with it, and left it for Gov. Butler to expose, to the universal disgrace of the State. That disgrace is in a considerable measure deserved, and Gov. Butler will have and deserve the credit of having necessitated a change of administration. We do not believe that the general care of the inmates at any time justified the charge that they were starved, tortured, or skinned, alive or dead; but that there were cases of gross neglect of the insane and infantile wards of the State is too clearly established to be doubted."

MR. C. D. B. MILLS recently read at Syracuse an essay on Emerson, from a report of which, published in a paper of that city, the following extract is given: —

Of his personal appearance, he said that Emerson was tall, rather slight and spare, of very erect attitude, which he preserved to the end of his life. His countenance was radiant, expressive of great kindliness, yet of strong earnestness. His eye was deep and liquid, of finest hue of blue. "To hear him talk," says Dr. Holmes, "was like watching one crossing a brook on stepping stones. His noun had to wait for its verb or its adjective: then, his speech would come down upon the word he wanted, and not Webster nor Worcester could better it from all the wealth of their huge vocabularies." He was characterized as condensed, sinewy, and apothegmatic in the highest degree. There is hardly a writer of English so terse and dense. He uses Saxon, speaks in monosyllables, presses the utmost meaning into the smallest compass. He has the keenest of perception, great subtlety, nothing escapes him, and he can report what he sees. He has not the fluency and freedom of Goethe as he is not so many-sided, but he has marvellous power of compact, striking statements. . . . There are limitations, continued Mr. Mills, marked and undeniable indeed, in this man. He is no finality in the intellectual development, in wisdom, completeness, and power. But where the worth is so transcendent, the gifts and the excellences so commanding, there is hardly occasion to speak of aught limitary. It is to be said of him that he never aged in the spirit. He remained youthful, hopeful, open-souled to the last. In this, he contrasts with Carlyle, his early and life-long companion and friend. These men were in much alike, had points of sympathy and cordial union. They both stood for sincerity in the inmost being, were worshippers, first of all, of reality. Be, not seem, is their common motto. But they differ greatly in temperament and manifested quality. Carlyle was born of a sterling, strong, and virtuous, but a hard Scotch ancestry. Emerson was son of a Puritan, with the conscience, the high ethical qualities of the best of New England flowing in his veins. Carlyle was a torch, Emerson a star. Carlyle was ardent and vehement, Emerson always poised and calm. There was no heat in that blood. One became the sweet prophet of hope, the other the apostle of fate and despair. It was a difference of blood, of ancestry, and also of education.

THIS communicating of a man's self to his friends works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys and cutteth griefs in half: for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he enjoyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his grief to his friend, but he grieveth the less.—*Bacon.*

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

MY GEHENNA.

I have a grave, a nameless grave and lonely,
Deep hidden in the tangled grass, in the dark yew tree's shade,
With aloe round about it, with nightshade and with mandrake,
With lavender and eglantine that cover all the glade.

Eye hath not seen it: desolate, uncared for,
Is this Golgotha, far from human ken,
Shrouded in the silence, a silence never broken,
Far from every sound of life, far from tread of men.

Never do I seek it: never do I linger
To think, with loving memory, on the one beneath;
Never bear I rosemary, rue, and velvet pansies,
To weave with tender fingers for the buried dead a wreath

Neither friend nor kindred, neither child nor lover,
Never one but many, hide beneath that mound:
Buried hopes, illusions, friendships that have withered,
Fair ideals shattered, lie there in the ground.

And when comes the phantom of that loathed Gehenna
Up before my vision, dark'ning all things bright,
Then I call my forces, my courage and my daring,
Swift to hurl the figure into darkest night.

But when comes the sunshine, glad'ning all things earthly,
Stealing through the forest, shimmering on the bank,
With its warmth transforming everything it touches,
Till at last it reaches e'en the hillock dank,—

Then from out the darkness spring some tender flowers,
Flowers of wondrous value, beautiful and rare;
Flowers of ripe experience, flowers of consolation,
Bud and glow and blossom in their fragrance there.

A. O. C.

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The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

☞ PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For *The Index.*

An Agnostic View of the Doctrine of Vicarious Atonement.

A Lecture delivered in Cosmian Hall, Florence, Mass., April 22, 1883, by Wm. H. Spencer, Resident Speaker of the Free Congregational Society.

Never will I seek nor receive private, individual salvation, never enter into final peace alone; but forever and everywhere will I live and strive for the universal redemption of every creature throughout all worlds.—*Chinese Scripture.*

By one's self, the evil is done; by one's self, one suffers; by one's self, evil is left undone; by one's self, one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to one's self. No one can purify another.—*Buddha's "Path of Virtue."*

"Of man's first disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us and regain the blissful seat,"—

this theme of the poet's majestic epic has likewise been the text of the gospel of Christendom. There has been everywhere, and in all Christian ages, unanimity of conviction that it was *some way* through the mediation of this "Greater Man," Christ Jesus, that the paradise lost must be regained; but there have been various theories respecting the method by which this restoration of fallen man was actually accomplished. The history of the speculations of theologians on this point furnishes a very instructive chapter in the biography of the Church. Before I consider the *rationale* of the doctrine as commonly held to-day, let us briefly glance at its historical changes. It has in the course of its development passed through three pretty distinct phases, and, among the more liberal orthodox, is entering now upon its fourth change. I will note these in the order of their historical appearance, although it must be borne in mind that the different theories often overlap and coexist even in the mind of the same individual. The first (I consider only the development of the doctrine in Christianity) we may call the

War-like Theory of Atonement.

This appears to have been the commonly accepted theory at the beginning of our era. Such language in our New Testament as "Christ ransomed us" or "Christ redeemed us," etc., seems to imply a state of war in heaven. As everybody knows, a "ransom" was a price paid to purchase the liberty of a captive. If it be said that the gospel-writers used the language figuratively, this at least is certain, that the early Church construed such language in Scripture very literally. They looked upon the death of Christ as a price paid by God to the devil, with whom he was at war for the liberation of captured humanity. By simple belief in Christ as his redeemer and obedience to the commands of the Church, any prisoner could escape from the clutches of the Prince of Darkness. After Christ, the ransom, was delivered into the devil's possession, the latter descended into hell with him, according to an ancient tradition, and kept him there for several days. Why and how did Christ escape? Because he was a God instead of a man, and too great to be held prisoner. Therefore, the Evil One loses both his captives and his ransom, too. For once, according to this theory of atonement, the astute ruler of darkness was completely outwitted.

This primitive war-like theory of atonement was dominant in Christian theology for nearly a thousand years; but, gradually, it gave way to one more in harmony with the spirit of the age, and known as

The Commercial Theory of Atonement.

This was developed and perfected chiefly by Anselm, the famous scholastic theologian, in the latter part of the eleventh century. He denied that Christ was ever given over into the hands of the devil. He said the payment was not in the nature of a ransom, but of a debt,—a debt due to God. This is the way he explained the transaction: We owe to God perfect obedience. It is a debt due him. If we live holy lives, our account is always square with God. But, alas! men sin, and keep on sinning, and thus run up an enormous debt of moral obligation to God. What shall be done? The glory, the honor, and the justice of God demand that the sinner pay this debt. But the debt is far more than he can pay by the merit of his own deeds. He must have help, or go under. So Christ, the God-man, comes in like a bondsman or surety on a note, and with his sacrificial blood wipes out the moral debt of all who believe on him. Thus, his death makes what is called "satisfaction" for the accumulated debts of man. This theory of the atonement prevailed for some four or five centuries. At the time of the Protestant Reformation, a new class of ideas—ideas concerning international law—began to dawn upon the mind of Europe. It is very interesting to note how the theory of the atonement in any age reflected the changes going on in secular departments of thought and activity; how man's conceptions of his relation to God came after, if not as a result of, his conception of man's relation to man. Thus, the war-like scheme of atonement was the offspring of a war-like age. The commercial theory was born of an age of commercial revival, when Italy was the highway of Europe and Asia. While, no sooner does Grotius, the great father of jurisprudence, discover and expound the principles of international law than he finds his legal ideas remoulding his theological, and the commercial theory giving place in his mind to the third or

Governmental Theory of Atonement,

which he did considerable to develop and establish. From the time of Grotius, the relation of God and man began to be represented more as that between a supreme Law-giver and his subjects. Sin was conceived of as the violation of God's law. For the honor and integrity of that law, the sinner must be punished. But as all men had not only sinned, but had also inherited sin from Adam, they were all under condemnation. There was only one way to escape punishment everlasting, and that was for man to receive the voluntary substitute which God had provided, which he could do by believing in Christ and him crucified. This theory of the atonement, then, represented the death of Jesus not as a ransom paid to the devil, not as a debt paid to God, the Creditor, but as a just penalty inflicted by the supreme Law-giver because of his violated law. With some modifications, this theory is generally accepted by Christians to-day. Such early theologians as Calvin and Luther, anticipating this theory, taught that Christ was *punished* for our sins. But, according to Joseph Cook, such doctrine is no longer sound Orthodoxy. He vehemently denies that Christ was punished for the sins of men. No, indeed! He *suffered* for our sins; but that suffering, he contends, was not punishment, could not be such, because there was no ill-desert, no blameworthiness, in the Saviour. It is, he declares, the "ghastliest misconception" of Orthodoxy to fancy that it teaches that an innocent person was "punished" for the guilty. Perhaps so. But, really, how does it relieve Orthodoxy of its ghastliness to substitute "suffering" for "punishment" in its doctrine of vicarious atonement? When Jesus was hanging on the cross, would it have soothed his pain if some one, a Roman soldier, for instance, had stepped up and said to him: "Sir, I know you are in terrible agony; but I beg you to remember that this is not 'punishment' you are enduring: it is nothing but 'suffering,' that is all. Pray relieve your mind of any sense of guilt which may burden it, and enjoy life as well as you can"? As long as the suffering of the innocent for the guilty remains a pivotal part of the divine plan of redemption, the essential "ghastly" character of the doctrine of atonement, it seems to me, is unchanged. Besides, if Jesus, according to the theory, suffered *in our stead*, he must have suffered as the sinner would have suffered; that is, not merely that pain of body, but that more terrible pain of mind which comes with a sense of guilt. Unless Jesus suffered also this remorse for us, he was not, in any true sense, a substitute as claimed. If he did suffer this torture of conscience, then he not only "suffered," but was "punished" also, for our transgressions; and the ghastliness which Mr. Cook would eliminate from the modern orthodox theory of atonement hangs round it still. But, let us admit that the innocent Jesus simply "suffered" for the sins of guilty man: can we thereby save the moral character of this atonement theory? The attempt is made by a kind of *tu quoque* argument, which, however pat and forcible it may be as against Theism, is no estoppel on the lips of Agnosticism. To the objection that it is shocking to the moral sense that the innocent Jesus should have been made to suffer for the sins of guilty man, the orthodox replies: "It may, indeed, appear so at first; but, as a matter of fact, the innocent *are* suffering for the guilty the world over; and, if you impeach the moral character of the atonement, you at the same time impeach the moral character of God's government in the whole world of man. If we accept the latter as divinely ordained and infinitely good, why reject the former, which is simply an epitome of a universal law?" What reply can we make to this defence of the atonement? In the first place, we may point out the fallacy in the argument arising from adroitly confounding in the mind two very different propositions. It is true that the innocent often, very often, do suffer, *because of* the guilty; but this is not to say that they suffer *for* the guilty, —*i.e.*, in place of the guilty, as Jesus is supposed to have suffered in place of the sinner. And yet the two propositions are treated as identical. In the former case, the guilty usually suffer as well as the innocent. In the latter case, the guilty escape by substituting the innocent. Such cases exist, indeed, but they are comparatively rare. It is only the latter that furnish any true parallel to, and illustration of, the atoning sacrifice of Jesus. So much Theism may offer against this common defence of the atonement theory. But Agnosticism takes a step further. It replies that, granting it to be true that the innocent do sometimes suffer *for* as well as *because of* the guilty, it is not right that it should be so. It is wrong, and all the powers of good in man are working to counteract such cruel evils. Because the libertine bequeaths his lust; because the habitual drunkard transmits to his babes the cursed tendencies that wreck his reason and life; because, in many ways, the effects of the evil habits of the fathers are transmitted to their children, and the innocent are thus made to suffer on account of the sins as well as the ignorance of transgressors, Agnosticism does not, with Theism, say, "It is someway all right, because it is God-ordained," nor with Christianity seize upon these ugliest facts in all nature as illustrations of the central doctrines and crowning blessing of a revealed religion. Agnosticism declares that it is shocking to the cultivated moral sense that the innocent Jesus should have been compelled or permitted to suffer in place of the guilty; and, if there are any examples in nature which furnish a parallel to it, so much the worse for nature that furnishes them.

The Atonement as History.

During the preparation of this paper, the writer has taken some pains to inquire of several thoughtful evangelical Christians for some illustration of the popular governmental theory of atonement, but without success. If, therefore, any orthodox or other reader of this paper shall charge the writer with unfairness in the following illustrations, he can simply plead his honest intentions and ask for better illustrations from his critics.

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It is said that, according to the law in some provinces of China, a criminal is allowed to offer a substitute. This is not seldom done. A wealthy culprit, sentenced to be beheaded, hires a poor fellow to suffer for him on condition that the party of the first part will look after the family of the party of the second part. This seems to us like a travesty of justice. But what is it but a translation of the atonement into human government! Here, we have the innocent suffering for the guilty, shedding his blood for the remission of crime. The voluntary offering is accepted; and the result of it, in the eye of the Chinese law, is that the guilty stains of sinful man are all washed away in the blood of the atoning sacrifice. Such compounding of crime was justice in Europe during the Middle Ages; but European law has outgrown such crude ideas of law and its penalties, though European theology has not.

Some time ago, it was discovered in one of the prisons in Belgium that a fraud had been perpetrated on the jailer. A young girl went in to see her condemned sister, managed to change dresses with her, and to let the guilty one, in her name, pass out. What did the court do? Did the judges grow sentimental and glorify the little fraud, and let the real culprit go free? Not at all. They rearrested and imprisoned the actual culprit, and sentenced the pretended one to imprisonment also, for her attempt to deceive the officers of the law and prevent the enforcement of justice. And I think the judgment of Europe would be, The court did the wise and just thing. And yet does not the religion of Europe, for the most part, exhort its followers to change robes with Christ Jesus, and in his name to slip out of prison?

Or take an illustration of the atonement from the school-room. A small boy, frail and puny, has been guilty of some misdemeanor. The teacher's quick eye has caught the young lad in the very act, and has called him up for punishment. The awful ferule is already lifted to smite the little hand, when, suddenly upsprings from the rear of the school-room a brother, an elder brother of the culprit,—a great, burly, generous fellow,—and cries out to the master: "Please, sir, do not punish my little brother; for he is small and weak. But here, take me. There is my hand. Let me suffer in his stead." And the teacher accepts the substitute, and satisfies the inexorable law of the school by his chastisement. Now, we are told that Christ is to us as that elder brother. You and I stand in the shoes of the little fellow. We have done wrong, and the great Judge and Lord of all is about to inflict merited punishment, when Christ intercedes, is an accepted substitute, and we escape through his vicarious suffering. What do you say of this case? Suppose that little boy had straightened up his full length when his elder brother came up, and, looking the teacher full in the face and holding out his small hand, had said: "No, sir. Master, he shall not suffer in my place. He is innocent. I am guilty. There is the hand that did wrong: smite it to your heart's content." Would you not pronounce that puny lad more manly and honorable than if he should go whimpering to his seat,—

> "My brother ached and paid it all,
> All the debt I owe.
> Nothing, either great or small,
> Remains for me to do" ?

I have never seen any illustration of the vicarious-atonement theory that did not, to my mind, make man appear in the rôle of a very dishonorable character. I ought, pehaps, to make one exception, wherein man does not, indeed, appear as dishonorable, but as very weak and childish. It is in that illustration which, as far as I know, Joseph Cook set afloat several years ago, and which I find copied into Peloubet's *Select Notes on the International Sunday School Lessons* for 1882, on page 310. As this is a book which has a very large circulation in the evangelical Sunday-schools of this country, and as this, moreover, is the sole illustration of the atonement theory offered, it is significant, as indicating the sentimental drift of modern Orthodoxy. Indeed, there is abundant evidence from the signs of the times that the new school of Orthodoxy is rapidly passing over into the fourth, and what we may call

The Moral-impression Theory of the Atonement.

The following illustration referred to is simply one of the indications of this theological drift.* It is drawn from an incident which Bronson Alcott relates as having taken place in his school in Boston some years ago. "One day," says he, "I called up before me a pupil eight or ten years of age, who had violated an important regulation of the school. All the pupils were looking on, and they knew what the rule of the school was. I put the ruler in the hand of the offending pupil. I extended my hand. I told him to strike. The instant the boy saw my extended hand and heard the command to strike, I saw a struggle begin in his face. A new light sprang up in his countenance. A new set of shuttles seemed to be weaving a new nature within him. I kept my hand extended. The school was in tears. The boy struck once, and he himself burst into tears. I constantly watched his face, and he seemed in a bath of fire which was giving him a new nature. He had a different mood toward the school and toward the violated law. The boy seemed transformed by the idea that I should take chastisement in place of his punishment. He went back to his seat, and ever after was one of the most docile of the pupils, although he had been at first one of the rudest."

There is no doubt that such a method of discipline for two or three times would be effective with very young children; but who believes it would work in our public schools! Suppose that our school committee should pass a rule that hereafter all punishment should be inflicted by the scholars upon the teachers, instead of by the teachers upon the guilty scholars, how long, think you, would our schools preserve their discipline? Just so long as the children were young and simple enough as to be imposed upon; that is, as to believe that the affected pain of the teacher was all genuine, and not one moment longer. As soon as the little ones got their eyes fairly open to the truth, as soon as they saw that the teacher was not really hurt, did not suffer the pain they imagined he did (causing them to suffer through sympathy for him), then the tragedy would be turned into a farce, and the children would laugh instead of cry.

How does this incident illustrate the vicarious atonement? Do they mean to tell us that all humanity are like little children in a kindergarten? Do they mean to tell us that the tragedy on Calvary was a put-up job, a kind of cheap drama, in which God, the general superintendent, and his Son, the teacher Jesus, were the actors engaged in cheating us? Bronson Alcott was not hurt by the ferule in the hands of the little child, was only simulating pain. Was Jesus, the God-man, only simulating suffering when they drove the nails through his hands and feet, and thrust the spear into his panting side? So this illustration implies. The idea that Jesus' death was such a spectacular drama, gotten up merely to create a "moral impression" upon mankind, seems to me to degrade the Christians' God to the level of a stage manager or scene shifter. Besides, the children in Mr. Alcott's school *did* suffer. It is true their bodies were not pained; but their minds were, as was clearly evinced by their crying. Yet, according to the atonement theory, I supposed the sinner did not suffer, that Christ suffered in his stead. What parallel is there, then, between that amusing incident in Bronson Alcott's school and the distressing death of Jesus of Nazareth and its effects upon the world? Labor as men may to make the dogma of atonement appear reasonable and just, they must inevitably fail. And why? Because it is essentially unreasonable and unjust. You can by no possible figures of speech, by no categories of logic, by no hocus-pocus of theological rhetoric, make it appear right for an innocent person to suffer for the sins of the guilty. That is wrong. It was so from the beginning, is so now, and ever will be, world without end. And, I repeat, it is no vindication of the moral character of the atonement to show that, in the every-day struggle of life, innocence is sometimes a sacrifice for guilt, and vice reaps the reward which virtue bought with her blood. This is true; but it is a truth that belongs to the savageism of the race; to the reign of brutality, lawlessness, injustice, and wrong,—a hideous and hateful fact that is being eliminated from human experiences just in proportion as civilization advances. Every step in the march of progress is toward a more certain and speedy punishment of the guilty, and a sure protection of the innocent from all forms of vicarious suffering. This doctrine of the atonement, looked at rationally, seems so unjust and cruel that you wonder how any noble soul could accept it. And yet there are such who do. I know, we all know, men and women, tender, loving, and just in their family and social relations, who believe, or think they believe, this doctrine, who are not only most loving and lovable, but who also find joy and rest and peace to their souls in the faith. We cannot ignore or deny this fact; but how can we explain it? In my opinion, it is because they do not take a rounded and rational view of the question, but a partial and sentimental one. They close one eye,—unconsciously, I suppose,—and take in one-half of the picture only, the beautiful half; while they utterly refuse to see or acknowledge to themselves the complementary and ugly side. Let any one try the experiment, and he will experience the same visual, or rather psychological, phenomenon. Shut one of the mind's eyes and look with the other at the beautiful half of the picture of the atonement. There you see the Son of Man suffering, indeed, but doing so to save others from suffering: bearing our griefs, carrying our sorrows, smitten of God and afflicted, led like a lamb to the slaughter, yet opening not his mouth, laying down his life on the altar of love for man and duty to his God,—why, what a splended deed of self-sacrifice it was, as represented in eloquence and poetry and song!

Any one, be it a steamboat pilot or an engineer on a railway train, who deliberately sacrifices himself for his brother man, excites our grateful, adoring love. The sight of that picture of the suffering Christ has touched the fountain of tears in all ages. It has awakened the deepest sympathy, the most tender pity, the most passionate love, the most deathless devotion. The hardest hearts have melted before that touching story. If I could see but that one side of the picture, and no more, I might fall at the foot of the cross. But stop,—open the other eye, so that you can take in the opposite half of the scene, and the illusion vanishes, the spell is broken. There, in the shadowy background, you dimly see the awful judge, him they sometimes call the Father. He is watching the progress of his "plan of salvation." Adam has fallen and been driven out of Paradise. It was so planned. The deluge came to drown out the wicked, but wickedness survived. It was so planned. The "chosen people" were watched over to bring forth the Messiah. Scene after scene passes, until at last "the Christ" comes. One of the twelve disciples is a traitor. It was so planned. The Son is betrayed, arrested, condemned, and on his way to Calvary. It was so planned. In the background, you see the inexorable judge watching the shifting scenes. They nail his son to the cross, though he cries unto his Father to let this cup pass. No, not one drop of the bitter. It is so planned. He watches his son's writhings and heavings, puts his ear down to catch the last moan, the last whisper; and, as the heart-ticks hush and all is over, the black drop-curtain unrolls, the great tragedy is ended, and the Father draws a sigh of relief as he says to himself: "Now the sacrifice is made, it is consistent with my government to forgive the sons of Adam for the sins of their fathers. Indeed, I will henceforth forgive all men who will shout,—

> 'Hallelujah, 'tis done!
> I believe on the Son;
> I am saved by the blood
> Of the crucified One!'

but all others I will consign to eternal punishment hereafter." Now, my friends, when I look at *that* half of the picture of the vicarious atonement, and it is a *legitimate and essential half*, it spoils the whole scene. I take no pleasure in contemplating it. But, as I said, there are people whose minds are so constituted that they can hoodwink themselves to their own hearts' joy, can regard the beautiful half of the picture, the heroic self-sacrifice of the Son of Man as the whole of the picture, and find in the contemplation of such an example a quickening to the benevolent sympathies, to the moral emotions and activities. If the doctrine of atonement has done some good to those who have contemplated the unselfish side of the picture, it has unquestionably done harm to considerable numbers who have looked at it with a selfish eye. They have been made to feel that the Christian's whole duty was summed up in "believe in Christ." They might sin and sin until their character was as black as Egyptian night, and, if they would but utter the magic words, "Lord, I *believe!*" their sins would be washed out in a twinkling and they would be ushered into heaven as spotless as the radiant angels. They have

*This drift is also indicated generally by a "change of base" in the dogma, in the growing theory that Christ's death did not reconcile God to man, but man to God.

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been made to think that all you had to do was to jump aboard the salvation-car, hand over your free pass to the conductor, and ride through to eternal glory among the other "dead-heads," not lifting one finger to work out your passage. They have reasoned: "If Jesus paid my fare, all right. I'll fiddle and dance, I'll spend my days in the pleasures of sense, eat, drink, and be merry; and, when I come to my death-bed, I'll close my eyes with the blissful thought that I shall drop to sleep in the arms of Jesus, and wake up in the New Jerusalem." That unselfish people have read the gospel promises in this light I do not believe; but that considerable numbers of people who weigh the truth in butcher's scales, and whose piety is always on the alert to drive a sharp bargain, have been made more selfish by the free-pass system, I have no doubt. On the whole, I do not think the world would be the loser, if it were abolished.

The Atonement as Drama.

But some of you may say to me, "Is it probable that a doctrine which has stood so many centuries, which has commended itself to the wants of countless millions, which has incarnated itself in art, in magnificent institutions, in a world's literature,—is it possible that there is no truth whatever in this venerable doctrine of vicarious atonement?" I answer, "Yes" and "No." There is no truth in it as it stands *as history*, but there is an element of truth in it *as a drama*. Theology, in my opinion, is simply anthropology "written large." In studying the theologies of the world, then, we are studying man, his imaginings, his hopes and fears, his loves and hates. The whole scheme of Christian theology, from beginning to end, from the temptation and fall of man through Adam to the atonement and rise of man through Christ, when philosophically analyzed, will, I am confident, be seen to be nothing more nor less than a *dramatization of individual experience* with, for the most part, a fictitious historical setting to complete the illusion. The whole process represents not what eighteen hundred and more years ago took place on the world's stage beyond the Mediterranean, but what takes place in the little world of individual hearts every day of man's life. The whole caravans of theological personages and movements are simply *mirages* of the experiences that go trooping through every soul in its journey of life. Take the average individual nature and experience, and see if you do not find therein the "old, old story" in miniature; that is, the elements of it. In human life, you find, first, that man sins; that is, passes from a state of innocence and peace to a state of conscious guilt and soul-unrest. Now, put that experience in dramatic form, and you have Eden, the temptation and fall, and paradise lost. You find, secondly, that it is man's *lower* nature that sins. Put that in dramatic form, and you have that lower nature personified, – the evil in man spelled with a D, and regarded as a tempter outside. You find, thirdly, that, when the lower nature sins, the higher nature suffers by it. Put this truth in dramatic form, and you have this *higher* nature in every man personified as "God" in man, in *one* man,—Christ Jesus,—and regarded as a Saviour outside of man, suffering for him. The Jesus of history has been idealized by the imagination into "the Christ," and worshipped as the Perfect.* But this "Christ" is not a person outside, but an idea inside of us. It is a part of ourself, of our better, higher self. Now, when we personify this upper self, and dramatize it, and think of it as cruelly crucified for the sins of our lower self, we have the "Saviour of the world dying for the sins of fallen man."

You find, fourthly, that whenever you bring the two natures face to face,—in other words, whenever you think of what you ought to be and what you "might have been," with what you *are*,—there comes a sense of shame and regret which should lead to repentance and reform. Now, this contrast of the two natures is rendered much more vivid, and the moral emotions are far more deeply stirred in certain individuals, when the conflict is put dramatically, and the higher nature within is represented as a *person* who voluntarily sacrifices his life to save your life. It is a matter of historic fact that the contemplation of this divine-like act, as represented in the Christian drama, does often produce a "moral impression" on the sinful who are likewise sympathetic, and leads to "conversion," or turning about, of the affections and purpose and volitions. The process is supposed to be supernatural, and the cause of it to be the immediate presence of Christ. But what has really happened, psychologically speaking, is the result of the contemplation of *our real self in the mirror of our ideal self*, the bringing face to face of what we are with what we should be, when instantly the lower animal nature seems lifted up to the higher spiritual nature, is for the time subjected to it, reconciled with it, in other words becomes *one* with it, and this perfect at-one-ment of the lower and higher natures is the truth that hides itself from many in the dogma of atonement. As an actual historical event, such as the Church represents it to have been, I repeat the story of the fall of man and his redemption is not true; but as a dramatization of the soul's deepest experiences, as a great pictorial representation of the tragedy of sin and suffering and reconciliation, that since man was man has been going on in individual hearts, there is an element of truth in the old dogmas, and it is because of this *experiential* truth in them that people cling to the shell of doctrine, lest they lose the kernel within.*

It is not a "vicarious" atonement, not another person suffering for us. It is what I may call our Christ-self suffering for the sins of our devil-self. The Destroyer and Redeemer are both in ourselves, are of ourselves, are ourselves. The kingdom of darkness and the kingdom of heaven are within.

It is doubtless true that large numbers of people, such as make up the "Salvation Army," will not receive, cannot even see truth in her actual form and simple, natural beauty. They must dress her up in nursery fiction. They recognize her only when she comes as the "Great Physician," the "Conductor on the Gospel Train," the "Captain of our Salvation" with his dress-parade of drums and trumpets. But you and I may reject as histories the Oriental stories, and yet lose not one jot or tittle of the moral truth or inspiration pictured forth in the great religious drama.

In one sense and in a very vital sense, we believe in a fall of man, in a Saviour, and in the atonement. Every day, alas! there are around us men and women who are falling; who once walked in an Eden of innocence, of purity, and peace, but who yielded to the voice of some temptation, ate of fruit forbidden by the moral law, and have been banished from paradise, or, what is the same thing, had paradise banished from them. We believe in a "Saviour," too, —yes, in many Saviours. When men tell you that there is no name under heaven whereby men can be saved but the name of Jesus, that every one who attempts to climb up any other way is a "thief and a robber," ask them how men regained their lost paradise during the countless ages before the birth of the Galilean. Ask them who is the Saviour of the three hundred and forty millions who follow in the footsteps of Hindu Buddha, of the millions who call Confucius master, and the other millions who flock under the banner of the Arabian Mohammed? It is a monstrous perversion of facts or a lamentable ignorance of the truth of religious history to deny that there have been many "Saviours" of men. But, my friends, though I reverence the name of Jesus as I do that of Buddha and Confucius and Socrates, although I am glad for all the royal sons and daughters of men, the light of whose genius and example has illumined the darkness of man's moral pathway, I am more glad and grateful for that Saviour which dwells in my higher nature, that beautiful picture of the ideal that seems to float forever above my real life, like a radiant angel. It is no fiction of the brain: it is a stern fact, a splendid vision of what I should be and do. I know not but it is the Quaker's "inner light," or the "daemon" of Socrates, or the "voice" that came to Joan of Arc. Have *you* never heard that voice?

> "I hear it often in the dark,
> I hear it in the light.
> Where is the voice that calls to me
> With such a quiet might?
>
> "O sweet surprise of inner skies,
> These voices still and strong!
> They fill my inward silences
> With music and with song.
>
> "They send me challenges to right,
> And loud rebuke my ill;
> They ring my bells of victory,
> They breathe my 'Peace, be still!'"

That "still, small voice" is the voice of my "Saviour." No man, nor body of men, can crucify that. I am the only man who can wrong it. The Jesus of history might fade from the memory of men, but my "flying ideal" abides with me, yet leading on, forever. You may slash the knife of Biblical criticism into the heart of the Gospels and let out every drop of the life-blood of the historic Jesus, and leave nothing but the bleaching skeletons of dead traditions whitening the desert of faith, but my beautiful ideal is not touched thereby. It rises, as on wings, above all the accidents of history, above the death of religious forms, above the graves of sweet illusion. No, no, conscience never dies. The voice within you can never quite smother. This higher self, "the Christ" in your own soul, you may deny like Peter, betray like Judas, but you can never crucify it to the death. Oh, how can we look up into that pure Face, and do wrong! We cannot. It is only when we put up our hand to hide it that we dare to sin. But our little hands cannot cover our guilt. Those eyes see between our fingers, and read the shame on our cheeks. Do what we will, sin as we may, that calm, sweet Face is there. Do what we will, sin as we may, that divine-like Voice we hear. Happy the soul that obeys this inner Saviour. When it bids us "cease to do evil and learn to do well," and our lower nature comes up and clasps hands with our higher, and that Face smiles its blessings, and the two natures in us are one, then we experience the truth in the atonement; for we realize in ourselves the at-one-ment.

*See, on this point, the writer's views as expressed in a companion pamphlet on "Agnosticism and Religion," sold at *Index* office.

*The writer believes that Liberals should recognize and provide for this deep and abiding love in human nature for ideal truth presented in dramatic form. Superstition should not have a monopoly of such methods. The imagination is a legitimate, ineradicable, and invaluable faculty in man. It will not forever suffer to be ignored, as some seem to think it should: it ought not to suffer it, for its subtile fibres are interlaced with the living roots of the moral emotions, and the springs of conduct. It is possible to make it the most powerful auxiliary of the forces within that make for rightness. The great preachers of the rational faith of the future must and will avail themselves of their opportunities in this respect. They will be artists of the ideal, personal, and social. They will touch the heart of our sympathy, not with paintings of a "Christ and him crucified" for us, but of humanity now, a large part of it, suffering and crucified,—yes, crucified by unrequited toil and hard circumstance. They will picture to us not what we must believe to save our individual souls, but what we must do to save all souls from taints of blood and sins of will. They will carry us not back to a golden age long ago, but picture before our mental vision the golden age to come, if man will but recognize its signs of advance and make way for the good time. Oh for the new prophets of the new gospel!

CORRESPONDENCE.

MAN AND THE TRIPLE-HEADED MONSTER.

Editors of The Index:—

The hero, once the slayer of wild beasts, is now the conqueror of lawless passions, of untamed impulse. His glory, once measured by the slaughter and desolation he caused, is now gauged by the life he saves, and the impetus he gives to the truth-seeking and peace-loving tendencies of the soul. Mystics have taught that the forms and aspects—hideous or lovely —of the visible world have their counterpart in man's nature. But experience has taught the relation between the inner and the outer world, between human endeavor and the world's advance. It is a wise legend that attributed to Hercules both moral and physical powers, who is said to have gone to the gods, but first to have prepared for himself the way. Is it not becoming a truism that progress consists in the double task of conquest over self and the world without,—the two worlds of spirit and matter, so called? But how hard is this lesson to learn! and, when learned, how easily is it forgot! Evil is first attacked in its grosser forms, and then in its more disguised and subtle embodiments. Its haunt was once the land, the sea, the air. It is now the home of man,—the uncultured, the untutored mind of man. And still how clashing are the theories as to its nature, its manifestations! Yet one aim do these theories seem to possess in common, which is to deny the guilt or the responsibility of evil. But in man it is to be found: none doubt it, all assert it. And I make bold to say that *there* lies the triple-headed monster, bigotry, pride, and apathy, whose counterparts are the squalor, vice, and misery that so disfigure the face of society, marking our civilization all over as with the slimy track of the serpent. From the coils of this monster, man through the ages has, consciously or unconsciously, struggled to free himself. The spirit of manhood, coming into life, clothed its possessor with a supple, matchless

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strength,—a stalwart growth impersonating the spirit of progress, guileless, earnest, truthful, persevering, indomitable, awe-inspiring :—

> As from the Orient it springs,
> And beating back with lustrous wings
> The darks and damps, the phantom throng,
> Of Error, Superstition, Wrong.

But speculations about the graces and the harpies must cease, and give place to facts.

The lives of some men, more than others, remind us of this out-reaching, this firm-faced, onward march of the world's own life. One of these men was Peter Cooper, the lesson of whose life is so grand and simple as to make it seem that none could mistake its teachings, that he who ran might read ; but the public is far from a unit as to the upshot of this career, whose eulogists even seem to lose sight of certain traits that give to it its real, deepest significance. In this short study, I intend that the name of Peter Cooper shall be made to stand for Man, Manhood, or the Human.

Though wearing neither a mitre nor a crown, nor boasting of the title of philosopher or man of letters, yet was he great. He had his foibles, shortcomings, limitations, as every one has. Commencing his life as far back almost as the time of the nation's birth, certain defects might be expected or easily overlooked ; but, putting what stress you will on these, he yet towers a giant among pygmies. If he seemed to overrate mechanical helps and aids, his vision was by no means limited to the materialistic plane. His head, his heart, his hand, were in his work ; and a worker was he. Born poor, he became rich, not by fortune's windfall or guileful overreaching, but by useful, honest toil. And not without reverse and mishaps ; but, failing in one direction, he tried another. His riches were matched by his benevolence, as were his aspirations by his industry. Borrowed *from* no man, but made every man his debtor. To the needy applicant who halted in his story gave he the benefit of the doubt ; and over the faults of mankind was thrown the mantle of this large-hearted charity. Or should it not rather be said that something of profound sympathy and insight enabled him to behold the precious gem beneath the turbid waters of sorrow, perplexity, and sin? If his own scholarship was lacking, his love of knowledge was not ; and the opportunities denied to himself he strove to have secured to others. Democracy's own child, neither puffed with pride nor depressed by envy, as he knew none of the distinctions made in the world of rank and wealth. He cared nothing for popularity as such, though happy in seeing his efforts appreciated by whatever class ; for, in others' happy looks and accents, he saw and heard, not echoes of his own conceit, but the prelude to that grand music which is to agitate the soul with the rippling swell of its infinite harmonies. He rejected the creeds, dogmas, of the churches, having "no common standing ground" with them, as one to which he once belonged confessed ; yet believed he in God, and also in man. He was an American believing in ideas and in their realization, ever willing to reason, never too old to learn. He saw the use in things great and small, the good in persons of high and low degree. His private charity took the form of friendship and help, his public beneficence of personal devotion and money offering. Truth and virtue indeed were the Urim and Thummim on the breastplate of this priest of humanity. Of science and art, his soul was enamoured, their *union* forming the empyrean for his hopes and aspirations. To philanthropy, he gave a new or its true meaning by his virile, consistent, and expansive aims and designs, basing it, as it may be said, on these three principles or ideas, which complement each other and form a philosophy of life. The object of life is to do good (that is the positive side). Man should give to the world in some form of useful labor an equivalent for what he consumes in it (that is its negative aspect). The first hints of the capabilities and destiny of man's life, the latter of its conditions or mode, their blended significance being the community of man's nature, aims, and interests, which makes each the debtor of each, the trustee of society for the wealth he possesses, and the student and guardian of the needs and liberties of all. And thus is human life infilled with suggestion of the sublime and beautiful, that enspheres itself in religious trusts and ideals, in philosophical systems and masterly wide-reaching schemes for the practical solution of the problems of life.

I would now call attention to those verdicts that look frowningly or apathetically on the character or life just sketched.

On the walk near Cooper Institute, I chanced to meet with a minister of "the gospel." The following is a part of our conversation. Placing my hand on the brown-stone edifice draped in mourning, I said, "Now, here, on this spot, tell me, what is Peter Cooper's fate?" "Dear brother, I know what you mean; but he has not gone to heaven." "That is frank: I thank you. And it is what every orthodox minister in this great city would or should answer, is it not?" "Certainly; for he rejected the Saviour, whose atoning blood is man's only salvation. He built on a foundation of 'good works,' which cannot stand; for it will be swept away like chaff before the wind." "'Good works!' Yes, that is true; but those two words express to me the holiest of things." "But, dear brother, though it grieves me to the soul to say it, Peter Cooper cannot be saved, if the Bible is true." "I must remind you that many strange and contradictory beliefs are drawn from the Bible. Still, I admit that Cooper Union and yonder Bible House" (a large brick block across the way) "cannot both flourish side by side. If one is built on the rock, the other is built on the sand." "I am sorry to hear you speak so. Do you know that Christianity is the only religion that tells of a resurrection? And no fact is better authenticated. Oh, what a blessed time we have had during Easter week! My prayer is that you may some time know the joy of a Christian." "There is one fact well-attested to me: Peter Cooper was a true man. Be happy I could not, knowing such as he were damned. My views of the future are brighter than yours, and, I think, better founded. And right here, within these very walls, is the laboratory of souls."

But there is another class of religionists, who speak in almost as startling a manner of this man's life; for the eulogy pronounced at his funeral by a famous Unitarian divine closed with these words,—"And so the words of the Master again come true." But this very form of piety was called by Mr. Cooper himself *idolatry*. Hence, it is an affront to his memory, and ill accords with the general tenor of his life, and must be considered as on a par with the jeers his belief in a God might receive from atheists or rather a class of atheists. But he was a man, a liberal, though he may not have sworn by any Christ, ancient or modern.

After bigotry comes pride, fostered by a one-sided training, and made the standard of society, royal households, and seats of learning. An *evening* journal, the organ of respectability and culture in this great metropolis, says in an obituary notice, "Peter Cooper, in birth, breeding, and associations, belonged to the past," and continues in a strain in keeping with this sapient remark, whose aim or effect is the disparagement of this man's life and work. Mr. Cooper was so unfortunate as to antagonize the reigning political and economic theories of the time, which, together with some of his plebeian habits contracted when he worked at the smithy or was a glue merchant, made him obnoxious to the sneers or criticism of a class whose "birth, breeding, and associations" are so peculiarly American.

True, he was eight years old (think of it!) when the mock funeral of Washington passed through the streets of New York City; but his spirit, his ideas, will live to see the funeral of the present social and political *régime*, as it sweeps on toward the deep gorge of oblivion.

After pride, apathy, which is an absence of enthusiasm in matters relating to truth and humanity. This class loves pleasure, fame. These are the realities: goodness and virtue are phantoms. Its world is the senses, its god is self or selfishness. It sees no glory in a plain coffin, a plumeless hearse, and throngs of people for mourners. It takes delight, however, in decorating the soldier's grave, and contributes large sums for a monument to Liberty. And of this class, also, are those whose lives are temperate, blameless, and whose views are "advanced," perhaps, yet whose souls are listless and callous, as if carved from stone.

On the centre-tables of some are found the poets,—yes, the American poets,—of whom as fetichtic a use is made as of the Bible in the generality of Christian homes. And this class would, of course, smile to hear it said that Peter Cooper is the peer of Bryant, Longfellow, and Emerson; yet we have Milton's authority for it (if we need any other than our own instincts) that *a noble life is the truest poem.*

> Greater than priest or king or khan
> Was this whole-souled, deep-natured man:
> To serve, not rule, his life's intent;
> He toiled, he gave, till life was spent.
>
> He lives, if, in that central sun,
> Life, light, and love are really one.
> And honor to his name doth cling,
> While in man's soul *lives* such a thing.

T. W. CURTIS.

A REPLY TO MR. BATE.

Editors of The Index :—

A friendly and courteous critic in yesterday's *Index* appears to think that I know nothing of Mr. George's theories but what I found in Mr. Kennedy's statement of them. On the contrary, my first knowledge of them was got from Mr. George's own book, which I have diligently studied from end to end, every page of it. I did not undertake a review of the book,—for which I do not claim to be qualified,—only to say how the three points struck me which Mr. Kennedy stated with such emphasis. As he was once a pupil of mine as well as friend, I did not think to offend him by calling him "young,"—don't think I did. I only wish somebody would offend me in the same way.

Now, Mr. George's book has a great deal in it—besides the spirit and motive of the writer—which I very cordially admire. What I called "deleterious nonsense" in it consists in those fallacies (as I think them) which are likely to put us on a false track, if we accept them. I am not sure, as I said, that I understand them myself. For instance, on pages 57 to 61, Mr. George seems to be saying the same thing that I did, when I said that the value of the work done must be "discounted by capital" to pay wages. Theoretically (in other words), they are paid out of the general increase of wealth, which the particular work done is adding to; but, practically, they are paid by a draft on the accumulated stock.

So of population. When Mr. George speaks (p. 134) of an increase "within the limits *which we have any reason to suppose* in any given state of civilization," I am not sure that his opinion, practically, is any different from mine. The careful reader of his book will notice that, while he says a good deal about ways of multiplying the food supply, he appears to intimate that the gold supply has fallen off already, and says nothing at all about the coal supply, oil supply, or timber supply, which it is much harder to suppose can keep pace with an indefinite growth of numbers. One *might* interpret him so as to favor recklessness and waste.

As to the other point, I have myself been greatly fascinated by many socialistic schemes, and especially by the theory of common property in land. If I have no faith at present in Mr. George's proposition, very likely it comes from a difference in the point of view. I was brought up in a community of small farmers; and the tools most familiar to my hands were the hoe, rake, and spade, so my instinctive sympathies run that way. Mr. George speaks of having been a member of a trade, I do not know what, but will imagine the printer's trade, for which I have a very particular kindness. Now, I suppose that at least ninety-nine hundredths of the land in this country are owned by small farmers and householders, who control, in the last resort, the policy of most of the States; and I hardly think he appreciates the difficulty—I will say the impossibility—of their consenting to his scheme. I hope there is some other way to prevent the enormous land monopolies he speaks of, but I see no possible chance of taking his way. To throw all the burden of taxation on such estates will certainly seem to them, as it did to me, "preposterously wild and cruel."

Besides, as soon as Mr. George comes to speak of the results of a scheme so revolutionary, I observe that he falls at once into the potential mood. For page after page, I find only that certain things "might, could, would, or should" take place; and I have only his word for it. Now, I hate and dread the great land monopolies as much (perhaps) as he does. But I am accustomed to think that the largest possible proportion of independent land owners in a given community makes the best and safest form of civil society, *all things considered;* and Mr. George's potential moods do not drive me from that conclusion.

Besides, any reform, to be effectual, must work (as

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he very rightly says) in the same general direction that things are taking spontaneously. Now, we find that, by a consent extraordinarily universal, it is held that "possession of land in severalty" is urged as the one remedy for the evils of tribal tenure among the Indians, which Mr. George would restore in the civilized States. We also find that in the older States, like Massachusetts, a process is going on rapidly by which ancestral farms of one hundred or two hundred acres are bought and owned by small cultivators in lots of ten or fifteen acres. Some eighteen years ago, when I was cultivating a paternal estate of ten acres, my hired man who worked beside me in the furrow was owner of his little farm and orchard, not quite so large, which he had bought and improved out of his wages in my father's service, and was a very independent citizen.

But it is easiest to see this thing in a concrete example. I will give one, disguising somewhat the case I have in mind.

About forty years ago, there settled in a country village in Connecticut a young physician, who, with a good eye to scenery and aspect, bought a three-acre lot, built a house which he paid for, educated his children, and died at fifty-six. His widow lives in the house—her only property—with a married daughter, whose husband—a respectable mechanic—manages to keep things tidy and maintain his family, including three young children, in decency and comfort. In short, it is as fair an example of modest thrift and prosperity as you would wish to see. The whole money income, one year with another, counting in eggs and fruit, may be about five hundred dollars, of which fifty go for taxes.

Suppose Mr. George's scheme adopted. Now comes a thriving business man from Hartford, who has made half a million in trade (which, being in stocks and bonds, Mr. George will kindly leave untaxed), looking for a country residence, and fixes his eye on this modest homestead. He goes straight, not to the occupant, but to the assessor, and asks, "What ground-rent do you get for Widow Jones' house-lot?" "One hundred dollars," is the reply. "We reckon ten per cent. of the last valuation, not counting improvements." "I will give you a thousand," he returns. "The old doctor knew what he was about when he bought that place. The improvements are nothing to me, as I mean to build; but I will give a thousand dollars (more than they are worth) to make things smooth and move the family out. I will take possession to-morrow or next rent-day, if you say so."

Suppose my friend Mr. Bate to be the assessor, what will he do? If he lets the family stay on the old terms, the whole scheme goes to naught. If he raises the rent on them to its market value (as Mr. George says), he ruins them at once. If he accepts the new tenant, he brutally evicts six helpless persons for the whim of a millionnaire. That is what Mr. George's scheme means to me. I think I have fairly applied all his potential moods to the case supposed. Multiply it by hundreds of thousands all over the country, and you have a notion of what it may mean any day to any eligible homestead on the continent.

I observe with regret that Mr. George not only says nothing of this counter process of subdivision of land going on, but is silent as to certain moral efforts which have greatly improved the condition of large classes of operatives in this country and England. Apparently, he thinks drunkenness and such vices, in the present state of things, inevitable and therefore pardonable. This seems to me the most dangerous form of hopelessness. I have some manufacturing friends, also, who tell me that the general tendency of wages is to rise, and not to fall, as Mr. George assumes. But I will leave that part of the argument to them.

J. H. ALLEN.

ITHACA, N.Y., May 11, 1883.

BOOK NOTICES.

WHENCE, WHAT, WHERE? A View of the Origin, Nature, and Destiny of Man. Dr. James P. Nichols. Boston: A. Williams & Co.

The author of the above work is well known as an agricultural chemist, highly successful business man, and popular expositor of science. Reason and faith seem to hold divided sway in his mind. He is too shrewd and practical to be altogether an enthusiast. On the other hand, in spite of his shrewdness and really admirable chemical attainments, he is largely a supernaturalist, both in reference to Bible myths and miracles and to current Spiritualism and what he calls its occult psychical phenomena. Still, he is for the most part what is called in vulgar parlance level-headed. His book is readable, and gives evidence of an amount of thought and scientific knowledge highly commendable in a business man. The interrogatories which he propounds for discussion may be unanswerable, and the problem which he attempts to deal with insoluble. He treats in his book of the following high themes: namely, the genesis of man; the material man; the spiritual man; what is spirit? the religious man; what of death? after death, what? where? or, in the poetical language of Byron,

> "When coldness wraps this suffering clay,
> Ah, whither strays the immortal mind?"

To show how faith or credulity flourishes in the mind of Dr. Nichols alongside of his chemical and other positive knowledge, we refer the reader of his book to page 167, where the Doctor cites the venerable Bible story of the apparition of the prophet Samuel, at the summons of the Witch of Endor, to the occasionally mad Hebrew king, Saul, to serve a notice on him that he and his sons would fall in battle with the Philistines on the morrow, and thereafter be with him in the unseen world. This old Hebrew mythical narrative, according to Dr. Nichols, shows that there is an unseen world or land of souls, and that one emigrant thither at least—namely, the old Hebrew prophet, Samuel—did return from it to this sublunar sphere: *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

ALDORNERE: A Pennsylvania Idyl. By Howard Worcester Gilbert. Illustrated with nine original etchings by Lloyd Mifflin, Jr. Philadelphia: John Pennington & Son.

This is a romantic episode of the war of the late Rebellion, pleasantly told in blank verse by one of our occasional contributors. A vein of true poetic sentiment and high moral purpose runs through the volume. The "etchings" are very fine, and add greatly to the attractions of the work.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for April discusses the question of the amount of salary to be paid to the representatives of the people, complains of the management of Belgian railroads and canals by the government, relates the career of Gambetta as minister, shows how physical training may best be given in schools, tells two stories whose interest is purely sentimental, and gives an able survey of the language and history of Russia.

IN addition to his forthcoming serial in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. F. Marion Crawford has arranged with Messrs. Macmillan, the publishers of *Mr. Isaacs*, for the simultaneous publication in this country and in England of a new novel, to be called *Dr. Claudius*, the scene of which will be laid partly in Germany, where Mr. Crawford spent some years of student life, and partly in the United States.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MISS SUSAN H. WIXON will lecture in Paine Hall next Sunday afternoon at three o'clock.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. have issued a dainty pocket edition of Holmes' *Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table.*

B. F. UNDERWOOD spoke last Sunday, by invitation, from the pulpit of the Unitarian Society of East Lexington, Mass.

A TRANSLATION of the fifteenth German edition of Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff* is in press, and will appear in a few weeks.

MINISTER LOWELL is rated by the London *Times* as the superior, for an after-dinner speaker, of anybody Britain can furnish.

MISS A. GESANDNER, of Milwaukee, has won distinction by being, probably, the only female switch-tender in the United States.

MR. S. R. URBINO, of Newton, has been doing a splendid work in forming Bands of Mercy (anti-animal-cruelty societies) in that city.

IN the death of Hon. Israel Washburn, of Maine, which occurred in Philadelphia last Saturday, we lose another of the great war governors.

MRS. CLARA NEYMANN, of New York, will speak next Sunday forenoon at Horticultural Hall, before the First Boston Ethical Society, on "The Moral Factor in Government."

HENRY GEORGE, the author of *Progress and Poverty*, lectures in Tremont Temple this city on the evening of May 17. A great demonstration by the various labor organizations is expected.

MR. M. J. SAVAGE spoke to his congregation last Sunday morning on Agnosticism, which he does not regard with the aversion shown by some of his brother ministers. The sermon was full of thought and liberal in spirit.

THE proposed statue in honor of Theodore Parker, it is estimated, will cost something over ten thousand dollars. There seems to be a difference of opinion as to whether the figure of the famous divine should be transmitted to posterity in a sitting or standing posture.

HERBERT SPENCER, Profs. Huxley and Tyndall, John Morley, and about two hundred of the leading literary and scientific notabilities of England, have signed a memorial to be presented to the home secretary, protesting against the continuance of the imprisonment of Mr. Foote, the editor of the *Freethinker*, for blasphemy, and asking for his release.

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD is announced to give a course of four lectures on America in the American Poets at Springfield, Mass., as follows: Friday evening, May 18, Longfellow; Tuesday evening, May 22, Whittier; Friday evening, May 25, Lowell; Monday evening, May 28, Emerson. The Amherst *Record* says that these lectures, given recently at Amherst, "gained in interest from the first," and adds: "The lectures were highly instructive, full of fine sentiment, and with enough of wit and humor. It is a pleasure in this day, when the platform has become so commonly a mere instrument for popular amusement, to welcome one who deals with serious themes, and seeks to restore the lecture to something of the important place it held among us twenty years ago."

JAMES K. APPLEBEE spoke at Parker Memorial last Sunday on Theodore Parker, the occasion being the twenty-third anniversary of the death of the great reformer. The speaker alluded to the treatment he received at the hands of the Unitarians, and said that, in a town in Michigan to-day, there is a church in which hang the portraits of Unitarian worthies, among them that of Theodore Parker. If any one asked its members what Unitarianism was, the reply given was, "What these men and women believed in." If asked what were the objects of Unitarianism, the answer was, "To make such men as Theodore Parker." But the speaker could not forget how the Unitarians had tried to ruin Theodore Parker. He was not burned at the stake, for the Unitarians never had fire enough to burn anybody; but he was made to suffer a worse martyrdom. Parker was not made to shed his blood, but his tears, which to him was much worse. He was a great political and social reformer as well as a religious one. Theodore Parker will be the subject of Mr. Applebee's discourse next Sunday and the Sunday following.

SAYS the Springfield *Republican:* "Mr Kennedy improves as a biographer, though he has still much to learn before he will write like Plutarch, Izaak Walton, or Sainte-Beuve. His *Oliver Wendell Holmes*, published in Boston by S. E. Cassino & Co.,—a new and ambitious firm of book-makers,—is a great advance on his Life of Whittier, as that was on his hasty compilation about Longfellow. Yet, in all these books, the effort was evident to make a biography that would represent the man in view,—not a mere eulogy, but the whole character from its several sides, with praise or blame according to the author's mind. This is well, but it may be that Mr. Kennedy does not see all that is to be seen; and, though he takes many views, they are none of them quite comprehensive enough. The Holmes biography is better than the others in this respect, however; and, though it will give a twinge to the reader now and then, especially to the Boston reader and the innumerable cousinry of the Holmes family, it is, on the whole, just and clear, if not always generous in its judgments." A biography that represents "the man in view,—not a mere eulogy, but the whole character from its several sides, with praise or blame according to the author's mind,"—and that is, "on the whole, just and clear," is about the kind of biography the public need, whether it pleases the "Boston reader and the innumerable cousinry of the Holmes family" or not.

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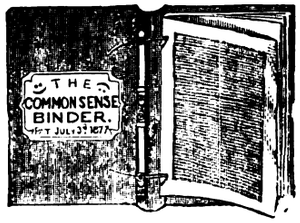

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 553

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Postal Laws and Liberty of the Press, Wm. J. Potter, . 554
Some Primitive Free Thinkers, B. W. Ball, ... 554
The Sins of Woman, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, ... 555
Gibbon, J. H. Allen, ... 556
The Honesty and Accuracy of Gibbon, B. F. Underwood, 557
Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., F. A. Hinckley, . . . 558

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 558

POETRY.
Flowers, Lita Barney Sayles, ... 558
Lines in an Album, Van Buren Denslow, ... 559

ESSAY.
Religious Rationalism in the United States, Count Goblet d'Alviella, ... 559

CORRESPONDENCE.
The George-Kennedy-Allen Case Again, W. S. Kennedy, 562
Samuel Johnson's *Religion of India*, Keshavrao Bhat, 562

BOOK NOTICES.
The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts, by Richard P. Hallowell, ... 562
The Greek Philosophers, by Alfred William Benn, . . 563
Atlantic Monthly, North American Review, ... 563

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 563

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Third Annual Meeting of the Institute of Heredity will be held in Wesleyan Hall, Bromfield Street, May 29, 1883. The session will last through the day and evening. 10 A.M., 2.30 and 7.30 P.M.

HORACE GREELEY, in a letter just published, wrote: "I greatly doubt the possibility of purifying primary elections, and I dread making them too imposing. Now, they are known to be mainly frauds, and they don't have much weight. The purifying principle of our politics is bolting, and I mean to encourage resorts to it."

THEY are going to have a Tertio-Millennial Anniversary Celebration in Santa Fé, which is to begin on the second day of July next, and will be continued until August 3. The name of this anniversary is rather bewildering, but it means that the inhabitants of Santa Fé intend to celebrate the three hundred and thirty-third anniversary of its settlement. The three distinct civilizations of Indians, Spaniards, and Americans which have their home there, will be represented in characteristic art, industries, and games.

FUNDS are needed for the sensible charity organized and cared for by the Young Men's Christian Union of this city, which sends the children of poor and worthy families into the country for a week during the summer, giving them a glimpse of Nature at her loveliest and a few days of pure air and pleasure. This charity was begun in 1875, with 160 beneficiaries, and swelled to 1,795 beneficiaries last year, with an average vacation of twelve days, at a cost of $2.69 each per week. Mr. W. H. Baldwin, at 18 Boylston Street, will rightly dispose of any benefactions.

THE circular which Pope Leo has addressed to the Irish bishops is denounced by Mr. Davitt and other prominent Irish agitators as a manifesto inspired by British diplomacy. The aim of the Pope seems to be to crush out the political movement directed by Mr. Parnell. Doubtless, the Irish clergy will feel compelled to heed the instructions from their supreme chief, but there is a feeling among the more intelligent Catholics of Ireland that the Pope has no right to interfere in their political affairs; and the Parnell fund is likely to be increased by the papal circular.

POMEROY'S *Democrat* relates a case where a sick man, distorted by rheumatic contractions of the muscles, was by order of his physician to his attendants greatly angered, when within an hour his pain left him and in a few weeks his limbs were restored to usefulness and the man to health. Our experience with rheumatic sufferers leads us to believe that such patients do not generally wait for the physician's orders to their attendants to get angry, as the worst stages of that disease are very likely to induce that state of mind. It is more easily tried, however, than the faith cure.

AT an anniversary meeting of the Salvation Army held at Exeter Hall, London, on the 16th, "General" Booth stated that the Army was composed of 491 corps, with 1,500,000 members, while the income amounts to £121,000. The expenses of rentals are £21,000; and the value of property acquired, £150,800, mortgaged to the amount of £54,000. The estimated needs for the coming year are £14,000; but, of this, £10,000 were subscribed at the meeting. These facts and figures seem to indicate that it is easy to organize men and raise money for theological purposes in proportion as men are ignorant and fanatical. At the meeting referred to above, the proceedings were as noisy and demonstrative as usual. Reformed drunkards and pugilists related their experiences, and one of the latter supplemented his harangue by a song and dance upon the platform.

NOTHING shows more clearly that Orthodoxy is losing its hold on our people than the statement given by Dorus Clarke, D.D., at the end of his pamphlet on "The Alleged 'Progress in Theology,'" proving that no more money is now raised by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Massachusetts Bible Society, and the American Tract Society, than was contributed twenty years ago. For instance, the population of this State was only two-thirds as great in 1863 as at present; but then the Massachusetts Bible Society collected $11,688.47. Only $9,057.05 was given in 1882, though, according to the increase in population, it would have been over $16,500. The Tract Society got $24,344.31 in 1863, but only $26,387.72 in 1881, and there was great uniformity meantime. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions actually took in much less money during 1879 and 1881 than in any other year since 1863. The receipts for 1882 were larger, but not equal to those of 1864, 1868, 1869, 1874, 1875, 1876, or 1878. It is plain that people in general care less for sectarian propagandism than ever before. They are as generous as ever, but they prefer unsectarian charities.

THE following we find in the Springfield *Republican:* "There is only one pronounced atheist and one rationalist in the present Senior Class of Harvard College; but there are 7 terrible agnostics, or 'know-nothings,' 5 who have 'no religion,' and 19 undecided, against 38 Unitarians, 29 Episcopalians, 22 Congregationalists, 8 non-sectarians, 7 Baptists, 4 Universalists, 4 theists, 3 deists, 2 Swedenborgians, and 1 Methodist, 1 Roman Catholic, and 1 Disciple. The law will take 48 of them, business 36, teaching 16, medicine 14, ministry 6, banking 6, journalism 4, and 20 will watch for something to turn up." From these figures, it would appear that forty members of the class —namely, 1 atheist, 1 rationalist, 7 agnostics, 5 who have no religion, 19 undecided, 4 theists, and 3 deists—do not accept Christianity or are unwilling to be classed with believers in Christianity. And since, as is well known, a large proportion of those called Unitarians are but nominal Christians, being either agnostics, or theists like Mr. M. J. Savage, who is in fact no more a Christian than is Mr. Abbot, it is fair to infer that, of the 38 Unitarians, one-half or three-fourths of the number are also unbelievers. The fact that the ministry will take but 6, while the law will take 48, business 36, teaching 16, medicine 14, and banking and journalism 10, is significant, when we consider the proportion of students whose ambition has been to qualify themselves for the ministry in past years.

C. LLOYD MORGAN, in *Nature*, gives an account of his experiments with scorpions, to ascertain whether these creatures have, as has been claimed, a suicidal instinct. He says that he condensed a sunbeam on various parts of the scorpion's body; heated scorpions in a glass bottle, "killing some twenty or thirty individuals in this way"; surrounded them with fire, placing them "in the midst of a ring of embers on the flat and much-heated stones of the fire-place, when one crept over the embers, but got baked before he could escape"; "placed a layer of an eighth of an inch of alcohol in a shallow vessel, lit the alcohol and placed the scorpion in the midst of the burning spirit"; put them in concentrated sulphuric acid, sodium hydrate, and other strong acid; "placed a small pellet of phosphorus near the root of the scorpion's tail, and lit the phosphorus with a touch of heated wire"; put them "in a bottle with a piece of cotton wool moistened with benzine"; treated them with a series of electric shocks, and subjected them to "general and exasperating courses of worry." Mr. Morgan thinks it will be admitted that some of these experiments are "sufficiently barbarous to induce any scorpion who had the slightest suicidal tendency to find relief in self-destruction," but that he "cannot place on record a single instance of clear and unmistakable scorpion suicide." We do not believe that there are any scientific considerations which can justify the torturing of animals in the manner described by Mr. Morgan, merely to gratify a curiosity whether they can be made to commit self-destruction. Experiments like these must tend to produce insensibility to suffering, without, as we can see, adding to the sum total of useful knowledge.

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POSTAL LAWS AND LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

There is little likelihood that the United States law which forbids the use of the mails for the circulation of indecent literature will be repealed. The Supreme Court has fully affirmed the constitutionality of the law, and no argument but that of unconstitutionality would be adequate to outweigh the strong common sense of the people in the necessity of such a law against one of the easiest means of disseminating vile publications. Indeed, should it be decided that a law for this object is unconstitutional, a strong and doubtless successful movement would be inaugurated so to amend the national Constitution as to bring such a law within its scope. For what class of persons can have any interest in allowing the use of the mails for the publications in question except those shameless creatures who seek to make a living by inciting their fellow-men to vice? And this is not a class of persons who would be likely to show their heads in public against such a constitutional amendment. They are really criminals, and from the nature of their vocation are disposed to keep in the shade.

But there is no probability that such an amendment to the Constitution will be required. The argument that the section of the postal laws under discussion is unconstitutional rests on the slenderest of foundations. If the United States laws attempted to deal with the whole crime of publishing, and trafficking in, obscene literature, they would be clearly unconstitutional. That crime in general is left, by our dual system of government, to be dealt with by the separate States, just as are murder, arson, robbery, and others of the most flagrant as well as smaller crimes. But, by the national Constitution, the States gave up to the United States government the full responsibility and care for the postal system of the whole country. The separate States have now no right to carry mails, nor in any way to regulate the laws and methods of the United States with regard to them. Hence, the United States government has not only the right, but the duty, to see that its mails are not used for plainly abetting and executing a traffic which the States declare to be a gross immorality and crime. Upon the general government devolve by the Constitution whatsoever rights and obligations the separate States would have had for prohibiting the use of the mails for circulating vile publications, if they had retained postal privileges in their own hands. And that any State should make itself a common carrier to transport at public expense printed matter or any articles of merchandise, traffic in which it has forbidden by law as a crime against public morals, is incredible.

But, at this point, certain persons enthusiastically vigilant for liberty exclaim, Is the government to open mails and examine people's private correspondence? To which the answer is: The government in this matter can make no inspection of mails in any other way than that which it has an undisputed right to use for other purposes. Neither letters nor any other sealed matter paying letter postage can be examined except by special order of a court and due process of law provided for all search and seizure of private property. But all other classes of mailable matter must now be so wrapped as to be accessible to the ready examination of post-office officials; and, by a similar proviso, a government has a perfect right to throw out as unmailable all articles of merchandise and publications so plainly intended for moral contamination that traffic in them is forbidden by statute. No government can be expected, knowingly, to become a party to the violation of its own laws.

It is admitted, however, that here arises a difficulty. People differ in their judgment as to what is "plainly intended for moral contamination," and, also, as to the responsibility of government for protecting people from "moral contamination." There are people, on one side, of excellent intentions, who have not yet escaped from the old ecclesiastical idea that to deny certain religious beliefs, to become sceptical or atheistic, and to write and publish such unbeliefs, is to produce "moral contamination"; and these persons cannot easily keep the line distinct between their bigoted horror of infidelity in opinion and their moral horror of criminal conduct. And, on the other hand, there are many good people who are so jealous for personal liberty of thought and speech that they are disposed to distrust all government interference in morals, and think it safer on the whole that people should run any risk of "moral contamination" than that anybody's mental liberty should be proscribed to prevent it. Thus, it may be conceded, cases might occur where law-abiding and virtuous people would differ as to whether statute law of any kind should be invoked to prevent the circulation of evil literature. For what is "evil literature"? Who is to decide? But, whatever ambiguity may come into the question when put in this form, there is a well-defined class of vicious literature and prints concerning which there is no ambiguity, no uncertainty, but of which the testimony of all intelligent persons would be that it is meant to pander to vice, and is issued solely for that purpose. It is sent especially to the young and inexperienced, and those miscreants who engage in the business expect pecuniary profit from it. If people believe in any government at all, or in any power in society at large to restrain its members to certain bounds of right and decency, it is not easy to see how they can help believing in a governmental authority to prevent such fiends in human shape as these from plying their diabolical trade. Liberty is too sacred a word, too closely allied to all that is moral and noble, to be used as a shield to protect anybody's right to commit such nefarious deeds. Nobody has any such right. The trade of these persons is criminal, and government can no more connive at it by making itself the carrier of their criminal goods than it can encourage it in any other way.

And the present United States postal law on this subject was doubtless intended by Congress solely to prevent the mails being used for this criminal traffic. It is possible, however, that some of those who outside of Congress were most zealous for securing the law, and that the principal and special agent of the government in executing the law, are of that class of persons above referred to, who are unable to distinguish clearly between their abhorrence of certain erroneous opinions and their abhorrence of vice. The law, at least, is not expressed with such clearness and precision as to prevent abuses in its execution. And such abuses have really occurred. The outcry indeed which they have occasioned has given to some people the impression that the cases of abuse of the law are more than the cases of its legitimate use, which is very far from the truth. But the law needs some amendment to provide against the possibility of even these few exceptional abuses. And this amendment, it is quite possible, might have been already effected, if so many Liberals, under the mistaken idea that liberty was more endangered by the law than morality would be by its repeal, had not made the egregious blunder of working for its entire abolition. To seek totally to repeal the law is as much against the interests of genuine liberty as it is against the interests of morality. What a puerile idea of liberty is that which blatantly claims the right to print a thing just because government forbids it! And how more than puerile —how morally degrading—is that idea of liberty which identifies freedom of speech and the press with the defiant power of uttering whatever indecencies one may choose!

The law, as we said at the outset, will not be permitted by the intelligent moral sentiment of the country to be repealed. But it will, we think, be amended. And it would not surprise us if some of those who are most prominently interested in its execution, seeing by the result of several recent cases in the courts how much now depends on the special opinions and bias of the presiding judge in interpreting the law, should be the first to move for an amendment, in order to secure a more exact phraseology and leave less latitude to the judges. Liberalism should then be in a condition to make its influence felt in obtaining such changes in the law as will prevent all assaults under it upon any of the genuine rights of free inquiry and discussion, while leaving in it all its present power against all persons who would use the United States mails for conveying publications that are criminally indecent. WILLIAM J. POTTER.

SOME PRIMITIVE FREE THINKERS.

The human mind, in the remotest, darkest periods of history, has always, in exceptional men, been aware of the actual state of the case, or, at least, been aware that vulgar beliefs and opinions are, as far as truth is concerned, apt almost invariably to be wide of the mark. Thus, there has never been a total mental eclipse, even in times of the most crass ignorance and superstition, there having always been exceptional men of sterling good sense and unerring rational insight to register a protest against popular errors and delusions, and thus save the honor of human nature. In other words, there have always been *moderns* in the world in the most archaic times, or persons imbued with what is called *the modern spirit* and reason, who lived in and habitually respired the atmosphere of reason, while their contemporaries were mere men of their times, imbued with all the errors, illusions, delusions, and irrational dogmatisms of their times. Away back, some twenty-five centuries ago, be the same more or less, there was a great historian,—namely, Thucydides,—who wrote history rationally, from a human, natural stand-point, and with an obvious contempt for the elaborate supernaturalisms and superstitions which environed him and tainted the entire moral and social atmosphere of his time and place. Thucydides, finding in his own consciousness, with his five senses wide-awake to the world, not one of the mob of gods and demons in which the mass of his contemporaries and countrymen elaborately believed, with a costly apparatus of temples, rituals, and priesthoods, concluded to recognize in his narrative none but natural personalities,—namely, his fellow-citizens and fellow-mortals. They were highly interesting to him,— they and their words and deeds, but not their gods. Thus, Thucydides was as much a modern, in spirit at least, as were and are Macaulay, Green, Parkman, Carlyle, and other current writers of history.

Then, as far back as the age of Xerxes, there was a great Ionian thinker and scientist,—namely, Demokritos of Abdera,—who took a modern, rational view of nature as a complex of matter and force, as a rushing torrent of "flaring atom-streams" pouring forever through the illimitable inane. So modern was Demokritos that current science has only lately reached his stand-point. For he, too, recognized the persistence of force and the indestructibility of matter under all the changes and metamorphoses which it is constantly undergo-

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ing. Then, again, he saw that no theological god, demiurge or thaumaturge, could make something out of nothing. He also saw that events of all kinds are the outcomes of an orderly evolution. As for his "atoms-and-void" theory, as a solution of the mystery of the universe, as its fundamental fact and source, it was at least a rational attempt to account for the nature of things, and so subtle and profound that it holds its own even now to a greater or less extent.

Then there was another sensible Greek philosopher or wooer of the coy maid, Wisdom,—namely, Epikuros,—who was for ages grossly maligned and misrepresented by the ever active spirit of envy, detraction, and malice, which is so lively when any sort of Orthodoxy is at stake. Horace, the genial Latin poet, though a disciple of Epikuros, when the sky was clear and he was feeling in good health and spirits, was yet willing to lend himself to the propagation of the current slander of his master by stigmatizing his followers as sleek porkers (*nitidi porci*), who were chiefly anxious to gorge themselves with abundant swill, and then to lie placidly grunting in the sun. But no Roman, with one exception to be presently considered, was capable of appreciating or piercing to the hidden meaning of any of the old Greek systems of world-wisdom. The mere fact that Epikuros lectured in a garden indicates that he was no voluptuary or sensualist in the piggish or porcine sense, but a man of simple tastes and unsophisticated appetites, with a fondness for plants, flowers, and a vegetable diet. The great aim of his philosophy was to sweep the human mind clear of rubbish, and to exorcise the theological phantoms and hallucinations which then haunted and still haunt it, to let the sunlight into the darkened chambers of its imagery, and make it see the nature of things as it really was and is, and not through the distorting medium of priestly, traditional mythological and theological nonsense. He aimed, above all, to impart to it a healthy equipoise, tranquilness, and undisturbedness, to banish from it all the distractions of superstition and folly. His philosophy was emphatically a philosophy of good sense, moderation, and quiet rational enjoyment of all legitimate pleasurable sensations, whether of mind or body. He had a more than Greek hatred of excess and too-muchness. He laughed at the overruling and special providence theory of the government of the world as an anile fable. Of course, he was a materialist pure and simple, all phenomena and all men and things being alike, according to his doctrine, combinations of cosmic atoms and resoluble into atoms again. He seems to have taught that there were gods, either from motives of policy or in deference to the general consensus of mankind; but his gods were not at all in the special providence line of business. They dwelt above the world in intermundane seclusion, and supremely indifferent to all the concerns of mortality,

> "Where never creeps a cloud or moves a wind,
> Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
> Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
> Their sacred, everlasting calm."

But, because "to-morrow we die," he did not recommend inordinate eating, drinking, and merriment, and a beastly wallowing in the mud-baths and ordure of lust and sensuality. On the contrary, he taught a refined simplicity and moderation of bearing and enjoyment. Of course, he was not an enthusiast, fanatic, or ghoul, but a quiet, imperturbable, self-poised gentleman, or, in Attic phrase, a man "*kalos-kai-agathos.*" In order to enjoy life at all, there must be mental and bodily health, vigor, and sanity; and all excess is fatal to such a condition.

Another conspicuous primitive free thinker was the illustrious Roman disciple of Epikuros,—namely, the Latin poet Lucretius,—who was born about a century before the initial year of the vulgar era, his birth almost synchronizing with the birth of the greatest Roman and man of action and statesmanship whereof this world holds record,—namely, Julius Cæsar,—and also with the birth of the greatest talker or tongue-potent man of his race,—namely, Cicero,—who was by no means so wise as he was eloquent with lips and pen, for he was one of the greatest of literary men and essayists also, and is as readable at this hour as ever. It is sufficient to say of Lucretius that he was worthy to be a contemporary of Cæsar and Cicero. Lucretius was thus born in the lurid, final years of the Roman Commonwealth, when it had become "a steaming slaughter-house" of civil war, faction, confiscation, treachery, incessant assassination and massacre, of greed, unnatural lust, luxury, inordinate wealth, and of popular agrarianism and anarchy on the one hand and unmeasured aristocratic arrogance, monopoly, and oppression on the other, when it had become a bottomless reservoir of the plunder of the then world and the resort of all kinds and hues of humanity. The sun of the Roman Republic was indeed setting in fuliginous, blood-red clouds of ruin. The two butchers, Marius and Sulla, seemed bent on exterminating with the sword the entire human race, or that part of it dwelling round the basin of the Mediterranean Sea. Lucretius, with all his Greek fire and genius, was yet a genuine Roman of the old stock, with all the instincts, tastes, prejudices, and traits of his singular race. But though a genuine, he was yet an exceptional Roman; for he had poetic and philosophic genius in as large measure as was ever vouchsafed to the most illustrious Greek bards and thinkers. While his great contemporaries, Cæsar and Cicero, were busy in court, forum, and camp, making the world ring with their names and words and exploits, Lucretius passed his brief life in loneliness and obscurity, in thought rather than action, on the heights of abstract contemplation, either "fancy-borne upon the rise and long roll of the hexameter," or pondering "those three hundred scrolls left by the teacher whom he deemed divine"; namely, Epikuros. The ruin of the republic and the fearful scenes of anarchy and bloodshed all about him finally broke his heart and brought him to the suicidal point; and he destroyed himself as his beautiful female namesake, who "brooked not the Tarquin in her blood," did so long before him. Almost the solitary tradition of him which survives is that his wife or mistress, Lucilia, who misinterpreted his solitary ways and abstractedness into a growing indifference for herself, administered to him a philter to reawaken his love for her. The philter made him insane with lucid intervals, during which he wrote his great poem "Concerning the Nature of Things," in which he

> "Told a truth
> That stays the rolling Ixionian wheel,
> And numbs the Fury's ringlet-snake, and plucks
> The mortal soul from out immortal hell."

For these lines of Tennyson's fine poem entitled "Lucretius," which I have already several times quoted, literally state the great aim and object of Lucretius in writing his great philosophic poem.

He assailed the monstrous idols and phantoms of superstition, as did the knight adventurer the giants and fire-breathing monsters of mediæval romance. His main reliance was the dogma of his master,—that the soul, being composed of atoms like the body, is as dissoluble and perishable as the latter; that man, in short, is a product of nature, a material phenomenon, and mortal. This being so, of course the fear of death and the dread of something after death are absurd. Thus, Tartarus and Elysium vanish into thin air, and the rolling stone of Sisyphus, and the wheel of Ixion, and the eternal thirst of Tantalus become mere poetic metaphors for inordinate ambition, love, avarice, and fear of death and God. The vulture of Tityos is simply the torment of love and insatiable desire. Lucretius labors at his demonstration of the folly of the expectation of another life with the utmost pains.

His contemporary, Julius Cæsar, though he occupied the position of Pontifex Maximus, or official high priest and pope of the Roman paganism of the time, was undisguisedly a co-believer with Lucretius and Epikuros in the mortality of the soul, if he is reported aright by Sallust. In his speech in the senate as to the kind of punishment to be inflicted on Catiline and his conspirators, Cæsar said "death was no punishment at all. Death was the end of human suffering. In the grave there was neither joy nor sorrow. When a man was dead, he ceased to be. He became as he had been before he was born." In this connection, Froude says: "Probably almost every one in the senate thought like Cæsar on this subject. Cicero certainly did. The only difference was plausible statesmen (such as Cicero) affected a respect for the popular superstition, and pretended to believe what they did not believe. Cæsar spoke his convictions out," although he was the chief priest of Roman paganism. But Cicero was a shifty trimmer, with all his literary and oratorical genius. There is plenty of affectation like his still current. But Lucretius and Epikuros were merely at accord with the old Hebrew Biblical doctrine, that there is no knowledge nor device in the grave, whither we are going. Prof. Clifford and Miss Martineau in recent years, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, stood exactly in the shoes of Lucretius on this subject. Miss Martineau craved a cessation of conscious being as a boon. Meanwhile, to affirm the mortality of the soul is as pure a piece of dogmatism as to affirm its immortality. Nobody has any right to make either affirmation. Our proper attitude is to wait and see. There may be other states of existence incognizable by our present equipment of senses. Meantime, in spite of Epikuros, Lucretius, Ecclesiastes, Julius Cæsar, Prof. Clifford, and Miss Martineau, most of us will still continue to entertain a hope, but not "a dread" of something after death.

B. W. BALL.

THE SINS OF WOMAN.

Dr. Dix opens one of his lectures (for which every man and woman in the country ought to reverently thank him) with this ominous heading; and he has not spoken the words a moment too soon. He has drawn the demarking lines between the old and the new with a pen of iron, has separated the sheep from the goats with the clearness of a final judgment; and I, by his construction finding myself irretrievably on the side of the castaways, am now able to see what amount of odium might righteously be heaped upon me, what measure of "outer darkness" I shall be doomed to suffer because of my heresies.

First, I, like most of cultivated women, most especially if they happen to be pretty, have not been without a certain hankering for the "good old times of Adam and of Eve," when women, queens of beauty, were served by gallant knights on bended knee, and blushed under the tributes of poets and the songs of Minnesinger and Troubadour. But woman can survive all this babyishness, and grow stronger and nobler from the escape, even though the changing of the age—too hard, too mechanical, too cynical, too materialistic, as it undoubtedly is—may cause some weak sighing

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for loss and the slow-coming gain, when she sees, in the language of the tender-hearted Dr. Dix, that "men, once upon a time, had romantic thoughts of women; they descanted seriously on their charms, their worth, their preciousness. Fine speeches were the order of the day, and there was a true and honest chivalry in society which accorded to woman an honor founded on high admiration and devout and loyal devotion to her. But that was once upon a time, and the time is past. Such language befitted those who held somewhat romantic and transcendent notions of the mother, the sister, the wife. We live in a wiser, if not a harder, age; our eyes are opened. The old opinions cluster around an impracticable and impossible ideal; the facts do not accord with the fancy; society has undergone a change; we see things differently. It is mere flattery and nonsense to talk of women or to women in that way; they want a different thing."

"They want a change." Here is an admission. Here is a point yielded. Assuredly, women do call for a change; and what is the inference? Their sins may have accumulated, and why? Did this rosy period produce the degeneracy? If all was so lovely, so desirable, so accessible, why should they desire to go out from under this golden, protective banner, this refined and refining adulation? Why?

Did woman grow too large for the half-bushel measure into which she was compressed? Did she grow too clear in sight, too high in aspiration, too humanly sympathetic, to claim this diaphanous homage,—to accept it, even when her eyes looked from her selfish altitude over the vast plain where her despairing, oppressed, toil-worn, sin-stained sisterhood grovelled in abject misery or revelled in ghastly mirth, blind, helpless, hopeless?

O my dear Doctor, you are hemmed in by your respectability, the high wall of your church pasturage, and you cannot see all this. The Church cannot fold its arms around all this miserable multitude; but women are learning that a true humanity, a large loving-heartedness that shall find teaching, shelter, work, work, work, will win all these forlorn women into a better fold than any Church has yet devised for them.

I do not undervalue the efforts made in all the Churches for the establishment of asylums, and a thousand other measures to relieve suffering and poverty and reclaim the sinful; but all this is but as a drop in the ocean of sin and misery,—a gill of rose-water to disguise the abysm of underlying nauseousness,—and we women see that palliatives are of no use. The sex must be roused to see its own needs, to use its own methods, think its own thoughts, do its own work. Let the sweet, velvet-soft, diamond-gleaming women cling to effete systems, kneel at their Lenten services, seeing nothing better; but we, who hear the cry of those into whose hearts the iron of outrage and wrong has penetrated, will seek a more excellent way. We see that the Church, led by her blind hierarchy, sleeps her somnambulic sleep, while the prisons multiply step by step with the founding of churches. Congregations two thousand strong of felons fill a single penitentiary with able-bodied men who, but for the remissness of the Church and the apathy of legislators, ought to be doing manful service in their day and generation.

We see that the other sex will not apply the seething ploughshare of reform, and we lay hold of the handle and strike a deeper furrow.

It is not women, either the luxurious, unobservant women of fashion or the women of reform, that strike the blow to the household, but *men*, who have lost the stimulus of the battle-field, and, tired of unsatisfactory politics, are falling behind the energy, intelligence, and moral resources of our sex. They busy themselves with a sort of pantomime life, dilettanteism, foolish travel and sports, and seclude themselves in clubs, deserting the family with a selfish bachelorism. Let the good Doctor turn his searching lantern nearer home, if he would penetrate the growing darkness that overshadows the family.

"I question not that the position of woman has changed, I think for the worse, in those particulars about which a true woman will be most sensitive. The deference paid her is less; homage has turned to mere civility; the public invade her privacy; the newspapers print her name in full; she is treated with no more ceremony than if she were a man." Thus indignantly chants Dr. Dix, as if a woman ought to be treated like a precious piece of porcelain in imminent danger of being broken; but he does not seem to perceive that men may be halting in growth or becoming remiss in true manliness.

The strictures upon the "immolation" of the girl child to the claims of society seem exasperatingly weak, in view of the luxurious churches and splendidly costumed women who fill the pews of Trinity and Grace Churches of New York on Sunday. What better is to be expected of these women than that they should train their daughters to grace these pews with the radiance of their mothers? and, to do this, sacrifices must be made, conventionalism insisted upon, and, if need be, the girl must kneel gracefully at the altar,—she in her teens,—and be wedded to some miserable old debauchee who buys her under the sanction of the Church. What better is this than to defeat the, ends of matrimony and neutralize its sanctities and prepare the way for its violations? Christian women, so called, do this; and the Church enters no forbidding of the bans, although the commonest *roué* turns with disgust from the desecrating rite. It is the sins of these so-called Christian mothers that pave the way to the ruin of their daughters and the degradation of marriage.

After all, what is the object of marriage? Woman has from the first been more or less a bond slave to man; and was this tie made reputable by law and sacred by religion, designed merely to be a *solace* to man, but a *bondage* to woman,—a means of preserving a better heredity and conveying wealth to children? Or was it also a method conceived for the mutual improvement of the man and the woman,—a means of redeeming each from irrational bestiality, of augmenting the growth of a purer life, the development of the more tender affections, a more refined modesty, an unselfish, generous, appreciative sense of the beautiful and the true, a protectiveness of the weak against the strong, and to foster the lovingness of childhood? Surely, if all this was not designed in marriage, it has done nothing for woman but intensify her bondage; and she will, and does reject it, unless some profound affection shall overwhelm all other considerations.

Marriage, then, resolves itself into a bond of love, the master bond, with its resulting issue of the child and the establishment of the family, with the laws of a wholesome heredity. Viewed in this light, it is even more holy and beautiful than any sacrament insisted upon by the Church. Deprive it of all this, and no amount of gold and silver and wreaths of flowers and kneeling hierarchy can make it other than a nauseous bondage and corruption. Divesting marriage of the only redeeming motive for its adoption,—the production of progeny and hope of a comforting household, a *home*, in the high sense of the term,—it would seem to justify the coarse estimate of Sterne, who, witnessing one of these unnatural alliances, exclaimed, "How any woman past child-bearing can ask God to bless her concupiscence is beyond my comprehension!"

I do not think American girls marry because they desire more freedom. Both boys and girls have freedom enough in our country,—too much. There is too much laxity in the household; and the coming woman must be better poised than the majorities of them at present are, or she will inaugurate a license much to be dreaded.

I do not think the great end of a woman's existence is to be found in comforting a man and mothering children. Thousands and thousands of women as well as men are totally unfit for marriage, and ought in all humility (in their hearts, at least) to crave pardon of their children for entailing upon them such unworthy parentage. Therefore, let these women be justified in refusing marriage, and devoting themselves to such pursuits as their capacities may seem to warrant. Let them not degrade nor violate the design nor sanctities of marriage, and let these seventy-five thousand extra women do as they best honestly can.

Let every woman who takes the vows of matrimony conscientiously regard its sacredness. Let her mother children, as the condition of marriage. Let her abstain from all practices, all drugs, designed to defeat the legitimate purpose of the relation, or let her retain her single blessedness; for it is here that the sins of woman are most strongly emphasized by all clear-judging, right-minded persons. "The deliberate determination of some married women to defeat the objects for which marriage was instituted, to have no real home, to avoid first the pains and next the cares and duties of maternity,"—such is a part of the charge brought against the sex by Dr. Dix. Undoubtedly, there is ground for the charge; but the sin does not entirely rest upon woman. It is a well-known fact that vast numbers of men are seriously opposed to a family, connive at, and promote measures to prevent its increase; and women, weak and cowardly, submit to outrage and peril rather than bide the ill nature of the unwilling father.

Now, it is useless to place this as crime in the face and eyes of a community that denies the moral responsibility of the actors therein, or, steeped in materialism, believe that nothing of this nature belongs to the moral sense,—that it is just as well, if not wisest and best, to prevent an undue growth of population. Whether it is this or the frivolous motive assigned by Dr. Dix as the true one, the sin, the crime, remains fearfully common. The fine, old, honorable households, once the pride of women like the mother of Wesley, like Anna Hutchinson and Elizabeth Fry, are dwindling away; and our population is being increased by the stout, ignorant Irish woman or the sensual, stolid German. ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

GIBBON.

The best of historians will bear a little looking after. Gibbon is doubtless to be reckoned one of the best. But he is far from being one of the most honest,—certainly, if we judge him from the standard of our day. He has done so great and indispensable a work, and I have been in many ways under so great and special obligation to him, that it does not become me to speak of him with anything but respect. But, if one is going over his ground with any desire to form a fair judgment of his own, there is no other distinguished historian who more needs the "little looking after." A careful student of Guizot's and Milman's notes easily finds that out. Still more help will be given by comparing Gibbon with Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*), who, from a point of view not very different from his,—that

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is, of the purely secular historian,—has gone very recently and with great thoroughness over a portion of his ground.

But my own particular complaint against Gibbon is that—far enough from being the "impartial" historian he is often asserted to be—there is, on the contrary, no historical writer I know who more adroitly expands, suppresses, or suggests, in dealing with his authorities, for the sake of helping out his main impression; no one, except it be avowed theological partisans, who writes more, and more skilfully, in the spirit of an advocate. I say nothing against his good faith. I have no doubt he is entirely honest in his opinions, or his lack of them; and I do not blame anybody for writing in harmony with his opinions. Gibbon was engaged in the good work of attacking the stupid theological bigotry and routine, and it became him to be a partisan. But he was a partisan absolutely devoid of the moral heat which gives a certain grandeur to the character of Voltaire.

I do not quarrel with his suppressions: of course, an historian must pick out the one fact in a thousand that best suits his general view. But the reader of Gibbon should be warned that *he does not mean that you shall see the other side*, or know there is another, if he can help it. For instance, he does not even allude to the strictly contemporary testimony of Lactantius and others that Galerius was a tyrant of peculiar brutality; choosing (I suppose because he was the persecutor *par excellence*) to leave the impression that he was simply a vigorous and effective defender of the frontier. While, if a man happens to be on good terms with the ecclesiastics, Gibbon does as Lord Nelson did,—puts his blind eye to the glass he looks through.

Unfortunately for this theory, there was a time when ecclesiastics had the lead in civilization, just as in Gibbon's day they were the great obstructionists. It is long since Gibbon that the "positive" school of history has come up, which can afford to see with both eyes. It is no blame to him that he wrote as an advocate, only his reader ought to know it. I venture to say that there is not one of the real leaders of civilization in Europe, from Constantine to Charlemagne, of whom it is possible to get a decently fair notion from the pages of Gibbon. As I have had occasion to put it very mildly in another place, "The instances are rare, in which he has not done wrong to the topic or the character he was treating, and let down the moral tone of a great man or a great event, such as the record fairly gives, by his strange incapacity of historic sympathy."

Just for curiosity, I will copy one out of several instances given by Prof. Huidekoper of Gibbon's use of his authorities. Dio Cassius says, speaking of Commodus, "Having killed an ostrich and cut off its head, he came to where we sat, holding in his left hand the head, and in his right the bloody sword." Which Gibbon has improved into the following: "With arrows whose point was shaped into the form of a crescent, Commodus OFTEN intercepted the rapid course and cut asunder the long bony neck of the ostrich." Herodian, however, had given the hint, by saying that the ostrich was beheaded by a crescent-tipped arrow, and continued to run after its head was shot off. This, with other examples of a similar kind, may be found in the notes to that book of curious and out-of-the-way learning, *Judaism in Rome* (p. 562). Another case, equally good, is of a hundred bears which Commodus butchered in pens, transfigured by Gibbon into "a hundred lions raging round the arena.

J. H. ALLEN.

THE HONESTY AND ACCURACY OF GIBBON.

A sentence quoted with approval in a book notice in *The Index* of May 3, stating that "the great merit of Gibbon's writings consists in the fact that he was strictly impartial, and wrote as an historian and not as an advocate," seems to have been the occasion of Prof. Allen's writing the "complaint against Gibbon" which is printed in *The Index* this week. Prof. Allen is a scholar; and his historical studies, as his able and excellent work on *Christian History* abundantly proves, have not been superficial. Yet we think his estimate of Gibbon is unjust, and take the liberty to dissent from it. Our conviction is that the author of that monumental work, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, was not only one of the greatest, but one of the most impartial and honest of historians. In this belief, we are supported by writers whose ability, learning, and fairness Prof. Allen will not attempt to impeach. Says James Cotton Morison, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford:—

> His [Gibbon's] accuracy, coupled with the extraordinary range of his matter, the variety of his topics, the complexity of his undertaking, the fulness and thoroughness of his knowledge, never failing at any point over the vast field, the ease and mastery with which he lifts the enormous load, are appreciated in proportion to the information and abilities of his critic.

Of the *Decline and Fall*, this writer says:—

> The book is such a marvel of knowledge, at once wide and minute, that even now—after numbers of laborers have gone over the same ground with only special objects in view, small segments of the great circle which Gibbon fills alone—his word is still the weightiest that can be quoted. Modern research has unquestionably opened out points of view to which he did not attain. But, when it comes to close investigation of any particular question, we rarely fail to find that he has seen it, and dropped some pregnant hint about it more valuable than the dissertation of other men.

The testimony of Freeman, the historian, is as follows:—

> That Gibbon should ever be displaced seems impossible. That wonderful man monopolized, so to speak, the historical learning and the historical genius of a whole generation, and left little indeed of either for his contemporaries. He remains the one historian of the eighteenth century whom modern research has neither set aside nor threatened to set aside. We may correct and improve from the stores which have been opened since Gibbon's time, we may write again large parts of his story from other and often truer and more wholesome points of view; but the work of Gibbon as a whole, as the encyclopedic history of thirteen hundred years, as the grandest of historical designs, carried out alike with wonderful power and with wonderful accuracy, must ever keep its place. Whatever else is read, Gibbon must be read too.

Rev. H. H. Milman, the learned divine who edited the English edition of *The Decline and Fall*, after having examined, by the permission of Lord Sheffield, Gibbon's unpublished posthumous works, including his notes and private memoranda, was strongly impressed with the honesty of the great historian. He states that he "has followed the track of Gibbon through many parts of his work, he has read his authorities with constant reference to his pages, and must pronounce his deliberate judgment in terms of the highest admiration as to his general accuracy." This high dignitary of the Church of England, while protesting against Gibbon's conclusions in some instances, confessed that it may be "fearlessly asserted" that he is "rarely chargeable even with the suppression of any material fact" bearing upon his subject.

Such testimonies would be undeserved and untrue, if Prof. Allen's "particular complaint against Gibbon" were well founded.

The subject of the great historian was an event which involved the destruction of an empire and an old civilization, an event for the consummation of which centuries were required, which extended over a large portion of the world, and affected the lives and the interests of a larger number of the inhabitants of the earth than any other political and social transition in the history of man. The subject had hardly been touched by any writer of ability. The materials with which he had to work were poor. The authorities he was obliged to examine were not authors like Livy and Tacitus, but, for the most part, writers in whose works facts distorted and carelessly recorded were mixed with legendary stories and superstitious fancies. Considering the scanty and wretched materials that existed, Niebuhr declared that the century between Commodus and Diocletian was incapable of historical treatment. Of the unavoidable inferiority of his first volume, Gibbon was fully aware; for he himself speaks of the "concise and superficial narrative of Commodus." The history of ecclesiastical Christianity, with its bigotry and intolerance, its persecutions and exterminating religious wars, forms perhaps the bloodiest and most repulsive chapter in the annals of mankind. It extended through periods when men were ignorant of nature, and their imagination was unregulated by reason. The human mind under the sway of myth and fable was incapable of telling the truth or appreciating reality. Certainly, Gibbon exhibited singular forbearance in giving an account of the origin and growth of Christianity with its constant affronts to and outrages on reason and truth. We may excuse an occasional sneer in his narration recounting those long, dreary centuries in which the human mind expended all its might in formulating and enforcing empty theological dogmas.

Gibbon wrote his history, it should be remembered, in the last half of the eighteenth century, just before the old *régime* with its corrupt Church and State was involved in the general conflagration of the French Revolution. He was one of the inaugurators of reason and naturalism. Comparative philology had not opened up an illimitable prehistoric past to the archæological student, and man at his different stages of development was not so well understood as he is now. Niebuhr had not then shown the mythical character of all primitive history, although it had been indicated by Voltaire. Walter Scott had not made the Middle Ages live and breathe again, so to speak. The study of the past had not become a science. It was not then seen that society is an organism. Man was regarded as having been created abruptly, and not as the subject of a gradual evolution. No Max Müller had set the Orient in a new light. There was no talk of Semitic and Aryan. Kant was living, and formulating his revolutionary philosophy, it is true; but he was as yet comparatively unknown and uninfluential. There had been no Humboldts, Herders, Spencers, Darwins, or Lyells, no Assyriologists or Egyptologists, no Mommsen to elucidate Greek or Roman history. Yet the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, far from being out of date, maintains its ground, and is the only solid bridge connecting the ancient with the modern world. Gibbon's historic glance took in some fifteen centuries; and in his account of the rise and establishment of Christianity with all its sects, of the invasion of the barbarians of Germany and Scythia, of the civil law, of the character and religion of Mohammed, of the temporal sovereignty of the popes, of the empire of Charlemagne, of the conquests of the Saracens and Turks, and a multitude of other great events and systems, his versatility was as remarkable as were his judi-

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cial candor and truthfulness. When the fact is considered that Gibbon is a standard historic authority, and has been since he wrote, in the great leading nations, Great Britain, Germany, and France, it is too late in this day to charge him with unfairness "in dealing with his authorities for the sake of helping out his main impression."

Gibbon was distinctly the champion and partisan of truth and reason, in whose interests he waged an implacable warfare against the theological spirit as it exhibited itself at the various periods of which he was the historian. He had to be somewhat aggressive to vindicate truth against ecclesiastical misrepresentation. He had to disperse the mist of fable in which numerous historic characters, such as Constantine and Charlemagne, were clothed, in order that they might be seen in a proper light as they really were. Superstition and ecclesiasticism were rampant, and on the Continent of Europe still powerful; and Gibbon had to make of his historic pen sometimes a weapon of assault. Writing at the present time with its greater tolerance and devotion to truth, he would have had no occasion to exhibit the militancy which was necessary in his day.

One who has been borne along with the current of Gibbon's historic narrative from the ancient to the modern thought, through so many centuries whose annals are beclouded by mythical tradition, *ought* to feel under "special obligations" to the historic genius that by twenty years of patient delving in the confused archives of the past at length succeeded in placing many centuries of the world's history in the clear light of a luminous historic account. It was the gigantic work of an historic genius to let daylight into such a jungle, and strangle so many monsters of myth and fable that infested it.

Gibbon had his limitations and defects as an historian; but they were not, in our opinion, those indicated by Prof. Allen. They were largely, as has been said, "the result of his chronological position." Society is a constantly growing organism; and the historian, in proportion as he is scientific in his method, since he has to deal with phenomena which can be explained often only in the light of subsequent developments, is peculiarly liable to become antiquated. The fact that Gibbon has not and is not likely to become antiquated shows what a comprehensive grasp of his subject and what historical insight he possessed; but the inadequateness of some of his chapters is too plainly manifest to be questioned. His impartiality and honesty, however, as well as his great ability and marvellous learning, may be considered well established. The following tribute to Gibbon by the learned and pious Rev. Albert Barnes is not undeserved:—

> Mr. Gibbon had his field, and well he has worked it. His province was history; and his investigations led him, as a sceptic, over the entire period when Christianity, from the feeblest beginning, made its way over the Roman world and "sat down on the throne of the Cæsars"; when, during the long and eventful ages of the decline of the empire, Christianity was seen moulding society, directing wars, founding empires, modifying opinions, changing the arts of life, introducing revolutions into manners, dress, dwellings, schools; when it controlled the government and influenced the people; when it founded monasteries and colleges; when it poured its embattled legions on the Holy Land; and when it had identified itself with all the forms of civilization in Europe. It was Mr. Gibbon's task to show, contrary to the opinion of the Christian world and the general judgment of mankind, that all this could be, and yet the religion be not of God. He did his work well. He did not leave it to be alleged, even by the friends of Christianity, that his aim was to falsify history for the sake of scepticism. As an historian, he was among the most true and honest and faithful of men. There is not the slightest evidence that his scepticism, bitter as it was, ever led him, in a single instance, to pervert or falsify a fact, however much it might be opposed to his own views on the subject of religion, or however much ingenuity it might require to escape, as a sceptic, from the legitimate inferences from the fact. By unwearied study, by great learning, by patient toil, by a comprehensive grasp of his great subject, he has placed himself at the head of historians; and, from the time of Thucydides down to the present age, there has not been a man more upright, stern, honest, unbending in recording the facts of history.—*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*, p. 373.

That Gibbon was an infallible writer, that there are no errors in his great work, of course nobody claims or believes. B. F. UNDERWOOD.

ANNUAL MEETING, FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston, beginning Thursday evening, May 31, and continuing through Friday, June 1.

Business session, in Parker Fraternity Hall, Thursday evening, at 7.45 o'clock, for reports, election of officers, and general discussion of methods of work.

The Friday morning session will open at 10.30 o'clock, in Parker Memorial Hall, with an address on "Emerson and Darwin" by Col. T. W. Higginson, to be followed by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Thought-side by Emerson," and by Mr. John W. Chadwick, who will speak of "The Problem of the Universe as approached from the Matter-side by Darwin."

The Friday afternoon session will open at three o'clock with a paper on "Co-operation and Progress," by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, N.Y. This will be followed by an address from Mr. James Kay Applebee on "Social Disintegration and its Arrest by Co-operation." Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and others will also speak to the question of the afternoon.

The Festival will be held in the large Horticultural Hall, Tremont Street, and will begin with a supper, with tables and seats for all, at about six o'clock, or as soon after the close of the afternoon meeting as possible. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. After the supper, five-minute speeches are already promised from John W. Chadwick, B. F. Underwood, James Kay Applebee, Frederick Douglass (probably), Mary F. Eastman, Wm. I. Gill, Samuel Longfellow, Wm. J. Potter, Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee, and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and a poem from Minot J. Savage. Miss Lucy Garlin's Euterpe Quartet have kindly consented to add the attractions of their fine music to the occasion. Tickets of admission to the Festival, with reserved seats at the tables, at 50 cents each, may now be procured at *The Index* office, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, of the Secretary, Providence, R.I., and of A. G. Hill, Esq., Florence, Mass. It is desirable that early application for seats should be made.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, by Richard P. Hallowell, noticed in *The Index* this week, —Samuel Johnson's *Lectures, Essays, and Sermons*, advertised in another column, and W. H. Spencer's discourse, entitled *An Agnostic View of Vicarious Atonement*, in pamphlet form, are for sale at this office.

PERSONS attending the day sessions of the Free Religious Association at Parker Memorial Hall will miss this year the customary lunch served between the sessions in Fraternity Hall; but they can find a convenient substitute at the festival of the New England Hospital for Women and Children, 87 Boylston Street, where an excellent lunch will be served at a reasonable price, and where there will be an opportunity for rest and refreshment. The distance from the hall is short, and horse-cars pass directly by the house.

WE have received from Louis Prang & Co. of this city an interesting souvenir of the renowned author of "Home, Sweet Home," consisting of a fac simile autograph of that song which John Howard Payne wrote at the request of a young lady friend in Washington, D.C. This is accompanied on the opposite page by a fine pencil portrait of Payne executed by a Miss Freeman of New York, at one time quite celebrated as a portrait painter. It was taken from the living subject, and was considered by his friends and acquaintances as a very accurate and life-like picture. This souvenir is gotten up in the refined and finished style of art characteristic of this firm, and will be welcomed by all admirers of the song and its author.

THE Boston Sunday *Herald*, referring to the charge brought by President Eliot in the *Princeton Review* that the American clergy are lacking in intellectual candor and sincerity, comes to the defence of the clergy in the following fashion:—

> The fickleness of his congregation, the insecurity of his position, the question of provision for his family (if he have one), are elements which touch his manhood and affect his intellectual integrity. Stern necessity compels American clergymen to learn the art of trimming. They win their laurels by their tact in gauging the temper of their personal surroundings. No doubt, tact should be employed by every one; but evidence goes to show that every clergyman is placed in the difficult position of temporizing, whether he likes it or not. He must hold his place at times at the cost of his inward peace of mind. It is the vice of his position. He cannot be independent, if he would. It is often seen that he would like to be, if he could. The truth is that the stolid Christian layman, unintelligent, unthinking, irrational, and pig-headed, is the most serious obstacle the American clergyman has to encounter. He may not be the "denominational devil"; but he certainly raises the devil in the denominations, and the fear of him and the power of his money are much greater than they ought to be. No Protestant clergyman can be the man he would like to be with two or three of these "dogs of war" ready to strip him of his raiment at a moment's warning, because he dares to think not only for himself, but for his congregation. When clergymen hold their places at the expense of their convictions of truth and duty, and the spirit of craven submission has eaten into their vitals, is it at all surprising that they are often reticent, or speak the truth with an eye askant upon the pews? The explanation of many of the shortcomings of American ministers is to be traced to the sanctimonious laymen who daily thank God that they still hold them by the throat.

THE *Christian Statesman* publishes an address by Rev. N. A. Gault, on "The Demands of Liberalism," from which we give the following extract, which is both interesting and encouraging:—

> In their Paine memorial celebrations, they toast the Constitution of the United States as an infidel document, untainted by superstition,—the only constitution of government in the world that does not recognize a God,—and this, they boast, is a triumph of infidelity. The Internationals of New York remonstrate against the order prohibiting their parade on the Sabbath, because nothing in the Constitution of the State or of the United States would be violated by such parade. When Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, visited our country during our centennial year, to discover the secret of our glory and prosperity, he was told that our success was attributable to the fact that we were a nation without a religion, and that we placed all religions on a level. In one or two treaties, of equal authority with the Constitution,

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we have declared to the world that the government of the United States is in no sense founded on the Christian religion. Chancellor Kent and other eminent jurists decided long ago that Christianity is part of the common law of the land. This decision is now repeatedly, and in high quarters, reversed. The Supreme Court of New York City has laid down the counter position that Christianity is not a part of the common law. Comstock, in his popular edition of Kent's Commentaries, declares that, "according to the best considered authorities, Christianity is not a part of the common law of the land." And this is not the interpretation that infidels merely are putting upon the Constitution. Even such men as Horace Greeley declared: "We deny that this is a Christian nation. Almighty God is not the source of all power and authority in our government." And Dr. Speer, a high authority in the Presbyterian Church, says that "Christianity, though the prevalent religion of the people when the Constitution was adopted, is unknown to it. The Constitution says that it shall be unknown as having any place in the organic law of the United States or in the legislative powers of Congress." Liberalism, emboldened by such decisions and declarations, is pressing the agitation with redoubled diligence for the complete secularization of the State.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

FLOWERS.

To you come gifts on this your festal day,
Born of the love that clusters round your way,—
Love wrought by your own consecrated powers;
And *I* bring *flowers*.

These emblems are of Spring: the may-flower's bloom,
The snow-drop and narcissus' sweet perfume,—
The golden fragrance of your childhood's hours,—
They are sweet flowers!

And here are flowers of Summer: gems of light,
While youth's first aspirations still are bright,
While life seems glorious 'neath rose-scented bowers,
O happy hours!

And these the gifts of Autumn, of your prime;
And fruits as symbols, in your wreath I twine,
When time develops well our latent powers,—
Eternal flowers!

And these are flowers of Winter: all untold
Their wealth by diamonds or by weight of gold;
The blossoms of the spirit,—Heaven's dower;
Immortelle flower!

I bring you flowers,—the hearts that you have blest,
That in their lonely sorrow you've caressed,
Spring up, and bless in turn these happy hours,
Most lovely flowers!

And last I show you flowers of spirit-birth:
More fair than ope in gardens of the earth,
They wait for you in amaranthine bowers;
Accept my flowers!

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

For *The Index*.

LINES IN AN ALBUM.

"Heartily know,
When half-gods go,
The gods arrive."—*Emerson*.

But half-men pray,
"Sweet half-gods, stay,
That we may thrive!"

So spurious coin
Our chests eloign
Of royal gold.

Then let us drum!
Lest the gods come,
And drive away

The little things
Called Kings of kings,
To which we pray.

VAN BUREN DENSLOW.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 24, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

☞ PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For *The Index*.

Religious Rationalism in the United States.*

BY COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

(Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of April 1, 1883, by Miss Arethusa Hall.)

When the pioneers of Puritan emigration embarked upon the "Mayflower" in September, 1620, the head of their little church, John Robinson, in his farewell discourse, adjured them not to restrict themselves blindly to his teaching, nor even to the theology of Luther and Calvin, but to accept with equal eagerness whatever God should be pleased to reveal to them by new mediums. For he believed that God had still more light to come forth from his Holy Word. This language, which was in the logic of Protestantism, fell not upon sterile soil. Yet it was too much in advance of its time to be immediately applied or even understood by the most of those to whom it was addressed. What the "Pilgrims" of the "Mayflower," fleeing from the persecutions of the Established Church, demanded of the shores of the New World, was not religious liberty, but *their* religious liberty; that is, the right of forming a church after their own fashion, without the concurrence of the English hierarchy or the English liturgy.

The government which they formed was a true democracy; but it was emphatically a theocratic democracy, and we should seek in vain for anything in it conformable to modern ideas either in the relations of Church and State or even in regard to the rights of conscience and the liberty of worship. The Bible was their supreme law. It was to inspire and supply written laws. Their first care, when they founded any settlement, was to build a church, which soon became the centre of their individual and social life. The first election was that of a minister and elders. The expenses of worship were charged upon all the inhabitants, but the rights of citizenship belonged only to "communicants"; and the religious society reserved to itself the power to excommunicate infidels, sinners, or even the lukewarm whose only crime was that they did not consider themselves "in a state of grace." The first dissenters who wished to settle in the infant colony—two members of the English Church—were sent back to England by the ship which brought them. A series of Draconian laws closed the entrance into New England to Anabaptists, Antinomians, Quakers, and Catholics. In case of infraction, heretics were exposed to whipping and mutilation, and also to forced labor till they could be sent back at their own expense. The blasphemer and Sabbath-breaker were liable to punishments which might even take their life. This ferocious legislation did not remain a dead letter. New England had, in the seventeenth century, its Urbain Grandier, its Calas, its Labarre. In Massachusetts, they executed witches even till 1692.

It would, however, be unjust to ignore that, notwithstanding its intolerance, its austerity, and its narrowness of horizon, Calvinism, of all the current faiths of the epoch, was best fitted to make of a handful of emigrants the founders of a great and free nation. It is impossible not to acknowledge its influence in the qualities which distinguished the first emigrants, and which are still prevalent among their descendants,—confidence in the faculty of individual organization, stubbornness in labor, taste for learning, respect for woman, and a sentiment of the seriousness of life. We may smile at the minute and often vexatious rules in which the Puritan genius thought to find a barrier to the corruption of manners; but Puritanism has not the less given to the societies marked with its imprint two centuries of a morality more sincere, more general, if, indeed, not higher, than any other people has known. In short, we are indebted to it for having made men equal and free. Constitutions drawn up with a great reinforcement of Biblical texts, in the first years of colonization, were so impregnated with the idea of self-government that, except in those features of them which were contrary to liberty of conscience, they have remained nearly intact until the present time in the New England States, and have served as models for the Federal Constitution as well as for the particular constitutions of the States subsequently formed in the Union.

The religious organization of Calvinism was itself only an application of popular sovereignty. With Calvinists, the priest is no longer a being of superior virtue, invested with supernatural authority by the fact of his ordination, but simply a deputy of the believers, the first among his equals. It is universal suffrage, "the universal vote of the congregation of Christ," as Milton said, which forms the basis of the association, appoints the officers, comprises among them the pastor, fixes the contribution of each member, approves the receipts and expenditures, and decides, without appeal, all pending questions. Indeed, among the Puritans, as now among the Congregationalists,—their direct descendants,—the body of the faithful constituted not a church, but a collection of churches absolutely independent and autonomous. We can conceive how this organization—which may be considered to-day as the national type, *par excellence*, of the American Church—must, from the first, have favored the establishment of democracy and have prepared the way for the republic. But it must equally have led, by gradual extension, to the legal equality of other churches, which by the same principle claim to interpret according to their liking the texts of the Bible; and, once this breach opened, the civil tolerance of all opinions in religious matters was only a question of time.

Doubtless, in this respect, the Old World has outrun the New, since, in 1838, we still find a citizen of Boston condemned to imprisonment for the crime of atheism. But, while with us—thanks to the adversaries of the Church—liberty of worship is established, in the United States it is the natural product of an evolution which has its points of departure in the religious origin of the nation. The pastor, Roger Williams, when he founded, in 1636, the colony of Providence (now the State of Rhode Island) upon the principle of absolute liberty and equal advantage for all worships; William Penn, inserting, in 1681, in the charter of the State which bears his name, the prohibition of defraying the expenses of any worship whatever from the public treasury, in order to prevent the ascendency of any one sect above another; the members of the First Congress, who forbade imposing a religious oath on the federal officers, as well as imposing laws relating to the establishment or to the prohibition of a religion,—in short, the local legislators who established these principles in the special consti-

*I. *Ezra Stiles Gannett*. By his son. Boston, 1875. II. *Transcendentalism in New England*. By O. B. Frothingham. New York, 1881. III. *The Religion of Evolution*. By the Rev. M. J. Savage Boston, 1876. IV. Annual Reports of the American Unitarian Association and of the Free Religious Association. V. *The Free Religious Index*. Boston, 1880–82.

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tutions of their States were, in general, anything but sceptics or rationalists: they were believers, convinced of the infallibility of the Bible and of the excellence of their worship. MM. Laboulaye, De Laveleye, and the other apologists of American democracy, are right in claiming that the political and the religious liberty of the United States are both daughters of the Reformation: only, it should not be ignored that the second is much the younger.

But it is liberty of another order which, though much younger, may claim the same descent: it is intellectual liberty, the rejection of dogmatic prejudices, —in one word, rationalism. Here, again, Europe has been in advance of America. However, here, too, an important distinction is to be made. It is that, among the people of our continent standing at the head of modern culture, science has developed in an inverse ratio to religion; while, in the United States, the most complete free inquiry appeared as the crowning of religious evolution. We have already shown* in outline an analogous situation, under the influence of identical causes, among two peoples as dissimilar as the English and the Hindus. It is a study of the same kind that we wish to undertake concerning the United States.

I.

Give to a religious society as its only authority a collection of written traditions, and leave to individual inspiration the care of determining their precise sense, and in the variety of interpretations there will needs be the power of appeal to the light of reason; and reason, quite proud of becoming an aid to the religious sentiment, will strive in entire good faith to choose versions the most conformed not only to the spirit of the texts, but also to the progress of human knowledge. Yet, as this knowledge is constantly enlarging, there comes an hour when free inquiry cannot maintain the rights of science except by putting forced meanings into Scripture or by taking refuge in the subtilties of symbolism. Thus, the crisis is, for the moment, assuaged; but, from the day in which historical truth resumes its rights, religious minds, which can no longer deny themselves the liberty of thinking, are forcibly led to doubt, if not the reality of divine inspiration, at least the fidelity of the passages in which it is recorded. It is then they take refuge in the distinction between the parts of the sacred books that are essential and those that are accessory, by fixing, according to the wants of their cause, the arbitrary limit of these two domains. Then, after having sought in the texts evidence against their own infallibility, they come to contest the possibility even of a special revelation, so that at last they arrive at the categories of natural religion irreducible by scientific analysis,—the first cause, the immortality of the soul, and the imperative character of duty, or even the Unknowable of Herbert Spencer. This work of dogmatic disintegration may be observed in all confessions founded upon the authority of traditional texts; but nowhere has it been pursued in a manner more continuous and more logical than among the congregations of New England.

The first emigrants professed, in all its integrity, the doctrine of Calvin upon original sin, upon grace, and upon predestination. But this gloomy fatalism— by which man, incapable of himself of attaining to any good, finds himself elected beforehand, by the arbitrariness of his Creator, to salvation or damnation—shocked too much the most elementary principles of justice and generosity not to provoke in America, as in Europe, a reaction conformable to the exigencies of liberty and of human responsibility. The third generation of the Puritans had not disappeared, when the dogma of predestination was found to clash with its old enemy, Arminianism, under a form more or less disguised. Arminianism once having secured ground, Socinianism was not far off. President Adams said at the end of his career that, from 1750, a number of pastors and of the laity were more or less drawn over to Unitarianism. However, the progress of this evolution was at first apparent only by the guarded silence respecting contested dogmas. Perhaps the Liberals were frightened at their own audacity, or did not render to themselves an exact account of their beliefs. Even at the end of the century, when other recently created sects (the Universalists, the "Christians") had openly repudiated the dogma of the Trinity, the advanced Calvinists still rejected the qualification of Unitarians, and even maintained the necessity of remaining in doubt upon all points of doctrine,—such as predestination, eternal punishment, the divinity of Christ,—when the Bible did not express itself in clear and formal terms. "The expressions of the Bible are only qualified to formulate Biblical mysteries." Such was the answer they invariably opposed to their adversaries, when the latter summoned them to define their belief. Thus, by a strange inversion of parts, it was the rationalists who wished to hold strictly to the letter of revelation, while the orthodox cried up the right and the duty of penetrating into its sense and developing its consequences. But this position was not long tenable for the Liberals; and the true ground of conflict was delineated when, driven to the wall, they brought into the controversy the authority of natural religion and historical criticism.

In 1805, Harvard University, which dated almost from the beginning of colonization, but which had always shown itself hospitable to the most advanced tendencies, confided its Chair of Theology to a liberal minister, Dr. Ware. "They who came under Dr. Ware's influence," wrote one of his pupils — Ezra Stiles Gannett—at a later period, "can never forget the calm dignity, the practical wisdom, the judicial fairness, or the friendly interest which secured for him more than respect. It was veneration that we felt. That clear, strong mind abhorred double dealing with truth or with men." Such was the theologian who was about to mould the future ministers of the national church. The orthodox cried out against the scandal, and established at Andover a school of theology, which was never to attain the celebrity of its rival. At the same time, they began to build churches for the voluntary exiles from the liberal congregations; and, where they were in the majority, as in Connecticut and New Hampshire, they improvised ecclesiastical jurisdictions which expelled liberal ministers from the pulpit. An attempt was even made to introduce this procedure into Massachusetts, where Liberalism had its head-quarters; but it failed, and served only to precipitate the development of the schism.

This was in 1815. W. E. Channing was then thirty-five years old. He had already officiated for more than twelve years in one of the most liberal and, at the same time, one of the most fashionable churches in Boston. His antecedents, his mental temperament, and even the amplitude of his religious conceptions predisposed him to great caution in preserving the historic unity of the old Puritan congregations. But an accusation of hypocrisy, which Dr. Morse had openly thrown out against liberal ministers, led him boldly to vindicate the Unitarian name, and soon to take the head of the reformatory movement. It was only four years later that he pronounced at Baltimore the famous sermon, considered the definitive manifesto of American Unitarianism. "It made a sensation," says one of the best historians of this period,— Mr. W. C. Gannett,—"greater probably than any other sermon ever preached in America, before or since." After having declared that he accepted, "without reserve or exception," all the doctrines *clearly* taught by the Scriptures, Channing claimed that "the meaning [of the Scriptures] is to be sought in the same manner as that of other books"; that is to say, by the constant exercise of reason. "It is to the tribunal of reason," said he, formally, "that God leaves the care of deciding the truth of revelation." Starting from this principle, he repudiated the favorite dogmas of Calvinism, in order to reduce the essential teachings of Scripture to the unity of God, to the immortality of the soul, to the regenerative mission of Jesus, to the moral perfection and the paternal government of the Creator. In fine, after an eloquent picture of the Christian virtues, he maintained that true Christianity consisted much more in the practice of these virtues than in adhesion to any *credo* whatever. "To all who hear me," concluded he, "I would say with the apostle, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.' Do not, brethren, shrink from the duty of searching God's Word for yourselves, through fear of human censure and denunciation. Do not think that you may innocently follow the opinions which prevail around you, without investigation, on the ground that Christianity is now so purified from errors as to need no laborious research. . . . Much stubble is yet to be burned; much rubbish to be removed; many gaudy decorations, which a false taste has hung around Christianity, must be swept away; and the earth-born fogs, which have long shrouded it, must be scattered before this divine fabric will rise before us in its native and awful majesty, in its harmonious proportions, in its mild and celestial splendors. This glorious reformation in the Church, we hope,—under God's blessing— from the progress of the human intellect, from the moral progress of society, from the consequent decline of prejudice and of bigotry, and, though last, not least, from the subversion of human authority in religion, from the fall of those hierarchies and other human institutions by which the minds of individuals are oppressed under the weight of numbers and a papal dominion is perpetuated in the Protestant Church." It has been said, with reason, that this discourse marked an epoch in the religious history of modern society. Undoubtedly, there had been seen elsewhere Christians proclaiming the necessity of bringing faith into accord with the progress of reason; but never, since the foundation of Christianity, had the head of a church repudiated thus boldly all sectarian intolerance, and so openly declared war against every form of Orthodoxy. Calvin put, or replaced, democracy into Christianity: Channing introduced liberty into it.

In her previous history, New England had generally had but one church and one pastor in a town. But, from this time, old congregations were divided. Boston, which for a long time had proved itself the intellectual capital of the United States, was almost entirely conquered by the new ideas. In Massachusetts, one hundred and twenty-five congregations broke away from Calvinism, and, among them, the first three churches which the Pilgrim Fathers founded upon the shores of America. To this number may be added the numerous liberal churches which, in imitation of the Calvinists, the Unitarians founded wherever they withdrew from the existing church. In the neighboring States, the movement made less sensible progress; but congregations, which became centres of propagandism, were established successively in Baltimore, New York, Charleston, Philadelphia, Washington, and even in cities of the West. In 1825 was founded in Boston—notwithstanding the reluctance of those who feared lest in creating an ecclesiastical organization they should follow too closely the steps of Orthodoxy—the American Unitarian Association for "diffusing the knowledge and promoting the interests of pure Christianity."

In fine, the Unitarian reformation represented a double effort: on one side, to give to Christianity a form more humane, more rational, and better adapted to the exigencies of the age; on the other, to substitute, in the formation of churches, sympathy of religious sentiment for agreement in dogmatic belief. Of these two features, the first, which seemed to contemporaries the most audacious, was, in reality, the less important for the future of Unitarianism. In suppressing the theological basis of the church, Unitarians gave to religion the elasticity necessary to accommodate it to all the transformations which the ulterior development of scientific knowledge could require. They made it a religion indefinitely progressive, like the human mind itself. Their doctrinal innovations, on the contrary,—radical as they were for the epoch,—represented only a transitory state, a *moment* in the religious evolution of the mind. Indeed, Channing and his co religionists remained faithful to the theology which Locke had introduced into Protestant churches. According to this school, since all our conceptions come from the senses, and since they are incapable of giving us the idea of an infinite and absolute being, God has had power to make himself known to man only by a supernatural revelation. Now, it is the Holy Scripture which furnishes us this revelation, whose authenticity is sufficiently attested by the fulfilment of prophecies and by the intervention of miracles. It was only for reason, by the aid of its habitual methods, to interpret and define the sense and bearing of the revelation.

We discern easily the weak point of this argument, which rests entirely upon the validity of the historic testimony in favor of miracles. But it must be remembered that, at the commencement of this century, Biblical exegesis had yet entirely to be created; and, besides, the first Unitarians of the New World, absorbed in their struggle against Calvinism, had enough to do in extirpating the parasitic superfetations of the primitive revelation. It was at the hour when this controversy began to subside, in consequence of reciprocal weariness, that there arrived

*See in the *Revue* of Sept. 15, 1875, "A Visit to the Rationalistic Churches in London," and in that of Sept. 1, 1880, "The Brahmo-Somaj: an Experiment of Natural Religion in India."

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simultaneously from Germany the first results of a religious criticism henceforth emancipated from dogma, and the idealistic theories of the school of Kant, then in all the splendor of its popularity. The movement of ideas which this double leaven excited among the Unitarians of the second generation tended to nothing less than the founding of a new religion under the cover of Christianity. We refer to the doctrine to which Americans gave the name of Transcendentalism.

II.

The old sensational school made of the soul a *tabula rasa*, a mirror, limited to reflecting the impressions transmitted by the senses. Kant combated this negative psychology in his *Critique of Pure Reason* by showing that the human mind possesses an innate organization of its own, independent of experience, and necessary for the formation of thought. Yet, from what reason thus apprehended, under the form of transcendental conceptions,—that is, above the sphere of experience,—ideas of the absolute, the infinite, the ideal, he did not deduce, necessarily, the real existence of corresponding entities. Fichte, his disciple, advanced farther still in the way of subjective idealism, since he affirmed our inability to know anything with certainty outside of our mind and its laws. Jacobi, on the contrary, and especially Schelling, inferred from the fact of our inward conceptions objective reality, as much of the spiritual world as of the sensible. Later, Schleiermacher, placing the origin of religion in the feeling of our dependence upon the absolute, endeavored to trace to individual revelation as their source faith in the dogmas of Christianity, without seeing that he sapped them at their base by his doctrine of the direct communication between the soul and God. After conquering the university lecture-room, renovating theology, and illuminating German literature, transcendental idealism passed into France, where Cousin enchased it in his brilliant mosaic, under the name of *impersonal reason;* and into England, where Coleridge became its apostle, Carlyle its historian, and Wordsworth its poet. But, considerable as was its action upon the development of European thought during the most fruitful and enthusiastic literary period of our century, nothing here is comparable to the influence which it exercised in New England in all the spheres of activity, intellectual, religious, and even social.

It was by the works of Coleridge and Carlyle that it penetrated into the United States in the first third of this century. The interest which it excited led the most distinguished writers of Boston to study German and French, that they might read at first hand Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling, Herder, Schleiermacher, and De Wette, and also Cousin, Jouffroy, and Benjamin Constant. Philosophic at first, the movement was not tardy in becoming exclusively religious. In 1835, James Walker, Professor of Ethics in Harvard University, assailed the sensational method of the dominant theology, and extolled recourse to a philosophy which constantly recalls our relations to the spiritual world. The new method was especially attractive to minds which had carried farthest the work of demolition, undertaken by modern exegesis, upon the dogmas of Christianity. The only traditions which the Unitarians had left as the basis of their religious system, the pre-existence of Christ and the authenticity of miracles, began to be shaken by the incessant progress of free inquiry. How, then, in this general shipwreck of dogmas, would not the minds that were desirous of preserving the foundation of their faith have welcomed with eagerness a doctrine which, in extending to each man the privilege of a direct communication with the Divine Being, allowed them to reduce to human proportions the person of Jesus, without taking from him the prestige of inspiration? How would they not have been attracted by the ingenious hypothesis of a sixth sense, which, open to the spiritual world, rendered useless the intervention of miracles to establish the existence of God and the immortality of the soul?

It may be said that Transcendentalism presented at the same time the complement and the corrective of the Unitarian reform. This was, pre-eminently, a religion of the head, the product of a critical and negative tendency. Its theology, as far as it had any, came by the process of subtraction, or by taking away successively from the Christian traditions the dogmas condemned by free scholarship. Transcendentalism proceeded by the way of clear and positive affirmation. It took for its point of departure the existence of a special faculty which permitted the human mind to seize directly spiritual truths. Regarding as facts of consciousness the three great axioms of spiritualism,—God, immortality, duty,—it placed them upon foundations which reason itself proclaimed independent of all experience and of all demonstration. Thus entrenched in the depths of consciousness and in the realm of the ideal, it easily found access to the sources of mysticism, which, by a singular phenomenon among a people so practical, never seem exhausted in the American mind. In short, by its doctrine of impersonal reason, it embraced the profoundly Arian conception, of the neo-Platonic Word, which the Unitarians had suppressed from Christianity, in order to adhere to the strict monotheism of the first evangelists. It thereby allied itself to the mystic sects founded in Protestantism upon the principle of interior illumination, except that it extended to all men the privilege of inspiration, which these sects wished to reserve to the adepts of a distinctive faith. "Transcendentalism," says its principal historian in New England, Mr. O. B. Frothingham, "was much better suited to a gospel than to a philosophy. It possessed that character of indefiniteness and mystery which fascinates the imagination, and lends itself so easily to acts of contemplation and worship. . . . Piety was one of its distinctive features: it loved devout hymns, music, the glowing language of aspiration, the moods of awe and humility, emblems, symbols, expressions of inarticulate emotions, contemplation, silence, breathings after communion with the Infinite."

Unitarianism, as a whole, was, however, far from casting itself into the arms of German idealism. The Unitarians of the first generation who wished to adhere to the positions conquered from Orthodoxy, and, in general, all who were not troubled in their belief in the supernaturalness of the Bible, regarded the progress of the new method with more distrust than enthusiasm. Some predicted that there would come from it fatal divisions in the bosom of Unitarianism; others, that this invasion of idealism would bring, as usual, a sceptical reaction. Channing himself, who had so much insisted upon the authority, the grandeur, the divinity of the human soul, wrote, nevertheless, in the last years of his life, to Dr. J. Martineau, that the Transcendentalists appeared to him to be advancing toward the substitution of individual inspiration for Christianity. There was then in Boston a young minister who had just quitted his congregation through a scruple of conscience, because he was no longer willing to administer the sacrament of the communion. This was Ralph Waldo Emerson, the essayist, who, with the poet, Henry W. Longfellow, has held, during a third of the century, the sceptre of American literature. In his first work, *Nature*, published in 1836, he revealed that vigorous idealism which has caused him to be surnamed in the United States the Prince of Transcendentalists. At first view, his teaching seems a simple revival of the neo-Platonic philosophy. In nature he sees only a symbol of spirit, in the individual soul only a localized manifestation, a prolongation of the universal soul (the Oversoul),—"that soul which when it breathes through man's intellect is genius; through his will, virtue; through his affections, love." But his pantheism is essentially subjective in this sense: that, instead of absorbing man and nature in God, it tends rather to absorb nature and God in man. His whole work is a constant vindication of individual instinct and inspiration, of human spontaneity, as the source of all knowledge, of all art, of all virtue. It is hereby that he has avoided the ordinary rocks of mysticism, and that he has not been estranged from any interest of his country or his age.

Emerson was at the beginning of his renown when, in 1838, he pronounced before the Theological School of Harvard the celebrated discourse in which Transcendentalism avowed itself, for the first time, in open hostility with all Christian Churches, not excepting the Unitarian. The orator reproached them, without distinction, with having looked for miracle—that is, the intervention of God—elsewhere than in the normal functions of natural laws; with having disfigured, by their compromising exaggerations, the personality of Jesus, "the only soul in history who has appreciated the worth of a man"; in short, with having neglected the exploration of the human soul and its relations with the divine mind. The remedy for these faults was, *first, soul; and, second, soul; and, evermore, soul.* "I seek for this new teacher," concluded he, "who shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that the Ought, that duty, is one with science, with beauty, and with joy."

This appeal was understood by all who were affected by the idealistic ferment. They soon had their centre of propagandism, the Transcendental Club, and their organ, *The Dial*. In the first ranks of the young phalanx was seen another mystic, Bronson Alcott, a fervent admirer of Pythagoras and Plato, whom he regarded as the direct ancestors of Kant and of the whole Transcendental school; George Ripley and James Freeman Clarke, who had been the first to carry into the pulpit the teachings of German idealism; Samuel Longfellow, who, without attaining to the renown of his brother, has a collection of hymns and of poetry highly esteemed by his compatriots; Orestes Brownson, an ardent propagandist, but of an unstable mind, who, at first a minister of a Presbyterian congregation, passed over to rationalism, then to Universalism, and who, not content with pursuing his transformations into the most extreme Transcendentalism, finished by seeking mental repose in the bosom of the Romish Church; William Henry Channing, a nephew of the founder of Unitarianism, who became a missionary of the new gospel; the future colonel of a national negro regiment in the War of the Secession, T. W. Higginson, who represented the practical tendencies of the movement, as Samuel Johnson personified its extreme individualism; and, finally, C. A. Bartol, W. H. Furness, John Weiss, John Pierpont, Prof. Francis, and, above all, Theodore Parker, the apostle and prophet of Transcendentalism.

On the other hand, the conservative section of Unitarianism had taken the alarm; and there were Unitarians who questioned whether Emerson ought still to be regarded as a Christian, precisely as twenty years before the question had been agitated whether they themselves belonged to Christianity or to "the religion of Boston." It was worse still when, in 1841, Theodore Parker, at an ordination in the Unitarian church of South Boston, delivered his sermon upon "The Transient and the Permanent Elements in Christianity." The permanent element was the great religious and moral virtues which Jesus, "that perfect type of the religious man," had manifested in himself, and had vivified in his love of humanity. The transient element was the rites and doctrines of Christianity, comprising the belief that the Bible contained a special revelation, and that the nature of Christ was unique in history. According to Mr. W. C. Gannett, this discourse made as much noise as the famous sermon of Dr. Channing, preached at Baltimore twenty-two years before. This time, it was no longer a question whether the author was a Christian: he was treated as an infidel, a blasphemer, an atheist. The Boston Association of Ministers debated whether they should not expel him from their ranks. As their rules were opposed to this, they took the official step of requesting him to resign. "I am sorry for the Association," he answered, "but I cannot help it. I cannot take upon my shoulders the *onus damnandi*. This would be to avow that there is good cause for my withdrawal. . . . They have, in a measure, identified me with freedom in religious matters."

Certain members thought of a dissolution of the society, which would have allowed them to reorganize without the author of all this scandal. But the voice of moderation prevailed,—thanks to the sympathy, more or less acknowledged, felt for Parker among the younger ministers; and perhaps also to the intervention of Dr. Ezra Stiles Gannett, who, although belonging to the conservative party, had a high esteem for the frank and loyal character of his fellow-minister. "It is not our way," he reminded his brethren, "to pass ecclesiastical censure. We are willing—at least we have said we were willing—to take the principle of free inquiry, with all its consequences." The Association, therefore, passed no resolution against the audacious reformer; but all the pulpits in Boston were henceforth closed against him. This situation continued until 1845. The adherents of the proscribed man then had a meeting, at which they resolved that "Theodore Parker shall have a chance to be heard in Boston." They hired for him the Melodeon, a concert hall, in the hope that there would soon be gathered the elements of a congrega-

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tion. From the first, the number of auditors surpassed all expectation; and their persistence in appearing each Sunday proved that the success of the preacher was not due to curiosity, but to the attraction of his teachings. At the end of six years, the hall had become too small; and he was installed in a much larger edifice, where, from 1852 till 1859, he proclaimed the good news to many thousands of the faithful, without reckoning the lectures which he gave all over the country.

Parker may be considered the clearest and most logical interpreter of Transcendental principles. He considered that the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the commands of duty were directly impressed upon human cognizance. "The fact of knowing the existence of God," said he, "may be called, in the language of philosophy, an intuition of reason; and, in the mythological language of the old theology, a revelation of God. This fact rests upon no argument: it proceeds from no reasoning, but from reason. . . . The belief precedes the proof, for it is intuition which furnishes that upon which we reason." This doctrine Parker applied not only in theology and in morals, but also in science and in politics. It is this which exclusively inspires his first work, "The Discourse upon Matters pertaining to Religion," as well as his posthumous essay upon "Transcendentalism," and which explains the unity of his life as well as the importance of his work.

The preaching of Parker, which extends from 1847 to 1859, corresponds to the principal development of Transcendentalism. It was equally the golden age of Boston, and, it may be added, of American literature. The middle of this century has seen, within the narrow territory of Massachusetts, one of those marvellous out-blossomings which are rarely produced in the moral culture of a people. Channing expired in 1842; but it may be said that Parker worthily replaced him in the vanguard of religious rationalism. By the side of Emerson, philosopher and poet, Bancroft carried the principles of Transcendentalism into history; Sumner, into popular rights; Alcott, into pedagogy; Whittier, into poetry; Margaret Fuller, into criticism; Oliver Wendell Holmes revealed himself as a humorist; Prescott published his *History of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico;* Hawthorne put into romance his power of psychological analysis; H. W. Longfellow attained the apogee of his glory; and, finally, Massachusetts furnished for the national senate Daniel Webster, the most able orator that the United States has produced. We do but cite those names whose echo has reached Europe. But, by the side of these illustrious ones, a whole army of writers, of lecturers, and of orators, bring their contingent, whether in the literary and philosophical publications which multiplied in Boston, or in the different associations which were developed for the promotion of temperance, for the emancipation of woman, for the instruction of the people, for the suppression of war, for prison reform, and, above all, for the abolition of slavery.

In these several "agitations," it is not difficult to prove the influence of Transcendentalism, not only because the devotees of this philosophy were found in the first rank, but also because these movements were the direct and logical consequence of a doctrine attributing to every human creature the same faculties and the same rights. To the same influence belong other experiments, more or less fortunate, which aimed radically to reform the principles of social organizations. At one time, it was George Ripley who spent his fortune in organizing a free community upon the principle of co-operation; at another, it was A. B. Alcott who, claiming to renounce the burdens as well as the advantages of actual society, allowed himself to be put in prison for refusing to pay his taxes. This fever of reform was not confined to rationalism. Revivals, exciting even to delirium the fervor of different sects, passed like a billow over all Protestant America; and New England furnished its quota to the eccentricities of Spiritism as well as of "free love." Yet that which gives to this period a character very rare in times of religious and social fermentation was that laxness of morals did not coincide with the over-excitement of mind. Calvinism, in losing its dogmatic authority, had left in the people its strong moral discipline. Unitarianism had introduced free inquiry in matters of belief, and Transcendentalism had limited itself to adding to it enthusiasm for high aims.

(To be concluded next week.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE GEORGE-KENNEDY-ALLEN CASE AGAIN.

Editors of The Index:—

There are many astute men who have admitted that they find obscurity in *Progress and Poverty*. Without professing to be a critic of the work, or capable of judging all its difficult problems, I would still like to add a word more on some important points. I think the fundamental difficulty in Mr. J. H. Allen's mind is that he has overlooked, or failed to grasp, one of Mr. George's most important ideas. Mr. George has rather clumsily and obscurely expressed that idea in chapter ii. (pp. 364 and 365) of book viii. of *Progress and Poverty*. It is this: *The nation shall become the landlord of its land only virtually, not actually.* Mr. George says that, if *something near* the full value of that precious monopoly, land, were assessed upon it, the land would *virtually* become common property, inasmuch as the whole community would receive the benefits of the assessment. The nation would not be the actual landlord, nor the tax the actual rent. Private ownership of land would hold as before. The actual landlord would be, as now, the individual landlord; and he would, as now, collect the rent and pay out of it the government tax.

Let us suppose Mr. George's scheme adopted, what would first be done? Why, the army of tax assessors we now have would be reduced (one gain), and those who were left would begin the work of assessing land at its rental value. But the assessor would have no power whatever to rent land any more than he has now. Therefore, Mr. Allen's illustration of the widow and her land is no illustration. No assessor would dare to assess an estate at ten times its previous fairly estimated value, even to please a millionnaire who coveted it; for public opinion would not tolerate the act. Says Mr. George: "Were all taxes placed upon land values, irrespective of improvements, the scheme of taxation would be so simple and clear, and public attention would be so directed to it, that the valuation of taxation could and would be made with the same certainty that a real estate agent can determine the price a seller can get for a lot" (p. 375).

That the nation is only virtually the landlord in Mr. George's scheme is proved by the following passages in his work (pp. 364 and 365):—

"Nor to take rent for public uses is it necessary that the State should bother with the letting of lands, and assume the chances of the favoritism, collusion, and corruption that might involve."

"In form, the ownership of land would remain just as now. No owner of land need be dispossessed, and no restriction need be placed upon the amount of land any one could hold."

"When the common right to land is so far appreciated that all taxes are abolished save those which fall upon rent, *there is no danger of much more than is necessary to induce them to collect the public revenues being left to individual land-holders.*"

This last paragraph is a key to the situation. It shows us private land-holders collecting their rent. Yet Mr. Allen (in *The Index* of April 19) speaks of Mr. George's "wild" scheme of having lands "managed by political cliques at Washington or Albany rather than by their independent owners." Is assessing a tax on land managing it or owning it? Do those who now assess our land and personal property own these things?

One other point may be cleared up. Why is it that, when all taxes are abolished, save those which fall upon rent, there is no danger of much more than is necessary to induce them to collect the public revenues being left to individual land-holders? In other words, suppose a landlord should refuse to accept the government tax as an indication of the true rental value of his land, might he not extort the present exorbitant rates? No: because, if all land is assessed at anything near its rental value, no one could afford to hold land idle, as now; and so much would be thrown open to use that all rents would fall to their just level, or nearly so. In general, there would be enough of margin of rent-income, collectible by private bargains, to interest the renter in his land. But, in case he sold it rather than pay its taxes, it might be bought up by capitalists,—but only for use, not for speculation. George's scheme kills speculation. Heavily taxed land *must* be used, and that is the beauty of the plan. Here, again, Mr. Allen betrays his lack of acquaintance with Mr. George's scheme. He speaks of land being bought up by "speculating capitalists" after it has been sold for taxes. But you can't speculate in land that is taxed near its rental value: you drop it, like hot iron. Neither (as Mr. Allen claims) would said capitalist be a "most grasping landlord," simply because he *could* not grasp more than about the legally assessed rental value. If he did, his tenants would move to other land. It is this taxing of land up to about its rental value that makes land virtually common; that is, makes it possible to get it at a just rent. And herein lies the beauty of the measure. Do you want injustice? Do you like exorbitance? Do you admire hoggishness? Why should not the possessors of the most valuable monopoly on earth not be willing to pay for it? why not bear their just share of the burden of life? Why should not speculators be decapitated?

I may say, in conclusion, that, in common with my respected friend, Mr. Allen, I think Mr. George attaches too much value to his pet scheme, and too little to the moral and intellectual culture of laborers as an uplifting force. And I said as much, or broadly hinted it, in my first article on the subject.

W. S. KENNEDY.

SAMUEL JOHNSON'S "RELIGION OF INDIA."

Editors of The Index:—

Being a constant reader of your valuable journal, I take this opportunity of inserting a few lines in it. I am a native Brahmin of India, and at present a student in this country. In looking over your list of books, I happened to see *Religion of India*, by Samuel Johnson. I have read the book, and find that it is one of the best works of its kind yet penned by a European. I have read several works on Brahminism and the Oriental religions by European writers and travellers, but none have treated the subject so impartially as Mr. Johnson. Several Christian writers have ventured to write on Vedaic religion, who have betrayed their ignorance of Oriental traditions and commentaries, or showed plainly some prejudice,—the fetter which, more or less, bound them to their native religion. Mr. Johnson shows nothing of this, and, to a native Brahmin, as myself, calls forth deep gratitude and praise for having given to the world a true and impartial explanation of one of the oldest religions of the world in its pure and true doctrines.

Trusting these few lines will incite many to read the work, *Religion of India*, by Mr. Johnson,

I am yours truly,

KESHAVRAO BHAT, OF POONA, INDIA.

BOSTON, MASS., April 21, 1883.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE QUAKER INVASION OF MASSACHUSETTS. By Richard P. Hallowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1883. Price $1.25.

In the midst of an absorbing mercantile business, Mr. Hallowell has found time to write this scholarly and much-needed book,—a book, too, the preparation of which must have required a great deal of historical research and careful investigation. The composition of it was a comparatively small part of the labor involved. Indeed, one-half of it is in the appendix, which consists of extracts from old colonial documents, legislative and judicial, and from ancient Quaker writings. These are exceedingly valuable, and furnish the reader with the ample and clear evidence on which the opinions of the author, in his own part of the work, are based. Some of these documents have never before been published; and Mr. Hallowell deserves the thanks not only of all Quakers and their descendants, but of all lovers of historical truth and of fair judgment, for bringing this important material to the light and putting it into accessible form.

Mr. Hallowell has not entered on this research and written this book merely as a literary pastime. The book will well stand the test of literary criticism; but it would not have been written except from a strong feeling of duty to vindicate the early Quakers in Massachusetts from the unjust historical judgment that has been affixed against their names. The first sentence of the brief prefatory note says: "The object of this little volume is to correct popular fallacies, and to assign to the Quakers their true place in the early history of Massachusetts." A burning sense of the injustice done by nearly all historians and anti-

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quarians to a band of honest and pure-minded, if sometimes fanatical, men and women, has impressed itself on every page of Mr. Hallowell's work. Occasionally, his warmth of feeling leads him into a too heated form of expression, which tends really to detract from the strength of his cause. His work is, in fact, judicial; and the opinions arrived at seem to us quite impartial. He has consulted fully both sides of the painful story of the Puritans' treatment of the Quakers, whereas most historians appear to have made themselves familiar only with the Puritan side. But the warmth of his utterance, with a proneness to pretty strong language when speaking of antagonist writers, will give him probably to many readers the appearance of a special advocate on the Quaker side, for whose partisan zeal the same allowance is to be made as for those who strongly champion the Puritan side. To all readers who are disposed to take this view of the book, we would say, Read the evidence in the appendix before making a final judgment.

In our view, Mr. Hallowell proves in its several parts his thesis: 1st. That the Quakers claimed and had a clear legal right, as Englishmen, and by the charter of the Massachusetts colony, to visit or to live wherever the English flag proclaimed English jurisdiction; 2d. That, whatever acts of frenzied fanaticism and of occasional sad indecorum the Quakers may have committed, these were rather the result of the cruel persecution to which they had been subjected than the cause of such persecution; 3d. That the real cause of their being persecuted was the bigoted fear and hatred of their heretical religious opinions by the ministers, prominent church members, and civil authorities of the colonies; 4th. That there was a large section of people among the colonists who favored milder and more liberal measures toward the Quakers, thus taking away the plea that the Puritan rulers but followed the most enlightened conscience of their time; 5th. That, if the Quakers of that early time were not the same mild and harmless class of people that are found in that sect to-day, so the Puritans of the seventeenth century, however noble in their way, lacked some important virtues possessed by their descendants.

The Quakers, as Mr. Hallowell well shows, fulfilled an important mission in correcting the errors of the Puritan misgovernment in Church and State. "The early Quakers," he says, "or some of them, in common with the Puritans, may illustrate some of the least attractive characteristics of their time; but they were abreast, if not in advance, of the foremost advocates of religious and civil freedom. They were more than advocates: they were the pioneers who, by their heroic fortitude, patient suffering, and persistent devotion, rescued the old Bay colony from the jaws of the certain death to which the narrow and mistaken policy of the bigoted and sometimes insincere founders had doomed it. They forced them to abandon pretentious claims, to admit strangers without insulting them, to tolerate religious differences, and to incorporate into their legislation the spirit of liberty which is now the life-blood of our institutions."

THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS. By Alfred William Benn. Two vols. 8vo. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

This work is remarkably successful in showing not only the real character of the teachings of Plato, Aristotle, and their great companions, but also their influence over modern thought. Particularly good are the demonstrations that Bacon was really an Aristotelian, and that Herbert Spencer's theory of the Unknowable is essentially that of Plotinus, the real master of those mystics who call themselves Platonists. What is most worth noticing in these columns is that Mr. Benn is a free thinker, and does not hesitate at showing it. Thus, after mentioning that Plato forbade rendering evil for evil, he remarks that this principle is "implicitly contradicted by the so-called religious services celebrated in Christian churches, and by the doctrine of a divine retribution, which is only not retaliatory because it is infinitely in excess of the provocation received." In speaking of "the intimate connection of religious mysticism with the passion of love," he says, "They seem to divide between them a common fund of nervous energy; . . . their substantial identity and continuity being indicated very frankly by their use of the same language, the same ritual, and the same æsthetic decoration. And this will show how the decay of religious belief may be accompanied by an outbreak of moral license, without our being obliged to draw the inference that passion can only be held in check by irrational beliefs, or by organizations whose supremacy is fatal to industrial, political, and intellectual progress. For, if our view of the case be correct, the passion was not really restrained, but only turned in a different direction, and frequently nourished into hysterical excess. So that, with the inevitable decay of theology, it returns to its old haunts, bringing with it seven devils worse than the first."

THE June number of the *Atlantic Monthly* gives the third and concluding instalment of the dramatized version of *Daisy Miller*. Few readers will regret its non-acceptance by stage managers. The stirring poem by Whittier, entitled "How the Women went from Dover," illustrative of an incident of the Quaker persecution in Massachusetts, shows that the Quaker-poet, in spite of his advanced years, retains all his youthful intensity of feeling and vigor of expression. Oliver Johnson's article on "Morality in the Public Schools" will be read with much interest by all liberal thinkers. The ground he takes is indicated in one of his concluding sentences, "My purpose is fulfilled, if I have succeeded in showing that the incapacity of the State for teaching religion does not imply an incapacity for teaching morality as an essential part of the education of the young, and that there is a ground for such teaching on which all true friends of the schools may consistently stand and cooperate." Richard Grant White contributes the first part of an international paper, "Mr. Washington Adams in England." An anonymous writer gives some fine extracts from Emerson's Harvard lectures. "Monserrat" is a sketch of travel by Charles Dudley Warner. There is an article on "Authorship in America," very carefully written. Among the longer book reviews of this number is one on "Samuel Johnson," in which the writer says of the recently published volume of Mr. Johnson's *Lectures, Essays, and Sermons*, that it should "not only be a very precious one to those who have heretofore been well acquainted with this thinker and his thoughts, but it should attract to him a host of fresh readers." Sara Orne Jewett finishes her story in this number, and Mrs. Wyman has a short one, "Bridget's Story." There are various other articles and poems by good writers.

THE June number of the *North American Review* opens with an article by Joseph Nimmo, Jr., Chief of the Treasury Bureau of Statistics, on "American Manufacturing Interests," in which is given a singularly full and instructive historical sketch of the rise and progress of manufactures in the United States, together with a very effective presentation of their present condition, and of the agency of tariff legislation in promoting diversified industries and encouraging the inventive genius of the people. D. C. Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins University, writes of "The Present Aspects of College Training" as affected by the increase of wealth and luxury, the development of natural science, and the influence of a larger religious liberty. Edward Self presents some weighty considerations on "The Abuse of Citizenship," as exhibited by some of the would-be reformers of to-day. Prof. Isaac L. Rice criticises some of "Herbert Spencer's Facts and Inferences." Christine Nilsson has "A Few Words about Public Singing," and Hon. W. M. Springer argues for free trade in an article entitled "Incidental Taxation." The "Symposium" for June is on "The Moral Influence of the Drama," and is participated in by Rev. J. M. Buckley, John Gilbert, Manager Palmer, and William Winter, the critic.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MORGAN DIX's memoir of his father, the general, in two volumes, will shortly be published by the Harpers.

DR. MCCOSH has prepared for the new *Manhattan Magazine* what is said to be a striking article on Carlyle's influence upon the English language.

SIR HENRY MAINE has been elected Corresponding Member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, in the place of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

THE poet Whittier is said to have felt so keenly the discussion of Carlyle's private life evoked by the publication of the Carlyle correspondence that he has destroyed the greater part of his own private correspondence, covering a period of over fifty years, "lest it should be published after my death," he explains, "and bring suffering to any."

JULES SANDEAU, who died last week in Paris at the age of seventy-two, was known as the first literary partner of George Sand, as a novelist of more delicacy than power, and as Emile Augier's fellow-worker in *Le Gendre de M. Poirier*, and other plays. When his connection with George Sand ended, they did not meet for thirty years. Then, one night, they passed each other at the Odeon. Sandeau half-lifted his hat. "Who is that lady?" he asked of a friend: "it strikes me that I have met her somewhere before."

THE Hartford *Courant* describes Mr. George W. Cable, the Southern novelist, who recently gave some readings in that city, as possessing "a slight, almost boyish figure, with a face of singular purity and refinement, black, laughing eyes, black hair, and a forehead high and fair, and indicating thought and seriousness. He began to speak at once in a simple, unaffected manner, as if he were talking with friends in a drawing-room, in a fine and small voice, but sweet and penetrating."

LASKER, the German statesman who is coming to this country, was one of the founders of the National Liberal party, and has been its parliamentary leader ever since the Empire, and, in the event of the death of Bismarck and the Emperor, will be likely to be taken for premier. He is of Jewish parentage, and had his education at Berlin and in England. He is tall and dark-complexioned, and an able parliamentary debater. He is the virtual leader of the Reichstag in its present attitude of hostility to the desires of the Emperor and of Bismarck.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT is a man who never had the advantages of an education. He did go to school for some time, and perhaps yet retains some little knowledge of the French he then learned. There was nothing in the shape of mathematics or science taught, and of Greek and Latin he acquired only that portion which learners forget most readily. So he says. But all the world knows better. Not that they impeach his veracity, but they do not accept his modest self-estimate. His entire long career of usefulness to learning and to political advancement, the peerless style of his oratory, the sound common sense of his views upon public questions, tell us very much more plainly than an alphabet of capitals following his name would, that Mr. Bright is an educated man. He has reached, by other processes, the end at which all college and university training aims; and, consequently, not only as one whom the people delight to honor, but as an educated man, he fittingly takes his place as Lord Rector of Glasgow University.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 565

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

The Secret of Life in its Relation to Religion, Wm. J. Potter, ... 566

Mr. George's Land Scheme, J. H. Allen, ... 566

The Pioneers of the Woman's Movement, and its Opponents, Sara A. Underwood, ... 567

Some Earlier Free Thinkers, B. F. Underwood, . . . 568

Annual Meeting of the F. R. A., F. A. Hinckley, . . . 569

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 569

POETRY.

A Parallel, Helen T. Clark, ... 569

The Teuton, B. W. Ball, ... 569

ESSAY.

Religious Rationalism in the United States, Count Goblet d'Alviella, ... 570

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Witchcraft Delusion in Boston, Mary Gunning, . 574

A Business Man's View, ... 574

BOOK NOTICES.

Jesus: His Opinions and Character, ... 574

Rivers of Life, by Maj.-Gen. T. G. R. Forlong, ... 574

The Popular Science Monthly, Spectator, Q. P. Index Annual, Unitarian Review, Macmillan's Magazine, 575

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 575

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE fact that a hundred members of the House of Commons have signed a letter to the Premier in favor of extending the county franchise to woman is an indication that the Woman's Rights' movement is gaining ground in England.

A BOOK on palmistry has just been published in England, which contains diagrams of the palms and backs of the hands of twenty-two distinguished persons, among whom are Mr. Gladstone, Charles Darwin, Wilkie Collins, and the Duke of Argyle.

THE gay Parisians are fonder of romance and poetry than of science or history it would appear from the statistical report of the free libraries of that city, which show that, of 360,000 volumes issued last year, over 200,000 were fiction, and 80,000 poetry.

A LARGE collection of weapons and implements from the Stone Age in Japan has arrived in London. The collection consists of a large number of flint arrowheads, celts, axes, as well as numerous specimens of pottery taken from shell-heaps in various parts of Japan.

IN all the European States, the expenditure for war is largely in excess of that for education. The disproportion is greatest in Russia, which expends eighty times as much for war as for education, and least in Switzerland, where nearly as much is spent for education as for war. Denmark ranks next to Switzerland in this respect.

BEFORE the Eastern States had begun to rival the West in the matter of cheap and easy divorces, it used to be a standard joke to declare that the brakemen on Western bound trains announced, "Chicago,—twenty minutes for divorce," when the cars arrived at that city. But it seems the joke has turned into reality in the staid State of Connecticut, since, we learn, the average time of hearing and deciding upon divorce cases in the Supreme Court of that State is but *fifteen* minutes.

THE *Sunday School Times*, referring to the publication, by Funk & Wagnalls, of George Eliot's Essays, says: "It is questionable wisdom to include in a popular library which is designed to drive out bad literature with good, and sceptical books with Christian, such conscienceless caricatures of evangelicalism as some of the essays which appear here. These are not healthy popular literature in any sense." We doubt whether anything can be found in these essays so "conscienceless" as this criticism of the works of a writer whose conscientiousness was one of her most striking characteristics.

THE great bridge between New York and Brooklyn is a grand monument of American progress; and it is gratifying to know that the trustees of the great enterprise are free from the control of the bar-room politicians who influence the aldermen of New York, when we read that the Board of Aldermen of that city passed a resolution of protest against opening the bridge on a day which happened to be the anniversary of the birthday of Queen Victoria. But it is a sad reflection that our great cities have for officers and representative men not from the best, but from the worst elements of society.

THE Boston *Journal* thinks that enlarged ideas and changed opinions have produced "a class of hearers to whom the clergy do not seem to have adapted themselves. They have not kept pace with the changing conditions of intellectual life around them. They have continued enforcing old lines of thought after they have, apparently, lost their hold upon their hearers. Hence, the falling off in the number of converts and the dearth of theological students." In regard to the falling off of students, it asks, "May the true reason not be that the young men find the theological jackets, framed by past generations, which they are required to slip into, impinging at too many points?"

THE Springfield *Republican* gives the following among its city items. The italics are ours: "A respectable appearing laboring man came up to the editorial room yesterday, and requested the insertion of the following, after giving his name: 'Our house of correction and county jail is governed by a jailer now whom the community at large may be well pleased with. I have been confined there during the past few years oftener than I wish I had, but never only on account of intemperance. Yet through his kindness and fatherly affections and good advice I have been convinced of a better way. And, during my last confinement of six months, I can heartily thank Mr. Spellman for his good-will toward us all, and hope that, as he has shown his sympathy for us prisoners, he will receive the same *from the jailer of us all.*'"

A WRITER in *Nature* says that "the opinion once commonly entertained that sheet-lightning is a distinct form of lightning, unaccompanied by sound, is now for the most part rejected, the results of observation being distinctly against it. No one who has on a summer night carefully watched the gradual approach of a great thunder-storm, counting the flashes and registering the time-interval and number of claps from the minute when the first flickers begin above the southern horizon to that at which the storm is in its full roar and rattle overhead; no one who in a long night journey by train has run into a thunder-storm whose distant coruscations he has noticed two or three hours beforehand; no one, at least, who after watching sheet-lightning in one particular direction has made careful inquiries as to the occurrence or otherwise of thunder over the district from which the light proceeded,—will hesitate in pronouncing the verdict that ordinary sheet or summer lightning is simply the illumination produced by a distant thunder-storm."

HON. STEPHEN J. W. TABOR, best known to the country by his fifteen years' service as Fourth Auditor of the Treasury Department, died at Independence, Iowa, on the 17th inst. He was born in Vermont, in 1815; and his life was an active and useful one. He possessed a cultivated and versatile mind. He was successful as a teacher, a journalist, and a physician, and filled several public positions with signal ability and faithfulness. Although a man of great firmness, he was kind, genial, and sympathetic, and made friends of those with whom he came in contact. Judge Tabor was a radical free thinker from his youth, was a contributor to liberal journals, and translated from the French two or three works, among which was one of D'Holbach's. Before his appointment to the Treasury by Mr. Lincoln, he frequently lectured in Iowa in exposition and defence of liberal thought; and, while he was in Washington, he was, as the writer of this paragraph can testify, interested in and ready to encourage liberal lectures in that city, and to help the liberal cause generally by his pen and with his money. He had one of the largest private libraries in this country; and "not a book," as a friend writes, "was placed upon the shelves except for a special purpose or to complete and round out a special theme." His library was a fair index of the many-sided character of the man. A Christian writes thus of the deceased: "Theologically speaking, Judge Tabor was not a believer. It would be unjust to his memory, were his friends to ignore or to apologize for his decided agnostic views. But judged from the stand-point not of opinions, beliefs, or speculations, but from that of acts and deeds, he was a genuine disciple of the 'Son of Man.' If the chief purpose of all theologic faith is to make men Jesus-like, just, true, trustworthy, affectionate, and disinterested, the deceased was a conspicuous and lofty example of Christian character. After all, opinions and beliefs are personal and private; while acts accomplished, in their ever-widening circles of influence, have a being and immortality of their own. Since the deceased had neither expectation of a future reward nor a fear of future punishment, his disinterestedness and devotion to duty stand forth in the strongest relief."

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THE SECRET OF LIFE IN ITS RELATION TO RELIGION.

The deep, unfathomed mystery with which human thought has to grapple is not really death, but life. And when death is spoken of as a mystery, it is only because of its peculiar relation to life. But death in itself, all that people really know as death, they understand. It is a simple, intelligible idea. It is scientifically explained. It is the dissolution of any vital material organism when the life-principle has left it, the surrender of its structural elements back to the various natural reservoirs of matter to which chemically they belong. But science affirms that not one atom of them all is lost. They wait their turn to be seized again by the curious magnetic fingers which reach out unerringly from every organic structure, and which will in time and successively appropriate them to new use in other forms of life-building. And we know of no kind of death but this,—the cessation of the organic activity of a certain arrangement of material particles, and their separation—not annihilation, but separation—for other uses of nature. We know no death but that of a physical organism; and this means, as scientifically interpreted, only a change of relation in the continuing process of existence for each and every atom that helps to make the organism.

Of the death of mind, we *know* nothing. If people believe, as many do, that the mind dies with the body, that is a belief which rests only on their inference, not on any positive knowledge. They believe that mind is only a function of the physical organism, and hence ceases with the organism. But that is a belief which no science has yet proved. What if mind is somehow associated with the eternal life-principle itself, which is the ever active power in creating organisms? For aught that anybody knows, that may be true; and, if we were to weigh reasons on one side and the other and measure probabilities, that belief, in our opinion, would be found quite as likely to be true, as that mind is only a passing function of a certain arrangement of material atoms. Science has fathomed the mystery of human death only so far as death applies to the body. No science has yet penetrated the deeper mystery of life.

And it is a very suggestive and pregnant fact that it is the mysterious supremacy of *life*, and not of death, that religion has always labored, in its manifold forms and voices, to teach. Whatever else was included in nature-worship, it certainly included a wondering, grateful homage to the secret powers of life. It is instructive to note how much of the religious symbolism of Christendom as well as of other faiths embodies the idea of man's relation to the ever-sustaining life-principle of nature. The Christmas and Easter festivals both have their primary origin in nature-worship, and both represent the powers of life as perpetually overcoming all the dread appearances and forces of death. The Oriental custom of animal worship grew out of the natural reverence which had been begotten in the human mind in presence of the wonderful secret of life. It was not the special animal that was worshipped, but the *life* residing in it, the hidden life-principle that it embodied. Even the cross, made actually to be an instrument of torture and death, was one of the most ancient and universal of religious symbols, and, as a symbol, has always been emblematic not of death, but of life. It appears, therefore, that, alongside of man's natural instinct for preserving his own life, —an instinct which is literally the constraining force of nature's purpose,—there came naturally a corresponding feeling of wonder and awe, a mood of searching but baffled inquiry before the mystery of life's manifold processes and powers, which grew into worship. And when we contemplate that mystery to-day, in its universal relations,—the mystery of the vital principle and force which is at the heart of the universe and is radiated through all its myriad members,—we are hardly nearer knowing it or even guessing it than were our Aryan ancestors on the high plains of central Asia many thousands of years ago, when they looked up to the blue enveloping sky and gave that as a name for the secret they could not fathom.

People of the modern world have learned a great deal *about* life; they have improved it in kind; they have ascertained many of the conditions and ways necessary for its most healthful working and its highest achievements: but what it is in itself, what the power that continues it, whence and how it began, whether it ever had beginning or can ever have end, we, of the modern world, are as ignorant as were the first savages who breathed its breath. "The breath of life," what is it? Have we answered, when we say that it is the oxygen of the air which the lungs inhale and impart to the blood, and which thence vitalizes the whole system? We have then barely touched the problem. What is the relation of oxygen to vitality? What *is* vitality? That is the very question to be solved. Is it all physical? Suppose that we trace all living species and all vital phenomena back from the complex to the more simple, until we come to protoplasm,—itself no living being, but only the basis or sustenance of living beings. Have we discovered the secret there? What is protoplasm but a flowing current of vital particles which science *finds* beneath all organized life, a necessary condition of it, but of which science can say no more. Protoplasm itself is the hidden secret. The scientific man gazes upon it through his microscope, stands in wonder before the ceaseless rotation and rush of the stream; but he cannot gaze through its veil to the moving cause. We see there, as one says, "the vast procession of life," as it rises before us, and "spreads away in variety of activity, in beauty, in wonderfulness incomprehensible."

And here, in the presence of this ceaseless vital energy, before this incomprehensible power acting within and behind all the phenomena of material life, science leaves us. It takes us with confidence up to the very doors of the laboratory of creation, but it does not unlock those doors. It admits the necessity of an organizing power, of a directive agency, of a formative principle, but has no philosophy for it. Religion stands before the same secret, and calls the unnamed power *God;* but religion, too, admits its incomprehensibility.

But, though incomprehensible, the power is none the less there,—a power immanent and active in all forms of life; and in man, as the culmination of the vast process of life in our part of the universe, specially manifesting itself as conscious, creative, progressive mental and moral intelligence. Incomprehensible in its essence and absoluteness, it yet unmistakably, though partially, reveals itself in its methods of working, and shows us its ways. Through man's reason and conscience, enlightened by all the past experience of the race, it decrees the rules of human conduct, and affirms the gradually rising dignity and worth of its own manifestations; material life rising slowly into mental and affectional, and the three, organically mingled, then ripening together into moral life, which wears by right the crown of sovereignty over all the grades below.

Hence, in man, the secret life-principle develops and blossoms into something entirely unknown in all the forms of being before him. Man detects the creative purpose through which he has himself been evolved, discovers the line of progress, becomes himself a sub-creator, a voluntary, consciously directive force. In him, the vital principle flowers into personal character,—into rational thought, into sentiments of right, into moral choice, into self-control, into skilful mastery over nature, into benignant action for the improvement of human society as a whole. And here, if we choose to carry the thought so far, we may find reasonable ground for belief in the survival of personality after the earthly organism has perished. In moral personality have been gathered eternal elements from the life-principle itself. It has made itself necessary to the progressive life of the world. In the last analysis, the law of life by which the universe has been developed and is sustained is one with the law of righteousness by which individual man survives.

WM. J. POTTER.

MR. GEORGE'S LAND SCHEME.

I have not half done with Mr. George and his land speculation, if only the patience of *The Index* and its readers will hold out. I have only tried, so far, to show the operation of his cunningly devised plan of getting things into working order by throwing all taxes upon the land.

As to this, it may be remarked, in general, that "a bear robbed of her whelps" is not so fierce and unrelenting as a philanthropic theorist on the rampage, and that Mr. George's chapters on this subject read wonderfully like the most sanguine passages of Rousseau, or like the ardent predictions that his poorest disciple, Robespierre, used to put forth just when the guillotine was going fastest. I do not suppose, therefore, that he or his disciples will be moved at all by the hardship of the evictions I spoke of, made in the name of so fine-spoken a theory.

It will be convenient to look separately at the three parts of the scheme which he lumps together. The first being farms and homesteads; the second, city lots; and the third, reservations made to cover such great objects of public interest as mines, forests, water-privileges, oil-wells, harbor-fronts, and the like. It is quite clear to me—and, I should suppose, to any one who will think attentively—that the three stand on an entirely different footing from one another, and should be considered separately.

As to the first, the main consideration (so far as the public is concerned) is *the maximum of productiveness for the longest period.* Directly or indirectly, the maintenance of every human being must come from the soil; and the earth is not at all like what Mr. George (p. 218) compares it to,—"a well-provisioned ship," where you have only to lift the hatches and take out what you want. Harvests do not lie under ground (as he seems to suppose) like veins of gold or beds of coal, but must be got by hard, skilful, and thrifty labor. To an average factory operative, a hundred-acre farm would be worse than worthless, unless he could sell it. The occupant must have not only skill, but the strongest inducement to make the most of it. That strongest inducement has been found, hitherto, in actual, independent, unmolested ownership.

Besides, a farmer needs time. A five years' lease would encourage him to raise good corn crops, and would be just about long enough to let him thoroughly exhaust the soil. An apple-orchard wants thirty years to come to its best, and an olive-orchard, we are told, a hundred years. How long shall the lease be? If twenty years, at most (as Mr. George seems to imply), what shall we do for apples and olives? Nobody will take the pains to

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raise what will only have the effect to double his rent, without giving him any claim or tenure. If the lease is long enough to cover these, it is practically "copyright" ownership, and the theory goes to the ground. It is impossible that the public should get the benefit which Mr. George speaks of, unless the farmer should be virtually a tenant-at-will, like an Irish cotter, with his lease renewable at short intervals, which would be ruinous to him as a farmer. The twenty years' interval looks long, but is far too short to give the encouragement essential to a task that must be done, at best, under such hard conditions as the farmer's.

There is a practical inconvenience, too, which this scheme invites, and which Mr. George would apparently welcome. It is turning the agricultural population of a country from a stable and settled to a migratory and speculative population. Just in proportion as the scheme is effective, it must have this result. I say nothing of the destruction of home-feeling, the impossibility of strong local attachment, and the damage done to what have always been considered the most valuable moral qualities of a people. I only speak of the political and economical disadvantage of setting the great body of a population afloat, with no permanent abiding-place, and no inducement, such as ownership alone creates, to make the best of their position, both for themselves and for the public interest.

The most plausible reason for this compulsory breaking up is, no doubt, the holding of vast estates, of tens of thousands of acres, by speculators and capitalists. As to this, it may be said, in the first place, that it would be perfectly easy, if the public were so minded, to check this by legislation intended to encourage—or, if need be, *compel*—the subdivision of these vast estates; in the second place, that probably there is no need of such legislation, since the tendency within a generation (I am speaking only of this country) will almost certainly be to subdivision rather than larger increase; and, in the third place, that—granting it to be so—the great land-owners of the present day are doing a positive service to the next generation by holding their property in large blocks, which will be cut up to supply the markets of the future. Even the lordly estates of England, which at this day seem such an unmitigated evil to the laboring class, may be found, in a hundred years from now, to have been the *previous condition* making possible a far more prosperous condition of things than would have come about in another way. As to productiveness of supplies for the market, it has been proved that these great estates—when conducted with that view—are, in spite of their political evil and danger, the most profitable—that is, the most economical—form in which land can be held and worked.

Finally, as to the feasibility of Mr. George's scheme, it has only to be considered that it must be established and put into effect by the votes of a class perhaps more than any other conservative, suspicious of innovation, and jealous of its rights; that is, the class of working farmers, owners of their own soil and homesteads. If the scheme could be put in play by a set of resolutions at a labor convention, held under Mr. George's auspices in New York or Philadelphia, it would look theoretically a little easier; but it would encounter the objection of forcible resistance from a standing army, or militia, consisting of as many as there are farmers in the country and their grown-up sons. With this in view, it seems unnecessary, for the present, to say anything more about it as applying to land held for agriculture.

The next is the question of city lots. As to this, little need be said, as here I am not nearly so far away from Mr. George as before; and, besides, the practical remedy is easier than he seems to think. Take Philadelphia, which was laid out at first to be a commercial and manufacturing town: I am quite ready to grant that it might have been wise for the municipality to reserve the entire site, city and country, in the way he says, from all possibility of private speculation in land. And so in any similar case. That of a city like New York or Boston, which have grown (unexpectedly, as it were) from villages or settlements, is not quite so easy to deal with. Nobody can ever tell how far the growth of a given place is due to the private enterprise which begins by taking a large stake in land. Suppose Mr. George's scheme to have been tried thirty-three years ago at Benicia: it would certainly have been charged with the ruin which overtook the attempt to found a great city there. For the present, the practical difficulty is best met—and, for all I can see, may be sufficiently met—by the assessors, without any stretch of power, in the exercise of the discretion which the law gives them. It is already very hazardous, and in many cases ruinous, to hold unimproved lots in a city: they are such an easy and open prey to the tax-gatherer. On the whole, I think the evil—what there is of it—had better be left to the assessors, without waiting for Mr. George's legislation.

It is in the third department that I find myself standing nearest to Mr. George. The great sources of wealth I have mentioned—forests, mines, water privileges, and the like—do seem in a very different sense from farm lands, homesteads, or even city lots, to be fairly public property, which should be wisely held from private speculation. Mr. Bate carps a little at my making a distinct class of these. But I can stand a good deal of carping when I know that I am right.

I said, for instance, that I doubted whether our States, as they are, were "wise and virtuous enough" to undertake such public trusts. What is the fact? The great State of Pennsylvania has not been wise enough to control that unique source of wealth in her oil wells, so that they are being drained as fast as machinery can do it in a wild scramble of speculation, creating enormous stores of oil (at this time, as I am told, about thirty-three millions barrels) in advance of any market, and risking such frightful conflagrations as that in Jersey City the other day. The great State of New York has not been virtuous enough, when in full possession of the inestimable forest highlands of the Adirondacks, to prevent them in season from being the private spoil of speculators, who are permitted to threaten the State with the formidable evils predicted from their destruction. Begging Mr. Bate's pardon, I think I am fully entitled to put such cases as these in a category by themselves, and to express a doubt, or a regret, that our political authorities are not yet "wise or virtuous enough" to interfere.

I am so nearly in agreement with Mr. George on this particular point that I do not care to dispute about ways and means. My chief difference is this: that I think we had better *begin here* with our schemes for the "nationalization" of land. What may come to pass in a hundred years from now, or even in fifty years, if this is tried and works well, I shall not trouble myself about. The State of New York has just made a good beginning by taking steps to reserve the magnificent "water privileges" at Niagara. The United States has just found out some of the practical difficulties in making the splendid national reservation of Yellowstone Park. Pennsylvania will probably have to rue, when too late, its incredible blunder in the matter of the oil wells. And the sober second thought with us all, I hope, will serve to bring Mr. George, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Bate, and myself into perfect harmony on the ground I have now taken.

J. H. ALLEN.

ITHACA, N.Y., May 17, 1883.

THE PIONEERS OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT, AND ITS OPPONENTS.

It has even been a part of the policy of the Christian Church, when it has opposed, disliked, or ignored any discovery in science or innovation in moral methods, which, recommended by its truth and justice, has finally become accepted by the majority of people, gradually to adopt as its own offspring the demonstrated scientific fact or successful reform, and to modify its own teachings so as to make them harmonize with it.

The movement in favor of the advancement and enfranchisement of woman has been no exception to this rule. To-day, we have "ministers of the gospel" who undertake the apparently impossible task of reconciling "the Bible and Woman's Suffrage." And some of the journals most prominent in the woman's cause are yet so unawake to the liberal origin and trend of the movement as to fancy they make that cause stronger and its justice more incontrovertible by taking the position that the Church has been the patron and instigator of it. If the facts of history did not so thoroughly disprove this, we would have no objection whatever to giving Christianity credit for any efforts made toward the elevation of Woman; but, since we believe in giving "honor to whom honor is due," it is only just that *The Index*, whose motto is "Light, Liberty, and Right," should in this Anniversary Week, when the suffrage anniversary will, we hope, awaken new interest in the woman's cause, explain to whom is due the honor of the most earnest and successful pioneer work in this so nearly triumphant reform, whether to the high dignitaries of the orthodox faith or to the efforts of unorthodox and free-thinking reformers.

The first "vindication of the rights of women" of which we possess any definite information is that of Mary Wollstonecraft, an avowed deist, who, in 1792, wrote that still readable and passionate demand for the political recognition of her sex, which bears that title.

From 1820 until her death in 1852, Frances Wright, an outspoken free thinker, did valiant service for the enfranchisement of her sex here in America, her adopted country; and it is in recognition of that service that to-day her portrait occupies a prominent position in the office of a journal devoted to woman's suffrage, though the journal referred to discountenances anything savoring of free-thought principles, and mistakenly thinks to strengthen a cause born of those principles by pandering to the dying Orthodoxy of to-day. In *The Eminent Women of the Age*, Mrs. Stanton writes thus of Frances Wright: "We may date the woman's rights' cause proper from the division in the anti-slavery organization in 1840; though, before that time, Frances Wright, an Englishwoman, of rare gifts both as a writer and speaker, had visited this country and addressed large audiences, demanding, at that early day, all the champions of woman's rights now claim." Mrs. Stanton continues: "She was followed by Ernestine L. Rose, a native of Poland, a woman of great beauty, refinement, and cultivation, of generous impulses, liberal views, and oratorical power. She came to this country in 1836, addressed large audiences in Charleston, S.C., and in Detroit, Mich., on 'The Science of Government.' She was among the first who agitated the property rights of married women in the State of New York. As early as 1838, she circulated petitions on that subject, which were presented by

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Judge Herttell in the Legislature. She has been one of the leaders in the woman's rights' movement since that time, and spoken at all the annual conventions." The Judge Herttell who presented in 1838 the petitions of Mrs. Rose for the rights of married women was as open and avowed a free thinker as Mrs. Rose herself, and he was also one of the earliest advocates of total abstinence in this country.

Harriet Martineau, an agnostic, so early as 1835 gave publicity to her convictions on the question of woman's rights. "I declare," she says, in *Society in America*, written in 1836, "that whatever obedience I yield to the laws of the society in which I live is a matter between not the community and myself, but my judgment and my will. Any punishment inflicted on me for a breach of those laws I should regard as so much gratuitous injury, for to those laws I have never actually or virtually assented."

As early as 1840, Margaret Fuller, whose Orthodoxy is certainly questionable, had begun to write and work for the enfranchisement of her sex from all the disabilities and limitations imposed upon it by reason of masculine and religious prejudice. In 1847, Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, formerly a judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York (who is still living, and who has within a few years done good and effective work for Liberalism), in his excellent volume on *Human Rights*, openly advocated the legal and political "Rights of Women" in a chapter so entitled; and so radical and pronounced were those views that his friend, George Combe, in some notes appended to Judge Hurlbut's work, felt obliged to take exceptions to them.

Of the more recent advocates of woman's suffrage, Mrs. Stanton, Theodore Parker, R. W. Emerson, Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, William Lloyd Garrison, Fred Douglass, Colonel Higginson, Louisa Alcott and her venerable father, Anna Dickinson, Julia Ward Howe, and many others in this country, together with George Eliot. Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, Prof. Huxley, Frances Power Cobbe, John Bright, George Jacob Holyoake, and Charles Bradlaugh in England, are all either liberal Christians or avowed free thinkers: none are entirely orthodox in faith.

And what can orthodox Christianity show in confirmation of its claim that to its teachings and labors woman's elevation and coming enfranchisement are due? What is its record of work done in behalf of one-half of the human race and religion's most zealous supporters? Certainly, in spite of the specious pleas only recently thought necessary by some preachers, that the Bible is not opposed to woman's suffrage, it can be very clearly shown from that book that woman was considered by all its writers the inferior of man, made so originally. So, though the question of suffrage had never occurred to them, yet it is utterly incompatible with the spirit of Biblical teachings. Rev. Horace Bushnell's passionate denunciation of woman's suffrage as a "Reform against Nature" was indorsed by all good churchmen as the exposition of their views on that question; and it is only a few weeks since the publication of Rev. Morgan Dix's *Lenten Sermons on Women*, relegating them to the inferior and subordinate position occupied by the sex two centuries ago,—a position which Biblical authority plainly indicates as the proper and divinely ordained place for the sex through whose transgression sin entered the world, though many of his clerical brethren, more strongly imbued than himself with the progressive spirit of the age, openly deride the Rev. Dix's antediluvian notions in regard to their mothers', wives', and daughters' places in society. Yet the unmistakable earnestness and the unassailable Orthodoxy of his views give this man a select audience and a thoughtful hearing.

Of the many denominational Christian papers published in this country and in England, how many take a decided stand in favor of the advancement of women? Only one, the *Independent*, (which lives up to the spirit indicated by its name), so far as the writer knows, openly takes the position that women have as much right to suffrage as men; while many, like the *Congregationalist*, do not hesitate to disavow any sympathy with the movement. There are no *liberal* papers which take ground against it. The Methodist Church, one of the most liberal of the orthodox denominations, has within a few weeks allowed one of its most efficient and enthusiastic workers, Miss Anna Oliver, to give up her charge of the congregation she has done so much for and the church she has so ably redeemed from debt through her financial ability, simply because its Orthodoxy does not venture to gainsay Paul's dictum, "I suffer not a woman to teach." So Mrs. Van Cott's ministrations are still unsanctioned; and in other churches the women workers, the real "pillars of the church," are degraded by the simple fact of their sex on which religion has cast a ban and obloquy.

Until, then, women learn to cast aside the authority of the Church, the enfranchisement of the sex must be delayed. And those who have that cause at heart must work first for the enfranchisement of the female mind from priestly domination.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

SOME EARLIER FREE THINKERS.

The liberal movement in this country has had among its workers men and women to whom we are all indebted, but whose services are little appreciated or known to-day. The workers here referred to did not produce large results that could be seen in their time, did not influence directly large masses. They were so far in advance of the people that any general acceptance of their views was impossible. But there were minds who did receive their teachings or who were profoundly impressed by their work; and, through these minds, their influence has been extended far and wide.

These Liberals were not of that class who keep but a little in advance of public sentiment, whose views are formed from observations of the tendency of thought, who, with but little knowledge or courage even, express in popular phraseology and with guarded qualifications beliefs that have been adopted by leading minds and are beginning to be treated with respect by the people, and who frequently live to see their names identified with progressive changes, and themselves credited with the results of the heroic and self-sacrificing labors of thousands whose very names are forgotten. They adopted the views they held and taught, because they were compelled, in the exercise of their reason and common sense, to do so; and they did this in defiance of a strong and intolerant public sentiment. Having come to certain conclusions, they had the moral courage to declare and defend them, in spite of all opposition. With them, the object of language was not to conceal, but to express their thoughts. They could not temporize. They were "bold enough to be honest and honest enough to be bold," and wrote and spoke as they believed. They did not consider their principles from a money point of view, nor did they value a movement in proportion as they could make it subserve their individual interests. They bequeathed to this generation lessons of honesty, courage, and sacrifice.

Of course, they had their limitations, especially the limitations of their times. They did not see, at least, not so clearly as is now seen, that religious systems are products of evolution, and that all the old systems of faith were necessary factors in social development, that their immediate and total destruction is neither possible nor desirable, and that the continuity implied by evolution admits of a break no more in the religious and social than in the physical world. A knowledge and appreciation of these facts would have enabled them to see much good where they saw only evil, would have helped them to juster views, moderated their expectations, and, while restraining their impatience and saving them from bitter disappointments, would have made their work more truly liberal and perhaps more effective.

Among those identified with the liberal movement in this country, years ago, was Thomas Cooper, President of Columbia College, South Carolina,—a man of vigorous intellect and of extensive learning, who was best known in the South for his political writings, which were strongly partisan; but who wrote a work on the Pentateuch and a series of papers on the New Testament, which, although published half a century ago, are well worth reading to-day. Another veteran free thinker was Thomas Herttell, Judge of the Marine Court of New York, and for some years a member of the Legislature of his State. He wrote two or three small works in criticism of the Christian theology, and exerted his influence very effectively in favor of State secularization in New York. Judge Hurlbut was also active and influential in the same work, and at the same time. Gilbert Vale, a teacher, author, and translator of some French works, and editor of the *Beacon*,—a radical free-thought journal published in New York, and conducted with much ability during several years,—is still remembered gratefully by those who knew him, or know of the work he performed. Robert Owen held a debate with Alexander Campbell at Cincinnati, and addressed conventions and meetings in New York and other cities half a century ago. Robert Dale Owen, with the best education that European universities could give and with all the enthusiasm of a young reformer, lectured and wrote in defence of Liberalism, and had a written discussion with Origen Bachelor on the origin and authority of the Bible, in which he maintained his position with marked ability, erudition, and candor. It may be fairly regarded as the best presentation of the pros and cons on the subject published up to that date. Mr. Owen's subsequent career as a member of Congress, as a representative to a foreign court, and as the author of two learned works in defence of modern Spiritualism, is much better known than his earlier labors.

Associated with him on the *Free Inquirer* was Frances Wright, a Scotch lady of masculine strength of mind, of education, versatility, and philanthropic disposition, whose discourses and essays attracted wide attention. Abner Kneeland, who, after acquiring a reputation by his writings as a learned Universalist minister, became a radical free thinker, and fifty years ago founded the *Investigator*, gave lectures in Boston, New York, and other cities against Christianity, and suffered sixty days' imprisonment in Leverett Street Jail, Boston, for blasphemy. About the same time, Samuel Underhill, a man of vigorous intellect, started a paper in Cleveland, Ohio, called *The Liberalist*, which was published several years. He was a ready and impressive speaker and a good debater; and his discussion in the above-named city with Alexander Campbell, one of the most aggressive theologians and able controversialists of his day, is remembered by persons still living who heard it. Ernestine L. Rose, the brilliant Polish

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lady who thrilled audiences with her eloquent denunciations of superstition forty years ago, still lives to see the great change which has taken place since she commenced her labors. John S. Hittell, in 1855, wrote *The Evidences against Christianity*, a compendium of all the main evidences and arguments brought against the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration of the Bible, and, according to the *Westminster Review*, the ablest work of the kind that had appeared up to the date of its publication. Mr. Hittell subsequently wrote a work on the resources of California, and another entitled *A Brief History of Culture*. He was several years, and is probably now, one of the editors of the *Alta California*.

Many others might be mentioned whose services in years past entitle them to the grateful remembrance of the Liberals of this generation. They did good pioneer work, and cleared the way and helped to make comparatively easy the work of their successors. They were sturdy advocates of the sovereignty of human reason, and valiant defenders of those imprescriptible rights of the human mind which superstition and ecclesiasticism have tried to suppress. To permit ourselves to be guided or limited by their thought or their methods would be foolish, but a recognition of their services justice requires and gratitude prompts.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

ANNUAL MEETING, FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston, beginning Thursday evening, May 31, and continuing through Friday, June 1.

Business session, in Parker Fraternity Hall, Thursday evening, at 7.45 o'clock, for reports, election of officers, and general discussion of methods of work.

Sessions on Friday at 10.30 A.M. and 3 P.M. Morning subject, "Emerson and Darwin." Speakers, Col. T. W. Higginson, Mr. Edwin D. Mead, and Mr. John W. Chadwick. Afternoon subject, "Co-operation and Progress." Speakers, Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, Mr. James Kay Applebee, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and others.

Social Festival, Friday evening at Horticultural Hall, with supper at six o'clock. Tickets, 50 cents each. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. Brief addresses from distinguished speakers.

F. A. HINCKLEY, *Sec'y F. R. A.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE New York Freethinkers' Association is to hold its next annual convention at Rochester five days, commencing August 29.

WOMEN passing Anniversary Week in the city are cordially invited to make use of the rooms of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 157 Tremont Street, for rest, reading, and local information.

THE thirty-first yearly meeting of Progressive Friends will be held at Longwood, Pa., June 7, 8, and 9. F. A. Hinckley, Mary F. Eastman, Charles G. Ames, and other prominent speakers, are expected to be present.

YOU cannot be too conscientious. But you can have a conscience too self-conceited, too tyrannous, too papal. Your conscience is not an infallible conscience. You are not a Moses nor a pope. Take counsel of other consciences. Consider their judgments. Give them due weight. Then judge for yourself, but not for your neighbor. Why not? —*Christian Union*.

THE increase of Liberalism in the churches is shown in a marked manner by the fact that Rev. Washington Gladden was recently installed pastor of one of the leading Congregational churches in Columbus, Ohio, without one dissenting vote in the church council, even after the following bold declaration of his theological views: "I am not satisfied with any theory of Christ's atoning work. What forms the endless life in the world to come will take I do not know. The mysteries of the future I do not try to fathom. I only know that, as it is ill with the wicked in this world and in all worlds, so it is well with the righteous in this world and in all worlds; and I am content to wait for the knowledge of how well it is with them till that Shadow come who keeps the key of all the creeds."

EVERY now and then, religious papers like the New York *Observer* and *Christian Statesman* have to refer to the action of the National Liberal League regarding postal laws against the transmission of indecent literature through the mails, and make it the basis of charges against Liberals generally that they are in favor of vice. It is sufficient in reply to these false accusations to reproduce here an extract from an article by the junior editor of *The Index*, published in 1881, in reply to *Scribner's Monthly*: —

The membership of the National Liberal League has never been large, and the number of delegates has never exceeded a few dozen. It was never authorized to speak or act for the majority of Liberals, although, while it confined itself to the work of State secularization, it probably represented, so far, the views and objects of Liberals generally. Yet under no circumstance could the Liberals of the country be justly held accountable for the action of such an organization. It is very certain that the majority of Liberals in this country, numbered by hundreds of thousands, have never, in any way, indicated their approval of the action of the League at Chicago. On the contrary, after extensive travel and observation, and with unusual opportunities to learn the views of Liberals, I am satisfied that comparatively few of them either approve the demand for the repeal of postal laws against obscenity, or take the slightest interest in the League with its present policy or under its present administration. But, if all the Liberals of the United States were in favor of the repeal of the so-called Comstock laws, it would be no evidence whatever of "love of obscenity" on their part. These laws are of recent date; and their constitutionality and wisdom are a subject of discussion among intelligent and honest men, irrespective of their religious views. Common fairness, therefore, demands the admission that those generally who ask for the repeal of these laws have no sympathy whatever with obscenity, and rely on other agencies for its suppression.

THE following paragraph we copy from the *Liberal*, a journal which comes to us from Sydney, New South Wales: —

In America there is a section of free thinkers which insists that no one can claim to be truly liberal who does not subscribe to the "Nine Demands of Liberalism." Now, we take leave to assure these worthy people that true Liberalism has no demands whatever, except the demands of equal liberty to others. Any system that puts forth "demands" ceases at once to be a system of Liberalism, and becomes immediately another sect. Real Liberalism seems to be unknown in America. Among the large number of papers coming under the head of free thought, we do not know of one that we could call genuinely liberal. They have each and all wrapped themselves in their own narrow groove of idea, and refuse to see any good in the system of any one else. As we have over and over again said, this is purely sectarianism as Roman Catholicism or Calvinism; and we cannot see that a person has in the least benefited himself by altering the name and principles of his sect. *The Index* and the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* perhaps make the nearest approach to Liberalism of any. The *Investigator* always ostentatiously separates free thinkers into Liberals and Spiritualists, as though the latter could not be Liberals! And yet Mr. Denton assured us that one of the editors, J. P. Mendum, is a believer in Spiritualism in private! With all its marvellous talent, surely America ought to produce a liberal paper. Or is it left to the newest country of the world—Australia—to show what the newest sentiment evolved—Liberalism—means?

Are not the "Nine Demands of Liberalism" "the demands of equal liberty to others"? How is a concise statement of certain reforms which are needed to make the State entirely secular, and to secure equal rights and exact justice to all, irrespective of religious beliefs, inconsistent with "true Liberalism"? Will our esteemed contemporary give us its idea of "a liberal paper"? We must be permitted to express doubt, to use the mildest language, in regard to the truth of the alleged statement of Mr. Denton respecting the publisher of the *Investigator*.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

A PARALLEL.

Red, through the far cloud-islands,
The fires of sunset burned,
And the blue of enchanted highlands
To a magical crimson turned.

Weary with waiting and grieving,
So tired of strife and care,—
No gospel of hope receiving
From the glory-freighted air,—

The lessons of patience losing
Of the dark, germ-throbbing soil;
And the bitterest meaning choosing
That lay in her life of toil,—

From her low-roofed cottage gazing,
A woman watched the sky,
And its far cloud-islands blazing
With the splendor that "passeth by";

And, lo! as her look fell slowly
To the muddy pools of the street,
The glow was reflected wholly,—
All heaven lay at her feet!

And a thought that pierced like an arrow
Her dulling sense made fine:
"No life so joyless and narrow
But may mirror a ray divine!"

HELEN T. CLARK.

FLORENCE, MASS.

For *The Index*.

THE TEUTON.

The servile creed of dreamers old,
Who idled 'neath a Syrian sun,
Was suited not to Teuton bold,
Though o'er him sway it strangely won.

Despite his alien cult, he turned
To suitor's hand no craven cheek,—
At wrong with indignation burned,
To taunt and insult ne'er was meek.

Spare fast was never to his mood,
But copious draught and liberal cheer:
He prayed not for his daily food,
But gathered it with toil severe.

The soil and climate of his birth
Brooked not the idle, saintly drone;
But wintry storm and rugged earth
To thrift and skill were kind alone.

The oak and ash-tree gave him shade,
To mast and oars he hewed the pine,
And boldly drifted south to raid
On regions of the palm and vine.

His heaven was a heroes' hall
Of revel after conflict grim,
Which duly ceased, as twilight's fall
Wrapped Asgard in its shadows dim.

B. W. BALL.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 31, 1883.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index*.

Religious Rationalism in the United States.*

BY COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

(Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of April 1, 1883, by Miss Arethusa Hall.)

(*Concluded from last week.*)

III.

Parker died in Italy, May 10, 1860, on the eve of that War of Secession which he had perhaps hastened by the energy of his denunciations against slavery. It is related that, at the moment of dying, he murmured: "There are two Theodore Parkers now. One is dying here in Italy: the other I have planted in America. He will live there, and finish my work." The prediction of the dying man is realized, but perhaps not in the sense he attached to it. Parker lives more than ever in the United States, through the power exercised over imagination and character by the example of his inflexible fidelity to conviction, of his passionate love for truth and justice, and of his unshaken faith in the reconciliation of religion and progress. But, as to his favorite doctrine,—not admitting, with certain of his most recent biographers, that he would to-day with the same ardor extol the experimental method,—it must be recognized that the philosophy of intuition has not answered the highest expectations of its prophet.

The emancipation of the slaves was the great triumph of Transcendentalism, but it was also the beginning of its decline. The movement owed a great part of its popularity to the indifference which almost all the established churches had shown in opposing the scourge of slavery. When this odious institution was consumed in the flames of civil war, Transcendentalism lost its principal motive power over one portion of its adherents. On the other hand, individualism, which was at the bottom of its aspirations, was always a serious obstacle to its efforts at propagandism and to the grouping of its forces. Its essential aim, according to an expression of Samuel Johnson, was to lead each individual to become a church by himself,—which was to condemn the very principle of all permanent organization upon religious grounds. The majority of its interpreters did not break away completely from Unitarianism, which had served as a cradle to the Transcendental doctrine; and, of the independent congregations which some of them endeavored to establish in imitation of Parker, few had a long duration.

Indeed, Transcendentalism represented a reaction against the exaggerations of the sensualistic method of philosophy; and, like all reactions, it went beyond its mark. Not content with affirming the importance of psychology, the necessity of recurring to internal observation to explain the origin of our knowledge, the aptitude of the mind to conceive certain notions which cannot be the exclusive product of sensible experience, the existence of moral liberty, and the imperative character of duty, it professed to find in the human soul a complete and infallible perception of religious and moral truth. This was to prepare the way for an aggressive return of sensationalism, at the time when this philosophy, strengthened by the prodigious discoveries made by the natural sciences, claimed to furnish the synthesis of the universe. The weapon which had assured the victory to the school of Kant over the partisans of Locke was the verification in the human mind of ideas which are not introduced there by experience. The neo-sensualism of our epoch has displaced the ground of controversy, by explaining the presence of notions *a priori* in the individual by hereditary transmission of accumulated experiences in the past of the race. At the same time that it has thus made a breach in the autonomy of the soul, if it has not called in question the intervention of a first cause,—which it relegates to a past out of reach by the theory of the conservation of force,—it questions at least the necessity of final causes, which it removes by the law of natural adaptation to the best, and of the survival of the fittest. Under this rejuvenated form, it must spread so much the more rapidly in the United States, as it is introduced under the authority of Darwin, Tyndall, and Spencer.

We think that this return-blow of scientific sensualism can hardly profit the old partisans of theological sensualism. The Transcendentalists are still attached in a certain degree to the Christian tradition. Emerson, whose Christianity was contested by the conservatives, made of Jesus the principal educator of humanity: and Parker, who was treated as an atheist, identified the moral teaching of Christ with absolute religion. The new school, on the contrary, pursuing to the end its work of critical destruction, has stripped of his aureole the founder of Christianity, whom it places on a footing of equality with Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses, and Mohammed. At the end of the civil war, therefore, Unitarianism found itself more than ever divided into two factions: on the left, the Liberals who began to accept the name of radicals; on the right, the conservatives of the old school (old-fashioned Unitarians). These, perhaps, did not insist with so much energy as formerly upon the Socinian theories of the pre-existence of Christ; but they continued to make belief in the authenticity of revelation the corner-stone of Christianity. The former, on the contrary, maintained that difference of opinion upon the infallibility and even upon the moral value of the Bible was not an obstacle to religious fraternity.

In 1864, Dr. Bellows proposed to unite the delegates from all the Unitarian churches in a permanent confederation, in order to give more unity to their works of charity, of instruction, and of propagandism. The provisional assembly, composed of three delegates from each church and each local association, met at New York the first day of April, 1865. But differences appeared as soon as they came to settle the principles and even the title of the new association. Finally, after rejecting a long profession of faith drawn up in the name of the extreme right wing by Mr. A. Low, and adopting a declaration stating that the decisions of the majority should not be binding upon the minority, the delegates voted, perhaps in the spirit of a treaty, a preamble expressing the "obligation of all the disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building up of the kingdom of his Son." This phraseology gave umbrage to the radicals, who saw in it a declaration of allegiance to Christ; and, in the following meeting, which opened at Syracuse, Oct. 10, 1866, one of their most distinguished representatives, Mr. Francis Ellingwood Abbot, proposed to substitute for this preamble a declaration that "the object of Christianity is the universal diffusion of love, righteousness, and truth; that perfect freedom of thought is the right and the duty of every human being"; and that the basis of religious organization should be "unity of spirit rather than uniformity of belief." At the same time, Mr. Abbot proposed to substitute the words "independent churches" for "Christian churches," which figured in the title of the conference. Perhaps, in the preceding year, the propositions of Mr. Abbot would have had some chance of being adopted; for they served, in the main, only to maintain in Unitarianism a *statu quo* consecrated by the experience of half a century. But, after the conference had officially hoisted its colors, this change of name and programme would not have failed to be represented as a repudiation of Christ and of all Christian traditions. The only concession which it showed itself ready to grant was to add to its title, "The National Conference of Unitarian Churches," the words, "and other Christian Churches." This was a tender to Universalists and to all liberal congregations whose internal development had, by degrees, brought them near to Unitarian doctrines. But Mr. Abbot, seeing his propositions rejected, withdrew from Unitarianism; and the following year he, with many of his liberal colleagues,—who, however, did not think it necessary to follow him in his withdrawal,—formed at Boston the Free Religious Association, which had for its object to realize outside of every Christian communion the programme rejected by the conference of Syracuse.*

It is certain that the Unitarians were wanting in logic, when, on one side, they proclaimed the absolute sovereignty of reason, and, on the other, aimed to identify themselves with the belief in the religious and moral superiority of Christianity. There was, therefore, a place for a broader organization, which should accept, in its most remote consequences, the principle of free inquiry, and which should remain open not only to "all the disciples of Christ," but also to "all the disciples of truth,"—Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Mohammedans, even Positivists,—provided they should have in common the love of truth and the desire for goodness. The organizers of "Free Religion" did not impose upon them the sacrifice of their particular beliefs, nor even of their connections with other religious associations: all that they asked of them was to unite upon the ground of spiritual unity detached from all dogmatic intolerance. The first article of their constitution states it to be the object of the Association "to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history."

The first public meeting, which was held in Boston, May 30, 1867, was a great success for the promoters of this movement. Not only a large number of the ministers and laity belonging to Unitarian congregations responded to their appeal, but also a considerable number of well-known persons from the liberal elements of the most diverse sects,—Universalists, Progressive Quakers, Jews, and even Spiritualists. The Association chose for its president a Unitarian minister,—who, later, transformed his society at New York into an independent organization,—Mr. O. B. Frothingham, and for secretary, one of his co-ministers at New Bedford, Mr. William J. Potter, whose name was soon erased from the official list of Unitarian ministers for his refusal to retain the name of Christian.

Besides its annual meetings, devoted to discussions and lectures, the Free Religious Association instituted a series of conventions in different cities of the country, and published a large number of pamphlets to disseminate its views. It has for its organ, *The Index* of Boston, a weekly paper—edited first by Mr. Abbot, and now by Messrs. Potter and Underwood—which deserves to be presented as a model for all free-thought publications in both hemispheres, as well for the attractiveness of its articles as for the breadth of its ideas, and most especially for the elevation of its moral tone.

During the fifteen years since "Free Religion" thus took form, it has accomplished a work at once positive and negative,—negative, by its rationalistic utterances, which undermine more and more the bases of dogmatic sects; and positive, by its efforts to assign a common purpose to the religious activity of its

*I. *Ezra Stiles Gannett.* By his son. Boston, 1875. II. *Transcendentalism in New England.* By O. B. Frothingham. New York, 1881. III. *The Religion of Evolution.* By the Rev. M. J Savage Boston, 1876. IV. Annual Reports of the American Unitarian Association and of the Free Religious Association. V. *The Free Religious Index.* Boston, 1880-82.

*The platform of the Free Religious Association was made even more liberal than the programme rejected at Syracuse.—ED.

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members. Among the movements which it has, so to speak, launched, the Liberal League* must be mentioned. This was organized by Mr. Abbot in 1876, for the purpose of obtaining the complete secularization of American legislation. The separation of Church and State is not so absolute with the Americans as they are often pleased to tell us. Undoubtedly, the religious communities govern themselves as they like; and, on the other hand, the civil authority furnishes them no sort of subsidies. But, though the last State churches disappeared more than half a century ago, public institutions are still strongly impregnated with Christianity. Congress and State Legislatures have their chaplains, as also the navy, the army, and prisons. The Bible continues to be read in most of the schools. The real estate appropriated to the service of worship is generally exempted from taxation. The invocation of God is always obligatory † in the judicial, and even in the administrative, oath. The laws upon blasphemy have never been formally abrogated. In certain States, the tribunals lend a hand, at least indirectly, to the observance of Sunday. In 1880, a court refused to recognize, even as a natural obligation, a debt contracted on Sunday; and a traveller, wounded by a railroad accident, was refused damages, because he ought not to travel on the Lord's day. The demands of the League found an echo even in the ranks of the clergy, and among citizens desirous of realizing in all its fulness the American principle of the separation of Church and State. Unfortunately, there exists in the United States, as elsewhere, a class of persons, of shadowy reputation or unprincipled, that take libertinism for liberty,—persons who are always ready to confound religion and morality with the abuse of an ecclesiastical *regime* condemned by the progress of the age. At the meeting of the Liberal League, held at Syracuse in 1878, radicals of this description, together with some partisans of "free love" who had insinuated themselves into the organization, formed a majority for putting into the programme the total abolition of the law which forbids the circulation of obscene literature [through the mails] as well as anti-religious publications. Mr. Abbot, who had unsuccessfully endeavored to maintain a distinction between these two kinds of offences, then withdrew from the League, accompanied in his secession by all those who sympathized in the Free Religious movement. The Liberal League endeavored to re-establish itself under the presidency of Col. Robert Ingersoll, the principal apostle of atheism in the United States,—an eloquent and witty lecturer, though a little superficial in his knowledge, but of unquestionable morality. Again, in the session of 1880, the party of absolute liberty prevailed, and the new president followed the example of Mr. Abbot. The League has never recovered from this blow. ‡

IV.

In a doctrinal point of view, Free Religion starts from this principle,—that we have religious sentiments, and that these sentiments ought to be developed in harmony with all our intellectual and moral faculties, for the greatest good of the individual and of society. It therefore recommends to its adherents the scientific study of the elements which form the common foundation of all religions, as well as an impartial research for the truths which establish the position and destiny of man in the universe. As to deciding between the religious systems, the methods, and even the definitions which are the subjects of free inquiry, it can do nothing without violating the principle on which it is based.* Thus, the Free Religious Association contents itself with offering a free platform for the development and exchange of ideas to all those who profess to furnish some rational solution of religious problems. And, in this respect, it may be said to fill a veritable gap in American society. Among the small number of local churches founded under the auspices of Free Religion, one at Dorchester, Mass., under the direction of a lady,—Mrs. Clara Bisbee,—may be mentioned. This congregation numbers fifty families, collected principally from Unitarians, Episcopalians, and Spiritualists. An idea may be had of the laudable activity which distinguishes the *minister*, when it is learned from *The Index* of June 29, 1882, that she conducts the worship, plays the organ, directs the choir, preaches the sermon, presides at the Sunday-school for children, and gives a course of lessons on the history of religion to a class of adults.

Another Free Religious congregation at Providence, R.I., in 1881 obtained for its minister the right of performing legal marriages,—a privilege till then reserved to ministers regularly ordained by a religious denomination and to judges of the Supreme Court. In connection with this there occurred, between the minister of the Free Religious congregation, Mr. F. A. Hinckley, and the committee appointed by the local legislature to decide whether "Free Religion" was really a religion, a dialogue which throws a very curious light upon the attitude adopted by the adherents of the new worship, in regard to theological questions, properly so called. As the constitution of the society assigned to it, as exclusive objects, "the practice of virtue, the study of truth, and the brotherhood of man," the chairman of the committee remarked that he could not discover to whom the petitioners addressed themselves in worship.

Rev. F. A. Hinckley.—"As individuals, we represent all shades of liberal opinion; but, as a society, we have a distinct element of worship. All sane minds recognize a Power over and above us. We claim that the one great essential principle is recognized when we recognize this Power, though we do not recognize it in the same manner as do other denominations."

A Member.—"What do you worship?"

Rev. Mr. Hinckley.—"I am perfectly willing to tell you; but I do think it is without the province of the State to define what men shall or may worship."

Member.—"I understood that you said the other day that you did not recognize God, Christ, or the Bible."

Rev. Mr. Hinckley.—"What I said was that we could not recognize them as the creeds do. We do recognize a Power over and above the human."

Member.—"What you call a Power is what other people call God?"

Rev. Mr. Hinckley.—"Now, you begin to define. The moment you do that, you find irreconcilable differences in the Churches as well as out of them."

It should be said that the petitioners obtained the support of several ministers belonging to the Episcopal, Congregational, and Unitarian churches of the city. We see that the spirit of religious toleration has not degenerated in the old colony of Roger Williams.

To the congregations directly founded upon the principles of "Free Religion" may be added certain independent societies of every religious denomination, as the First Congregation of New Bedford, which continued to sustain its minister, Mr. William J. Potter, when his name was erased from the Unitarian *Year-Book*. This church, having its origin among the Puritans in the beginning of the eighteenth century, is reckoned among the first societies of Calvinistic descent which openly raised the Unitarian standard; for this rupture with Orthodoxy dates from 1810,—that is, nine years before the discourse of Channing, which was the distinctive signal of the schism. It would be very interesting to follow the movements of ideas which thus led from the strictest Calvinism to the most absolute Liberalism a congregation standing in the ordinary conditions of American churches. The different stages of this evolution would appear only in successive modifications of the ritual; the widening of the profession of faith imposed upon communicants; the disappearance of all distinction between communicants and non-communicants, between the members of the church and the members of the civil association (or society); the transformation of the sacrament of the communion into a ceremony commemorative of the foundation of Christianity; the displacement of the Christian symbolism by a service in honor of all the great religious and social reformers.

Though independent of the Free Religious Association, the Society for Ethical Culture in New York equally deserves a place in the first ranks among the associations which have set up the standard of "Free Religion." Its minister, or rather its director, Mr. Felix Adler, from 1878 to 1882, was president of the Free Religious Association, whose ethical and humanitarian tendencies he especially represents,—that is, the part of the constitution above cited which relates to "the practical interests of pure religion." It cannot be disguised that one of the most threatening issues for the future of modern society is that the weakening of positive religion will weaken the power of morality, which has been so long linked to religious dogmas. Rationalists have seen this peril in the United States as in Europe; but, while here they have endeavored to establish morality upon principles independent of religion, there they seek to subordinate religion to it. Such is at least the tendency of which Prof. Felix Adler is to-day the most brilliant interpreter. Mr. Adler is a young man whose mystic physiognomy recalls certain heads of the apostles. His father filled the office of rabbi in the principal Jewish synagogue of New York. He himself was destined for the priesthood; but, having been sent to Germany to complete his education, he there acquired rationalistic convictions, which barred him from following his father's career. On his return to the United States, in 1873, he accepted a professorship in Cornell University, which he quitted three years afterward to establish at New York a new religious association, under the title of "The Society for Ethical Culture." In philosophy, Mr. Adler belongs to the intuitive school, since he believes in the existence, in the human mind, of certain elements anterior and superior to all individual or even hereditary experience. But, in metaphysics, he holds strictly to the postulates of Kant, without attributing objective reality to the notions of God and immortality. "I do not accept theism," he says, in one of his lectures; "but the foundation can exist very well without a particular structure, and others may be raised upon it when the ancient one has crumbled into ruins. I cling with all my soul to the foundation on which theism has been built: first, the denial of chance, the conviction that there is order in the world; secondly, the conviction that this order is a good order, that there is progress in the world." According to this, it is not God, but moral law, which should be the object of religion. This religion, moreover, would be eminently practical. "Since divergency of beliefs will continue to be emphasized, it is necessary to place the moral law where it cannot be discussed,—in practice. Men have so long disputed about the author of the law that the law itself has remained in shadow. Our movement is an appeal to conscience, a cry for more justice, an exhortation to more duty."

It is upon these principles that Mr. Adler has organized his society in New York, with the concurrence of the most advanced minds of American Judaism. By degrees, some "Gentiles" have joined it, attracted as much by the growing reputation of the young reformer as by the largeness of his ideas; and, for four years, the society has been obliged to occupy a more spacious hall. It has, indeed, one of the largest congregations in New York. Its "services," which take place Sunday mornings, consist only of a lecture, between two pieces of music. But, after the public have left, the members come together in a private meeting for considering the different social works which they have established,—particularly a Sunday-school for the teaching of morals, a kindergarten after the method of Froebel, an industrial school with a technical museum, and a service of domestic aid in the quarters of the poor. The success of these works has been a new means of propagating the principles of the society, which has thus gained the esteem of those most hostile to its opinions.

The influence of "Free Religion" is not limited to those societies which have accepted its name or its patronage. The Free Religious Association has become for Unitarianism what Unitarianism itself has been for other communions,—a leaven of intellectual liberty. The Unitarians reckon in the United States, according to their annual report of 1880, three hun-

*The Liberal League organization may have received some indirect impulse from the Free Religious Association, but it was not helped into existence by any official or direct action of the Association. The distinctive objects of the League, however, as at first organized, have frequently been considered on the platform of the Association.—ED.

†Affirmation is now allowed in many cases.—ED.

‡There is no law against "anti-religious publications," except the nearly obsolete *State* laws against blasphemy. The law concerning which the conflict came in the Liberal League was solely the United States law forbidding the use of the mails for obscene publications. This law is not so clearly drawn but that some works not clearly and purposely obscene, but scientific and literary, have been classed under it, and some persons in consequence have been unjustly prosecuted. The majority of the Liberal League favored the entire repeal of the law, for the sake of preventing these exceptional abuses. Mr. Abbot and his friends were in favor of amending the law as a remedy for such abuses, but opposed the entire removal of so necessary a safeguard against obscenity. Col. Ingersoll was never president of the League, but an active officer. He contended for the same object that Mr. Abbot had; and, also failing, then, as the author says, withdrew. It should be added, in justice, that the author's description of the majority of the League would, by no means, apply to all of them, however bad was their cause.—ED.

*This statement is true of "Free Religion" as *organized*. It imposes no definitions or decisions upon the united membership of a society, but *individuals* may freely make and teach such definitions and decisions as the result of their own thinking.—ED.

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dred and forty-four congregations, three hundred and ninety-nine ministers (of whom three are women), two faculties of theology, one at Harvard, the other at Meadville, one monthly review and several weekly papers, and many charitable institutions. In works of practical religion and philanthropy, they abound. It might have been feared that after the departure of Messrs. Abbot, Potter, etc., their National Conference would incline more to the right wing. But, after some wavering, the majority refused to be led any farther in the way of dogmatism. Some of the most ardent reactionists retired in their turn,—notably, the Rev. Mr. Hepworth, who founded at New York an independent congregation upon the borders of Orthodoxy. With this disappearance of the extreme elements disappeared also the principal vitality of the controversy which had been carried on from the foundation of the conference; and Unitarianism was thus allowed to concentrate its activity upon practical measures, which would inevitably cause it to approach the position chosen by the Free Religious Association. That Association counts among its members more than thirty Unitarian ministers. Some of these go so far as occasionally to put their pulpits at the disposal of an agnostic like Mr. Adler, or a secularist like Mr. Holyoake, the president of the British Secular Union, or of a liberal rabbi like Mr. Gottheil of New York. To take part in the National Conference, it is henceforth sufficient to call one's self a Christian after the manner of the Rev. Mr. Chadwick, who extends this name to all persons born in the natural line of Christian civilization. Indeed, in its session of September, 1882, the conference adopted a new article in its constitution, to the effect that "the declarations of our constitution, though fairly representing the opinions of the majority of our churches, do not constitute an authoritative doctrinal test of Unitarianism, and are not intended to exclude from our fellowship any persons who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our purposes and our practical aims."

Although New England has remained the headquarters of Unitarianism, the Unitarian denomination has not held its ground there in proportion to the increase of population. Even in Boston, though it numbers a thirtieth of the congregations, it has scarcely penetrated the lower classes, where the predominance of Irish emigrants has developed to a considerable extent the power of Catholicism; and, among the superior class, it is opposed by the Episcopal Church, which is becoming more and more the fashionable worship in the United States. Besides, Boston itself has ceased to be the exclusive centre of intellectual culture, "the hub of the universe," as its neighbors less favored in the domain of intelligence have ironically called it. On one side, the invasion of luxury and of social frivolity has somewhat broken in upon the simplicity of manners and the thirst for moral enjoyments which had survived the severity of Calvinistic theology; on the other, New York, St. Louis, Chicago, and other cities of recent growth, begin to dispute with it the monopoly of letters and the direction of American thought.

Happily for Unitarianism, it has found a fertile field for exploration in the interior States, where it responds at once to the double need of intellectual liberty and of religious culture. It is not surprising that it has taken a position there more independent than in the Eastern States. The Western Unitarian Conference has omitted in its constitution the preamble which provoked the dissensions, so regrettable, in the National Conference of 1865. Its principal organ, *Unity*,—edited with great breadth of view by the Rev. Jenkin Ll. Jones,—has taken for its watch-word the motto of Free Religion, "Freedom, character, and fellowship in religion." Numerous churches and entire groups of congregations—such as the Unitarian Conferences of Michigan and Kansas, the Fraternity of the Liberal Religious Societies of Illinois, etc.—are declared open to all who can work with them or derive any good from them.

The course of ideas which has thus emancipated Unitarianism has been equally felt by many other sects. The Progressive Friends who hold their annual session at Longwood, Penn., have fully adopted the platform of "Free Religion," if we may judge by the statement of their last general assembly. "The object of this organization," it declared, "is to promote the religion that is identical with physical, moral, and spiritual good. Independent of all dogma, we make a fraternal appeal for a gathering of all who desire to make the world better, and who esteem the truth more than any dogma or any sect." The Universalists, who owe their origin to a protest against eternal punishment, and who are reported to have a thousand congregations, have also an advanced section who fraternize with the "Free Religious" movement. The same may be said of the communities of Spiritualists that abound in the West, and that, according to Mr. O. B. Frothingham, reckon a million of adherents. But we must not judge of Spiritualism as we know it in Europe, if we may accept this definition of it by one of its warmest defenders, Mr. Giles B. Stebbins: "Every Spiritualist is of necessity a disciple of Free Religion, because the spiritual philosophy, in its breadth and its eclecticism, knows no limits, no barriers, and admits no other authority than the intuitions of the human mind, the truths of experience, and the results of scientific observation."

And, indeed, an important division of Judaism—while refusing to renounce their historical Church and appellation, that they may not have even the appearance of repudiating their ancestral name because of a social prejudice which follows them even in the New World—has seized this occasion to ally themselves, on the practical ground of religious fraternity, with the intellectual and moral forces of a civilization to which they are for the future completely assimilated. There are "reformed" Jews every day becoming more numerous in the United States, who have not followed Mr. Adler in his "ethical religion," but who have not the less broken away from the dogmatism of the synagogue. This reform, which began at the beginning of this century by the substitution of the common language for the Hebrew in the ceremonies of worship, has advanced successively to the abolition of all hygienic, ritualistic, and social proscriptions which characterized ancient Judaism, as well as to the abandonment of dogmas condemned by modern intelligence, such as belief in the fulfilment of prophecies. Many rabbis call in question the infallibility of the Bible, and some go so far as to deny the divine Personality,—that cornerstone of Semitic beliefs. Thus, Rabbi S. W. Sonneschein did not hesitate to declare, at the seventh meeting of the Free Religious Association, that Reformed Judaism fully corresponded with the actual movement of "Free Religion."

Doubtless, practical minds that have neither the leisure nor the taste to investigate religious questions (conservatives, who, through distrust of the unknown, remain faithful to the beliefs of their fathers; sceptics, who see in worship only an element of social life necessary to the education of the young and to the celebration of domestic solemnities,—in a word, the great majority of the nation) remain, and will for a long time remain, attached to the different forms of positive Christianity, and all the more as the Protestant clegy, especially in America, do not seek to impose their authority either in private or in public life; but, even among orthodox sects, the humanitarian tendency which has created "Free Religion" is distinctly seen. Tocqueville remarked, some time ago, that, instead of insisting upon the other life, American preachers turned constantly to the earth, and had, so to say, great difficulty in detaching their sight from it. If one reads to-day, in the American journals of Monday, the report of the principal sermons preached the preceding day by the ministers of the different sects, he will be surprised to see the small place which theology occupies compared with morals. The old Calvinistic theology is nowhere taught in its integrity. Even the flames of hell have become an argument in bad taste, which is willingly left to revival preachers and missionaries of the Far West. "Our clergymen," said one of the most respected chiefs of the Republican party in New York,—Thurlow Weed,—not long ago, in an answer to Col. Ingersoll, "do not dwell upon, or insist so much upon, the dark side of theology as formerly. In our day, their ministry is a ministry of peace, of charity, and of benevolence. This generation learns to love and to serve rather than fear our Creator and Lord."

This simple fact that people speak seriously of a fusion between the Unitarian right and the Orthodox left proves how much the lines of demarcation between the sects are losing their rigidity and precision. All Protestant denominations have actually in their ranks a party who aim to enlarge the interpretation of their dogmas and to broaden the field of their religious activity. Among the Methodists and Presbyterians, this tendency is shown by the numerous actions for heresy brought before their conferences and synods against ministers, and even against congregations. Among the Episcopalians there is the schism of the Reformed Episcopal Church, directed against the liberal ideas of "the Broad Church," as well as against the ritualistic innovations of "the High Church." But this tendency is most seen among the Congregationalists, who have no ecclesiastical authority for maintaining in their churches a uniform discipline and faith. The most popular of their preachers, the celebrated Henry Ward Beecher, said lately, in a sermon upon religious doubt, "No one ought to be counted among infidels who sees in justice the great end of human life, and who seeks for a more complete subjection of his will to his moral sense." Should we not think we were here listening to Mr. Potter or even Mr. Adler? Mr. Beecher having, moreover, offered his resignation in September last, for the reason that he had ceased to hold the principal dogmas of Calvinism, his congregation—one of the most numerous and the most important of New York—voted a resolution that, after having heard a full and free exposition of the doctrines of the Rev. Mr. Beecher, there was no reason why they should lose his services.* Even Catholicism, which in America seeks especially to make its value felt by means of its good works, by the extent of its charities, by the worth of its schools and colleges, does not refuse to associate in an emergency with the clergy of different Protestant sects, in order to effect some common object of morality or of public health or of beneficence.

V.

Is America, therefore, on the eve of sacrificing theology and even metaphysics on the altar of Positivism, and instituting a religion like that dreamed of by Comte, having for its objects humanity and earthly life instead of God and future life? This conclusion would be rash. There are, undoubtedly, in the United States a certain number of persons systematically hostile to every ontological conception, as well as to every religious idea, who proscribe even the mention of the Absolute and the Unknowable, because they see in such phrases an approach to theology. Some confine themselves to referring to the primordial properties of matter for the explanation of all phenomena. Others hold still to the criticisms of Voltaire and Hobbes, without suspecting that the progress of science has profoundly modified the conditions of the problem. It is this class which is represented by the *Truth Seeker* of New York and the *Investigator* of Boston In the latter city, they have for head-quarters an edifice erected to the memory of an American member of the French Convention,—Thomas Paine,—whose philosophical writings, completely forgotten in France, still play in the religious controversies of the United States an exaggerated part by reason of the indignation of their adversaries and the enthusiasm of their admirers. But Positivism, properly so called, whether in the sober and severe acceptation which Littré has given to the doctrine of Auguste Comte, or under the more embellished form of *Comtism*, which has obtained considerable success in England, has but few followers in the United States, notwithstanding the favor which the positive methods enjoy there. The American shows no predilection for fasting, even in metaphysics. Never has speculation taken higher flights than in these later times in the United States. There are, outside of the religious press,—even in localities of secondary culture,—journals whose title alone is sufficiently significant, such as *The Platonist*, of Osceola, Mo.; the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, of St. Louis, devoted to the advocacy of the doctrines of Hegel; the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, of Chicago, which printed lately, it is said, nine thousand copies.

From New York to San Francisco, from Chicago to Cincinnati, every city of consequence has its metaphysical club or institute. The most celebrated is, unquestionably, the School of Philosophy, opened at Concord, Mass., in 1879, by Mr. Bronson Alcott, with a vigor which does honor to the eighty years of this venerable neo-Pythagorean, as well as to the vegetable diet of which he has, from principle, been a faithful adherent for more than forty years. The School at Concord seems an attempt to reproduce, in the midst of American society of the nineteenth century, the garden of the Academy where Plato and his disciples

* The author has evidently mistaken the Brooklyn Association of Ministers for Mr. Beecher's congregation. But the corrected fact would make his argument even stronger. —ED.

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discoursed under the shade of the olive-trees. Every summer in the month of July, an intelligent company, drawn from all points of the Union to the little town of Concord, meet at Mr. Alcott's place,—the Orchard House,—where are given courses, or rather free lectures, upon philosophy. The principal difference from the Greek Academy—wholly to the advantage of Concord—is that the door is not closed against the fair sex, who largely profit by it, if the reports may be believed, which attribute to them two-thirds of the attendance, estimated last year at nearly a hundred and fifty persons. There are two lectures a day, one at nine o'clock in the morning, the other at half-past seven in the evening. In the interval, the students, male and female, arrange their notes, take their meals at home, or walk in the pine woods, exchanging their ideas upon the grave problems of our destiny. Among the principal lecturers, besides Mr. Alcott, are Dr. Jones, the founder of the Platonic Clubs in Illinois; Prof. Harris, editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*; Mrs. Howe; William Henry Channing; Prof. Emory, etc. Emerson himself was heard there in 1880.

These names sufficiently show that the philosophy of Hegel prevails almost exclusively at Concord, although the founders of the school proclaimed the most absolute liberty of opinion. It is a strange phenomenon of the religious movement of the United States, this revival of the Hegelian doctrine, at the time when, in Germany, the death of Prof. Rosenkranz has vacated the last chair devoted to pure Hegelianism. Such has been the increasing success of the institution founded by Mr. Alcott that the orthodox have felt obliged to establish a competitor by founding, two years ago, on the same basis, at Greenwood, near New York, an "Encampment of Christian Philosophy."

Among the less cultivated population of the West, the instability of belief has naturally taken a more violent and aggressive form. A member of the Free Religious Association reported, at the meeting in 1881, that there were in Kansas, even in the smallest towns, groups of Liberals not only unchurched, but openly hostile to all existing forms of religious organization. At the same meeting, another speaker (a Spiritualist) told of the existence of a hundred meetings in the open air in the Western States, independent of all sects, of people who came together "to say before God what they believed in their souls to be the truth,"—laborers from their farms, men of business forsaking their offices, women leaving their household cares, all "drawn by an inward hunger for spiritual nourishment." These two remarks have nothing contradictory: they rather complement each other. They equally prove the thirst for a new faith among those who are no longer satisfied with the old religious forms. It is, in some sort, the last term of the disintegration, or of the breaking up, which, as its goal, the spirit of Protestantism has never ceased to pursue into the very heart of dogmatic churches and confessions of faith. But this was the inevitable transition between two currents of belief.

Coming side by side with this intellectual fermentation, the tendency to relegate theology to the second place in religious activity even in certain orthodox churches, and which has found its most complete expression in the platform of the Free Religious Association, may well be considered a symptom of the religious interregnum, long ago predicted by Emerson. It is probable, and we may rejoice at it, that religion will preserve in future the eminently practical and humanitarian character which has come to distinguish it, more and more, in the United States. But men will always have a propensity to group themselves according to their beliefs; and we already hear, even in the ranks of the Free Religious Association, the day predicted when a new religious synthesis shall present itself for acceptance, by the force of evidence alone, to all the adherents of "Free Religion."

Is it possible now to foresee whence will be drawn the elements of this new theology? According to Mr. Potter, the actually rival schools of intuition and observation will both have a part to play in the formation of the philosophy destined to perfect the work of "Free Religion." We share with Mr. Potter the intimate conviction that intuition will have its word to utter in the future development of psychology, and we are far from contesting the happy and durable influence which Transcendentalism has exercised upon the public mind of the American people. We cannot, however, repress the question whether, as a system of metaphysics and religion, the school of German Idealism may not have run its course in the United States as it has in Europe? Almost all its old champions have remained loyal to the faith of their youth: those who survive use to-day the same language they did thirty-five years ago, with a conviction and enthusiasm which neither age, the frictions of life, nor even the progress of positive science have cooled. But their ranks are thinning more and more; and, notwithstanding the momentary fashion of Hegelianism at Concord, new recruits do not come to take the place of those who have gone to seek in another world the confirmation of their hopes. Of a considerable number of congregations founded by the Transcendental movement, there remained, lately, only the church of Samuel Johnson, at Lynn, Mass. Yet this probably owed its longevity only to the personal influence of its minister, and it is to be feared that it may have disappeared with him. In Boston, the survivors of the Twenty-eighth Congregation meet every Sunday in the spacious edifice gratefully erected to the memory of Theodore Parker. But, in this pulpit,—from which their founder formerly denounced the method and doctrines of sensationalism,—the fathers of the church whom they quote and comment upon to-day are Spencer and Huxley, Dalton and Tyndall, George Lewes and Claude Bernard. This is a sign of the times. It is, indeed, the doctrine of evolution, as it appears from the recent generalizations of Herbert Spencer, which has rapidly become the dominant philosophy of Americans. Recently, one of the present editors of *The Index*—Mr. B. F. Underwood—stated that this doctrine was received by the major part of the Free Religious Association. Here, however, appears a phenomenon characteristic of the American mind, which, when it adopts a philosophy of the Old World, immediately transforms it into religion, as has already been seen in regard to German Idealism. So the philosophy of evolution, as soon as it was transplanted into the United States, took the metaphysical form of *monism*, which is foreign to the old quarrel between the materialists and spiritualists, but is as profoundly religious in its conclusions as it is faithful in its premises to the positive methods. "The destructive period has nearly passed," wrote Mr. Frothingham, in 1875, in the preface of a volume—*Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*—published by the Free Religious Association: "the constructive period has begun. In science, the greatest minds are distinguishing themselves by positive generalizations. In philosophy, the lines are converging toward certain central principles. . . . Sentiment and imagination, recovering from the shock occasioned by the fall of their old idols, are rallying courage to do their part in peopling the new heavens with worshipful ideals."

Though Herbert Spencer professes to reject pantheism equally with theism and atheism, his conception of the Unknowable as a mysterious and transcendent power, and at the same time omnipresent and eternal, the support of the world and the source of all phenomena, fails not to favor that kind of mysticism which incites in religious pantheists the sentiment of communion between the being finite and the Being Absolute. It is this side of the new philosophy which seems especially to have attracted the American mind. A personal friend of Herbert Spencer, Prof. John Fiske, who passes in the United States for one of the first and most eloquent interpreters of English philosophy, has developed the synthesis of evolution under the name of Cosmic Philosophy, not hesitating to recognize the possibility of combinations of matter and force "as much superior to humanity as humanity is to the crystal and the algæ," as well as the existence of an impersonal Power which manifests itself eternally and universally in the phenomenal activity of the universe. This doctrine rapidly formed a school; and even its title of *Cosmian*, already adopted (for a hall) by one of the earliest societies of the Free Religious movement,—the free congregation of Florence, Mass.,—is perhaps destined, as Mr. Potter lately suggested, to furnish the name of a new worship. If one looks over the essays and lectures published in abstract or in full each week in *The Index*, he will certainly be surprised, not only at the number and ardor of those who attach themselves to the synthetic side of *evolutionism*, but also at the resources which they find in it for opening new horizons to the religious sentiment, and for satisfying even its most exalted aspirations. Doubtless, many of these writings have value only as an indication of tendencies; but there are pages of Messrs. Abbot, Gannett, and Savage, and lectures of Messrs. Potter, Frothingham, Chadwick, etc., which are distinguished as much for vigor of demonstration as for elevation of ideas and poetry of language. These are, in every instance, writings to be recommended to any one who fears to find, in the modern progress of science, a cause of deterioration for all that constitutes the strength and grandeur of the human mind.

While admitted even into certain orthodox pulpits by preachers who endeavor to accommodate it to the exigencies of revelation, the evolutionist theory has become, among some Unitarians, the very essence of religion. The Rev. Minot J. Savage, particularly, the minister of an important Unitarian congregation in Boston, has made himself its eloquent and indefatigable apostle in his works, *The Religion of Evolution* (1876), *The Morality of Evolution* (1880), and the *Belief in God* (1881). And the members of the Free Religious Association who heard him, at its meeting in 1881, discourse upon the state of contemporary morals, witnessed the curious spectacle of this Christian minister maintaining against a professed atheist [agnostic?], Mr. Felix Adler, that morals have for their foundation social utility, and for their origin the experience acquired by the race. Truly, if Mr. Savage rejects the idea of an absolute and transcendent morality, he none the less admits that, in the midst of human variations as to the rules of conduct, the principle of a distinction between good and evil as well as the significance of the idea of duty represent among men "something constant and immutable as a rock in the midst of the waves."

Besides, Mr. Savage does not hesitate to declare that *Cosmism* forms a necessary complement to Christianity and a superior phase of religious evolution. "All religions," said he, in a sermon preached before his congregation in 1880, "may be ranged under three categories,—the worship of detached manifestations of the universe, the worship of the human ideal, and a third form which may be called scientific or cosmic. This last offers for the object of our admiration, our reverence, and our adoration, the universe considered as a whole,—the unity, the mystery, the wonder, the power of that great Being on whom we depend. I believe that the religion of the future will be a combination of these three elements: it will appropriate the artistic tendencies of paganism, the moral ideal of Christianity, as well as that larger conception which includes the two others,—the cosmic worship of the universe."

Upon certain points, particularly when he seeks for the attributes which science gives to the Deity, this disciple of Herbert Spencer lends to the philosophy of evolution certain consequences which evidently surpass the intentions and the thought of the master. But this philosophy, on one side, although proscribing metaphysics, opens the door to it, as has been charged by certain positivists, by professing to formulate a general law of the universe, which surpasses the limits of observable reality. On the other side, as we have said before, the religious genius of the Americans consists precisely in regarding under a certain spiritual angle philosophical or scientific theories, even those in appearance most refractory to every attempt at metaphysical construction. It is this process of spiritualization which Mr. O. B. Frothingham described in these terms in his opening discourse at the third meeting of the Free Religious Association: Vogt and Büchner profess materialism, and demonstrate intelligence. Huxley talks of protoplasm, and sets us wondering at thought. Moleschott tells us that light is the author of life, and bends our head before the uncreated Light.

We do not know whether America, as certain of its writers affirm, will have the honor of giving to the world a new faith. But, as far as concerns the Cosmians, the Transcendentalists, or those who take a position intermediate between these two, if we stop at the last phases of the rationalistic movement, which we have seen to have begun in the revolt of Unitarianism against the dogmas of predestination and the Trinity, we shall find everywhere as an affirmative element, by the side of free thought carried to its farthest limits, the perception of an absolute and unconditioned Being who reveals himself in nature under the infinite diversity of phenomena. Whether the object of this common faith be named "the Eternal One" of Mr. Emerson, or the "Cosmos" of Prof. Fiske, the "God of Science" of Mr. Abbot, or the

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"God of Evolution" of Mr. Savage, the "Universe in all its possibilities" of Mr. Potter, or "the Power beyond and above us" of Mr. Hinckley, or even "the Being behind all appearances" of Mr. Adler,—it is, to sum up, pantheism which flows with wide sweep through the advanced regions of religious thought in the United States. And thus is realized the prediction formulated by Tocqueville, of an epoch in which the Unitarian reform in full bloom would seem rather to indicate a recandescence of monotheism: "In democratic times, the idea of unity besets the human mind; it seeks it on all sides, and, when it thinks it has found it, it gladly lies down upon its bosom and rests there. But not only does it attain to the discovery that there is in the world but one creation and one Creator,—this primary division still troubles it, and it willingly seeks to enlarge and simplify its thought by comprising God and the universe in one sole whole."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION IN BOSTON.

Editors of The Index:—

In the valuable article on "Union of Church and State in Connecticut," published in your columns March 29, the writer incidentally touches on the treatment of witches at Salem. She says, "This number [*i.e.*, of witches executed in the Connecticut colonies] is in striking contrast to the score of withered men and women whom Salem, led on by the blind fanaticism of Cotton Mather, sent to the ducking-stool and the gallows." We must not forget that the Mathers were of Boston, and identified with the history of witchcraft in that city only, and that the treatment of witches in Boston was quite different from that pursued in Salem, the last city following relentlessly the English method of dealing with witches, which was one of a continuous public watch over the accused during every hour of the day and night. Even the august Gov. Winthrop leaves on record his testimony to the revolting treatment, and to the fact (?) that the "imps" or "familiars" were actually seen visiting certain accused ones, this fixing their guilt beyond doubt.

In Boston, as the strange mental infection spread, the civil authorities sought counsel of the ministers of the city.

Increase Mather's word was, "Let the accused be treated with the most tender caution." I think that is his exact phrasing. How it thrills,—this one echo of tenderness above the cruelties of religious fervor and Biblical literalness!

It is testimony that the humane Mather's counsel had the effect of permanently checking the persecutions and executions of those condemned.

Cotton Mather, by very full testimony, is shown to have co-operated earnestly with the spirit of his father. Through his exertions, the accused were kept in privacy, and their distressed souls were soothed by the singing of hymns and prayers. He refused to divulge the names of such as were accused to him in private confession.

Specially trying cases he took to his own home for days and weeks.

I believe this charge of his fanaticism in the witchcraft tragedy, and his incitements to persecution, rest solely on the words of one Robert Calef, for a long time a not very well-defined personage in history. Several years ago,—six or seven, perhaps,—I was present at a conversation between Mr. Wm. F. Poole, well known as critic and historian, and a third party, which Mr. Poole opened by the joyful exclamation, "I have found out who Robert Calef was."

Three years ago, I saw Mr. Poole busy on the topic assigned to him by the editor of the *Memorial History of Boston;* namely, "The History of Witchcraft in Boston." He told me new testimony had been unearthed from old papers in the possession of the public library of Worcester, Mass., showing the truth most clearly concerning the attitude of the Mathers toward the witches. In Mr. Poole's paper, vol. ii., *Memorial History*, Calef is shown to be a very young, untaught man, guilty of gross impertinences and injustice toward the Mathers, which created public and private feeling. It is difficult to see anything that can be called testimony coming from Calef. Mr. Poole (if I may go aside for a moment), in the outset of his paper, consoles us, in recalling the agony and humiliation of that cruel time, by reminding us that the affliction was only a wave from distant Europe, that broke exhausted on our shores, and that, for the scores who were executed for witchcraft in Massachusetts, scores of thousands under the same accusation had been tortured to death in England, Scotland, France, and Germany.

Please let the fact that it is more than two hundred years since the public mind has been poisoned by this shaft winged by an untaught boy be my excuse for directing attention to the latest investigation of the subject.

MARY GUNNING.

ALTAMONTE, FLA., April 9, 1883.

A BUSINESS MAN'S VIEW.

Editors of The Index:—

I have just been reading *The Index;* and it occurred to me that I would write to it, although I never did such a thing before. I suppose all writers are teachers, and teachers mould and shape the destinies of character and empire. I am a business man, not a writer. But I would like to inquire if you have not some one who can write and teach us occasionally from a purely business stand-point. That seems to me to be a field wonderfully neglected. Everybody is looked after but the honest business man: he is left to look after himself; and, as to that matter, about everybody else who is unwilling or otherwise hindered from doing so. The progress and happiness of any community or State are measured by its business health and vigor. I do not intend to depreciate at all the efforts already being made in politics, society, or religion, but instead of *all* "Repent, believe, and be baptized," give us a little, "Be honest, tell the truth, and pay a hundred cents on the dollar." Instead of *all* Homer, Horace, and Virgil, give us a little wise and just revision of our laws, that they may be good for the honest business man. Instead of *all* of the great bandana wave of civil service reform, give us a little more honest effort at the polls. If some one would give this subject its reasonable service, it would certainly be of equal value, to any community, to the knowledge of whether or not Voltaire or Tom Paine died on a straw or feather bed

A BUSINESS MAN.

PROVIDENCE, R.I., May 11, 1882.

BOOK NOTICES.

JESUS: HIS OPINIONS AND CHARACTER. The New Testament Studies of a Layman. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin St. 1883.

In this volume of 471 pages, we have the results of a judicial and critical study of the New Testament. The author presents what his investigations have constrained him to believe is the truth regarding the character, opinions, and controlling purposes of Jesus, as indicated by the traditions of him and of the origin of Christianity. The work contains ample evidence in every chapter of great thoroughness in the study of the New Testament, by a mind practised in scrutinizing testimony and weighing evidence, and possessing the ability to state his conclusions with directness, clearness, and strength. It is the most satisfactory effort we have yet seen to set forth what is indicated by, or fairly inferable from, the Synoptical Gospels. The writer of the Fourth Gospel is discredited, for reasons fully stated. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are assumed to be authentic, and a *bona fide* setting forth of the career of Jesus as it was believed by the writers of them to have occurred. The question of authorship, arising as it does between the persons to whom these documents are ascribed "and certain later adherents of Jesus, unknown, but not a whit less obscure, illiterate, or unauthorized, is regarded as a question of secondary importance." The author of this work says that his method of procedure in his investigations was to draw up, by reference to the original text of the Synoptical Gospels, every declaration reported to have been made by Jesus during his life, together with such *res gestæ* as might be considered, along with his language, as expository of his thought. These declarations were arranged and classified by subjects,—whatever Jesus was believed to have said, and what might seem legitimately to relate to it, being placed in the same category. "Finally, a finding or summing up—such as is imposed upon the judicial mind in determining, from a mass of notes or oral testimony or of documents and papers, what are the facts upon which, under the proper rules of law, the rights of litigants are to be determined—was undertaken, and a statement drawn up of what Jesus seemed to have believed and taught." The author believes that the following propositions in reference to Jesus are established by his investigation, and "as well verified as any events of ancient history."

1. "There lived in the beginning of the present era, in Palestine, in Syria, a teacher, prophet, and holy man, from whom the great world-religion, called Christianity, is named; and who, though not the author of its prominent ideas and doctrines, nor the inventor of its dogmatic form, was, in some sense, its inspirer and source. He was put to death by his countrymen, who mainly rejected his personal claims and repudiated his peculiar doctrines."

2. "He believed and taught that the end of the world, both as to its internal economy and physical constitution, was impending; and that, after his own death (which, if he did not provoke, he took no pains to avert), he would return to establish on the ruins of the old order a new kingdom of the righteous, to endure forever."

3. "He taught the blessedness of poverty, the incompatibility of wealth with the spiritual well-being of mankind, and that, to enter the kingdom of heaven, men must forsake and surrender their possessions, and forego all care for their physical existence."

These propositions are stated in the order of the validity and cumulation of the proofs upon which they are believed to stand. Another proposition, that Jesus taught rules of personal conduct requiring, among other things, universal and indiscriminate beneficence, the absolute forgiveness and sufferance of injuries, simplicity and directness of speech, avoidance of censoriousness, chastity and self-denial to the point of extirpation of natural instincts, and the repression of ambition, the author thinks "deniable only by a severe and rigorous scepticism." Jesus, he believes, had a certain power of allaying and curing maladies resulting from "impaired nervous action." "He did not originate nor give any special stress to the doctrine of personal immortality. . . . His scheme of a future life was swallowed up in his scheme of an impending kingdom of heaven."

The opinions of Jesus in regard to the speedy end of the world, the incompatibility of property with salvation and of marriage with the perfection of righteousness, as to indiscriminate alms-giving, to absolute non-resistance, to the hostility of political society to the order of the kingdom of heaven, are freely criticised. The author declares that his criticism "is no personal criticism or private judgment. It is, rather, the deliberate judgment of Christendom against Christ. It is the sober second thought of the educated and fully developed age in reference to the enthusiasms and over-faith of the mind that introduced it."

The work is the production of a clear-headed, logical, honest thinker, a laborious student, and a writer of unusual power. It is judicial in tone, and impartial and candid in the treatment of the theme to which it is devoted.

Judging from the style and method of the author, he is one who has had large experience in examining evidence, and is probably a lawyer who ranks high in his profession. The majority of books on this subject have been written by theologians, or those whose theological education has exerted a predominant influence upon their minds. Here, we have a work from a legal and judicial mind; and it is the best work that we have read attempting to deduce from the traditions of Jesus a rational conception of his character and teachings by applying to these traditions the recognized rule of historical criticism.

RIVERS OF LIFE; or, Sources and Streams of the Faiths of Man in all Lands, showing the Evolution of Faiths from the Rudest Symbolisms to the Latest Spiritual Developments. By Maj.-Gen. T. G. R. Forlong. New York: Bouton. London: Quaritch. 1883.

This is the most comprehensive work that has yet appeared on ancient comparative religion. It will be indispensable to the student, because it not only contains all the subjects treated of by Higgins, Knight, Inman, and by still more recent Oriental scholars, but sheds over such knowledge the light of personal investigation. The learned author has, during a long course of years, utilized with indefatigable diligence the singular facilities afforded him by his duties as superintending and chief engineer under the Indian government. Symbolism, often only studied by the aid of pictures and books, he has studied on the spot, aided

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by careful investigation of native customs and rites, and by intimate intercourse with the priests and professors of various religions. Thus, he has collected an immense mass of information not generally attainable. The seven hundred books to which he refers can be obtained and consulted, though not always with facility; but it is given to few to travel over the length and breadth of India, Burmah, and Siam, speaking all the dialects, living among the people, and examining at each locality the ancient monuments and symbolisms side by side with their modern developments. This accumulation of information has been arranged and classified with perfect clearness in two magnificent quarto volumes, with good index, and enriched with three hundred and fifty-eight illustrations of great value and interest. The work is accompanied by a chart for students, which gives the clew to the relative antiquity of each religion, cult, and symbolism. The first volume, after preliminary elucidations, treats of tree worship, serpent worship, phallic worship, fire worship, sun worship, ancestor worship; the second volume, early faiths of Western Asia, faiths of aborigines in Europe, faiths of Eastern aborigines, non-Aryan, Aryan, and Semitic. From facts thus brought together, and forming an encyclopædia of curious matter, Gen. Forlong constructs a theory of the evolution of faiths possessing the advantage of the author's personal observation of the existing state of occult rites and ancient shrines, full of suggestiveness even on subjects outside the scope of his elaborate work, —a work which no one interested in comparative religion and ancient symbolism can afford to be without.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for June opens with an article on "Medical Quacks and Quackeries," by Dr. F. J. Shepherd, which is both interesting and instructive. The remainder of the table of contents is as follows: "Recent Magnetic Storms and Sunspots," by Garrett P. Serviss (illustrated); "Vivisection in the State of New York," by B. G. Wilder, M.D.; "Quartz: Its Varieties and Formation," by Rev. J. Magens Mello, F.G.S.; "The Remedies of Nature, Consumption" (*concluded*), by Felix L. Oswald, M.D.; "A German View of the *Data of Ethics*," by Friedrich von Baerenbach; "Cost of Life," by John Pratt; "On Science-teaching in the Public Schools"; "The Chemistry of Cookery," by W. Mattieu Williams; "Our Marriage and Divorce Laws," by Gordon A. Stewart; "Evolution," by H. H. Boyesen; "The Boundaries of Astronomy: II. The Nebular Hypothesis," by Robert S. Ball, F.R.S.; "Darwin and Copernicus," by E. Du Bois-Reymond; "Whistling," by T. F. Thiselton Dyer; "Sketch of Prof. Benjamin Silliman, LL.D." (with portrait); "Correspondence"; "Editor's Table: Science, Literature, and Theology. Heber Newton and the Heresy-Hunters. The Bauquet to Dr. Holmes"; "Literary Notices"; "Popular Miscellany"; "Notes."

THE London *Spectator* for March 17 and 24 contains a long review of Prof. Nichol's *History of American Literature*, from the pen of Mr. Henry Norman. The review is no more interesting as a criticism of Prof. Nichol's book than for its general discussion of various striking features of the first century of our American literature. It is the most careful and, on the whole, the justest and most satisfactory review of Prof. Nichol's interesting work which we have seen; and we are glad to see it appear where it does, since the corrections made by Mr. Norman's exact hand are more necessary in England than in America. These corrections are mostly of slight inaccuracies and errors, due to the author's want of familiarity with American life; but some more serious disproportions and misconceptions are pointed out. And we were especially glad to see the reference to Webster and the Compromise measures, and the fuller justice insisted on for Parker. We commend Mr. Norman's thoughtful articles to the readers of Prof. Nichol's work.

WE have received from the publishers, Bangor, Me., the *Q. P. Index Annual* for 1882. In regard to this publication, the London *Oracle* says: "In America is published yearly an index to the principal magazines, from which you may learn, for instance: . . . whether an article is a review, poetry, fiction, illustrated, a translation, or whether it may be characterized in half a dozen other different ways. . . . Why does not one or another of those who are constantly asking us how an income may be made or added to do a similar service for English magazine readers? Chief qualifications for the work are perseverance, accuracy, and that uncommon endowment, common sense. Let some one possessing these send to Bangor, Me., U.S., for a copy of *Q. P. Index's Annual* for 1881 as a pattern, and then set to work on some English periodicals. Poole's Index to all periodical literature will not supersede such works as *Q. P. Index's.*"

THE *Unitarian Review* for May has just come to hand. "The Art of Raphael" is the subject of a critical essay by John W. Chadwick. Rev. Edgar Buckingham has an article entitled "The Truth: What ought we to believe?" Rev. J. Frederick Dutton writes admiringly of "The Spirit of Plato," whom he calls "a universal, all-sided man." "Socrates" furnishes W. C. Collar with an always interesting subject of criticism and praise. Rev. George Putnam writes in deprecation of "Doubt," evidently not believing with a well-known writer that "doubt is the beginning of wisdom." In his "Notes from England," Rev. John Page Hopps refers to "Mr. Moody's Campaign," "The Salvation Army," and "Haeckel on Cell-souls and Soul-cells." Mrs. Lowe's notes treat of current literature and kindred topics.

"MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE" for May has a long instalment of a new story by Mrs. Oliphant, entitled "The Wizard's Son." "Unwritten History" is a recent lecture by Prof. Huxley, delivered to the Eton Volunteer Corps. "A Naturalist's Paradise" is described by an unknown writer. Prof. Jack writes about "The Scotch Universities Bill," and James Bryce has an appreciative memorial essay on the dead historian, John Richard Green. Published in London and New York.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN has sent $200 for the relief of Mrs. Meikleham, the only surviving grandchild of Thomas Jefferson, who is in destitute circumstances in Georgetown.

THE demand for Mr. Gladstone's speech on the Affirmation Bill is said to be so great that the Liberal Central Association of London will issue an edition of a hundred thousand copies.

JOHNSON G. WHITTAKER, the colored cadet who acquired notoriety three years ago in connection with a charge of having mutilated his ears while at West Point, is now filling a professor's chair in the Avery Institute at Charleston, S.C.

DR. DORNER, the German theologian, writes to a friend in this country that Newman Smyth has given, "in a complete and accurate form, a sketch of the postulates of my eschatology." This is a certificate for Joseph Cook, who would go back of Smith to Dorner.

MISS ANNA DICKINSON is now in New York. She is in unusually good health, and is about entering on a course of readings from her drama, "Aurelian," and from a dramatic lecture on "Jeanne d'Arc." She will be heard in a number of the Eastern cities during the spring.

RICHARD LEPSIUS, professor of Egyptology and comparative philology at Berlin, recently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate, and received on that occasion a congratulatory address signed by one hundred and fourteen eminent literary, scientific, and professional men and women of England.

MISS A. M. FIELDE, a missionary stationed at Swatow, China, who has just returned to this country on a visit, has, during the past four years, in addition to her missionary labors, prepared a dictionary of the Swatow dialect. It is a book of some six hundred pages, the first work of the kind ever published.

LAST week, Anthony Comstock insulted and arrested a man in New York, who proved to be a deputy of the sheriff; and A. V. Davidson, sheriff, learning of this abuse of authority, wrote to Comstock: "Your warrant as special deputy sheriff is hereby revoked, and you are expressly forbidden to exercise any authority under or by virtue of said warrant from and after this date."

LYDIA PINKHAM, whose portrait is so familiar to all Americans, died last Thursday at her home in Lynn, Mass. Her "Vegetable Compound," whose laboratory at first was on her kitchen stove, and for the advertisement of which she has paid of late as high as $200,000 annually, realized her an ample fortune from its sale. If she has any admirers, they will be able to secure for themselves any number of her likenesses at small cost.

SIR MICHAEL BASS, made world-wide famous through "Bass' Ale," will doubtless be remembered longer for his charities than for his breweries. In addition to supporting liberally all benevolent works in Derby, he has presented to the town a fine park, public baths, and a free library, at a cost to himself of about $250,000. To the town of Burton, he has given two churches, with parsonages, schools, and endowments, valued at more than $350,000, and an institute and club house worth $200,000. To Rangemore, he has given a church and auxiliary institutions costing $65,000; and many other places have received rich gifts from his bounty.

IT is related of the much-loved Queen Margarita of Italy that when, in the course of her Shaksperian studies, she came to the most familiar, "A man who hath no music in his soul is fit for treason, stratagems," and all the rest, she threw down the book. She would have no more Shakspere. "Is there not the King, Victor Emmanuel, my uncle, whom all the world calls 'Il Re Galantuomo,' who cannot, for the life of him, distinguish between one tune and another? And no member of our family, the House of Savoy, has from time immemorial shown the slightest taste for music,—are we not honest people?" The Queen herself, it should be said, though she does not wish to be reckoned except with her race, has highly cultivated musical taste and a discriminating ear also.

THE papers state that, since 1872, Washington Roebling, chief of the engineering staff of the East River Bridge Company, has been confined to his room from nervous prostration, and that his wife, when he was first attacked, began to study engineering, and "succeeded so well that in a short time she was able virtually to assume the duties of chief engineer. Such an achievement is something remarkable; and, to illustrate her proficiency in engineering, one instance will suffice: When bids for the steel and iron work for the structure were advertised for three or four years ago, it was found that entirely new shapes would be required, such as no mill was then making. This necessitated new patterns, and representatives of the mills desiring to bid went to New York to consult with Mr. Roebling. Their surprise was great when Mrs. Roebling sat down with them, and by her knowledge of engineering helped them out with their patterns, and cleared away difficulties that had for weeks been puzzling their brains." Her reward so far has been the distinction of driving the first carriage over the bridge.

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 577

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Recalled to Sincerity, Wm. J. Potter, ... 578
English Topics: The Affirmation Difficulty, George Jacob Holyoake, ... 578
The Consolations of Christianity, Robert C. Adams, . 579
Dr. Beard's Soul and the *Independent*, W. J. P., ... 580
The Coronation of Alexander III., B. F. Underwood, . 580
Joseph Cook's Charges against the Leiden Students, B. F. U., ... 580

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 581

POETRY.

The Mystery of Life, Emma Tuttle 581
Optimist, Pessimist, Theodore Harris, ... 581

ESSAYS.

Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, ... 582
Men and Animals, N. Dagmar Mariager, ... 584

CORRESPONDENCE.

A Few Thoughts about Girls, A. O. C., ... 585
Material Immortality, ... 586
In Memoriam, ... 586

BOOK NOTICES.

The Great Religions, by James Freeman Clarke, . . . 586
The American Protectionist's Manual, by Giles B. Stebbins, ... 586
Revue de Belgique, Century, Wide-Awake, Catholic World, Our Little Ones, ... 587

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 587

CURRENT TOPICS.

EX-EMPRESS EUGENIE is going to build a church in Flamborough, Eng., in memory of her son. Its estimated cost will be about £70,000. The coffins of Napoleon III. and of the Prince Imperial will be transferred thither as soon as the building is fit to receive them.

ENGLISH ways are almost as "peculiar" as those of the "heathen Chinee." While English law punishes with fines and imprisonment any so-called "blasphemy" of the Deity Englishmen are supposed to worship, yet it allows a brisk trade in false gods to be carried on with impunity by English firms. An uncontradicted item, going the rounds of the newspapers, states that a thousand glass gods, which cost thirty-seven cents apiece to manufacture, and which sell for four dollars, were recently sent to Burmah from Birmingham, Eng.

LAST Sunday was the anniversary of the death of Garibaldi, which was commemorated in London by the unveiling of a medallion at the Stafford House. Many distinguished persons were present, among whom were Mr. Gladstone, the Duchess of Sutherland, and Minister Lowell. Mr. Gladstone spoke in high praise of Garibaldi, Victor Emanuel, and Cavour. A despatch to the Boston *Herald* says, "In political circles, Mr. Gladstone's presence at the Garibaldi celebration is attributed to a desire to placate the dissenters, who form the backbone of the Liberal party, and who were alienated by Mr. Errington's papal mission."

THE clergymen in Berkshire County recently presented petitions to the Housatonic Railroad Company against the running of trains on Sunday. The company disregarded the petitions, when clerical influence was brought to bear upon the Massachusetts authorities, by whom the trains were stopped last Sunday. For the present, Sunday passenger trains will not be run farther north than Canaan, near the Massachusetts line. It is pretty certain that, if there is any urgent or considerable demand for through Sunday passenger trains on the Housatonic road, the running of them will soon be resumed; for neither in Massachusetts nor Connecticut is much regard for the Sabbath shown, when incompatible with the manifest business interests of the people.

ACCORDING to a despatch from Rome, letters have been issued by the Propaganda, summoning the American archbishops to that city to receive papal instructions and to make preparations for a provincial council of the Catholic Church in America, to be held next year in some city in the United States not yet designated. The object of the council, it is said, is to make the connection of the Church of America with Rome closer than it now is, and to concert some disciplinary measures tending to restrain the influence of Democratic-Republican institutions on the spiritual and social life of ecclesiastics. Although the despatch states that the reasons for the summons are only incidentally political, it is believed that the disturbances in Ireland, which have brought censure on the Church, and the fact that these disturbances have been encouraged by American contributions to the Parnell and other funds which have been countenanced by the Catholic clergy here, are the primary cause for summoning the council.

A DESPATCH from Raleigh, N.C., to one of the daily papers of this city, says: "Mormon missionaries in the western part of this State, near Rutherferton, have induced a large number of women to join the Church of the Latter Day Saints. Great excitement and indignation prevail by the announcement that the ceremonies of baptizing the new converts were attended by the most horrible orgies that ever disgraced a so-called civilized community. All that was previously known of the abominations of Mormonism was eclipsed by the scenes that took place on this occasion, as was the case two years ago. The Mormons will probably be attacked and driven out of the State. Lynching is feared." How much or little truth there is in this despatch we have no means of knowing; but in view of the benighted condition of the community to which it refers, and the religious intolerance which prevails there, it is not unlikely that the charge against the Mormons has as little foundation as some of the statements of the pagans in regard to the "horrible orgies" of the early Christians, and that the accusation is a mere pretext for persecuting a sect that has been very active and very successful in making converts in that region the past year or two.

GOV. CLEVELAND, of New York, vetoed last week an item of $20,000 dollars, in a supply bill, "for the support and maintenance of juvenile delinquents at the Catholic protectory." The following is an extract from the veto message: "The name of this institution implies that only Roman Catholic children are there provided for. If this be so, that fact furnishes a good reason why public funds should not be contributed to its support. A violation of this principle in this case would tend to subject the State treasury to demands in behalf of all classes of sectarian institutions, which a due care for the money of the State and a just economy could not concede, and which would yet have a justification in precedent. It will be seen, too, that the delinquents received at this institution are committed to its care by the authorities of the city of New York. Thus, it appears to be local in its purposes and operation, which affords, it seems to me, an additional reason why it should not be aided by the State. I am informed that the municipality of New York pays a stated and reasonable compensation for the support and maintenance of such juvenile delinquents as are committed to this protectory. If this be true, even the plea of want and necessity cannot be urged to justify this appropriation." For his action in this case, and for his sensible and courageous words in opposition to sectarian appropriations, Gov. Cleveland deserves the thanks of all liberal and fair-minded men.

THE *Catholic Review*, referring to the pontifical instruction to the Irish bishop, says: "One thing is certain: the priesthood and with it the laity of Ireland will obey the Pope in whatever he chooses to teach them." Again, this journal, in its loyalty to the head of the Church, remarks: "Secularists and infidels, renegade Catholics and aspirants for Parliamentary honors, may undertake to declare the Pope 'impertinent,' 'neither infallible nor well-informed,' and so forth; but the Irish people are too Catholic at heart to feel for an instant that there is any possibility of Pope Leo writing wildly or acting unjustly toward them. Men and women, too, have told us in the public press that the 'Irish of to-day are too enlightened to submit to such dictation; that might have done fifty years ago, but it will not do to-day.' We do not deny that the Irish are an enlightened people. We believe it most fully. But we do not think that they are more enlightened in Catholic matters, or less so, than they were fifty years ago. They are to-day as faithful and enlightened as ever they were; and, if the Pope has condemned any policies, any leaders, or even any bishops, they will most surely be condemned also by the Irish people." But the *Pilot* says that the Pope's letter "must be set down as one of the most remarkable events of this century," and adds: "It is not to be met by resentment, but by proof of the false evidence presented to the Pope. The Pope's letter is unquestionably the result of English misrepresentation." Mr. John Dillon, in a letter to the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, advises the Irish people to make the Parnell fund such a success that the Pope will realize how grievously he has been deceived by the English government and the miserable pauper landlords who infest Rome. Mr. Parnell, in a letter to a Paris journal, says that, while the majority of the Irish people are submissive to the Pope in matters of faith, they do not acknowledge the domination of Rome in matters of politics and nationality.

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RECALLED TO SINCERITY.

Harvard College has been brought to its senses in the matter of bestowing its honorary degrees. It sometimes takes a severe discipline to bring an individual mind to a true comprehension of its own actions; and the discipline must be still more severe that is adequate similarly to arouse a corporation. From the time that Massachusetts elected its present Governor, people have been asking, What will Harvard College do with him next Commencement Day? Will it follow the time-honored tradition, and invite him to Cambridge as its special guest, and give him the degree of LL.D.? The majority have been disposed to say that the College would follow the traditional course, treat the Governor with perfect official courtesy, whatever it might be inwardly thinking of him, quietly give him the honorary sheepskin, and thus send him back to Boston with no chance to make political capital for himself, or against the College, over another personal grievance.

And this is the solution of the question which the Corporation appears to have been ready to adopt. However bitter the pill, the President and Fellows voted unanimously that it was best to swallow it with as little wryness of face as possible. Doubtless, they would have been very glad, if they could have found in the long line of Massachusetts Governors any precedent for omitting the custom. They would have rejoiced, if they could have been able to say: "This degree means something. It means literally and entirely all that it says. It goes not necessarily to any man who may chance to be elected Governor of the State, but only to the worthy,—only to those who, in addition to eminence in ability and learning, 'have promoted noble arts, and have, by their writings or example, or by their counsel and labor, aided in cultivating them.'" But they knew that in unbroken sequence the degree had been given to every man who had been placed in the Governor's chair, without reference to the question whether the wording of the document described his qualifications or not. Though probably there has been no case where the words above quoted would be so inapplicable as to the present Governor, while there have been many cases where the requisites in respect to "ability and learning" would fall far short of what may be justly claimed for him. The degree has, in fact, by the college usage, as bestowed upon the Governors of the State, become a mere complimentary official title, as empty of all real meaning as that of "His Excellency." And it is the legitimate consequence of this vicious habit on the part of the College itself of bestowing degrees as merely ceremonious titles—a fault not only of Harvard, but of colleges generally—that the College has now had to face the dilemma of the question what to do about Butler. The bitter pill is of its own concocting. It is the natural penalty of insincerity.

But, while the Corporation deemed it wisest to continue the empty compliment,—evidently either on the general ground that whomever the majority of the voters of the State should think worthy to be Governor the College would honor with this degree, or on the more special ground that it would be bad policy first to break the rule in the case of a man sure to use all the arts of an expert demagogue to make capital out of the omission for his own personal ambitions,—the Overseers by a strong vote have bravely seized the dilemma by the other horn, and vetoed the Corporation's vote. In our view, the Overseers have the right of the case. Whatever may be General Butler's skill and learning in law or amount of general culture, there are certain moral defects in his character as a public man, and certain methods which he has habitually used in attaining his successes in life, which no institution of learning should hold up to the young men under its care as worthy of honor.

But we wish that these two bodies—the Overseers and the Corporation—would now take the further needed step, and unitedly vote that the College will henceforth give no degrees merely as compliments. President Eliot has been saying recently some strong words about prevalent insincerity in the pulpit. We do not think that he touches the most potent source of this evil, when he refers it to the habit of dependence which ministers acquire because they are so largely supported in getting their education by beneficiary funds. In our opinion, a more fertile cause of the trouble lies in the fact that young men in the theological seminaries are not generally trained to do robust and independent thinking: they are trained to conform their thinking to certain standards of belief, and know that, unless they do it, few chances for pulpits will be open to them. And possibly, too, when these young men see presidents of colleges signing their names to laudatory degrees that are admitted to have no truthful application to the persons receiving them, they may then be learning the art of subscribing to creeds with mental reservations, and of preaching beliefs that are only half their own. Has President Eliot ever thought that the insincerity of colleges in bestowing merely complimentary and official degrees may have some connection with insincerity in the pulpit?

WM. J. POTTER.

ENGLISH TOPICS: THE AFFIRMATION DIFFICULTY.

Perhaps, after all, it was not my negligence so much as my diffidence which kept me from writing to you earlier. In your great courtesy, you had accorded so much space in *The Index* to various notices of matters personal to me that I felt that your readers would be glad to be quit of me, for a season at least. However, your insertion of my last letter in *The Index*, of April 5, gives me confidence (I ought to say assurance) to proceed.

You are aware that my object in visiting America and Canada last year was to induce your government and that of your Canadian neighbors to increase emigrant facilities by issuing a guide-book for them, which should give a real account of the whole country with the same fulness which some States give an account of their own territory and its advantages. The materials of such a book should be collected by direction of the government, revised under their authority, and published in their name. When this is done in a distinctive manner, such book will get into everybody's hands abroad, and secure your having a better-informed class of settlers than hitherto. The Canadian government have already acceded to this representation. Mr. John Lowe, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa, has, with great promptness, prepared and issued a Canadian Government Guide-book. It is written with great judgment and clearness. The United States, being a more diversified and more widely settled country, must have a still more picturesque story to tell. But it has not told it yet. Why does the Republican chariot linger? Why drag its splendid wheels so heavily? Washington cannot be in the Red Sea where Pharaoh's chariots had a difficulty.

Your columns, some time ago, contained some interesting papers by Mr. W. S. Kennedy, on "Some Defects of the Daily Press." They might be yet more instructive to many. He has words of censure for what he calls journalese writing. If, when he returns to the subject, he would be at the trouble of giving the reader some instances of it, it would be profitable reading to those whom he seeks to improve. Upon going over the grounds De Quincey has trodden, he fortunately finds examples given by that great critic. If Mr. Kennedy would follow this excellent example, he would increase the value of critical communications he may make to your pages. I remember reading his papers, and wishing, for the sake of your young readers, that he gave illustrations. "Be clear," said Napoleon. He might have added, Be explicit.

When I have opportunity, I will call attention in England to the admirable discourses of the Rev. Frederic A. Hinckley, which have been lately sent to me. It implies assiduous thought to publish regularly discourses of such a quality and of so much interest.

The opportunity I refer to is a small monthly paper I have projected, entitled the *Present Day*. It is not large; and four weeks' interval will occur between each issue, so that it may not make much demand upon my time nor terrify the reader by frequent appearance. I have chosen a monthly issue, so as not to interfere, or even in appearance to be in rivalry, with the two other papers which mostly represent free thought in London. The *Secular Review* did represent secularism during several volumes; but, for a long time past, its ambition has been chiefly, as Christians would say, "to blaspheme," notably and with such utter recklessness that secularism is quite lost sight of, and in no mean danger of not being thought well of, if it was seen in its pages. The *National Reformer*, which used to bear the words "Secular Advocate," now leaves them out, and bears on its banner the words, "Atheistic, Malthusian, and Republican,"—things which have their interest and their place; but society will bear some addition thereunto. In attempting it, I fear that I choose not wisely. An editor can conduct a large business in negations with a very small capital. It is more difficult to conduct a constructive advocacy. Still, I am for supplementing negations by some positive principles, which I regard as the distinctive merit of *The Index*. I am of Cardinal Newman's opinion, that "false ideas can be confuted by argument, but only by true ideas can they be expelled."

This will be the policy of the *Present Day*. Progress is brought to a standstill by the inertness of those who think and do not act, as it is ruined by the recklessness of those who act and do not think. There is no sense in life except in that use of the present which profits by the past and provides for the future. Many do not know that yesterday has gone by, and that the foolish day has passed when men could be shocked into the truth by sensation, or kicked into it by outrage. There will long be persons—impatient to change the world at once—who sincerely believe in these dynamite methods. But it will prevent confusion in the public mind if they are kept distinct from secularism (first advocated by me in the *Reasoner*, from 1846 to 1872). That order of opinion teaches the improvement of this world by material means, substitutes exposition for denunciation, and holds that intelligent, well-intended usefulness is piety, whose creed is service and whose altar is everywhere. Unless a journal exist showing that the secular is separate in its nature and utility, the efforts in England of the highest scientific thinkers will be confounded with mere anti-theology and retarded by distrust. The *Present Day* is addressed to all who hold the brave and cheersome faith that life, according to reason, is the best religion for the world that is, and the best qualification for the world that may be. *The Index* has the courage of positivism. It maintains views of life and duty. Those who cannot accept all its

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principles respect it for having some. Heresy intelligently held is always in advance of mere scepticism. Doubt may be a duty with regard to certain propositions; but duty is higher than doubt, because it is in advance of it, and indicates that the contest of dubiety is over.

We have had another debate in our Parliament upon the policy of allowing members to take their seats upon affirmation in certain cases, instead of on oath. Some time ago, the House admitted Mr. Bradlaugh to sit on affirmation, subject to decision in the law courts as to its legality. The higher courts deciding against it, a bill has had to be introduced to make affirmation lawful in Parliament; but such is the personal irritation at Mr. Bradlaugh on account of the *Fruits of Philosophy* he published, and heresies actual or imputed unjustly, that the House decided, with immense fervor, against the bill. Of course, it is utterly unjust to refuse him permission to make an oath, and also refuse to allow him to make affirmation.

Immense efforts have been made to carry the Affirmation Bill. Wherever I had opportunity of writing, I pointed out how much to this end religious bodies could accomplish. The nonconformists alone might cause the bill to succeed in a short time, I contended, if they used their religious influence to this end. All the exertions made out of Parliament and in it, during thirty years, to procure the right of affirmation in courts of justice, were fruitless, until the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control gave, through their Parliamentary supporters, their generous, powerful, and tolerant voice in its favor. All honest dissidents from the ecclesiastical oath then came under a sense of obligation and respect for that nobler sort of Christianity, which, disregarding the charge of complicity with intellectual heresy, terminated the long era in which all such persons were treated in courts of law as the outlaws of Christianity. The heretic is still an outlaw in the House of Commons. In terminating this dishonoring spectacle, liberal churchmen now, as then, would aid; and so they have, beyond all expectation.

The cry of "the right of constituencies," said to be violated, produced no remedial effect. It is hard to conceive how this cry could be relied upon by any who have been in these agitations before or are conversant with their history. Constituencies in England have always been denied the right of representation by Catholics, by Jews, by Quakers, and by Atheists, as such. To give them the right of representation by Catholics and Jews, Parliament altered the oaths which excluded them; to give constituencies the right of representation by Quakers, it made a new law of affirmation; and it remains for Parliament to give constituencies the right of representation by Atheists in the same way.

As I had done what I could to dissuade Mr. Bradlaugh from taking the oath, as it would shut the door of affirmation for years, I have done all I could to promote the passing of the Affirmation Bill lately brought in by the ministry. Mr. James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P. for Southwark, an eminent professor at Oxford, and one of the tutors of Prince Leopold, and himself until lately in Holy Orders, did me the honor to present a petition from me, which he sent to the press. It was in the following terms:—

Mr. G. J. Holyoake has sent a petition to the House of Commons, setting forth that he is a person who never took an oath,—it connoting theological convictions he did not hold. That he, however, has seen persons of far greater knowledge than he possesses—of high social position and authority, and whose example men look up to—take the oath; though it was known to all that they held no belief corresponding thereunto, the opprobrium and outlawry attending the refusal of the oath being more than they would incur. That this has been going on for many years and in every part of the country. But nowhere is the example of saying one thing and not meaning it, or meaning something else, more disastrous than in that high assembly where everything said is conspicuous and influential upon others. That the petitioner, who has watched the effect of compulsory swearing, submits that no conformity to the oath can compensate for nonconformity to the truth which it occasions,—and not only occasions, but incites. He therefore prays the House to make affirmation optional for those who need it.

We have had other cases of interest to the public. Three persons have been imprisoned for blasphemy, but really for outrage. The indictments were under the blasphemy laws, as there was no other way of employing the law against them. The story is worth the telling. We have had public writers and well-known preachers discussing the subject without knowing the facts. If persons near the doors of the offenders are without knowledge of what has occurred, there must be confused information current so far away as the United States.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

THE CONSOLATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

It is often asserted that the unbeliever in Christianity is "without hope and without God in the world." He is supposed to have abandoned all sources of comfort in affliction, and to be destitute of joy and peace in his meditations and aspirations. Does observation show that the believer has an advantage over the unbeliever as to happiness? We not only claim that this is not the case, but that the rationalist has superior grounds for a glad and hopeful spirit.

The Christian religion fails to produce the results claimed for it. An intelligent physician states that he has witnessed more fear of death and more distress upon the death-bed among Christians than among unbelievers. He says he has never witnessed a painful death of an unbeliever. His explanation is that Christians contemplate the end of life and a future state more frequently, and the proofs are not strong enough to allay the fears that these meditations arouse. Every one can recall aged "saints" who have lived excellent lives and have always been devout and prayerful, yet who close their lives in gloom and despondency. One of the most notable Christian women, the wife of a Congregational deacon, lately died, after years of depression, in which she lamented her lack of assurance of salvation. Her son met the son of her pastor, and exclaimed, "My poor mother's life was made wretched by that infernal theology!" One whose especial gift was the utterance of words of consolation, and whose written words are often presented to mourners, while expressing resignation to his own trials, suffered greatly from depression of spirits, and was unable to deliver himself from continual brooding over his troubles. Many a saint of pious speech and unhappy life may be observed, and broken-hearted mourners whose words of submission are belied by their inconsolable grief. Several men of bright faith whom I have known, who could cast their cares upon Jesus and leave all the burden with him, were men of strong physique and sanguine temperament. Few more incongruous events remain in my memory than the visit of a minister of extraordinary physical strength, a sledge hammer preacher, and man of buoyant spirits, to a lady of most delicate constitution, but of the most exquisite and refined character and cultivation, and the distress he occasioned by the assertion that all her ailments and sorrows were owing to lack of "faith." It seems demonstrable that happiness in life is dependent upon health, inherited temperament, and one's surroundings, and that the theories of the Christian religion never triumph over an adverse combination of these particulars. Many think they get comfort from religion, because during the rest and contemplation of Sunday their spirits rise, and by night their "faith" is strong. But this often only lasts till Monday noon, by which time the cares of life have consumed their "joy in the Lord"; and they toil on for the rest of the week "bearing the cross," and saying, with heavy sighs, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." It was not theology, but the physical recuperation gained by a day of rest that enlivened the mind.

Sorrow comes to all, and only time allays its affliction. Mourners grasp at alleviations, and try to gain comfort from the sentiments we see touchingly expressed in obituary notices in the newspapers. They try to find joy in the thought,—

> "There was in heaven an angel band
> That was not quite complete:
> God took our little Mary Ann
> To fill the vacant seat."

Or they seek peace in the submissive plaint,—

> "Dearest Tommy, thou hast left us,
> And thy loss we deeply feel;
> But 'tis God that has bereft us,
> He will all our sorrows heal."

But still the vacant chair, the little empty shoes, the absent laugh, and the lost endearing caress cause pangs of grief that only subside with the lapse of years.

It often only aggravates the affliction to be told that God has arbitrarily caused it, in chastening love or in judgment; for its need or justice is not perceived, and the spirit rebels against such severe treatment and fails to believe in its necessity. But where disaster is seen to be the result of natural law, that death comes in consequence of inherited or acquired weakness or by reason of man's imperfect knowledge, then we can bow to the inevitable, and resolve that our sad experience shall be a factor in producing a more rational life and a more eager pursuit of the laws of health and the conquest of disease.

But it is not only in affliction that the Christian claims superior consolation: he asserts that his hope of heaven sustains his spirits, and makes him endure present ills. Doubtless, many are cheered by these thoughts: but those who cannot entertain them find they have been delivered from a selfish conceit, that sought joy in an exceptional personal advantage, and ignored an inconceivable amount of woe to their friends and neighbors. If a person claims he has gained in happiness by renouncing evangelical religion, he is accused of arrogance, as implying that Christians are not happy. But he does not assert that they are not happy, but that they have no right to be so. No man of unselfish mind and tender sensibility can be happy in the assurance of salvation, when he knows that good and estimable people all around him are doomed to eternal damnation. If I take the liberty of expressing my personal sentiments, I shall doubtless echo the feeling of many others.

In the past, the doctrines of Calvinism have been a pall upon my joy. If I was happy, it was in spite of them; and often, after a period of delight in innocent recreation, an accusing conscience has reproached me with the inconsistency of mirth while the vast procession of human life was marching by to hell. It was not enough that I was saved: I wanted my equally good friends to be saved also. But they would not believe the doctrines; and, therefore, nothing remained to them but "a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation." God, of his own free will, had

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elected me to be saved and had left them to perish,—not that I was any better than they, or that there was any reason for it beyond the fact of this decision "in the counsels of eternity." I have no desire to be made so marked an exception to "the wrath of God." I am glad to cast in my lot with the great mass of intelligent believers in and practisers of goodness. I desire no better future than what they deserve, and what a just God would give them. I feel like apologizing for having wronged them in the past, by estimating some of the best and noblest of earth as being among the damned. I feel a true brotherhood with all men now. I am not one of the house of peers whom God has chosen to monopolize future happiness, but I am one of the great mass of men who are eagerly searching to know the right, believe the true and do the good; and my future is safe, no matter how unable my intellect is to grasp the dogmas of the "Christian Fathers." A sense of companionship with good men of all races and creeds gives a feeling of joy which membership with the "elect" fails to impart to an unselfish mind. No conscientious man can be truly happy except by ignoring the doctrine of future everlasting punishment; and, if it is true, it is wrong to ignore it.

The effect of "trust in God" is offset by "fear of God." A belief in a superintending Providence that arbitrarily decides the issues of life is not promotive of peace of mind. One never knows what the will of God may decree next, and an element of uncertainty is introduced into human affairs beyond the elements of cause and effect. The Christian labors with the dread that, at any moment, God may thwart his efforts in "love" or "wrath," and give the success to some scoundrel, apparently unworthy of favors. The rationalist believes that, unless some natural impediment occurs, his work will prosper. If it fails, it was the result of individual fault or human ignorance. He recognizes the present limits of man's knowledge and foresight, and works in submission to these restrictions; but he has no dread of an inexplicable miraculous upsetting of his plans. The true "peace of God that passeth understanding" lies in the recognition of law and order in the universe, never interfered with by arbitrary and irresponsible acts.

Christianity, when consistently interpreted, assures its followers of tribulation in this world, and the hopelessness of all efforts to advance the moral welfare of the human race. The teachings of Jesus and Paul are pessimistic. Things are to wax worse and worse till the coming of Christ to destroy the world, out of which he saves his chosen few. It is the Christian then who is without hope in the world. His consolations are wholly in another world, the existence of which has never been made apparent to any other sense than "faith,"—that is, imagination.

The believer in natural law and its continuous working through evolution has grand assurance of infinite progress and a hopeful future for his race.

One who has escaped from belief that God curses his children, damns just men, and waits to destroy the world in vengeance, and sees, instead, an Infinite Power working forever through uninterrupted cause and effect toward the increasing development of man in righteousness, knowledge, and control of the universe,—he possesses a consolation and inspiration that makes life worth living.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

SHELLEY is said to be the rage just now among those who are collecting copies of old editions of books by famous authors. A copy of *The Cenci* published in Italy recently brought £7 15*s*.

DR. BEARD'S SOUL AND THE INDEPENDENT.

We gladly acknowledge that we were under a misapprehension in our recent remarks concerning the *Independent's* second article on Dr. Beard's conversion. But the collocation of words to which we referred logically suggested the question we asked; and we are not sorry we asked it, since it has drawn from that journal the following explicit statement:—

> Mr. Potter wants to know if we mean to imply that Dr. Beard has gone down to destruction. Not at all. That idea was not in our mind. We trust we are not given to usurping the functions of the only Judge of quick and dead. What we meant—and think we plainly said—was that it were better that the Church should let souls perish than that it should try to cajole or frighten those same souls into salvation by the fraudulent use of untrue tales of death-bed conversions or despairs. It was not Dr. Beard's soul we had in mind, but the souls of those to whom the story of Dr. Beard's conversion might be told. We told it once and used it homiletically in these columns, believing it true. We would not do it again, if we knew it would produce a hundred conversions. We are not responsible for conversions, but we are responsible for truth.

The *Independent*, referring to the fate of Darwin, about which *The Index* once asked its opinion, adds:—

> If Dr. Beard, or, for that matter, Dr. Darwin, attempted honestly to seek after the truth about God and duty, and to accept it, if even in doubt and question he gave his hearty love and allegiance to infinite, abstract virtue, not knowing whether it was concrete or not, but holding his heart open to accept it if his eyes should open to see it actually existent in a Supreme Benevolence, then he had accepted "the Essential Christ."

In this extract, the *Independent* does not seem to us so satisfactorily clear as in the preceding. We gather from it, however, that that journal is not suffering any special anxiety over the fate of either Darwin or Beard; and what happens to the Calvinistic creed in consequence of the admission that such men do not need to be converted to the Christian faith, in order to be saved, we leave for that paper to settle with the old-school theologians who may catechize it. But perhaps the new-school theologians will in time get far enough away from the maze of Christian mythology as to say "essential *truth*," where they now say "the essential Christ," and to see that the virtue which becomes "concrete" in humanity is about the most saving thing that a man can have.

W. J. P.

THE CORONATION OF ALEXANDER III.

The coronation of Alexander III., an event for which preparation had been in progress some months, took place in the cathedral at Moscow, Sunday, May 27. The ceremonies were made as imposing as possible, and seem to have had for the time the designed effect upon the ignorant Russian peasants. The expenditures for this purpose amounted to $10,000,000. In accordance with the established coronation rite, substantially that of the monarchs of Byzantium, the Czar read aloud the creed of the Greek-Russian Church, a great *Te Deum* followed, a chapter of the New Testament was read by one of the Metropolitans,—representatives of the Church,—the Czar was invested with the imperial ermine and the great diamond cross of St. Andrew, and a benediction was invoked upon him and his reign; after which, a Metropolitan brought the Czar a great crown, which he himself put on his head. The Metropolitan, after explaining that the crown signified that Christ, the Czar of heaven, blessed him as Czar of all the Russias and supreme master of the people, brought to him the sceptre and the imperial globe, assuring him that he received his power as a ruler from God. Then followed the liturgy, toward the end of which the Czar received the anointment "the seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost," by which were made sacred both the office and the person of the Czar. The forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, ears, arms, and chest of this ruler by the grace of God were anointed by one of the spiritual attendants, another performing the duty of wiping the chrism with a piece of cotton. The ceremony was completed by the Czar's receiving the holy communion, taking the bread and wine separately and not together from a spoon like a layman. The whole performance, which was enough to make angels weep and laugh, if they have any pity and a sense of the ludicrous, was announced by salutes of artillery and the pealing of church bells. The fête that followed in honor of the event was on a colossal scale. A despatch says that "one hundred and forty wagons loaded with barrels of beer arrived on the ground during the morning, and by noon all had been exhausted." "The rejoicing was very great." It is easy to see that the main foundation and support of despotism in Russia are *ignorance and superstition*. Let those who have nothing but denunciation for the Nihilists reserve a little of their indignation for that system, a combination of State and Church, which is founded largely upon falsehood and fraud, and which, in the name of God and Christ, keeps the Russian people in ignorance, fear, and slavery, and makes liberty and progress impossible. Says the *Independent:* "The Czar is believed to be selected by God himself to be the Czar and Judge of all the Russias. He solemnly decorates himself with the imperial regalia, which are a symbol of his autocratic powers; and at the same time, before God and in the presence of his people, he pledges himself to dedicate himself to the well-being of the people intrusted to him. In Russia there is no constitution to which the Czar must take an oath; and, as to the laws, he is the sole and supreme lawmaker. But then, as a Christian ruler, he pledges himself to observe the creed and preserve the principles of the Greek-Russian Church. It is evident, then, that both the rights and the duties of the Czar have a religious foundation. Were there religious freedom in Russia, the Russians—even under their autocrat—would have a considerable field of free action. Unhappily, the religious laws of Russia enjoin, first of all and last of all, blind and unconditional obedience to the Czar."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

JOSEPH COOK'S CHARGES AGAINST THE LEIDEN STUDENTS.

The readers of *The Index* will remember the charges made by Joseph Cook, a few weeks ago, against the theological students of Leiden,—charges that were on good authority pronounced false in these columns, and which Mr. Cook was challenged to substantiate. Rev. Philip Wicksteed, Dr. Martineau's successor, the translator of *The Bible for Learners*, who has lived and studied in Leiden, is acquainted with Leiden scholars, and has had close relations with Leiden students, having had his attention called to these charges, has written a letter to a friend in this country, which was printed by permission in the *Christian Register* last week. After stating that he has "had for some ten years or so a pretty accurate knowledge of the position of things in the theological world in Holland," and "not unfrequently conversed with professors and ex-students of the theological faculty of Leiden on the general life of the students," "been on terms of intimacy and confidence with theological students at Leiden," has "frequented the class rooms and overheard the careless and

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casual conversation of the students as they passed to and from their classes, or lounged between times in the hall," and has had "many confidential conversations with men whom I could absolutely trust as to the actual, moral, and spiritual results of the new teaching," he adds:—

With these opportunities of knowledge, I can only say that I was utterly amazed by what appears to me the recklessness of the charge brought against the theological students of Leiden by Rev. Joseph Cook. Since my attention was called to his words, I have made special inquiries, and can hear of nothing, not even of any slander, on which his statements can be based. To any one who knows the theological professors of Leiden personally, the charge brought against them of indifference to morals is simply absurd. The jealous defenders of Orthodoxy in Holland would, on the contrary, point to the high character of such men as Scholten and Kuenen, and the deservedly high position they hold in the esteem and regard of all classes of citizens as constituting one of the great dangers of their influence.

Joseph Cook frequently declares that "character tends to permanency," and refers to this fact to prove that the doctrine of everlasting punishment is in harmony with science. If his Lectureship be correct in his reasoning, it is of the utmost importance to him personally that he restrain and overcome his propensity to misrepresent and calumniate, else the habitual indulgence of this propensity may make him a hardened and irreclaimable perverter of the truth. B. F. U.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

ACCORDING to a Rome correspondent of the Boston *Pilot*, advices from Archbishop Croke, who recently visited the Pope, say that, although the Parnell prelate was unable to satisfy Leo XIII. of the correctness of his views in regard to Ireland, those views remain unchanged as to what is his patriotic duty.

HERBERT SPENCER, in a letter to S. J. Stewart, refers to his work, *The Gospel of Law*, and to his lecture on Ethics, recently published in *The Index*, in complimentary terms. "I thank you," he writes, "for having so effectively taken up the exposition and defence of evolutionary ethics. I am glad to see the views I have set forth so well supported."

MONCURE D. CONWAY, in a letter to the London *Inquirer*, contradicts the report that he had resigned his position as minister at South Place Chapel, and says that he is in excellent health. He adds: "It is true that after our summer vacation (August) Dr. Andrew Wilson will share my labor and salary at South Place. My reasons for securing him as a colleague are entirely unconnected with my health or with the as yet doubtful visit to Australia."

ON Sunday, May 27, a society was organized in this city at Paine Hall, under the name of "The Boston Liberal Club." Its affairs for the present are in the hands of an executive committee of five members, who are required to present on the first Sunday of September a scheme for permanently carrying on the work of the club. John Storer Cobb is president; John S. Verity, vice-president; and George N. Hill, secretary and treasurer. The other members of the executive committee are Ernest Mendum and Matthew Hale.

THE convention of the Institute of Heredity held in this city last Tuesday was well attended. Some well-written papers were read, and a number of earnest speeches were made; but the general treatment of the subject was hardly what those who attended had a right to expect, for the very obvious reason that the majority of the speakers were selected less with reference to their knowledge of heredity than with their prominence in connection with other reforms. The object of the Institute is a most worthy one, and deserves encouragement and aid.

DURING the summer months especially, *The Index* will need all the money due on subscriptions to enable it to meet current expenses. Our books show that a large number have permitted their subscriptions to expire without renewing, and many of these we know to be worthy persons who are able to pay and intend to pay. With many, the very smallness of the amounts which they owe makes them unconcerned and negligent in remitting; but these small sums amount in the aggregate to an indebtedness of between $3,000 and $4,000, and we need this money to pay our bills. Will those who are in arrears please consider this fact, and send what they owe this office without further delay? Make all checks and drafts payable to the order of B. F. Underwood.

THE sessions of the fifteenth anniversary of the New England Woman's Suffrage Association were held on the evening of Monday, all day Tuesday, and Wednesday evening, May 28, 29, and 30. The speakers on Monday eve were H. B. Blackwell, Colonel Higginson, Mrs. Clara Neymann, and Mary F. Eastman. All were eloquent and earnest in their advocacy of the political rights of women. On Tuesday morning, addresses and reports were made by Frederic A. Hinckley, Clara M. Bisbee, Lucy Stone, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Mrs. M. G. Ripley, Mrs. C. P. Nichols, and Mrs. A. A. Claflin. In the afternoon, earnest addresses were made by Lucy Stone, Mr. Blackwell, Miss Delia Partridge, Mrs. Bessie Bisbee Hunt, Rev. Annie Shaw, and Rev. Sarah C. Perkins. At the evening session, the speakers were Mrs. Neymann, Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. Livermore, Rev. Charles H. Eaton, and Julia Ward Howe. The festival on Wednesday eve was well attended, and many brilliant five-minute speeches were made by well-known speakers.

THE exercises of the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Free Religious Association, which occurred Friday, June 1, were according to programme; and the meetings were, in point of numbers and interest, an entire success. At the business meeting, steps were taken to secure the attention of the liberal public to the need of funds for the Association. Parker Memorial Hall was well filled during the Friday morning session by an audience remarkable for its fine intellectual quality, many distinguished scholars and noted leaders of liberal thought being present. The platform was beautifully draped with a profusion of flowers appropriate to the season and the occasion. The opening address was by Mr. W. J. Potter, the President. The discourses of Col. T. W. Higginson, John W. Chadwick, and Edwin D. Mead, were listened to with the careful attention which their admirably presented thought deserved. The labor problems of the day were at the afternoon session clearly and forcibly treated in the able and earnest exposition of Mrs. Imogene Fales, the eloquent appeal in behalf of laboring men by Mr. Applebee, the impassioned words of Mrs. Clara Neymann, and the thoughtful address of Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer. At the festival in the evening in Horticultural Hall, about five hundred persons sat down to partake of a bountiful repast, which, however, had it been twice as excellent, would have been surpassed by the "feast of reason and flow of soul" that followed. Col. Higginson, as presiding officer, set an example of scintillating wit which seemed infectious, nearly every speaker responding in the same genial, humorous manner in which he or she was introduced. Some of the best points of the brilliant five-minute speeches should be remembered in the report of the proceedings of the anniversary exercises of the Free Religious Association which is to appear in future numbers of *The Index*. There were many present conspicuous in the field of philosophy, oratory, literature, and reform. The speakers who responded when called upon at the festival were Frederick Douglass, W. J. Potter, Mary F. Eastman, M. J. Savage, Samuel Longfellow, John W. Chadwick, Anna Garlin Spencer, B. F. Underwood, Clara Bisbee, James K. Applebee, Robert C. Adams, and F. A. Hinckley. Lucy Garlin's Euterpe Quartette of lovely young girls arrayed in white furnished the musical attraction of the occasion. The Association has every reason to be pleased and encouraged with the progress its principles have made during the sixteen years of its life, and the place it now occupies in the thought of the people.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

THE MYSTERY OF LIFE.

"I was not, and I was conceived. I loved, and did a little work."

The atoms bound together in the structure
My loving father christened by my name
Will, in due time, despite all mortal pleading,
Unbind themselves from finite end and aim.

Their service to my spirit will have ended,
All I could learn through them has been attained.
The broken bondage and the tender union
Will not be mourned because of freedom gained.

I like not now to guess the trend the atoms
I wear like garments, when unloosed, will take:
Weakly, I shudder at what may befall them,
If e'er in nerve-thrilled structures they awake.

I fain would bar them out from circulation
Through the weird dance in cycles never done;
But Nature only loaned them, and will claim them
When I my little journey shall have run.

So, with forced bravery and with blinded senses,
I say: "What cometh will be good and right.
Naught can I change by wishing or entreating,
Eternal laws ne'er bended to man's might."

I live, I love, I writhe, I moan, but hoping
For better things than I can clearly see.
I work to-day, deeming it wise and better
Than idle dreams of what is veiled from me.

Such my philosophy. But with what hunger
I long to see beyond life's harsh to-day!
I want the courage certainty would give me:
I covet knowledge for a staff and stay.

A little while, and unto pallid slumber
All flesh is sworn, and tristful vows must keep.
Well will it be, if we awake in raptures;
If not, we ne'er shall mourn because we sleep.

EMMA TUTTLE.

For *The Index*.

OPTIMIST.

The year's at the spring,
The day's at the morn;
Morning's at seven;
The hillside's dew-pearled;
The lark's on the wing;
The snail's on the thorn;
God's in his heaven,—
All's right with the world!

—*Robert Browning.*

PESSIMIST.

The year's cold and bare,
The day's at the gloam;
Gloaming's at seven;
The leaf is frost-curled;
The lark's in the snare;
The snail's trod to loam;
Is God in Heaven?—
All's wrong with the world!

THEODORE HARRIS.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 7, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

☞ PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association opened with a business session in Parker Fraternity Hall, Boston, Thursday evening, May 31, at 8 o'clock, the President, Wm. J. Potter, of New Bedford, in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting and also the report of the Treasurer were read and approved. The Treasurer's Report was as follows:—

Treasurer's Report.

Receipts.

1882.		
June 1.	Balance on hand, as per report for previous year	$897.54
" 2.	Membership and patrons' fees, and donations collected at annual meeting and Festival	347.35
1883.		
May 31.	From sale of reports and tracts at office during year	19.53
" 31.	Membership and patrons' fees, and donations received during the year	800.72
	Total	$2,065.14

Disbursements.

1882.		
June 5.	Festival expenses	$14.50
" 29.	Rent of Parker Memorial for Convention and Festival	75.00
Aug. 4.	J. M. W. Yerrington, for reporting	34.00
Aug. 18.	Paid on account of Kansas Convention	100.00*
Sept. 5.	Advertising expenses of Convention and Festival	21.45
Dec. 16.	Paid on account of Syracuse and Chicago Conventions	509.84*
1883.		
Feb. 1.	Rent of Woman's Club Parlor for two business meetings	4.00
" 20.	Geo. H. Ellis, printing one thousand copies *Evolution and Religion*	23.06
Mar. 5.	Paid on account of New Haven and Albany Conventions	119.38*
" 26.	Rent of Woman's Club Parlor for meeting	2.00
May 31.	Rent of office 12 mos., to May 1, 1883	166.68
" 31.	G. H. Foster, 15 mos. salary for office work, to March 1, 1883	500.00
" 31.	F. A. Hinckley, Secretary, expenses for circulars, envelopes, postage, stationery, record books, etc	32.17
" 31.	F. A. Hinckley, Secretary, 12 mos. salary	400.00
" 31.	Various expenses during year, including coal, printing, envelopes, postage, etc.	37.42
	Total	$2,039.50
	Balance on hand May 31, 1883	$25.64

JOHN C. HAYNES, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, May 31, 1883.

*These amounts do not show the actual cost to the treasury, as donations and memberships were received in each case, which would not have been obtained otherwise. The actual reduction in the funds of the Association on account of the various conventions is shown in the report of the Executive Committee.

The Report of the Executive Committee was read by the Secretary as follows:—

Report of the Executive Committee.

The plan of work adopted at the last annual meeting provided a definite course of action for the Secretary, acting with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, as follows :—

1. Lists of Members and Friends of the Association.

The Secretary was instructed to prepare, from such data as he could command, a complete list of the members of the Association, classified according to States, towns, and cities ; and a similar list of well-known persons in sympathy with the Association, not members.

Such lists have been made, and are, it is believed, substantially accurate. From them, it appears that the present membership of the Association is 250, representing 16 States, ranging from Maine to Kansas, and also the Dominion of Canada. Of this number, 124, or about one-half, belong in Massachusetts, 46 in New York, 26 in Illinois, 15 in Rhode Island, 13 in Connecticut, and the balance of 26 are scattered among the remaining eleven States and Canada. The comparatively large membership in Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, and Connecticut, is due to the holding of conventions in those States during the present year. The list of friends, not members, consists at present of 165 names, representing among others 28 States and Territories, and the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, not included in the other list. Between the two lists, we have the names and addresses of parties believed to be interested in our movement in 44 States and Territories out of the 49 now comprising the United States and also in Canada, New Brunswiek, and Nova Scotia. The unrepresented regions on our books are Alaska, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming, and the Indian Territory.

2. List of Organizations in Substantial Conformity with this Association.

The Secretary was further instructed to prepare a full list of organizations, State and local, whose constitutions and methods are in substantial conformity with those of the Free Religious Association, together with names of officers, description of form of union and of work.

Such list it is exceedingly difficult to obtain. A public invitation was extended through *The Index* to all such organizations to make themselves known to us; and, whenever the Secretary has learned of such anywhere, he has endeavored to post himself concerning them. The well-nigh exclusive reliance, however, in this part of our work, has been upon the State correspondents. From their reports, now covering statistics for twenty States, it appears that, in the Northern and Western States, Unitarianism and Universalism are quite generally represented. Unitarianism in Maine is reported active and progressive. Much of the Unitarianism in Massachusetts is certainly that, though it is also true that portions of it are exceedingly conservative. The report from Rhode Island says that, on the whole, Unitarianism, Universalism, and the Societies of Friends, incline to the conservative side. There is at least one Unitarian and one Universalist Society in Connecticut of marked liberal tendencies. Struggling and conservative is the word from New Jersey. Pennsylvania has a small percentage of liberal Christianity, though much that is conservative. Maryland, Georgia, Arkansas, and Missouri say conservative, and few at that. The city of St. Louis has two Unitarian churches, one of them of liberal proclivities, and at least one liberal Jewish congregation. The Western States, as a rule, are reported liberal. Western Unitarianism, as is well known, averages much more radical than Eastern Unitarianism; and, judging from our reports, the same remark will hold true, in a degree at least, of Universalist and Jewish organizations.

The societies on a basis of universal religion are comparatively few; and it is evident that difference of opinion among correspondents as to what constitutes such basis would render the reports on this subject of doubtful value, no two perhaps using the same standard of judgment, though all may appear so to do. If, for example, the standard be what the words strictly interpreted imply, the recognition of religion as universal as distinguished from the Christian or any other system necessarily limited, and the substitution for the numerous conceptions of God of that simple sense of the unseen which must underly all conceptions, the list will be one thing. If, on the contrary, the standard be a fellowship of those working for high and pure ends, making the life more than the profession, the deed superior to the creed, then the list will be quite another thing.

On the former basis, we have the Free Lecture Association of East Dennis, Mrs. Bisbee's society of Dorchester, the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society of Boston, and the Free Congregational Society of Florence, in Massachusetts ; the Free Religious Society of Providence in Rhode Island ; Prof. Adler's Society for Ethical Culture in New York City ; and that of the same name and purpose in Chicago, under the charge of William M. Salter. There are doubtless other societies of similar import; but these, though not built after the same pattern, may be taken as representative of the organizations which stand absolutely outside sect and system, on what they would agree possibly in calling the universal, the natural, and the practical in religion.

While, however, it is technically necessary to exclude from this list societies bearing the Christian name and specially emphasizing by creed or ceremony a personal deity, it is nevertheless true that in the larger fellowship of the spirit, and judged by practical tests, many such should be included. For, under whatsoever name called, it is plain that the work of societies like Mr. Savage's in Boston and Mr. Chadwick's in Brooklyn, together with many of the societies at the West, like those of Messrs. Gannett and Connor, is directly in the line of the natural, the universal, the practical. A list of societies made up on the basis of similar profession to this Association would be a short one. A list made up on the basis of similar spirit and motives to this Association would be a very long one, including, we think, some who still consider themselves within evangelical lines. The reports indicate that the most liberal people in a given locality, if feeling the need of organization at all, incline to sustain by their money, if not by their presence, and often by both, the most liberal society within their reach which stands for character as well as for freedom. The Universalist church in New Haven, where our recent convention in that city was held, is a marked example of this, numbering among its regular attendants Positivists, Materialists, and Agnostics, as well as Spiritualists and Theists.

3. Conditions and Needs of Each State in Relation to the Free Religious Movement.

The Secretary was still further directed to prepare a brief statement of the needs and conditions of each State in relation to the Free Religious movement, compiled from the returns of the State correspondents so far as reported.

The whole number of States from which reports have been obtained is twenty. Of these, an abstract has been prepared and is open to inspection by parties interested. We here make a brief summary of its statements. It should be remembered, however, that these reports from the several States are not the work of experts; that, in many cases, simply the opinion of interested parties is given ; and that their value, therefore, does not consist so much in absolute accuracy of detail as in general indication of what is in the main true. The States from which reports have been obtained are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Georgia, Arkansas, Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, California, Nebraska, and Iowa. The first set of questions asked related to

Legal Provisions respecting Religious Opinions.

The answers indicate that, as a rule, the constitutions and statute laws of the above States make no intentional discrimination on account of religious opinions, many of them having provisions expressly securing religious freedom. There are exceptions, however, to this statement. In Pennsylvania, belief in a God and a future state of rewards and punishments is reported a condition to the holding of office (see Pennsylvania Constitution, Article 9, Section 4); and the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Maryland secures freedom of religious opinion to those believing in the existence of God and in a system of rewards and punishments in this world or the next. (See Declaration of Rights, Article 36.) So far as known to us, Rhode Island enjoys the distinction of being the only State which has amended its statute

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law so as to secure the right to Free Religious ministers of joining parties in marriage; and Michigan and Rhode Island are the only States reported as giving legal recognition to the right of the individual church or society to define for itself what religion is, and to ordain or appoint in its own way its ministers. The Rhode Island provision, Chapter 854, Section 2, reads as follows:—

"Any society professing to meet for religious purposes, and incorporated for the promotion of such purposes, and sustaining a minister publicly ordained according to the customs and usages of such society, and holding stated and regular services, shall be considered as belonging to a religious denomination within the meaning of Section 7, Chapter 149, of the General Statutes; and its minister shall have all the rights conferred by said section upon ordained ministers of religious denominations."

All labor on Sunday (works of charity or necessity excepted) is quite generally forbidden throughout the States reported, also the sale of intoxicating liquor. In Maryland, it is also provided that no one shall blaspheme God or use profane words concerning the Trinity or any person thereof on any day. A somewhat similar provision concerning blasphemy prevails in many States. Jews and Sabbatarians are usually excepted from the penalties for violation of the Sunday laws; and, in most of the States, the laws are said to be largely inoperative. The report for California says the Sunday laws are reasonably well enforced; but it is only general transaction of business, noisy and barbarous amusements and places of amusement where intoxicating liquor is sold which are forbidden, and the exceptions include hotels, boarding-houses, barber-shops, baths, markets, restaurants, livery stables, and retail drug-stores.

Most of the States provide a chaplain for their State prisons; but the jails, insane asylums, almshouses, and reform schools are left largely to volunteer services. These latter are mainly evangelical, but not exclusively so. The Free Religious minister at Providence has conducted a Sunday service at the Boys' Reform School, and has a standing invitation to do so again, both for the boys' and the girls' schools. It is a singular fact, to which our correspondent for Iowa calls attention, that, while moral and religious instruction in penal and reformatory institutions is quite generally left to voluntary effort, the States usually provide, at the public expense, chaplains for their legislative bodies.

The second set of questions submitted related to

Legal Provisions respecting Schools.

From the reports, it appears that the public schools of all the States, and colleges where there are any under State control, are secular in management as regards appropriations of money, and in intention largely so in the selection of teachers, though in point of fact sectarian bias sometimes interferes with the appointment of liberal Christian, and would quite universally condemn the selection of non-Christian, teachers. The custom of reading the Bible and repeating the Lord's Prayer generally prevails throughout the States reported, sometimes by State law, sometimes by regulation of the school committee, sometimes at the option of the individual teacher. The intent evidently is to exclude sectarianism, the wording of some of the laws plainly indicating that Bible-reading and the Lord's Prayer are not regarded as coming under that head. In Milwaukee schools, the Bible is not used; but this is an exception to the general custom in Wisconsin. In Iowa, it is provided that the Bible shall not be excluded from any school; nor shall any pupil be required to read it contrary to the wishes of his parent or guardian. Several of the States show a disposition to respect the conscientious scruples of those who object to the use of the Bible, or any particular version thereof. This disposition, however, cannot be credited to all. There is no State or municipal provision for specific moral culture outside the ordinary discipline, so far as we can learn, in any of the States. Occasionally, individual teachers have undertaken something of this sort; but it has been voluntary upon their part, and rarely, if ever, systematic. Where hymn-books are used, they are frequently of decided evangelical tendencies in theology, as also are many of the regular readers. There seems to be no general disposition to discriminate on sectarian grounds in the selection of school boards. Occasionally, an individual voter is governed by such consideration; but in Providence, R.I., a conservative city, where the predominating influence is of the Baptist type, three members of the school committee are well-known members of the Free Religious Society. The private schools and colleges of the States are almost universally under sectarian management, but show a constant tendency toward greater freedom in matters of religion.

The third series of questions concerned

Social Conditions.

To the inquiry, Is there any general sentiment in your State which would prevent the election to public office of an honorable and capable man, if an avowed free thinker? New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Georgia, Arkansas, Missouri, and California say, Yes; Maine, Rhode Island, Maryland, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa say, No; while the rest of the reporting States are doubtful. The majority of the States report charitable and reformatory institutions which unite all sects (not excluding non-Christians) in a common humanitarian purpose. Nearly all the States report, also, associations which appeal to the general public for support, and yet demand evangelical Christian church membership as a condition of voting in their order. Of the management of libraries, the testimony indicates liberality; Massachusetts, Connecticut, Illinois, and Iowa being the only States, among those reporting, where it is said discrimination is made against books merely because called sceptical or infidel.

The fourth set of questions related to

Liberal Religious Organizations.

In addition to the facts already mentioned in the second section of this report, it appears that radical organizations outside the Church do not, as a rule, sustain work for the young, though the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mrs. Bisbee's society in Dorchester, Mass., the Free Religious Society of Providence, R.I., Prof. Adler's movement in New York, and Mrs. Iliohan's school in connection with the Liberal Association in Albany, are exceptions. It appears further that all liberal organizations are largely sympathetic with humanitarian work, though not always formally identified with it. The feasibility of formal identification depends much upon local conditions, the best work being done frequently where there is no recognized relationship.

The reports from Massachusetts, Michigan, and Kansas, indicate opportunities for the upbuilding of liberal societies; and, in nearly all the States, liberal lecturers can get a hearing, though the thought represented by this Association is hardly a paying one financially.

General decline of interest in the old theologies is everywhere reported, a constant increase in the number who stay away from church, and who are ready for the principles which Free Religion represents. It is evident, however, that for some time the field must be regarded as largely a missionary one.

Such has been the work and its results under the first part of the plan adopted at the annual meeting of last year.

Conventions and Lectures.

The second part of the plan included the work of general agitation, either in the form of conventions or lectures, as might seem from time to time most desirable, and communication, wherever possible, in person or by letter, with local friends of our movement throughout the country.

Last August, the Secretary visited the Bismarck Grove Meeting, Lawrence, Kan., delivering there two addresses, distributing a large quantity of our literature, and meeting and conferring with liberal people from Lawrence and vicinity. On his way out, he made stops at Albany, Syracuse, Chicago, and St. Louis. His conferences at Albany, Syracuse, and Chicago resulted in the conventions since held in those places, and also in two discourses by himself and a convention of the Association in the Universalist church in New Haven.

During the year, the Secretary has devoted seven Sundays to the work of the Association, three of them necessarily in connection with the care of conventions and the Kansas trip, and four to Sunday speaking at Dorchester, New Haven, and Meriden. He has also spoken at East Dennis; but this opportunity was arranged outside the work of the Association, and would have occurred without it. He also visited Brockton one Sunday; but, owing to a misunderstanding, no meeting was held. At New Haven, as already indicated, through the influence of a leading member of the Church of the Messiah in that city, whom he met at Syracuse in the summer, he was invited to speak in its pulpit, and did so, the pastor of the church conducting the other services.

In addition to the regular annual meeting in Boston, four conventions have been held during the year, as already stated,—in Syracuse, Chicago, New Haven, and Albany. While these were none of them as largely attended as might be wished, it is easy to see that each did a work quite necessary to be done. At Syracuse, we had upon the platform and in the audience a large representation of the clergymen of the city. The Chicago meeting served to remove some damaging prejudices, arising from a confusion of our own Association with the National Liberal League. A statement to this effect was made by the *Sunday Times* and other Chicago papers. The New Haven Convention was notable for the warmth of our welcome into the Universalist church, and we carried to Albany a helpful influence for the local liberal movement already existing there.

The reports of our conventions in the daily press, though exceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory, are, nevertheless, a great help. They go to people who will not attend our meetings, and who will not, or at least do not, read *The Index*. Sometimes, the bare statement of the fact that such a convention has been held, that its speakers were evidently friends of pure morality as well as clear thinkers, is the beginning of an interest not to be despised. Such help, we believe, as was received in each of the cities we visited in this way, will tend to spread the knowledge of our principles and increase our influence as an organization.

Religious Culture of the Young.

The Secretary frequently receives communications concerning text-books and service-books for the young and plans of work for Sunday-schools, all of which it is impossible to answer in any very satisfactory way. The fact is here recorded, as showing that the demand for adaptation of our principles to the growing mind of childhood still exists, and, for the most part, still remains unsupplied.

Recommendations.

That the work of the Association during the past year has been a valuable one we cannot doubt. That it needs to be increased rather than diminished in amount we cannot doubt. The real question, in our judgment, is not as to its value, but whether we can command the money to pay what it costs, and whether we can improve in the year to come in our selection of points of attack. The cost for the present year of the Secretary's office and the work conducted by him, with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, has been about $1,100. The Syracuse and Chicago Conventions cost our treasury $450, the New Haven and Albany Conventions, $88, the difference being largely made up of the increased travelling expenses occasioned by the greater distance of Chicago. The Kansas trip of the Secretary cost $92; and his services for the year, including seven Sundays' work, the arrangement of conventions, correspondence, etc., $400.

Whether we shall have the $1,100 to spend in this or any similar way another year depends, of course, upon the value placed upon this kind of work by the members and friends of the Association. The question has been raised, and we have frequently considered it, as to where work can best be done. Acting with Boston as our centre, conventions can of course be held in New England and portions of New York State at much less expense than at the West; and, though parts of the West are especially favorable to new thought, we are by no means certain that, all things considered, the Association can do better than limit its efforts in this respect to New England and New York. Fifty or even one hundred dollars as the expense of a convention is certainly a modest sum; and, if the work is worth doing, an annual appropriation of $1,200 for purposes of general agitation ought not to be hard to obtain. Whether the Association shall demand of its Secretary so much as to make it necessary that he be a salaried official is a smaller question involved in the larger one. If the general work of agitation is to be carried on with efficiency, it cannot be volunteer work. The time and energy devoted to its management is time and energy taken from other fields of effort, and must be done either by a paid agent, by some one not competent to do it, or by some one who, being competent, can afford to give himself to the work without money

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and without price. So that whosoever may have charge of the work another year, if it is to be done, it seems to us it must take not far from $1,000 to $1,200 from our treasury.

We feel reluctant to entertain the idea of giving up this branch of our efforts the coming year, because we think it belongs to those things which grow in influence. It is not chiefly by one spasmodic effort that the best work is done. It is rather by following up every advance with another and another effort that progress is maintained. We believe that the same amount of time, energy, and money, spent a second year, will be certain, with the experience gained in the first, to result in larger successes. At all events, ours is a work of moral agitation, and should be efficiently maintained. Nor do we think numbers the criterion of success. The question is not how large a crowd we can draw. The question is how much impression can we make upon those we do draw, and through them upon the community they represent. The sensational will call together a crowded assembly,—its effect only upon the surface, forgotten ere the rising of the morrow's sun. But the thought, the moral impulse, the spiritual inspiration, which once take possession of a life,—they live on, an ever-increasing power for right thinking and living. This latter work may be ours, if the first is not. We cannot appeal to the prejudices or the passions of the present: we appeal to the "future, grand and great." We appeal to those elements in the present which are to make the "future grand and great." We need not be troubled, therefore, if we have not great names to conjure with. We have the truth to conjure with, and that outlives the greatest name.

There is but one qualification to the urgency with which we recommend the continuance and increased efficiency of the work of the past year. That is the necessity for the maintenance of *The Index*. Whatever else may happen, that must live. Whether the pushing of conventions and lecture courses will not help *The Index*, ultimately, more than the diversion of a few hundred dollars from its support will hurt it, is a fair question. And, certainly, it is difficult to believe that a movement representing so much of competency and oftentimes of large wealth as ours does, lacks the means of handsomely maintaining both, if it chooses so to do.

Your Committee believe that we cannot go wrong in appealing to public opinion and in doing what we can to mould it. Let us not retrench, let us rather enlarge our work. The sainted Lucretia Mott said, "Speak your truth: let it go forth." We have a truth to speak. Shall we not let it go forth in ever-widening channels of purifying influence? Shall we not demonstrate that freedom, so far from being the assassin, is really the fostering mother of such earnest moral purpose as is sure to bear fruit in intelligent missionary zeal? The answer cannot come from us alone. It must come from you, the members and friends of the Free Religious Association.

Respectfully submitted in behalf of the Executive Committee. F. A. HINCKLEY, *Secretary*.

Mr. Potter, as President of the Corporate Trustees of *The Index*, then made a report as to the condition of that paper. The report showed by the figures given that, though there had been some gain on the subscription list the past year, the gain was not all that had been hoped for; that the slight increase thus made in the receipts had been fully offset by a necessary increase in the cost of printing the paper; that advertisements were still difficult to obtain, almost the only paying ones offered being of patent medicines, which are refused; that, consequently, the paper is not yet self-sustaining, and that, if it is to be sustained at all (of which there appears to be as urgent need as ever), there seems to be at present no other way than for the Free Religious Association to consider it among its missionary enterprises, and raise such funds annually as may be necessary for guaranteeing its continuance: present resources might last the greater part of another year, but the coming need should be considered at this meeting.

Mr. Haynes submitted, in behalf of a special committee of the trustees of *The Index*, a recommendation that the Executive Committee be instructed to direct their efforts particularly to the raising of such funds as are necessary to insure the continued publication of *The Index*. After discussion by Messrs. Haynes, Codman, Whiting, Spencer, Hill, Sawtelle, and Hinckley, and Mrs. Sayles, the following resolutions, suggested as a substitute by the President, were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the Free Religious Association direct its efforts the coming year, first of all, to sustaining *The Index*, believing this paper to be admirably conducted and a very important and efficient means of presenting the ideas and principles of the Free Religious Association.

Resolved, That it is also desirable to continue the work of the Association as carried on the past year through conventions and lectures, and the general agency of the Secretary.

Resolved, That these two objects be referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to raise for the purposes named, if possible, $5,000 or more.

Messrs. Haynes, of Boston, and Hill, of Florence, were then appointed a Committee to solicit Memberships. It was afterward voted that this committee constitute the Finance Committee for all the sessions of the Convention, and that they have power to add to their number.

The Committee on Nominations submitted their report, which was unanimously ratified by the election of officers for the year as follows:—

President, William J. Potter, New Bedford, Mass. Vice-Presidents, Octavius B. Frothingham, Boston, Mass.; Felix Adler, New York City; George W. Curtis, Staten Island, N.Y.; Edward L. Youmans, New York City; Frederick Schuenemann-Pott, San Francisco, Cal.; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Cambridge, Mass.; Elizabeth B. Chace, Providence, R.I.; George Hoadly, Cincinnati, Ohio; Nathaniel Holmes, St. Louis, Mo.; Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale, R.I.; Bernhard Felsenthal, Chicago, Ill.; Annie L. Diggs, Lawrence, Kan. Secretary, Frederic A. Hinckley, Providence, R.I. Assistant Secretary, Charles H. Codman, Boston, Mass. Treasurer, John C. Haynes, 451 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. Directors (for four years), J. A. J. Wilcox, Chelsea, Mass.; Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee, Boston, Mass.; Fred May Holland, Concord, Mass. Nine Directors retain their places by previous election.

E. A. Sawtelle of Boston, Elizabeth C. Hinckley of Providence, and W. H. Spencer of Florence were appointed a committee to select a Nominating Committee for next year.

Adjourned at 10 o'clock to meet in Parker Memorial Hall, at 10.30, Friday morning.

For *The Index*.

MEN AND ANIMALS.

BY N. DAGMAR MARIAGER.

Who shall take the prize, men or the lower animals, when compared with each other for patience, unselfishness, and honesty? Are our "dumb brutes" dumb? If this is the argument used to prove their inferiority to men, then, by noting the practical effect, one naturally concludes there would be more justice, love, good-will, happiness, and "humane" deeds in the world, if men were as dumb as their "inferiors." or a little more so. If man's superior intelligence was intended by nature for helping him to gain the purely selfish ends of his gluttonous stomach and to satisfy the savagery of his barbarian soul, then the great Power has at least been cruelly partial. But I doubt if nature intended to do such wrong: it only made a mistake. Even the lions of Africa, the man-eaters of India, and other flesh-eating tribes, were not created for meat as a sustainer of life. Like the carnivorous parrot of Australia, who up to a few years since had never tasted flesh, they have fallen into degradation at some period in the past when famine threatened them or aggressive fellow-creatures cramped their liberties and destroyed their natural resources. Once accustomed to flesh as food, the objections made by the system were not pressing, nor were they heeded; and the young, generation after generation, inherited acquiescence of their forefathers, until now the senses have been dulled to the enormity of the wrong and the repelling nature of the carcasses on which they feed. Men became carnivorous by similar inducements, and remained so through laziness, self-love, and a convenient false presumption, until their better self has ceased to exist many centuries since. Humanity was at one time nearly as good as it now pretends to be; but indulgence of its unnatural appetites caused it to fall, and its worthy qualities have retrograded, while the savageness of the soul has been enhanced as a natural result. We evoluted from the monkey. We like our forms best. The monkey thinks us mere burlesques on his race: we, laying justice and the Golden Rule upon the shelf, gnaw the bones of our fellow-beings, while he indulges in harmless fun, but eats the products of the soil. Should we be ashamed to acknowledge him as our ancestor? I reply in the negative.

Animals are dumb, are they? In this period of scientific enlightenment, it is time the libellous epithet met its doom. We assume too much, and to our discredit, when we assert the gift of speech exists only with man. Every bird, reptile, quadruped, and insect has his language, signal or oral,—more often the latter,—as common sense will teach us, if we study them while free and living, as nature intended they should. But they have not the means of applying their forces of mind to the extent of building, manufacturing, etc., as man develops his talents; and perhaps they wouldn't care to live in man's luxury and self-idolatry, regardless of the consequence. Different natures have different opinions as regards what constitutes enjoyment and the better way to live.

The horse, it is true, has no great variety of sounds; but we can read much in the expression of his eyes, and we know he is intelligent. Travelling in an unsettled country, he is shrewder than his rider in locating water, danger, and the like. I was lost in a dense Texas wood, when, as it grew dark, I concluded to let my horse have his own way. We had been quarrelling some time. We both wanted to be pilot, but I gave in at last to his better judgment. Proud of his mastery, he turned to the right and moved on a straight course, crowding through thickets, and slowly feeling his way to give me time to hold the overhanging branches aside or duck my head under them. Thus we plodded on, until the stars and moon came out; while neither of us could see where we were going. All of a sudden, the branches parted into a clearing; and my horse, halting at the camp-fire, threw his head around to me, as if to say, half reproachfully: "The nearest way home is the best. You might have trusted me before you did, and spared me the measurement of several miles." I knew I was the dumber animal of the two of us, and I got off his back forthwith and told him so.

What do horses usually think of men? Are they opinionless, because they tolerate men's tyranny with little remonstrance? No. It is a religious sort of submission. Ignorance and religion make cowards even of us. We submit to what we know is cruel and wrong, to the injury of ourselves and society, through a mistaken sense of doing our part bravely without complaint. Some horses may be stupid enough even to compare well with some men; but for pure baseness, spirit depravity, I doubt if there is a horse in the wide world to compare with many men that are loose upon our communities. The horse, like the respectable man, husbands his individuality and values his honor: he takes a pride in doing so; but his undue humbleness is his ruin. To him, human speech, excepting a few words, is a monotonous twang. He neither understands nor talks French, German, English, Hindustan, or Greek; but he can do fairly well at facial reading, when acquainted with a person. We shouldn't boast while we are so ignorant of his dialect. He knows there is a gulf between a harsh and a kind voice. He knows full well a caress from a threatening gesture. We know his low, coaxing-for-oats whinny from that of loneliness and displeasure. That is all.

Don't the sparrows, too, chatter under the eaves, daily, of the reports latest from their weather prophet? We see them sit in thoughtful mood, contemplating the great dome of heaven with one eye; and, if it is going to rain, they oil up their feathers for the ordeal. Don't they gossip, too, of daily adventures with their enemies, their mishaps, narrow escapes from being trod upon, caught by a cat, or run over by a street dray, of their opportune presence to catch the crumbs shaken from a dining-table cloth, and of the dear little broods in prospective on the coming spring? Watch them. You will learn to read their minds and feel the thrill of pleasure, the apprehensive anxiety, and the pang at your heart, even as circumstances and events cause them in turn these feelings.

Why don't the hen cluck to her sisters instead of reserving her baby-talk for her nestful of promising eggs and the little ones that in due time shake the last fragment of shell from their stumpy tails and toddle off after her with their eager little wi-wi-wi's,

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trustingly asking for love, protection, and care? These downy little creatures, so innocent and helpless, when life is in its infancy and their eyes open in constant wonderment upon all they see in this big world, think their mother all-powerful. She who takes them under her loving wing to nestle their heads in warmth and safety, and clucks fond assurances in their tiny ears, is to them the queen of all. We can all remember the time when we believed, in our baby faith, that our mother ruled the universe. The life of a child or chicken is joyless without mother, who wards off all dangers and allows her little ones only to see the pleasant side of life; and this innocent faith and trust is the most precious thing in life to the recipient.

Think you that animals do not feel the same thrills of delight that the human does, or the same maddening pain at the loss of a dear one? It is a settled fact that animals are superstitious. Many instances could be mentioned as convincing proofs, but the terror of a Norwegian wolf of the telegraph wires is sufficient here. All animals have sentiment connected with the supernatural. Occasional suicides occur in all the different species of the animal kingdom, as well among the wild tribes as those domesticated. How can such deeds be done, if not premeditated, if life has not become a burden from a mental sorrow that refuses to depart from the memory? Some animals take their own life to escape death by threatening fire. If all this is instinct, then we may as well say the human race write, build, manufacture, invent, and do all they are capable of doing by the same motive power. Corner a rat and assault him, and don't you see by his attitude and the desperation in his eyes that he understands the situation, and that his life is as precious to himself as yours is to you? You call a rabbit a coward, because he runs from his enemies. He has no weapons to defend himself. Wouldn't he, knowing this, be a fool to face them unnecessarily? And would it be doing justice to his wife and children, even if he had no regard for his own life?

Place yourself in their different insecure positions, and reason from the animals' stand-point. Watch them in their toils. Are they lazy? Do they sit and hold their hands when the elements begin to growl or even stop to utter complaint, or do they rustle to prepare for the coming emergency? Do they ever go to sleep at night with their young unfed? Do they ever turn their babes out from the nest-home, crying for bread, shelter, and parental protection, while their own time and means are spent to supply their own stomachs with unnatural and unnecessary stimulants, as is not unfrequently the case in the "God-fearing" and "superior" race which will inherit eternal glory, while these "dumb" creatures live, love, toil, suffer, and die, never to know what for the right was given to fellow-beings to hunt, persecute, torture, and devour them?

Animals, in my mind, believe in a hereafter with a purer sincerity than the human can conceive of, owing to his abominable and irredeemable conceit. Man's bigotry is universal: it is a perfect ally of his "lordly soul's" motives. The moment the human infant understands three words, it becomes a little bigot; and, daily, it becomes a bigger bigot, till it succumbs to the destroyer, be it soon or late.

Until the last breath is spent, animal mothers fight to defend their young with a fierceness never known in their personal dangers. Birds, cats, and other species have wilfully consigned their lives to the flames in devotion to the little ones they were unable to save. The flawless trust in the mother is seldom misplaced; and, the more insignificant she appears to others, the more she appreciates the high estimate of her worth, excepting she is totally depraved. In the love of her children, the human or animal mother finds a balm for many wounds sustained in the daily battles of life.

'Tis true none but the human animal can boast of a printed dictionary of his language; but each species has its mental vocabulary of its own speech, containing few or more words. And, when I hear a lamb or calf say, "Ma-a-a!" I know he is calling his ma; for, so far at least, he talks English. And when I see a friendly lot of ducks waddling off in single file to the neighboring pond, with the number taking turns with their "quack! quack!" etc., or all talking at once, I am curious to know if they are discussing the wonders of the sky, the length and breadth of the earth, the phenomenon of night's darkness and day's temporal changes, what is the sun and what causes the cold and snow of winter, if the stars are the brass-headed nails that hold the canopy of heaven in place,—philosophizing on the originality, sin, and cruelty of man, or only wagering on the number of fat worms in store for them and other delicacies awaiting capture in the mud and stagnant water of their favorite haunt.

Have you the eye and mind of a naturalist, or the ardor of a geologist? If so, I can tell you nothing that you do not know and have not long since experienced. If not, cultivate his observances; and you will have no occasion to be lonely, though you are a hundred miles from mankind. You will soon see that you are living in a new world of which you had never dreamed; a world far from tearless, yet full of raptures, sensations, and emotions that take you by turn and fairly bewitch you, and—best of all—for which you become a nobler man.

Animals, great and small, timid or ferocious, all readily profit by experience. They are no slower than the human in learning caution by having treachery practised upon them. To them, the sincere friend and inconsiderate pretender have nothing in common. They detect the gulf at once, but may try to win over his friendship to a surer base. What but reason teaches them the truth? I have watched animals in dreamy moods, and marked the expression when trying to solve some perplexing problem. I could read the mind as it rehearsed pleasant incidents of childhood days, and noted the quick, indignant flash of the eyes as a painful picture suddenly arose before the mind's eye to mar the would-be happy reverie.

Without grateful remembrance of past pleasant relationship, how can a dog give hearty welcome to the returned, long-absent master? Where there is memory, there must be more or less reason. Animals sometimes readily attach themselves to singular natures in the human tribe, and care little for others; and, again, some persons are, without seeming provocation, repulsive to them. Just so is it with us. This feeling, I own, is more an instinct, and an unnecessary one, than a conclusion of reason; but it serves to show that the animal mind is very similar to our own, except that we can go deeper into the nature of things, follow a thread farther, and so grasp what is beyond their reach. Therefore, we should be, as we claim we are, nobler than all other animals. We pretend to aim for perfection in ourselves and eternal happiness in a higher court,—

> "Yet, sometimes, we travel in pursuit
> Of things repugnant to their simple thought."

Yes, and that very often, too.

Untutored though they are, we are indebted to horses, cows, dogs, and even cats for a great many "humane" deeds, services they have volunteered to do at opportune times, when they realized in the fulness of their kind hearts the importance of prompt action. What, then, might we not expect, were their minds cultivated and principles refined? Many, I know, will smile at this idea, and scornfully exclaim, "How absurd!" To some extent, however, this can be done. In the purity of his soul, I have seen a dog turn away with an air of disgust at the foolish conduct of his master. The animal's sense of propriety and honor and gentlemanly behavior, I concluded, must be superior to the man's; hence, the unconcealed feeling of shame. When treated successively with kindness and honesty, animals never turn ingrates. Their gratitude is equal to that of the right-minded human for favors and consideration. Their disposition can be more or less influenced to viciousness or gentleness and affection by those who have them most in charge. Each and all have their true nature reserved in the recesses of their brain functions; but, like wayward men, they may drift into the ill habits of their disreputable associates.

Study philosophically the daily habits and characters of the unfettered denizens of forest and mountain, as you would study a fellow-man acting before you, but not communicative with you orally and minus hands with which to gesticulate, and you will be convinced that the mental ability and sensibility of even the species termed most stupid are universally underrated. Animals, to our disgrace, are by us inhumanly treated day by day, and every hour and minute in the day. Constantly, they receive barbaric usage from us, our neighbors, and our friends. Man is the wiser animal, but does he make fair use of his wisdom? He should be lenient and considerate in his dealings with the "dumb" species; but his overwhelming selfishness and greediness for power and destruction smother his better qualities, and he readily takes every advantage of nature's trust in favoring him. He will live in luxury and prodigality, cost what it will; and his senses are dulled to what he does, as he cuddles into the arms of

> "That monster, Custom, who all sense doeth eat!"

CORRESPONDENCE.

A FEW THOUGHTS ABOUT GIRLS.

Editors of The Index:—

The question is often asked, "What are you going to do with your boy?" but the equally pertinent one, "What are you going to do with your girl?" is never heard. Yet it is a question of serious import. From earliest childhood, the boy is imbued with the idea that he is to be something in the world, to follow some pursuit, to carve his own fortunes, and receives a training to fit him for these purposes. The girl, however, is brought up with no such idea. Not only is it not the custom to train her for any pursuit, but she is also, as a general rule, from early childhood, inoculated with conventional and false ideas regarding her sex, her position in life, etc. If her parents are well-to-do, she is given many opportunities for general cultivation, but no thorough training in any one direction by which to give occupation, stimulus, and variety to life, or, if desirable, to become a means of self-support. This education, or lack of it, is the cause of so many useless lives, whose narrow, petty aims at times become contemptible. At a summer resort, a charming young lady once amazed me by saying that "she only read to pass away the time." And, even in doing so, she was better employed than many of her fair sisters, whose occupations were less innocent.

The girl is taught, in many instances, that labor, for her, is dishonorable; that her position in life is to depend, not on her own character, her moral and mental graces, accomplishments, and attractions, but on the social standing or wealth of her father, husband, or male relatives. As she has no means of gaining money to purchase all the desirable and pleasant things of life, she is dependent on what she receives from these relatives. So that her life is made pleasant or the reverse by neither merit nor demerit of her own, and she is usually the mere plaything of circumstances. In a country like England, with Queen Victoria at the head of the nation,—a woman who owes her position to the fact that she is the descendant of kings, instead of to any special fitness of her own,—this is not so much to be wondered at. It is the more remarkable that England has produced such noble specimens of the sex as Harriet Martineau, Marian Evans, Mary Somerville, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

In a land like free America, a new era should dawn for woman. And who that has read Prof. Adler's noble and eloquent appeal in her behalf does not feel that, among the leaders of thought, she has a friend who understands her needs, her nature, and her capabilities of intellectual development? And many others might also be named. The Friends, too,—all honor to them!—foremost in temperance, anti-slavery, and peace reforms, have given equal privileges in many ways to woman. Like the old story of the starling, which beats its breast against its cage, and cries, "I can't get out!" so many a woman finds herself as closely caged by circumstances, by old traditions, and, more than all, by her own undeveloped resources. Mary Wollstonecraft, however mistaken she may have been in some respects, in her longing first for the domestic happiness which failed her, then for intellectual advancement, is a fair type of many of her sex. We need not only that Columbia and other colleges should throw open their privileges to women, but that a different standard should be held up to the growing girl,—a standard of moral and mental excellence, presenting for emulation such noble examples as we find in France in Madame Roland, Madame de Stäel, Madame Recamier, and, better still, in our own country, Lydia M. Child, Lucretia Mott, Margaret Fuller, and Margeret Haughery of New Orleans,—women who owe their fame to moral or mental exaltation. Of the latter, it might be said, as truly as of Sir Christopher Wren, "If you wish to see her monument, look around"; for the orphan asylums she established and maintained were better than marble columns. "She died, rich only in reputation; but a governor, an ex-governor, two gen-

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erals, an editor, a clergyman, a banker, and a merchant were her pall-bearers."

It is also the right of every girl to receive some training so thorough, in at least one direction, that it may be to her a source of pleasure or means of support. If she has a taste for music and opportunity to develop it, let her not content herself with playing with taste and expression; but let her technical knowledge be so complete that she can teach it, if necessary. If drawing and painting should be her choice, then let these receive the same thorough training and care. Housekeeping and other domestic occupations should receive the same attention. With the ability to take care of herself, no girl will marry for the sake of getting "a good provider"; and there will be more marriages of congenial tastes and pursuits, like those of the Howitts and the Brownings.

The girl, too, should be taught to respect her own individuality, "to her own self be true." She can then, when old enough, think for herself on religious subjects. She will not then feel, as some say, that "her father and mother are good people, and the religion which has served them is good enough for her." Nor will she choose a church for social advantages. A lady (a Methodist) once told me, if she lived in Boston, she should attend the Unitarian Church, *because* the best people went there.

The girl, too, has a right to be taught regarding the laws which men and women are expected to obey. She should be taught to interest herself in national and humanitarian affairs, to enlarge her views and sphere of interests, so that, should the day ever come when it is expedient to give to woman what is now justly her due,—the right of suffrage in all matters wherein she has equal interests at stake,—she will be then fitted for it by enlarged ideas, by training, and by education.

A. O. C.

MATERIAL IMMORTALITY.

A Dream.

Editors of The Index:—

I was walking hand in hand with a friend along the busy street of a large city. Unconscious of passers-by and with a pleasing sense of mutual understanding and sympathy, I easily uttered these thoughts:—

"We have a passion for usefulness. Each day, our chief desire is to have made others better and happier, and to have made a record upon the world that will last and produce ever-increasing results for good. Our hope of immortality is not for a life of ease or spiritual rapture, but for a career of unceasing beneficence.

"But suppose there is no distinct individual existence beyond this life, shall we not live materially? Matter is indestructible, and will exist forever. These atoms that compose our bodies have, therefore, eternal life. They will scatter about the universe and assume an infinite variety of forms, but our ownership of them and identity with them will never be erased. We profess to love good for its own sake, not for its results to ourselves. It is, therefore, a satisfaction now to think of the unending influence of our bodies, even though no pleasurable consciousness ever comes to us in eternity. Atoms from our bodies may in future be parts of the most beautiful flowers, the largest trees, the grandest mountains, valuable gems, powerful machinery, useful chemical combinations, the finest animals, the most beautiful women, the noblest men. We may be represented in all the most charming forms and grandest enterprises of the future.

"But it may be that mind and matter are not two distinct entities, and that mind is an eternal property of matter, and each atom is a living, conscious soul. The union of their sensations constitutes what we call our minds; but, when separated, they may each still have consciousness, and feel an intelligent sensation of their surroundings. Suppose we thus live forever, having a distinct conscious existence in these numberless atoms, how is our life multiplied by death? And not only by death. Every seven years, our bodies are completely changed. Each moment, some atoms leave us and others join us. Think of the diffusion of a body in a long life! Who could count our existences! "Perhaps these atoms are influenced by the characteristics of the body they join, and our high or low moral condition is thus perpetuated. What an inducement to strive for perfection, if our sensations are to be multiplied by millions of existences!"

"But," said my companion, "these atoms have been in other bodies before they were in ours. How can we claim that they represent us exclusively in the future?"

"Probably not exclusively," I replied. "Each atom may receive new characteristics from the organism it inhabits, and may become more or less adapted for future service by the latest influence. Each atom may represent the average of the condition of the human beings with which it has been associated. Perhaps, atoms passing through a series of bodies of the highest quality may combine into richer grass, heavier wheat, more vigorous plants, more active brains; and thus, as man improves, all else in nature will be benefited, and through man's elevation the bondage in which creation groans and travails will be changed into 'the glorious liberty of the children of God'; that is, perfection."

For *The Index*.

IN MEMORIAM.

In Clinton, May 16, died Mary Powell, mother of Rev. E. P. Powell, aged 89. She was a woman of marked intellectual power and force of character. For seventy-five years an orthodox believer, she opened her eyes in her old age to the honester faith in God instead of faith in Calvinism. She closed her life peacefully, saying: "I have no fear or dread. It is all right. Let me go." Her last request was to be buried among her flowers, of which all her life she had been an ardent devotee, and not in a cemetery among strangers. She also specially charged that no orthodox minister should be allowed to preach over her remains. "Let those who knew me say a few words, if they will, and then leave me to my rest." With tender words for all, her spirit peacefully left us; and she now lies where she requested.

The choir of the Independent Society of Utica and a choir of the Delta Upsilon Society of Hamilton College volunteered their services; and, with sweet music and a few noble words from Rev. David Williams, of Utica, her body was laid away.

Before the coffin was borne from the house, the following lines, written by Rev. E. P. Powell, were read:—

Let me lie among my flowers, she said,
The flowers I loved so well,—
Where the lilies will blossom over my head,
And the roses their love will tell.

Let the mignonette creep around my feet,
And the tulips ward the rain;
Let the Junes and Augusts their love repeat,
And bring me their songs again.

Let no one come to tell wild dreams
Of a world they have not seen:
I see, as I look, the morning gleams
Of a nobler day, I ween.

Plant no stone above my head:
Draw warm, sweet earth around.
Then let me rest, not like the dead,
But as one whom peace has found.

Say no prayers to win me a right
To the heaven my life has won:
What is wrought, that stands in His sight,
And the deeds that I have done.

So bear her, friends, to her resting-place,
To her cushion of turf and flowers;
While ever we think of her motherly grace,
And treasure her still as ours.

The body was then borne to a beautiful enclosure of evergreens, filled with tulips, after which the friends threw in handfuls of flowers; and these lines, by the same author, were read:—

Dear hands, so full of toil and care,
Rest thou in peace!
Dear heart, so full of love and prayer,
Take thy release!

A life filled full of goodly deeds
Can never die:
Thou needest not the pledge of creeds
This change to try.

Among thy flowers there we lay
Thy weary head.
Thou lovedst them alive, and they
Will love thee, dead.

Thy love for us shall bloom again
In lily sweet;
And, in the violet, thy soul
Our love shall meet.

Above thee, nought but God we see,
And he is love.
He came to us, brave soul, in thee,
A holy dove.

O mother love! Now say, all men,
Can God reveal
Himself incarnate more than when
Such love we feel?

Thy work was done; thy tools, grown old,
Were laid away.
The twilight lingered long, till gold
Hemmed in thy day.

Another day will break thy sleep;
Another morn,
And thou wilt smile, e'en as we weep,—
Thy strength reborn.

For night is but the nurse of day,
And death of life;
And what seems most to be decay
With growth is rife.

The friends then dispersed about the spacious lawns, while even the most orthodox confessed the innovations on custom to have been in the direction of true religion.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE GREAT RELIGIONS. Part II. A Comparison of All Religions. By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Four hundred and thirteen pages. Price $3.00.

This volume is the complement of the first volume entitled *Ten Great Religions*, published in 1881. It is based on twelve lectures given in the Lowell Institute in the winter of 1881-82. It aims to show what all the great faiths of mankind teach concerning God, the soul, the future life, sin and salvation, human duty, prayer and worship, inspiration and art. The origin of the idea of God and of the various doctrines of religious systems and phases of religious life form the chief subjects of discussion, and they are considered in a popular manner from the stand-point of a liberal theologian. The work is not the result of original research, nor is the treatment of the subject learned or profound. Dr. Clarke simply gives his views in plain language on questions that "are still subjects for inquiry," concerning which "specialists differ among themselves on some of the main points." A work on this subject of greater value to an advanced student would be less adapted to common readers. Dr. Clarke writes for the people, not for scholars, not for close, critical thinkers who want evidence or argument upon every disputed point. But his earnestness, liberality, and freedom from bigotry are very conspicuous. The fundamental idea in this volume is, "Christianity does not differ from other religions in being alone true while they are false, but in possessing the whole of which they possess parts." Dr. Clarke declares that, "of all the systems of belief which have had a wide-spread hold on mankind, this may be posited: that they are commonly true in what they affirm, false in what they deny,"—a statement which certainly will not bear the test of examination. The author does not commit himself on evolution, although in the preface he says, "Evolution has a satisfactory meaning only when we admit that the soul is developed and educated by passing through many bodies, and not only accept the theory that our ancestors may have been apes or fishes, but the larger doctrine that we ourselves were probably once apes or fishes, and that we learned much in those conditions which is useful to us in our present forms." On page 190 occurs the following sentence: "It is true that the Darwinian theory takes no notice of the evolution of the soul, but only of the body." If by this is meant that Darwinism takes no notice of the intelligence, the mind, the feeling and thinking part of man, the statement is incorrect. The question as to the survival of the mind after bodily dissolution is one in regard to which Darwinism enunciates nothing. Although there are errors in the work and some reasonings which are by no means conclusive, the volume is one that contains for general readers a large amount of information; and it is so far in advance of popular thought that it will be useful in diffusing knowledge in regard to the old religions of the world.

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIONIST'S MANUAL. Protection to Home Industry essential to National Independence and to the Well-being of the People. British Free Trade a Delusion and a Peril. By Giles B. Stebbins. Detroit: Thorndike Nourse. 1883.

This little work of one hundred and ninety-two pages is a manual on the tariff question, containing facts, figures, and arguments in support of protection and against free trade. Mr. Stebbins' essential

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thought is thus expressed: "A nation whose people have cleared its lands, built its mills and shops and mechanism, opened its beds of ores and coal, and are paying its debts and taxes, cannot be expected to admit foreigners, who have no share in these tasks or burdens, to its markets on equal terms with its own citizens. A tariff is a means of asking them to pay reasonably for the privilege of bringing in their products, and at the same time of building up home industries and giving employment and independence to the people. Nothing abstruse or complicated in all this." The author thinks that farmers, merchants, and all other classes should wheel into line, and over all should be "flung out a white banner with the golden motto on its broad folds: *Protection to Home Industry. The American Market for the American People.*"

Mr. Stebbins has put together his statistics and authorities and arguments quite skilfully, but in a somewhat partisan spirit, which will, however, have the good effect probably to induce those who read them, and who are unfamiliar with the subject, to learn what can be said in defence of an American policy of free trade. The work amply meets the want it aims to supply.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for May opens with an article showing the evils of intemperance in Holland and the benefits resulting from a license law which has been recently passed, and has already greatly lessened the amount of liquor consumed, its operation being greatly facilitated by the fact that it represents the best public sentiment, which there considers it wiser to be satisfied with regulating and restricting the traffic than to attempt its abolition. Then, a "Letter from Italy" sets forth the misery of the working classes, and shows how much of it is due to the cost of navies and standing armies, as well as how inevitable is socialistic agitation in every country where the laborer is not able to make himself comfortable. Then follows a criticism of Zola, one of whose novels, *L'Assomoir*, cured a Belgian operative of a fondness for strong drink, which had made him the terror of the neighborhood. There are also a powerfully told story and an account of the honors recently paid to a Belgian poet and novelist, Madame Courtmans.

THE *Century* for June counts among its attractions portraits of a bust of the poet laureate of England, made by Thomas Woolner; Thomas Woolner in his Studio; Henry Hugh Armstead at Work; Hamo Thorneycroft in his Studio; George A. Lawson at Work; John Keats in his Last Illness, a pathetic picture drawn by his friend Joseph Severn; and Joseph Severn, with autograph. There is a symposium of "Replies to 'Is the Jury System a Failure?'" Henry James, Jr., writes about "The Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson," and James Herbert Moore has an interesting article on "The Native Element in American Fiction." In "Topics of the Times" and "Open Letters," many subjects of current interest are briefly treated; and "Bric-à-Brac" contains several poems of considerable merit.

THE June *Wide-Awake* contains about its usual number of excellent illustrations, and has a new feature in a simple dialogue for beginners in the French language. George MacDonald's life and works are delightfully described by Amanda B. Harris, and illustrated with a portrait by Robert Lewis. Among the distinguished writers for this number are E. E. Hale, Marion Harland, Mrs. Diaz, Fred A. Ober, Sara Orne Jewett, Mrs. Piatt, Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Felix Oswald, "Bright Eyes," and many others.

THE leading articles in the *Catholic World* for June are "Unscientific Liberty," by Rev. George M. Searle; "The Catholic Church and the Colored People"; "Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens," by A. J. Faust; and "The Management of the Liquor Traffic," by Rev. Thomas McMillan. The review of "New Publications" is always interesting reading.

FEW of the many magazines for youthful readers excel in merit *Our Little Ones*, issued by the Russell Publishing Company of this city. Among the articles full of useful knowledge profusely illustrated which the June number contains is one from Fred A. Ober on "All Kinds of Crabs"; "Insect Spinners and Weavers," by Mrs. G. Hall; and "The Hurdle Race," by Mrs. D. P. Sandford.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

IVAN TOURGENIEFF, the greatest of Russian novelists, is said to be hopelessly insane.

HERBERT SPENCER has been elected Correspondent of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, in the section of philosophy, in the place of Emerson, but declines the honor.

THE wife of the chief engineer of the East River Bridge, who has been an assistant in his professional labors, is a sister of the late Gen. G. K. Warren of the United States engineers, one of the corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac.

AT the twenty-fourth annual commencement exercises of Cooper Union, which occurred on the 26th ult., it was announced that the children of Peter Cooper would, in addition to the $100,000 left to that institution by the will of its founder, contribute another $100,000 during the coming year to the Cooper Union Institute.

TO FEW men has it been given to do more for purely popular literary and scientific education than to the two Chambers brothers of Edinburgh, of whom the last—William—has just passed away. When Robert and William Chambers started out on their career as publishers, there was no cheap good literature for the people; and to them belongs the honor of giving the first impulse to that literature, in Great Britain at least. The *Tracts* and the *Information for the People*, and, later, Chambers' Cyclopædia,—all of which have passed through several editions,—gave an impetus to the production of cheap popular literature which can hardly be understood in these days of universal publishing. The Chamberses did no distinctively religious work; and, in the later issues of their popular tracts and encyclopædias, the evangelical view of the Scriptures and of Christian doctrine is distinctly frowned upon.—*Sunday School Times.*

WE find in an exchange the following description of a liberal Episcopalian, which will be interesting to our readers: "Rev. R. Heber Newton has a clear-cut, intellectual face, with dark eyes burning with intense feeling, an impassioned manner in delivery which carries his hearers with him, and a sincerity and sympathy of outgiving which make you believe in the man as well as the preacher. He is the son of an Episcopal clergyman of Philadelphia, but himself lives at Garden City, Long Island. He leads a very busy life, entering heart and soul into all sorts of schemes for the relief of suffering, the teaching of the ignorant, the uplifting of the down-trodden. His congregation, which is large, and embraces many men of many minds, is entirely devoted to him; and his church is packed to the vestibule every Sunday. His audience is always largely composed of young men, which speaks volumes for the vitality of his utterances and the liberality of his views."

THE validity of the will of Mrs. Eliza F. Eddy, of Boston, has been confirmed; and property valued at about $57,000 is to be divided equally between Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone Blackwell. Mrs. Eddy was the daughter of Francis Jackson. She died in 1882. Her will was filed, and the Probate Court declared its validity; but this decision was appealed from. The matter was carried before the Supreme Court, and that body has recently affirmed the decree of the Probate Court. Mrs. Eddy left about $80,000 in her will, and, after numerous legacies to different persons, the following bequest appears: "Whatever is left, after paying the above legacies, I direct shall be divided into equal portions. One of said portions I leave to Mrs. Susan B. Anthony, of Rochester, N.Y.; and the other portion I leave to Lucy Stone, wife of Henry B. Blackwell, as her own absolute separate property, free from any control by him. I request said Susan and Lucy to use said fund thus given to further what is called the 'woman's rights' cause'; but neither of them is under any legal responsibility to any one or any court to do so."

"THE INDEX" has lost probably its most aged subscriber, Mr. Wm. H. Allen, of New Bedford, who died at his home in that city last week, at the great age of ninety-seven years. Mr. Allen has shown a special interest in *The Index* and its fortunes through all its history, and the cause it represents had no more loyal supporter. When he was nearly ninety years old, he actively canvassed among his neighbors for subscribers to the paper from the mere love of spreading its principles. And the principles it advocates could have no finer illustration in character and practical life than he exemplified in his long career. He had held several public offices, and in public and private discharged all duties with rare zeal and fidelity. To the end of life, he retained the elastic hope and cheerfulness that are the qualities of youth; and his last conscious act was an illustration of his life-long disinterested thoughtfulness for others' good. Sick himself, he thought more of his sick wife in the adjoining room, and, calling his market-man to him, gave directions to procure some fruit for her, then turned upon his side and fell into a sleep, which became the sleep of death.

A RICHMOND, Va., letter says Rev. John Jasper, the negro theologian, is "simply a poor, ignorant, deluded negro, a victim of the commonest errors of ignorance and superstition; yet he has as his following the entire African population of the city, old and young. That he should have the former is not strange; but that the latter, who have possessed free school advantages for years, should believe in him, is. He is the pastor of one of the largest colored churches here, and ministers with great zeal to his charge. No 'beggarly account of empty boxes' ever greets his performances,—that is the proper name for his preaching,—but, on the contrary, standing room is scarce. Jasper is a diligent and close reader of the Bible; and instead of confusing his mind over the nice points and denominational interpretations of Holy Writ, like a sensible man, he leaves all that to contentious theologians, and accepts the literal meaning of every word he reads, by which he acquired his present distinction. He contends that the earth is stationary, and that the sun revolves around it, like a wheel around its axle; also that the earth is flat. He claims to get his authority from the Bible. That the earth is spoken of therein as possessing four corners is proof enough that it is flat, and that it is stationary is plain, because, if it revolved, if we didn't 'drap off,' we would half the time be standing on our heads or nothing, which he says it is 'impossible for no man to do,' at least, with much success. It is also evident that the sun 'do move' from the fact Joshua commanded it to stand still. He says Joshua wouldn't have been fool enough to command the sun to stand still, if it didn't move. 'How in de name o' God,' he asks, 'can anything stan' still dat don't move fust?' And so with the earth,—but the argument has already been given. He has sublime contempt for all the assertions of astronomers, and especially for their figures. If the sun is 91,000,000 miles away, Jasper wants to know how the distance was measured. He says, supposing a tape-line was made to reach 1,000,000 miles, who could carry the end of it that far, and, even if that were possible, who would hold it while the remaining trifle was measured?"

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 589

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Not a Sect, Wm. J. Potter, ... 590
Social Inequality, Horace L. Traubel, ... 590
Postscript. In Two Parts, J. H. Allen, ... 591
The Secret of the East, Felix L. Oswald, ... 591
The Free Religious Association, B. F. Underwood, . . 593
Intolerance at University College, London, B. F. U., . 594

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 594

POETRY.
Hylas, B. W. Ball, ... 595

ESSAY.
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, ... 595

MISCELLANEOUS.
A Translation of Cardinal Simeoni's Circular to the Irish Bishops, ... 597

CORRESPONDENCE.
The Mathers, E. J. L., ... 598
"The Dogmatism of the Synagogue," Dr. David Stern, 598
A Defect in George's Argument, Frederick B. Perkins, 598

BOOK NOTICES.
The Doom of the Majority, by Samuel J. Barrows, . . 598
Conscious Matter, by W. Stewart Duncan, ... 599
Societies for the Suppression of Vice, ... 599
Art Amateur, St. Nicholas, Choice Literature, Babyland, 599

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 599

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Mayor of Moscow has been banished for suggesting certain reforms, and the Moscow *Telegraph* for commenting on the occurrence has been banished. M. Aksakoff, a well-known lawyer and philosophical writer, has also been banished for asking the czar to grant liberal reforms. The banishment of the czar himself would be but mild punishment for these outrages on liberty.

TEXAN methods are, though unique, apparently based on an entire reliance upon horse-whipping as the supreme power. Some years ago, we read of a free thinker being raided upon by a masked party in that State, and horse-whipped for his atheism. Now comes the story of a party of white men doing the same thing to a couple of colored preachers, to break up a too protracted revival.

THE *Republic*, referring to the vacation of Mr. Moody and other preachers who find two or three months in the year too hot for religious work, says that it is not on record that Satan ever stopped because the mercury got above 80 degrees. But the *Republic* omits to mention that Satan has been in an extremely hot climate a long time, and probably become acclimated and so adjusted to his environment that the heat does not disturb him.

SAYS the *Presbyterian:* "Oxford University seems to have swung from Ritualism to Rationalism,—at least, Rationalism is no longer a bar to promotion in that old Christian University. Mr. Frederic Harrison is chief of the Positivists in England, and is a Professor in Oxford, and took occasion to glorify Gambetta, the Parisian, as one who formally repudiated any kind of homage to any sort of church. Infidelity is lauded in colleges which bear the name of Jesus and Trinity."

"DURING the past sixty-seven years," says the Duke of Argyle, "the population of Germany, with all the drains that have been made upon it, has increased twenty-four million; and, during the same period, the United Kingdom has increased eighteen million,—more than double its population. The overcrowded condition of these countries he regards as really alarming, and thinks an extensive emigration movement would be a matter to be hailed as a blessing rather than a thing to be dreaded."

THE following we find among the foreign items of an exchange: "The Belgian government has just accepted a legacy left to the 'godless schools' of Ypres by a Brussels tailor, a whimsical free thinker, who, several months before his death, wrote out the following announcement relating to that event: 'M. Adolphus Pype has the honor to inform you of his departure to the other world, and asks you to accompany his body to the cemetery, in which he will be buried by civil rite, on the ——, at ——. He leaves this earth without regret.'"

REV. DR. DALL writes to the *Christian Register* from India, concerning the opening of the Bengali year: "They celebrate their New Year's Day as rejoicingly as we do ours. All educated people in Bengal prefer to date from the Christian era. Their own, which reckons from Saliván, falls some eighty years later than ours. The do-nothing doctrine of *repose*, Nirvana, which characterizes alike Hinduism and Buddhism, leaves India without a written history; and it is odd that, while Saliván's name has for eighteen hundred years marked an era, nobody knows who he was."

THE committee appointed by the convocation of Canterbury to enter into possible negotiations with the leaders of the "Salvation Army" have been discharged by the English bishops, who are satisfied that the later developments of this movement are on the side of disorder and immorality. One of the bishops declared that the ratio of illegitimate births had increased in proportion to the number of meetings the army had held in some parts of the country. The Countess de Gasparin thus gives the main characteristics of the "Salvation Army": "Trouble, which is no awakening; fever, which is not life; words, which are not loyalty; notoriety, which is not edification."

A ROMAN Catholic priest named Byron, of Ansonia, Conn., lately declined to visit a sick woman, one of his parishioners, because she had employed a Protestant doctor, instead of a Dr. Conkling into whose hands he wanted to turn business. The woman is recovering, although it was feared she would die. At two masses, this priest has announced that a Catholic doctor had come into the community, and that Catholics would no longer be obliged to have recourse to heretical murderers. He announced, furthermore, that he would not attend any woman who did not employ the Catholic physician. Prominent Catholics denounce the action of this bigoted and insolent priest; and the matter, it is stated, will be brought before the bishop.

REFERRING to the small contributions of Peter's pence in Ireland and the United States since the recent action of the Pope in regard to political matters, the Chicago *Tribune* observes: "How long the strike will continue and which side will be victorious remains to be seen. Outside observers will not be slow in deciding that the Church will prevail, and that it will not be long before Peter's pence will be showering down upon the Vatican in their customary abundance; but that there is any strike at all, that members of the laity have the courage to boycott the Vatican even for a time, is a hopeful sign that the great struggle for independence of Rome in secular concerns is gaining ground steadily, and that the day is not far distant when the Pope must cease to exercise any but spiritual functions."

AT a mass meeting of the Catholics of Dublin, held May 19, the following resolution was passed: "*Resolved*, that we deem it a duty to ourselves and to our country solemnly and distinctly to declare that any decree, mandate, rescript, or decision whatsoever of any foreign power or authority, religious or civil, ought not, and cannot of right, assume any dominion or control over the political concerns of the Catholics of Ireland." The *Nation*, a thoroughly Catholic journal, which has been and is a steadfast supporter of papal infallibility, treats the Roman manifesto in the following style: "As we have through blood and fire held our faith against England, so shall we at all human price hold our country against Rome. And the propaganda talks to us of 'prudence' and 'wisdom,' forsooth! In these temporal affairs, we Irishmen have shown ourselves better stewards than the disastrous counsellors of the holy Father have done.... If Rome will enter into an unholy alliance with England against us, then, trusting in the help of the good God, we shall stand for the national rights and liberties of Ireland against Rome and England."

THE New York *Tribune* of May 21 contained the following despatch from Saratoga: "There are no Sunday trains here. A large package of to-day's *Tribunes* was forwarded from Schenectady, over twenty-two miles, by 'pony express,' and reached Saratoga about noon, as people were returning from church. The supply was soon exhausted. Many Presbyterian clergymen and elders from New York and other cities, who, at the recent General Assembly, voted to adopt resolutions condemning Sunday newspapers, were seen purchasing them as they entered their respective hotels and boarding-houses. When asked about his consistency, one delegate said that it was not the same here as at home; and, then, he commended the spirit of enterprise shown in sending the paper by special messenger when the trains do not run. Several clergymen also spoke to the *Tribune* correspondent in praise of 'the clerical symposium,' which attracted much additional comment from the fact that one of the clergymen who gave his views regarding the proper observance of the Sabbath is taking a prominent part in the proceedings of the General Assembly."

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NOT A SECT.

Some one of the speakers at the late annual meeting of the Free Religious Association spoke of "other denominations" in a way to imply that the Free Religious movement is one of the religious denominations. It was, doubtless, an inadvertence, a mere slip of the tongue. Yet it may be well to revert to it, if only for the sake of correcting any false inferences which may be drawn from such occasional inadvertences.

We are not of those who think it wholly undesirable or wholly unlikely that there should be another sect in religion; one formed distinctly on a new demand of thought and for a particular practical purpose. We can conceive it possible, for instance, that there might come an association of societies, organized expressly on the affirmation of religion and for the definite purpose of preserving the religious sentiment and using it as a force in the practical amelioration of human society. Such organizations would assume the existence of religion, not simply as an historical fact, but as a permanent and universal need of humanity, and would plant themselves on that proposition just as average Unitarianism now plants itself on the assumption that Christianity is the best and final form of religious evolution for mankind. Or there might come a group of societies, organized distinctly in aim and name as Societies for Ethical Culture; and these societies, adopting essentially the same principles and methods, might find it, doubtless, for their mutual advantage to link themselves in some general association for the discussion and promotion of their common ideas and plans of work.

Now, organizations like those here supposed would, in fact, be new sects. They would be sects, because, while cut off on one side from the old religious bodies by the creed-limits of those bodies, they would voluntarily cut themselves off, on the other side, from the general body of liberal thinkers by distinctively basing themselves on certain conclusions of philosophical thought. Yet either or both of them might be very useful sects, and might propagate the ideas they respectively represent more efficiently by thus definitely uniting upon those ideas. And, were such organizations to come, they would have a large measure of our sympathy. Though they might not, in our view, represent the ultimate of religious evolution, yet they would serve to open to many liberal thinkers, who now fail to find a place for associated activity, practical ways for earnest, co-operative work for their own and society's good.

But such organizations, however good and effective they might be, would not cover the ground where the Free Religious Association has found its special mission. That Association has always, if we understand it, protested against being counted as a new sect. It put into its constitution a clause expressly designed to prevent such a result. The first sentence of the second Article reads thus: "Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and *affect in no degree his relation to other associations.*" The part of this sentence which we have put in italics was evidently intended to make it unnecessary for persons to come out of the religious denominations with which they might be connected, in order to join the Free Religious Association, provided no such necessity was laid upon them by their own consciences. Some of us might question the clearness of their sight or the consistency of their action in thus remaining with sects which seem to us to impose restraints upon mental liberty, but this is a matter which they have a perfect right to decide for themselves. And, as a matter of fact, the membership of the Association, from the beginning, has been found in various denominations,—as the Unitarian, Universalist, Quakers and Progressive Friends, Spiritualists, Liberal Jews, etc., as well as more largely among liberal thinkers outside of all denominations; nor has it been wholly shunned by liberal Orthodoxy on the one side, and much less by Agnostics and Materialists on the other.

What, then, the founders of the Free Religious Association saw and aimed to represent in that Association was this: They saw in different denominations and in different religions parallel or converging movements of earnest progressive thought, disposed to test all religious beliefs and practices by the light of reason and of practical humanity; and they aimed to bring these moving lines of thinkers together in a free fellowship for better mutual acquaintance, for the interchange of opinion, for the further promotion of mental emancipation and the clarifying of thought, and, above all, for the advancement of the practical moral and social interests of mankind. But so confident were they that earnest thought, when emancipated from dogmatic authority and left free to follow its own legitimate laws and methods, would be a constructive power for human welfare, that they were unwilling to foreclose the course of progress by imposing any set of thought-conclusions as a condition of membership. Yet this was much more than to establish a free platform for the equal utterance of all opinions on religion: it was courageously to commit all the creeds and institutions of religion to the methods of free investigation, while it left individuals free to draw their own conclusions, and to carry them into action in such way and in connection with such associations as should seem to them most fitting. Hence, though new and more advanced sects may come, and the Free Religious Association may hospitably welcome their word and work, it is not its mission to form them nor merely to count one among them; nor can it do so except by a radical and revolutionary change in its own constitution.

WM. J. POTTER.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY.

To friends of the various progresses, the present wide discussion of the woman problem warrants happiest expectancy. It is not so much that all should concur upon solutions of this or any other question as that all should agree that a solution is desirable and possible. The free dreamers who speak of the *spirit* of truth are thus in the right; for not even truth, if it come through the search for something other than truth, bears with it such potency as when it comes with the reverent feeling of *reaching* and *desire*. Lessing's brief parable ever holds good.

There need be no call for wonder or anger over Dr. Dix's vain position. What he says is the natural expression of his character, his training, and his surroundings. We find in his words a more imperative call to duty than would have been heard, had he taken compromising ground or halted half-heartedly on the edge of reform. The attention of sleeping Christians is not for mere wantonness seized by the very conservative instincts of the preacher. The ideas may serve to bring many in the Church to understand that their sanguine belief in social progress within the fold is faintly nourished, and needs revising. Dix is, no doubt, a sincere man of a certain sweetness of disposition; but he is evidently worried by the signs of "sloughing off" in religion, and the state of woman, and knows little whither to turn in his trouble.

It may be seen, by the requested and published opinions in the New York *Critic*, that co-education, for instance, as a line of advancement for woman, is a thing which elicits from college authorities opinions as various as the general differences upon the suffrage and what are considered the wider demands of the agitation. It is significant that there is a disposition, even among the conservatives, to oppose the proposed changes mildly and judicially. There is every disclaimer entered of prejudices of sex; and Liberals can afford to admit the fairness, since the doubt does not come into the controversy either way as an ingredient of much importance. The principal gain exists in the opening of the question. Truth is sure of final acceptance, when once nature plants with us a single expositor.

The tendency of the time is away from "bosses," whether of the political, priestly, or social nature. There is a love of mid-day growing in the human heart. We care little to be put into hot-houses of thought, and shown off to friends by our priests and politicians and husbands as fine products of their skill and care. When once we are in the open air and upon the free fields, each may well find his or her true development, and build up life not alone more broadly, but with greater ease. There is too much government all through the fabric of our civilization. The priest and the husband and the politician ape each other, and they unite in following and applying for their uses the current idea of the State. The appeal of woman is the pathetic measure of our progress. The Fourth of July orator would find small material for his boasts, if his imagination were not measureless. Those who call for liberty, and rule their homes with the selfish power of an imitation god, need reminding that there is an end to all autocracies, and that, while their lazy position, like that of the kings, is used now alone for bravado and bluster a power greater than that of either plots and will accomplish its destruction.

I feel that Dix is not a wise man or a prophet; but I like his message, in that it states what a large portion of society inarticulately feels, and shows us what woman yet has to meet before even the present agitated changes can be accomplished. The outlook is not at all discouraging. Woman, in spite of the foes to her advancement, goes on advancing.

Recently, I have heard the singing, in "Semiramide," of Patti and Scalchi,—two women of evident genius, whose songs wake up all that music which lies expressionless in the ordinary man. This, I thought, rebukes whatsoever objection is made to the power of head and heart of the sex. For, among all the thoughtless or thinking male auditors, I scarce could imagine one who yielded nothing to the pleasure and praise of the two singers, who delivered over by *feeling* not more than he would be apt in words to admit as lying in the unused aptitudes of women.

The poor fools who bring themselves to suppose the progress of women possible only by the lowering of man's dignity are not wiseliest readers of history. There are some who would seem to believe only a certain amount of opportunity to exist, and that, in consequence of this opportunity being, by some unknown decree, given to the male sex, any rights which you might grant woman could only be accompanied by a proportionate deprivation to the man. In the first place, opportunity is as limitless as persons, or would be, if it were not for an ill-regulated power possessed now by a favored sex. In the next place, if opportunity were not so abundant, there still would exist no reason for its monopoly, but rather more necessity for its fair distribution. The vague

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passion with which men oppose the advancement of woman takes in more than is expressed of fear for their position. It is observed in all history that the subjugating classes are always more or less conscious of such a feeling. The feudal lords and the kings read it in the aspiration of the people; and our one-time slaveholders and the present possessors of abnormal wealth understand, or think they understand, what the lower cry for justice means. That general society grows with fairer adjustments, and decays when wrong and monopoly sway unresisted, is as certain as that man exists. Whether individuals suffer a fall from a fictitious position, or whether a momentary disturbance unsettles the nerves of some fellow who lives in a state of tension, matters little in our struggles to impart a universal justice. The end sought is that society may work harmoniously through the perfect arrangement of its many parts. To bring about the finer estate from present inequalities involves the raising of some individuals and the lowering of others.

Therefore, let this hope for woman go forth. In the general work of the age, her cause must progress with the labor-reform, and with religious and political causes; because all are of close kinship, and nature has given to each fitting expo nents who labor in their several ways to the same end. The selfish opposition she encounters is not a singular one. Where she is a footstool for lust, another may be wrong's stepping-stone to unjust monopoly, or another may, by love of country, suffer death for the reward of one not deserving the honor. I have learned to realize what great power may lie dead in woman beneath the sneers of men and the flattery of husbands. There is less need of talk of "sphere" and "place" than of aid that the character of each woman, which makes its own sphere, be allowed its free course. There never was a good reason given why we should suppress in woman what we glory in developing in man. Every time nature produces in our sisters abilities which we kill, she writes a rebuke for our worse than evil system.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

POSTSCRIPT. IN TWO PARTS.

First, in respect of Mr. George and his theories. The sagacious reader will have divined that I wrote of Robespierre as the "fervent" disciple of Rousseau, but wrote it so badly that the printer felt justified in calling it "poorest." Also that by a slip of the pen I was made to speak very absurdly of "copyright" instead of "copyhold." I was, alas! four hundred miles away from my proofs.

This, however, by the way. From Mr. Kennedy's last communication, I think he must have read a different copy of Mr. George's book from mine. In mine, at any rate,—unless I am strangely mistaken,—Mr. George makes it very explicit that he would ultimately have no private ownership of land; that the throwing of all taxes upon lands is only the preliminary process by which the ownership of it is to be forced out of private hands into those of the State; and that, incidentally, not the individual, but the public is to have the benefit of any increase in its value. This certainly implies that those who cannot afford to pay that full value must give place to those who can. That full value can be known only by finding out who will pay most for it. A millionnaire gives a fancy value—which for the time being is the market value—to a particular lot; and, for anything I can see, the present owner must give it up, unless he will pay the same,—or else the theory goes by the board. Mr. George, by the way, is quite willing to admit rich men, and even to encourage them (as we have seen) by exempting their property from taxation: only, he is sure that, under his new dispensation, nobody will want to be rich!

However, I will compromise with Mr. Kennedy, whose good opinion I should be sorry to lose, and imagine that the thriving capitalist from Hartford, whose advent I dread, will only offer five hundred dollars. But even this, as he will see at once, would quite ruin my friend, the Widow Jones.

I am reminded by a correspondent that assessors cannot be trusted not to undervalue an estate for purposes of taxation. As to this, first, they may think a certain amount of undervaluation justified, in order to encourage independent and permanent ownership. And, secondly, my argument is, that *when the pressure is to be brought*, to discourage speculation, the assessors are the ones to do it. If they will not, who will?

Secondly, in regard to Gibbon. I was quite wrong in ascribing to him a motive which I dare say he was not conscious of, in saying that he does not "choose" that his reader shall see both sides, "if he can help it." This is really only a violent and exaggerated way of expressing a feeling that has sometimes come over me in making acquaintance with his authorities. Take the case of Galerius, which I gave. Take again the case of Tertullian, whom Gibbon has damned to infamy with many of his readers by the one paragraph he has cited from him,—a paragraph purely rhetorical, and almost unique, not only with Tertullian, but in the whole body of ecclesiastical literature of the first ten centuries. I have dealt with this matter in a passage in *Early Christianity* ("Fragments," p. 257) on the generally mild tone of the early theology, which has been somewhat disputed both by orthodox critics and others, but which I am quite ready to defend.

Mr. Underwood has done me the kindness of giving, at greater length than I should have ventured, the reasons why Gibbon *could* not have taken the advanced critical ground of our own day; and, therefore, why he cannot be accepted as authority without "a little looking after,"—as I said. To the names he cites, I will add those of Guizot, Ozanam, and Michelet, among those easily accessible. My "complaint," however,—if I should properly analyze it,—is less of specific statements or omissions than as to the total impression left on the mind of a reader of Gibbon who trusts him too implicitly. I have had occasion, in the last few years, to pass in review all the extant writers (I think) of the first ten centuries,—who are a good deal more numerous than most persons think. Far the largest part, it is likely, I have dismissed with a glance, as of no value to the end I had in view. But all the persons and events which appeared to be significant in the development of the peculiar form of civilization we have inherited, I have done my best to understand in the existing literary monuments of the period named,—such men as Leo, the Gregories, Cassiodorus, Zachary, Boniface, and so on, especially in their own correspondence; and the general policy of the Church in its official records.

Now, in this field, the knowledge, the penetration, the industry, the intelligence of Gibbon are deserving of all the praise which Mr. Underwood has given or has copied. In short, he has said very much what I should say, if I were urging upon a student the value of this particular author. But, having got my first impressions from him, I have been constantly surprised at finding how greatly my general judgment of the man, or the time, needed overhauling. I have not Gibbon by me just now, so that I cannot say positively whether or not he does injustice to such men as the great Eastern theologians,—Basil and Chrysostom, for example,—who stand so far away from us But I will say, for one thing (what I feel quite sure of), that one would receive from Gibbon, taken *alone*, a thoroughly false notion of the immense moral force which went into the work of civilization through the monastic orders. I will also state, as a very confident impression, that Gibbon quite fails to understand the true historical purport of the development of Canon Law, interpreted by the sidelight it casts upon the gross manners and vices of the barbaric world. I will add —though less confidently—that any one who will study for himself the legislation of Constantine and of Charlemagne, the first as interpreted by Troplong and the last by Guizot, will feel that, with all his bright, sharp way of indicating single points, Gibbon has failed to do justice to the importance or the character of those two great constructive eras of Christian jurisprudence.

But I do not mean to inflict an essay upon the readers of *The Index;* only to set myself right as to a point or two which Mr. Underwood has kindly pointed out, and to thank him in advance for the opportunity he is going to give me of adding these few lines.

J. H. ALLEN.

WORCESTER, June 3, 1883.

THE SECRET OF THE EAST;

OR,

The Origin of the Christian Religion and the Significance of its Rise and Decline.

CHAPTER V.

The Night of the Middle Ages.

"Your prayer for light shall be answered, if you consent to open your eyes."—*G. E. Lessing.*

Since the dawn of modern rationalism, the path of social reform has been obstructed by a Sphinx that still propounds her riddle to every philosopher, to every moralist, to every speculative historian. That Sphinx is the Christian religion; and the riddle, which has to be solved before we can clear the road of progress, is the enigma of the Middle Ages.

Whence that dreadful night that followed suddenly and unnaturally upon the bright sunrise of pagan civilization? that long eclipse of reason, science, freedom, and happiness, that trance-like lethargy of the very nations which before and after gave the most decided proofs of their capacity for mental progress? What turned their health into a thousand years' disease? Was it the influence of a supernatural religion? Then, how did the followers of other supernatural creeds happen to escape that doom? For we are apt to forget that the morning-hour of our prosperous Age of Reason is but a moment compared with the long centuries of health and prosperity which the Greeks, the Spanish Moors, and the Eastern Saracens contrived to combine with a firm belief in the reality of supernatural agencies.

It would have been well for the nations of Europe, if their priests had contented themselves with the inculcation of such beliefs. The misery of the Middle Ages was due not to the supernatural, but to the *anti-natural*, tendency of the Christian religion. According to the gospel of the Galilean Buddhists, earth, with all its joys and desires, with all its visible and invisible habitants, is wholly evil; the renunciation of temporal blessings is the first condition of eternal welfare, and death the only gate of true life. The Christians did not deny the existence of the pagan deities: they merely changed them into devils. The pagan Pantheon became a pandemonium. Rivers, woods, and mountains swarmed, not with harmless nymphs and dryads, but with tempting demons, emissaries of

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the brimstone-pit who devoted their superhuman powers to the seduction and affliction of Adam's progeny.* The gods and saints of Greece, Rome, and Palestine, descended from heaven to share the earthly joys of mortals, to bless and hallow the scenes of their earthly struggles and triumphs. The saints of Buddhism and Christianity visited earth to mar its joys, to depreciate its blessings, to wean its children from their natural instincts and sympathies. Has the worship of sorrow ever failed to darken the light of nature? Has it added one millet-seed to the sum of earthly happiness? Did the Apostle of Galilee ever speak one word in favor of industry, rational education, the love and study of nature, physical and intellectual culture? Not one. Has his mission promoted our progress in the paths of science and freedom? Not one step. His doctrine in all its tendencies is wholly unearthly, and therefore wholly unavailable for secular purposes.

The pagan gods were the deified powers of Nature, the patrons of mariners, shepherds, and husbandmen.

The Christian gods were the deified enemies of Nature. Even the Christian *Deus Maximus* frowned on earthly pleasures, and could be propitiated only by the mortification of almost every natural instinct: the bounteous All-father had become an All-tormentor, a celestial grand-inquisitor, who demanded an implicit submission of human reason to inhuman dogmas, and doomed the vast plurality of his creatures to the tortures of an everlasting *auto-da-fe*.

In the instinct of freedom, in the love of knowledge, and the sense of beauty, the Christian moralists, like the pagan philosophers, recognized the power of a mysterious inspiration, but with this difference, that the pagans ascribed that inspiration to the favor of a beneficent god, the Christians to the wiles of a tempting fiend. More than fifty generations of our Christian ancestors were taught to neglect the health laws of nature as unworthy the attention of a candidate for the higher blessings of the world to come. Every opposition to the tyranny of the secular or spiritual authorities was punished as a revolt against the authority of a creed which inculcated the duty of passive submission to injustice. The Holy Alliance of Church and State disdained to recognize the natural rights of men whose natural instincts were supposed to be wholly evil. In every progress of natural science, the guardians of an anti-natural creed scented a danger to the prerogatives of the holy brotherhood. Every philosopher, every mathematician, every naturalist, had to keep the secret of his discoveries, if he wished to keep his head. The night of the Middle Ages was not the natural blindness of unenlightened barbarians, but an unnatural darkness, maintained by an elaborate system of spiritual despotism, and in spite of the fierce struggles of many light-loving nations.

In the French province of Languedoc alone, the man-hunters of the Holy Inquisition spilled more human blood than ever reddened the sand of the Roman arena. "But the gladiators died to minister to a frivolous popular amusement," says the Jesuitical apologist, "while the mediæval heretics were sacrificed to the interests of our revealed faith." A faith which would undoubtedly tempt you to renew the butcheries of your predecessors, if you could regain their power; but, after its doctrines have been recognized as a mixture of God-insulting idolatries, nature-insulting precepts, and reason-insulting superstitions, what remains to compensate the world for the lives of the twenty-five hundred thousand martyrs of reason and freedom whose murder has undoubtedly debased the mental type of the human race? Will sophistry dare to mention the elements of *natural* morality which are common to all religions, but which the anti-natural dogmas of Christianity crowded into the background? Has religion gained by its association with the doctrines of a Church that made it a synonyme of all that is odious and absurd? Has the rule of that Church furthered the moral progress of the forty generations whose wisest, manliest, noblest, and bravest men were systematically weeded out, to enforce the survival of idiots and hypocrites? For thirteen centuries, the rack, the stake, and the cross were leagued against nature and mankind.

It is true that here and there the genius of Humanity triumphed over its enemies; it is true that the Christian obscurantists could not entirely suppress the mental activity of the Caucasian race; but it is equally true that their labors to suppress the fruits of that activity were successful enough to retard the progress of mankind for nearly fourteen hundred years.

I am not disposed to deny the merits of the amiable *inconsistencies* of several Christian sects, such as the republican enthusiasm of the English Puritans, who found it convenient to forget the duty of passive submission to injustice; or the tolerance of several Catholic pontiffs in their zeal for the revival of pagan arts and sciences,—the same arts and sciences which their predecessors had labored to suppress; or the promotion of the cause of temperance by Protestant clergymen, who have at last awakened to a recognition of the fact that a man *can* be defiled by things that enter his mouth, and that the magician of Canaan set a bad example by turning drinking water into wine. I do not deny that some of the worst Christian hierarchies have done some good, in spite of their creed; but I maintain that, just as far as they have tried to conform to the precepts of that creed, they have proved themselves the worst enemies of mankind.

"What!" cries my theological friend, "*enemies of mankind?* Have they deserved that epithet by their unselfish zeal in propagating a religion which inculcates such precepts as the duty of universal love?"

And I reply: Yes, in just as far as they acted in the spirit of that religion. For how did it teach them to prove their "love"? By making earth more lovely? By making life more worth living? By increasing the creature comforts of their fellow-men? By teaching them to observe the health laws of God, to recognize the principles of rational education, the conditions of social progress? Not if they could help it. Whatever is natural is wrong, was the foundation dogma of their creed; and true believers tried to promote the welfare of their fellow-men by suppressing their freedom in the interests of "Christian discipline," their reason in the interests of "Christian revelation"; by burning their bodies for the benefit of their souls, and by imprisoning their children in convents, where tyranny and superstition conspired for the suppression of every natural instinct.

The Arabs have a tradition that a roving Bedouin once discovered the earthly paradise, and was so haunted by the memory of its scenes and bird songs that he found the dreariness of his native deserts unendurable, and wandered to the seashore and drowned himself. And, if a resuscitated Roman could see what the rule of the Cross has made of his birthland, he, too, would probably take refuge with Charybdis rather than endure the hideous sight. The paradise of Southern Europe could not be at once spoiled. Traces of the old nature worship still lingered here and there. The Apennines still sheltered the remnants of the sacred groves. A few mountain tribes still kept the foe at bay, and relied on the strength of their sinews rather than on prayers and miracles. But the efforts of the spoilers did not cease; and it may be doubted if the Caucasian race will ever wholly recover from the effects of a thousand years' attempt to lure their children from earth to ghostland, to poison their minds with the dogmas of pessimism, to sacrifice the pagan Elysium to the Buddhistic Nirvana. How is it that "climatic influences" have not sapped the physical vigor of the Arabs, the Jews, the Berbers, the Persians, the East-Indian Mohammedans? Only anti-natural religions have achieved that deep abasement of the physical type of our race which we see in China and Southern Europe. For we should not forget that the nations of Northern Europe saved themselves by the revolt of the Protestant Reformation, before the poison of pessimism had sapped their strength. The gods of Greece were the deified powers of Nature; Olympus was an earthly mountain; the immortals were worshipped with songs and dances, and did not oblige their votaries to sacrifice their reason and their freedom. The doctrines of anti-naturalism, diabolism, and eternal punishment, were unknown to the exponents of the Mosaic dispensation. Nay, with the exception of that doubtful passage in Job, the Old Testament contains not a line, not a single word, that could be fairly construed into an allusion to the doctrine of a future existence. Its God rewards his servants with temporal blessings, its retributions are earthly retributions, its paradise bloomed on this side of the grave. The nations of Islam believed in a supernatural paradise; but its gates had to be won by valiant deeds, by wisdom and temperance, and not by whining self-abasement and the contempt of bodily health. But the dogmas of the Galilean Church were wholly anti-natural, and, in their strict acceptation, necessarily conducive to mental and physical bankruptcy.

When the sceptre of Rome passed into the hands of the victorious Goths, Western Europe and the Mediterranean peninsulas were still in the prime of their fertility. Climate, soil, scenic grandeur, natural facilities of communication, the happiest proportion of cultivated fields and forest lands,—all contributed to make them the most favored regions of the Eastern Continent; and we should not forget that the nations who inherited them were, in natural capacities, immeasurably superior to the best Arabian tribes. Among the sad "It might have beens" of the world's history, the saddest is the reflection what those countries might have become, if the noble Visigoths, the heroic Longobards, and the manful Saxons had been permitted to rule them, under the influence of a moderately rational religion, like that of Islam. The golden age of Hellas would have been eclipsed by nations who (as they proved, as soon as they could rid themselves of the Galilean incubus) combined the intellectual faculties of the Greeks with a warmer love of nature and a prouder love of personal independence.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the enemies of nature had reached the zenith of their power; and, at that time, it may be said that, *without a single exception*, the countries of Christian Europe were worse governed, more ignorant, more superstitious, poorer, and unhappier than the worst

*The belief in fairies was of Druidic origin, and was either suppressed or characteristically metamorphosed by the Church, who, true to her pessimistic principles, diabolized the Celtic and German as well as the Grecian deities. Wodan, the hunter-god, became a Wild Huntsman; Hulda, a night-hag, the first May night, when Hertha awakens the slumbering wood-spirits, a Walpurgis-Nacht with its helli-h revivals. Even objects of scenic interest, the trysting-places of the nature-worshipping Druids, became "devils' pulpits," "devils' bridges," "devils' castles."

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governed province of pagan Rome.* The "scion of the Buddhistic parent tree" had begun to bear fruit after its kind. The sway of the Cross extended from the Baltic to the Hellespont; the empire of the Church embraced every variety of European climate, it embraced Greek, Latin, German, Slavic, and Celtic nations,—nations which it had received in every stage of civilization, semi-civilization, and barbarism, but whom the poison of its dogmas had affected with a uniform result.† Wherever we look, darkness, slavery, and misery; bigoted tyrants and brutalized serfs, neglected fields, blighted cities, perverted sciences, and paralyzed industries; hordes of self-torturing maniacs frenzying the populace with their threats and prophecies; international man-hunts, religious massacres, witchcraft riots, and a merciless war against every form of mental and social independence. Peasants were treated like beasts of burden. If earthly pleasure is sinful and heaven our proper home, Herr Baron and Monsieur l'Abbé saw no reason to provide creature comforts for their serfs.

"One sees certain dark, livid, naked, sunburnt wild animals, male and female, scattered over the country and attached to the soil, which they root and turn over with indomitable perseverance. They have, as it were, an articulate voice; and, when they rise to their feet, they show a human face. They are, in fact, men: they creep at night into dens, where they live on black bread, water, and roots. They spare other men the labor of ploughing, sowing, and harvesting, and, therefore, deserve some small share of the bread they have grown. Yet they were the fortunate peasants,—those who had work and bread,—and they were then the few" (while two thirds of the arable territory of France were in the hands of the Church).‡

If truth was communicated from heaven by direct revelation, if diseases, famines, and droughts could be averted by prayer, why should men waste their time on science? "A cloud of ignorance," says Hallam, "overspread the whole face of the Church, hardly broken by a few glimmering lights who owe almost the whole of their distinction to the surrounding darkness. . . . I cannot conceive of any state of society more adverse to the intellectual improvement of mankind than one which admitted no middle line between dissoluteness and fanatical mortifications. . . . No original writer of any merit arose; and learning may be said to have languished in a region of twilight for the greater part of a thousand years. . . . In 992, it was asserted that scarcely a single person was to be found, in Rome itself, who knew the first elements of letters. Not one priest of a thousand in Spain, about the age of Charlemagne, could address a common letter of salutation to another." The history of every mediæval philosopher, discoverer, or reformer is the history of a life-long struggle against the tyranny of a light-hating alliance of despots and bigots.

The doctrine of "renunciation" made patriotism an idle dream: the saints whose "kingdom was not of this world" had no business with vanities of that sort; no chieftain could trust his neighbors; cities were pitted against cities, and castles against castles; patriotic reformers would vainly have appealed to the sympathies of men who had been taught to reserve their interest for the politics of the New Jerusalem.

And what an age for the lovers of truth! Where should they take refuge from their enemies, when every year the blood of free thinkers was poured out like water? Where should they quench their thirst after knowledge? Among the Arabs, who would slay them as spies? In cities, where the next neighbor would betray them to the spies of the Holy Inquisition? In convents, in the strongholds of pessimism, where, year after year, they had to

> "Erwachen mit Entsetzen Morgens auf,
> Den Tag zu sehen, der in seinem Lauf
> Nicht einen Wunsch gewähren wird, nicht einen!"
> [Awake with horror every morning,
> To see the day which in its course will not
> Grant the fulfilment of a single wish!]

But the deepest shade of the dreadful night darkened the path of natural religion. To him who seeks to know the will of the All-father by studying the laws of his universe, and honors his wisdom and beneficence by ordering his life in conformity with those laws, it must indeed have appeared as if our earth had been abandoned to the powers of darkness. For what fiends could have insulted the name of the Creator by grosser blasphemies than the maniacs who ascribed to him acts of such monstrous cruelty that the inhumanities of the worst earthly despots appeared mild in comparison, and who hoped to gain his favor by turning his paradise into a desert, by rejecting his gifts, by renouncing the blessings of his marvellous earth, and by sacrificing their freedom, their health, and their reason!

A year after the death of the prophetess Sospitra, says the pagan historian, Eunapius, her son was one day standing before the temple of Serapis, when the prophetic spirit of his mother fell upon him. "Woe be our children!" he exclaimed, when he awakened from his trance. "I see a cloud approaching: a great darkness will fall upon the human race."

That cloud did not come from Olympus or Sinai. The spectre of an earth-blighting disease stalked through the land; and the time will come when, in the form of that spectre, all but the wilfully blind will recognize not the manful monotheism of Moses, not the mythology of the nature-loving Greeks, but the nature-hating pessimism of Buddha Sakyamuni.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

*"Feudalism," says Blanqui, "was a concentration of all scourges. The peasant, stripped of the inheritance of his fathers, became the property of ignorant, inflexible, indolent masters: he was obliged to travel fifty leagues with their carts, whenever they required it; he labored for them three days in the week, and surrendered to them half the product of his earnings *during the other three;* without their consent, he could not change his residence or marry. And why, indeed, should he wish to marry, if he could scarcely save enough to maintain himself? The Abbot Alcuin had twenty thousand slaves, called *serfs*, who were forever attached to the soil. This is the great cause of the rapid depopulation observed in the Middle Ages, and of the prodigious multitude of monasteries which sprang up on every side. It was doubtless a relief to such miserable men to find in the cloisters a retreat from oppression; but the human race never suffered a more cruel outrage, industry never received a wound better calculated to plunge the world again into the darkness of the rudest antiquity. It suffices to say that the prediction of the approaching end of the world, industriously spread by the rapacious monks at this time, was received without terror."—*Résumé de l'Histoire du Commerce*, p. 156.

†Protestant Jesuits have tried to ascribe the cause of that result to the pagan admixtures of the Catholic creed. The seasons and rites of many Catholic holidays, they say, correspond to those of old Roman festivals; the most popular saints of the Catholic calendar were pagan demigods in disguise; the legends of the early Church were corrupted with interpolations of Roman and Grecian myths. Corrupted forsooth! The humanizing and naturalizing influence of pagan traditions alone saved the victims of the Galilean Church from mental inanition in the desert of asceticism: they were reduced to the alternative of the prince in Grimm's folk-sagas, who had to wed a peasant girl or a grinning death's-head. For analogous reasons, the English Puritans had to popularize their ghastly creed with an infusion of *Hebrew* elements: the names of their warlike saints, the shibboleths of their peculiar cant, the favorite texts of their field preachers, were nearly always borrowed from the *Old* Testament. But such palliatives served only to disguise the doctrine of pessimism, as poison-mongers administer their potions with pleasant condiments.

‡La Bruyère. Quoted in P. L. Courier's *Petition à la Chambre des Députés*, p. 19.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

"Querist" writes to the *Investigator* as follows:—

Will you please tell me what Free Religion is? I have got a neighbor, a good man, who says he believes it; but he is cloudy in defining its meaning, or else I am obtuse intellectually. About all I can get out of him is that Free Religion is liberal, natural, theistic, and accepts immortality. So I think it must be Unitarianism under another name. But what do you think?

The editor replies:—

We doubt if we can answer our friend's question any better than he has himself, and therefore we need not multiply words. He probably defines Free Religion correctly, or rather the religious or theological part of it, which may perhaps be called a liberalized, modified, simplified, and improved Unitarianism. It has also in addition a practical or earthly part, and teaches morality, liberty of thought, human brotherhood, and freedom from sects and dogmas. It is hardly equal, as it strikes us, to either Materialism, Atheism, Agnosticism, Positivism, or perhaps Spiritualism; but, looked at as a religion, theoretically and practically, Free Religion is undoubtedly the best at the present time.

The *Investigator* is, apparently, unable to understand, what it sees stated almost every week, that the Free Religious Association is an organization broad and liberal enough to welcome to membership the adherents of Materialism, Atheism, Agnosticism, Positivism, Spiritualism, Judaism, Christianity, Paganism, and the adherents of all other systems and phases of thought, if they are willing to join it for the study and discussion of the subject of religion; that the Association requires no theological belief as a condition of membership; that it is neither Theistic nor Atheistic, and assumes nothing in regard to religion, except the fact of its existence and the importance of making it a subject of scientific study; that it allows each member to define religion, and to explain its origin, nature, and development to suit himself, and affords a free platform for the treatment of the subject from every point of view. Why represent the position of such an Association as "Unitarianism under another name," or as "liberalized, modified, simplified, and improved Unitarianism"? If the *Investigator* knows of an organization broader or more truly liberal than the Free Religious Association, will it please to name it?

It is true that the Free Religious Association had its origin in a departure from Unitarianism, and has been under the management chiefly of those who were formerly Unitarians, men and women of religious beliefs and feelings and of progressive tendencies, who found in their denomination limitations which they thought inconsistent with entire freedom of thought. It is not strange, therefore, that, in drafting the statement of their aims and objects, the founders of the Association used phraseology such as in the Church they had been accustomed to employ to define their position in distinction to the creed of the Unitarian denomination. Had the Association been formed by a departure from Materialism, Agnosticism, or Positivism, the language of the declaration and the management of the organization would, no doubt, have shown quite as unmistakable traces of materialistic, agnostic, or positivistic thought.

How far the members of the Association have outgrown mere denominational prejudice and predilections is indicated by the fact that they elected for their second president the son of a Jewish rabbi, a man who had never been a Christian, and who was then as he is now an Agnostic. That in the influence of his theological education something remained to serve as a point of contact with the remnants of Unitarianism, which the leading members of the Free Religious Association still retained, is not improbable. It is perfectly correct to say that the Association bears the impress of its origin; and it is probably true that, as a rule, those who have come out of the Unitarian denomination have felt more at home in the Free Religious Association than those who have joined it from the ranks of unchurched Liberals or even from

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orthodox denominations. Under the circumstances, it could not be otherwise. At the same time, the Free Religious Association has been surpassed by no organization in its liberality. While its management has been in accordance with the predominant thought and feeling of the Association, and the majority of its essayists and speakers have been selected, undoubtedly, with a view to emphasizing this thought and feeling; yet it has invited upon its platform speakers to represent the different phases of orthodox and unorthodox thought, given them a fair hearing, and published their addresses in its reports without criticism or comment.

That there is room for improvement in the methods of this organization and even in the wording of the declaration of its aims and objects is probably true. We will here add that, in our opinion, with advantage there might be substituted for its present statement one declaring that it aims *to encourage the scientific study of the nature and history of religion, to increase true liberality, and to promote the practical interests of true morality.* Such a change of language would, we are confident, meet the wishes of not a few members of the Association, of Liberals generally who are outside of it, and remove an objection which, however captious or trivial it may appear to some, has weight with those who urge it. Since the word "religion" admits of various definitions; since the Free Religious Association does not itself attempt to give any definition, but allows every member to define it to suit himself; since the Association admits to equal fellowship those who regard religion as an expression of man's relation to the universe, or as moral goodness, or as a sentiment originally implanted in human nature, or as a tendency inwrought through centuries into the human constitution, or that bond of unity which makes every individual a part of the social organism, or as a system of doctrines, including belief in an intelligent Deity and immortality, or as something else that ought to be sustained or ought to be opposed, there would seem to be an inconsistency in prefixing any adjective to the word "religion" in the articles of association. However, this objection is mainly of a verbal character, and no truly liberal man will be prevented by it from joining and giving support to the Association. If, in this transitional period, one expects to find a society of recent formation, open to the latest thought, free and flexible, and yet entirely exempt from inconsistencies of every kind, he is likely to be disappointed. The term Free Religion is inexpressive and indefinite; but the object of the Free Religious Association is easily understood, and is worthy the encouragement of all classes of Liberals.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

INTOLERANCE AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

In the London *Inquirer* of May 26 are two communications discussing the position taken by University College in regard to Mrs. Besant and Miss Bradlaugh. The writer of one of these letters, who says he is "one of the oldest Fellows of the college and a hater of intolerance," comes to the defence of the college as follows:—

I do not for one moment believe that the theological or anti-theological opinions of the two ladies, or either of them, have had anything to do with the refusal to admit them as students; nor would I defend the refusal on such grounds. But the case stands thus: Admission to the college would not only entitle them to attend classes, but would make them free of the ladies' common room. Now, Mrs. Besant has identified herself with a propaganda which you would not permit me to describe in your columns, and which has brought her under the strong animadversion of the courts. It is misleading to refer to it under a euphemistic allusion to her "social opinions." The Council of University College on their part have committed themselves to the critical experiment of the conjoint college education of young men and women, and they invite parents to send their daughters to partake of it. They do not receive a farthing of public money. By what ethical law are they bound to admit Mrs. Besant? I am not saying a word against her personal character. From what I have heard of her, I give her credit for benevolent motives. But there cannot be a doubt that many parents would strongly object to her, on the grounds to which I have alluded, as an associate for their daughters; and I, for one, do not think that the Council are in any way obliged to ignore the objection. When Mrs. Besant is mentioned, people *talk* of "religious and social opinions," but they *think* of the *Fruits of Philosophy*. The constant public association of Miss Bradlaugh's name with Mrs. Besant's seems to me to have rendered it impossible for the Council to deal with their applications separately.

The other writer declares that the directing body of the college has taken upon itself to exercise an authority the members never imagined would be assumed, or the character of the institution has altogether changed. The following extract is given:—

Probably many will have heard for the first time of a functionary styled "the Lady Superintendent." What is the extent of this lady's authority? Mrs. Besant writes she was officially informed that a previous introduction to this personage was a needful preliminary to admission, and that, when she and Miss Bradlaugh had complied with this request, the Lady Superintendent "declined to take the responsibility of entering our names." What is the nature of this responsibility with which the Lady Superintendent is burdened? Are we to understand that this officer has plenary powers to accept or reject as female students of the college whomsoever she pleases? Or is she only a formal censor, acting under superior orders? It must be borne in mind that University College is not a hall of residence, but merely a place for the delivery of lectures. The mistress of a young ladies' boarding-school might legitimately have her "prejudices," dictating the exclusion of an obnoxious pupil: even Girton could not be blamed for a certain fastidiousness; but for an institution constituted as University College is to allow an alleged and undefined prejudice to debar *bona fide* students from its class-rooms is nothing short of persecution.

From all that we are able to learn of this transaction, we are forced to believe, with the editor of the London *Inquirer*, that it is "a piece of petty persecution characteristic of the narrowest little academies and wholly unworthy of the noble traditions of University College. . . . What makes the matter more discreditable is that the Council are evidently acting upon the principle—which the late Professor De Morgan so strongly condemned—of making their first consideration 'the success of their class-room' rather than the question of right and fair dealing. It would be better that University College, London, should perish rather than be thus unfaithful to its fundamental principles."

B. F. U.

OUR good neighbor, the editor of the *Christian Register*, takes much comfort from Mr. O. B. Frothingham's speech at the Unitarian Festival. As we say in another column, the speech, though excellent in itself, does not seem to us to have been made on the right platform. We agree with Mr. Frothingham that the Unitarian denomination is a progressive body, that it faces forward, at least, with its best face. But we cannot agree with him that it has yet removed all barriers, and welcomes, as he says, to its fellowship "all earnest men and all earnest women." The *Register* with alacrity accepts his authority on this point, and exclaims, "Unitarianism, then, is free enough," and questions whether "our Free Religious brethren" have any advantage over it in this respect. Is it, then, true that Unitarianism is no longer an exclusively *Christian* denomination? Has it taken down the boundary of that name? This is a question which we asked several months ago with regard to a certain vote of the Directors of the Unitarian Association, but got no answer. Has the *Register* any new light to throw upon this question? Must not your "earnest man or woman" adopt the Christian name, in order to come into the Unitarian door?

W. J. P.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A DESPATCH to the Boston *Herald* says that the returned correspondents from Moscow are arriving, and tell curious tales about the mutilation of their despatches and the scrutiny they were subjected to. It was absolutely useless to write anything that did not tell of glory, harmony, and love of the people for the sovereign. One who had written a long letter, in the hope of getting it to London by post, cut it in two and mailed the parts to two different friends to two different addresses. Only two sheets of it arrived,—a fact which speaks well for the Russian secret service system.

SAYS the London *Inquirer:* "Voltaire's famous phrase *Ecrasez l'infâme* has often been greatly misunderstood. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* says it occurs in the letters between Voltaire and the Empress of Russia. *Ecrasez l'infâme* was a kind of party watchword among the Encyclopædists. It meant *Ecrasez l'infâme superstition;* that is, what the Roman Catholics called Christianity. It might have been used by Luther. Yet how often will it continue to be misquoted and misapplied by members of Parliament, Tory journalists, and other 'orthodox liars for God'!"

CARDINAL SIMEONI'S circular (a translation of which, made for *The Index*, may be found in another column) is probably the most important document, so far as Ireland is concerned, which has emanated from the Vatican since Pope "Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, directed his dearly beloved son in Jesus Christ, Henry II., the illustrious King of England, to enter the Island of Hibernia, to subject the people there to the yoke of the laws, to extirpate the seeds of vice, and also to enforce the payment to the blessed apostle Peter of the annual pension of a penny for each house." In the same bull, Pope Adrian commands the people of Ireland "to receive King Henry and honor him as their lord and master." It is no new thing for the papacy to be on the side of English rule in Ireland.

WE are permitted to print the following letter from Mr. Emerson to a lady, written in 1856, and referring to a volume of poems, then but recently published, by Mr. B. W. Ball:—

Here is the book which you lent me. I read every line of it long ago, and lent it to the lovers of poetry near me. You will see that Elizabeth Hoar has left her mark in it. I think the writer successful where our American poets are prone to fail, in the sweetness and finish of his melodies. He has a true ear, and the language is very flexible in his hands. Then, the book has a great charm for scholars in the genuine love it betrays of the Greek and Latin muses. Indeed, the vigor with which the old talismanic names are articulated again indicates not only correct taste, but high original power. My recollections of a very pleasant walk with the author many years ago revived on the reading, and I heartily wish he may yet concentrate his genius to resist the anti-poetic influences of Massachusetts. I wish you would convey to him, if you know him, my thanks and congratulations for his book.

R. W. EMERSON.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 14, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

NO WRITERS in THE INDEX, editorial or other, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own. For all unsigned editorial matter, B. F. UNDERWOOD, the office editor, is responsible.

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 3 Tremont Place, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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POETRY.

For *The Index.*

HYLAS.

The noontide glowed with fervent heat,
And deeper tanned the grain;
With iteration fierce repeat
The cicads shrill their strain.

Laving his feet the river's wave
A mirror 'neath him flowed,
Where glassed in dew the welkin blue
With softened splendor showed.

As in a dream witched by the gleam
Of nether heaven he stood,—
Enamoured of the boy uprose
The daughters of the flood.

"Soft blooms the down upon your cheek,
Where rose and ivory blend,—
From scorching air to grottoes fair,
O stripling sweet, descend.

"In cooling wave delights to lave
The sun at eventide,
With heightened sheen ascends serene
The moon from ocean wide."

Streamed long and fair the naiads' hair,
Appealed their eyes of blue;
From summer's glow to grots below
The youth their glamour drew.

His loss deplore forevermore
The reapers in their lays;
While falls the grain, their plaintive strain
Makes sad the harvest days.

B. W. BALL.

NOTE.—Apropos of the above lines, among the husbandmen of ancient Greece and Western Asia there were sung at harvest time and the period of greatest summer heat, when the Dog-star rages, certain mournful ditties, which lamented the fate of certain deified boys or youths of rare beauty, who were fabled to have perished by drowning or to have been devoured by rabid dogs. Their untimely fate was lamented by reapers in melancholy songs. These youths were variously called Hylas, Linus, Bormus, and Adonis. But the real object of lamentation, as Müller says in his *Literature of Ancient Greece*, was the tender beauty of spring blasted by the summer heat. This evanescent bloom was personified and bewailed in mournful harvest songs. The ancient husbandmen, in making their annual laments for beauty too swiftly flown and blasted, were simply moved by "that sadness which cleaves to all finite existence." B. W. B.

For *The Index.*

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

(*Continued from last week.*)

The General Convention was opened in Parker Memorial Hall, Friday, June 1, at 10.30 A.M. A large audience was present. The chair was taken by the President, William J. Potter, who called the meeting to order at 10.35, and made the following introductory remarks:—

Opening Address of the President.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Again we have met for the annual convention of the Free Religious Association, and once again we would strike the key-note of our principle. In brief, that principle is *freedom in religion.* And, alongside of it, we would place on the one hand *fellowship,*—fellowship in spirit and in aim, whatever be the differences of opinion; and, on the other side, we would place *character,*—upright, aspiring, pure *moral character* as the chief aim and crowning product of religion, of liberty of thought, and of all things else that are genuine. But *freedom* is our central principle,—entire liberty for the human mind before all the problems of speculation and belief, before all the problems of institutions and methods, in the domain of religion. It is claimed, I know,—and it is claimed more now than it was sixteen years ago, when the Free Religious Association was organized,—that liberty has been achieved; that there is now quite enough of liberty in religion; that what we want now is more of religion, and perhaps a little less of liberty. For one, I am ready to admit that there is a good deal of liberty manifested in the world without religion, without even the essential thing in religion,—morals; and, on the other hand, there is still a good deal of religion in the world without liberty; and also, I am sorry to say, a good deal that is called religion without the essential thing, morality.

We, then, would seek to combine the three,—liberty, religion, morals; and we say that the time has not yet come to take down the standard of liberty. Notwithstanding all the progress that has been made in that direction within the last twenty-five years, notwithstanding all the progress that may be claimed to have been made since this Association was organized, there are significant signs that liberty is not yet achieved. Look over across the Atlantic. A man thrice elected as a member of Parliament has thrice been refused his seat because his faith is not the faith of the majority of the people of England; or rather, perhaps, because he is so frank and candid as to confess his unbelief in the doctrines professed by the majority. Not until such a case as that is impossible is liberty attained. Look into the recent incidents of our own country. Look at what has happened within the very last year at Andover Theological Seminary,—a seminary that professes to be in the line of progress, and is progressive. Yet, within this very last year, a man, elected by the board of trustees of that seminary for a professorship there, was refused his place by another board that had the veto power, not because there was any defect in his learning, not because of any deficiency in his intellectual qualifications or in his character, but simply because his belief did not square with the written creed of Andover. Look at the various sects and churches. Liberty of thought achieved! Why, the great Roman Catholic Church is still proclaiming the infallibility of the Pope; has actually gone back, within our own generation, from a principle which was capable of development toward freedom,—namely, that the right of declaring the doctrines of the Church at any time rested in the whole Church itself, as represented in its bishops,—and, in place of this, now asserts the doctrine of the infallibility of one man. In the old-school Orthodoxy, the creeds of a generation ago are still the standards. There may be here and there a good deal of secret unbelief in them, yet they are still held up as the proper prescription for faith. And, in the new-school Orthodoxy, the question still is how far any man shall be permitted to depart from these standards and still be considered as rightfully within the fold. Even in Unitarianism, where we have many friends, in whose ranks we count a good many members, the advance guard of all the sects,—unless perhaps we may except a portion of the Hicksite division of the Quakers, to which our revered and sainted Lucretia Mott belonged,—even in the Unitarian ranks there is a limit drawn at the name "Christian." I see that our friend, Mr. Frothingham, in a speech last evening at the Festival of the Unitarian Association, took occasion to congratulate that denomination that it now had all the liberty that could be required; that there was no occasion now for any new departure, no occasion for any one to go out of that body; that the doors were all open for free entrance or for free exit, and the windows all open to the light of day. The speech sounded very much like those elegantly finished, noble speeches that he used to make on the platform of the Free Religious Association, when he was describing the objects and aims of this movement. So that it seemed to me that, while he had not essentially changed his views, he had rather mistaken the place for uttering them, and was tempted to be somewhat too cordial and too amiable toward his hosts of the occasion. So long as I see this line drawn by the Christian name; so long as I see the young men in the Unitarian theological schools told that they must prepare themselves for the Christian ministry, and must sign a pledge to that effect in order to avail themselves of the beneficiary funds of those institutions,—so long liberty is not achieved, even in the ranks of that very liberal and very progressive denomination. And so long as these events and incidents, which we may recall from the most recent history of religious movements, are possible, so long there is occasion and demand for the Free Religious movement, and so long this Association will hold its course, as I trust, in full confidence and hope and courage.

It is sometimes said, however, that even the Free Religious Association assumes something that is not submitted to investigation,—that it assumes religion. Let us look at that for a moment. How does the Free Religious Association assume religion? Simply as one of the facts in human history; simply as the scientific man assumes the earth, which becomes the material for his science; simply as the physiologist assumes the human body as the substratum of the facts which he is to inquire into and explain. So, looking back through all the ages of human history, we see this dominant, omnipresent fact—the fact of religion—giving the law to governments in the early times, creating literatures that have existed from the earliest day to the present, moulding social movements, inspiring individual character, taking hold of man at the very centre of his being, and sending him off sometimes on vagrant errands into the clouds and into the mysteries, and causing him even to commit great injustices and cruelties; yet again pushing him into conflicts with immorality, with passion, with crime, with sordid selfishness, to the permanent welfare and uplifting of humanity. This dominant, all-penetrating force in human history is certainly a very solid, a very powerful fact; and this fact the Free Religious Association assumes, just as science assumes the facts of nature. But the explanation of that fact, the philosophy of that fact, all this is left free. And here is the distinct point of difference between this Association and other religious movements and utterances. If there be any who say that religion *has* been a power in human history, but is now to pass away, they are perfectly free to come here and give expression to that belief. Our organization gives room for them. If there be any who think that morality is now the one thing to be named and emphasized, that that is the one force in the history of religion which should survive, and the only force in its past which is worth advocating, this platform is free for their utterances. All that we assume, then, is the fact of religion. The explanation or philosophy of the fact, the methods of religion, the institutions of religion, the beliefs concerning it, all these are to be submitted to the free inquiry of the human mind.

And there have always been in our movement two classes of minds who have approached this great problem of religion, or, we may say, this great problem of the universe, from quite different points of view, and yet have adopted the same method of freedom. We may define them, in a general way, as those who on the one hand have approached the problem of religion, or the problem of the universe (for it is about the same thing), from the side of mind, those who have specially studied the intellectual development of humanity, the literatures of the race, the social movements, the moral and philan-

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thropic progress; then, on the other hand, there are those who have approached this problem of the universe from the side of the natural, material world, using the same method, or that of free inquiry and free observation, taking in all the facts, and then trying to work out a philosophical theory that shall include all the facts and suit them. And it so happens that this morning we are to have both of these classes of minds that have contributed so largely to the Free Religious movement spoken for. A year ago, at our convention, reference was briefly made (all too briefly for the need) to two recent deaths,—the death of Ralph Waldo Emerson and the death of Charles Darwin,—two men who represented pre-eminently these two classes of minds that I have spoken of, two men who, perhaps more than any other two that could be named, have been instrumental in producing the Free Religious movement. To-day, we are to take a larger opportunity, give more adequate room for speaking of those men and of their contributions to the cause of freedom of thought, of social freedom, and of freedom in religion; and we are very happy in having with us to introduce that subject one who has always been welcome on the platform of the Free Religious Association, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and who would have come here last year to speak particularly of Emerson, had not sickness prevented. This year, he is here, and will introduce this large subject, including, however, in his address to-day not only Emerson, but Darwin; and his address will be followed by Mr. Mead and Mr. Chadwick, who will speak respectively of the two factors, the Emerson side and the Darwin side, in the Free Religious movement. I have now the great pleasure of introducing to you Colonel Higginson.

Address of Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—What I shall have to say will be, I suppose, mainly in the nature of a preface to what will be said more fully and elaborately by those who are more especially experts on their different themes, and who are to follow me. What I say will be said necessarily off-hand. In the midst of absorbing engagements, I have elaborated nothing; and I only hope that I shall not put you in the painful position of the readers of those German books, who, when they are committed to what they suppose is only a preface, find that it turns out longer than all the rest of the book put together.

What any one says about either of those great men who have been mentioned must, if he has ever met them, be to some degree personal in its character. No one ever met either of them in private, who could separate the works from the man afterward. I, at least, cannot. Therefore, I must speak a little with a view to their personality, and perhaps even their aspect in home life, although I trust I shall have grace not to go very far into that subject, remembering that this is an age which relentlessly gives us everything, and in the case of the Carlyle family does not even spare us the servants' wages and the washing bills.

It was my experience in England, eleven years ago, as I suppose it is often the experience of Americans in their first hurried run through Europe, more than once to have to make the selection for a given day between two different objects of interest. Sometimes, it comes to so close and definite a comparison that you even have to choose, not between one building and another building, one man and another man, but between a building and a man, or between a man and a building. I always went upon the principle, in such cases, that in England a building would probably last, but that even in England a man might not. I never have regretted surrendering Salisbury Cathedral for the sake of Tennyson, although Tennyson still lives. I shall be forever grateful that on a certain spring day I gave up York Minster for Darwin; for York Minster is only more beautiful with every year, while the visitor to England to-day finds it empty of its greatest naturalist. And I never shall forget,—what American ever forgets his first English lane and his first English village?—I never shall forget the delicious, dewy ride in early morning through the lovely lanes of Kent, amid all that soft greenness, that ancient moss, that venerable village, those haunts of ancient peace, up the gently sloping hill that led to one of those ideal English country houses, one of those cottages embowered, or, as one might almost say, coining a word, *enlawned* in verdure, which was in this case the home of Darwin. I remember that I felt as I approached it as Emerson felt, he said, at the foot of the stairs that led to an observatory, "This is the ladder to the stars." I never can quite hope to approach with more reverence any human home than that which filled my heart as I found myself there. Then came the hospitable welcome, the successive glimpses of that great man. I remember him as I first saw him coming toward me to meet me in the parlor,—a man whom I looked up physically as well as spiritually to recognize. He struck me at the moment, at the first glance, as looking like a more gracious and genial and benignant Bryant; having that noble aspect in his face which, mingled with too much coldness of expression, marked that great dead poet of ours. I remember that first impression of him; and I remember afterward, when, after dinner, his sons and I strolled out in the garden, he came to meet us. There was still this lofty figure, walking with some difficulty (for he was in poor health, then), resting one hand upon the shoulder of his wife, and the other hand propped upon a staff taller than himself, and singularly recalling some of his own speculations and some of the suggestions that I had heard made on his personal appearance. I remember still further, following out the same associations, how, when he came back into the house afterward and sat high, as he always did, on a sofa, with two or three thick cushions beneath him, that there, by his own fireside, he still held this long staff upright in both hands and resting against it. I thought I had seen a similar figure in books of natural history.

I remember, at a later visit,—for again, after an interval of six years, it was my privilege to spend a night in his house,—I remember the changed aspect of the man, the somewhat drooping figure, the rather shrunken form, the same infinite benignity and sweetness of bearing; and I remember then, early in the morning, looking out, before even the early family breakfast, and seeing him hurrying in from the remoter part of the green garden, with a great shawl wrapped around his head, his white hair and beard emerging from it,—a singularly unconscious, absorbed, eager figure. I asked his son afterward what his father was out there at that time in the morning for, in his impaired condition of health. "Oh, yes," said his son: "he is always at it. He always says he is not doing anything at all. But he always has one of his little experiments, as he calls them, going on out there in the garden; and he has to look at them two or three times every night."

Those glimpses, slight though they may be, with many that I cannot so freely speak of (for I cannot overcome that reluctance to give details of private interviews, which still lingers, as I think, among Americans, although our English cousins seem to have got bravely over it), fill my memory of Darwin. I never can see a man whose personal aspect is more in keeping with one's expectations, never one in whom the nobleness and sweetness of the inner life identify themselves more with all the action and the demeanor of the outward man.

And, turning from Darwin in his English home, his ancestral home, I might almost call it,—I do not know whether it was so, but every English home looks ancestral when a family has been in it for ten years,—turning from that to the typical American home of Emerson,—the home that it is needless to describe, because so many of us remember it,—one feels that in the one case for England, as in the other case for America, one would wish nothing taken from any memory, any glimpse, however slight, one may have had of such a home. And, when I remember almost the last glimpse I had of Emerson in his own home, it is as sitting with a look of perfect peace upon his face, with his little grandson on his knee, playing with the baby like any other benignant grandfather (or, perhaps I might say, father), dandling it in his left arm, and with his right arm raising and lowering the fingers of his hand and watching the baby's eager curiosity. "This," he said to me, "is a little philosopher. Look at him! He philosophizes on everything. He is philosophizing on my fingers." When I dismiss Emerson from my memory in that last picture, I feel that I have linked him with the coming generation, linked him with his own posterity. And what more, and what sweeter dismissal, can any human being have?

Emerson! Darwin! The two men who, more than any others, have represented this period. How daring it would be in me to attempt in half an hour a parallelism that would cost hours of thought and a large book to print it in! Let me only suggest to you three or four points where these lives were singularly brought side by side,—two or three points where two men who hardly took much direct cognizance of each other's work yet seem absolutely united, to those who look at them from the point of view which is represented here.

Here is the fact, in the first place, that each of these men temporarily—Emerson for America, first, then Darwin for England—assumed, for a time, for his own nation, the leadership of modern thought. There is no question, there can be no question to those who remember the points of contact between England and this country thirty years ago, that Emerson, beyond any Englishman, beyond any Anglo-Saxon, then represented for England and for America, and through them to Europe, the leadership of thought. You may suggest Carlyle, if you please. Carlyle was an impulse, "a voice crying in the wilderness." But the guiding thought of the age was with Emerson. There was a long time during which, instead of the shrines being European and the pilgrims American, as formerly, it seemed as if the process were at last reversed,—as if the shrines were American, and the pilgrims European. Concord was the shrine; and Concord represented to England, and through England to Continental writers,—we who lived in that period saw it recognized everywhere,—Concord represented the dawn of a new impulse, the impress of new thought upon the age. That impress was temporary, as all impressions are. It passed by. No sooner had it passed by than, in just the same way for England, and through England for the civilized world, Darwin recaptured for the Anglo-Saxon race that leadership in thought which we had too hastily supposed had passed to France and to Germany. We who can remember the close of the great line of the German metaphysicians, we who can remember the temporary sway of the French eclectics,—we know what a thing it was to have, by a sudden movement,—the movement of a hand, as it were,—the sceptre of thought restored to England that had been taken from England since the days of Newton. That impress still lasts, or is only partially showing signs of waning. At any rate, it existed. The parallelism between the two men, therefore, began with this extraordinary fact, that each in his turn held the leadership of thought in the name of the Anglo-Saxon race which they represented.

Then, when you look at the manner in which this prominence came about, you find a second parallelism in this fact, that in neither case was the man an isolated phenomenon. Neither was the sudden flowering of a genealogy hitherto unknown, nor was either a sudden convert from some remote form of thinking. Each came to it by the gentlest, wholesomest, healthiest guidance of inheritance. Emerson was the son of a clergyman among the leaders of the liberal sort of his age; the grandson of a clergyman who, of all others, has left us the best description of the opening scenes of the Revolution; the descendant of a line of clergymen, on both sides, apart from these. Darwin, on the other hand, was the grandson of a man of science like himself, and only less noted than himself in his day; the son of a man of similar tastes; a man who very strangely took up and carried out scientifically the very surmises which his grandfather had only hazarded in a crude and half-deliberate way. How striking then was the correspondence between the two! Neither was born into mental subjugation, neither had to struggle into freedom. Both of them found the path open to them, and supports outside answering to the hereditary tendencies within. When I asked Darwin what he thought of what seemed then a singular circumstance,—that Huxley, antagonistic to the English Church, had had his child baptized into it, and that Tyndall was said to have approved that measure,—Darwin gently and charitably put the question by. But when I said that sometimes it happened to men to feel that their children ought to begin a little farther back than their own position, that it was fair to children not to start them at the utmost verge of the father's progress, but to begin in a little more conservative attitude, Darwin shook his head at that. "I see no need of it," said he. "My father and grandfather, so far as I can find out, were just as much heretics as I am; and when I look at my sons," he said, turning with an expression of infinite happiness to his two affec-

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tionate and high-minded sons, who sat by us,—"when I look at my sons, I do not see but that they have turned out as well as other people's sons, in spite of it." Both of these great men, therefore, had this parallelism also, that the thing came to them naturally. They were themselves a part of the evolution they proclaimed.

Then, as to that proclaiming, we find a third parallelism. What Darwin proclaimed we all know; and we sometimes speak as if Emerson, in his impatience of consecutive thought, his purely poetic method, was wholly antagonistic to Darwin. It seems to me just the other way. I should think that every one who was in active thought at the time when Darwin first came forward, every one here, at least, must remember how directly the training of Emerson prepared us to receive all that Darwin had to suggest. The thought of unity in creation,—Darwin justified, formulated it, gave a working hypothesis for it; an hypothesis which, though criticised now from so many points, perhaps destined to be criticised more and more, still has given such an enormous impetus to human thought. Darwin formulated the doctrine of the unity of creation; but it is impossible to put that unity into words more definite and unequivocal than those in which Emerson had stated it fifteen years before, not merely in his original book on *Nature*, but in his essay on Nature, in his second series of *Essays*. Do not be alarmed,—it is the only written quotation which I shall inflict upon you. In the second volume of his *Essays:* "How far off," he says, after speaking of the first geologic epochs, "how far off is the trilobite! how far the quadruped! how inconceivably remote is man! All duly arrived, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to oyster; further yet to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet it must come as surely as the atom has two sides." And elsewhere in the same essay he says: "Plants are the young of the earth. . . . The animal is the novice and probationer of a more advanced order; and man, though young, having tasted the first drop from the cup of thought, is already dissipated. The maples and ferns are uncorrupt; yet no doubt, when they come to consciousness, they too will curse and swear." Is not that evolution? Could any more effectual statement be made from the poet's side of that which slower science, fifteen years after, was to state as the origin of species? In the whole history of human thought, it seems to me there has been no such triumphant instance of the manner in which the poet and the man of science, working side by side, seeming to separate, unite at last, and give the world the great thought which is to renovate it,—not one-sided only, not orphaned, but with science for its father and poetry for its mother, a perfect birth, destined henceforward to live and to remould the world.

Then again there is a fourth parallelism in the fact that this, as our chairman has justly indicated, was not in either man a merely barren ideal speculation. How promptly Emerson came from his closet to answer every call of public duty we know; and nothing was more delightful to me than to find Darwin, in the only letter I ever received from him, —a letter written after reading a little book of mine in regard to colored soldiers of the South,—expressing the most warm, cordial, trustful interest in the whole nature and prospect of the negro race, saying that for forty years he had been inclined to that opinion, and that time had only justified it. "Forty years ago," he said, "the observations I made in Brazil were such as your book only confirms." I cannot but remember with regret how at that period even our own great Agassiz—great in his domain, which the greater greatness of Darwin should not banish from our minds—had lent to Nott and Glidden the support of his own reputation in their miserably low estimate of the colored race, and how he admitted to me himself that it was largely the course of the colored soldiers in the war which had convinced him at last that the race which they represented ought no longer to be excluded from citizenship. Thus in Emerson and in Darwin we see the same readiness to recognize great practical truths in the affairs of men as to see the beauty and power of their ideal or scientific study.

Then, again, it is to be remembered forever with joy that both these men had the courage of their opinions. How far Emerson had it let this transmitted courage which he has given to all of us in New England for all these years answer,—the courage which he transmitted to Theodore Parker,—a courage which infused a finer and loftier strain in what might otherwise have been the too combative temperament of that other great man. In the case of Darwin, let the changed condition of England answer,—a change still, as our chairman has said, imperfect, but utterly transformed in its higher aspects since Darwin lived. The calm strength of Darwin, his unflinching acceptance of all the consequences of his thought, combined with his heroic refusal to leap to any consequences in advance of the facts, these have told on all English society to-day. They have told but imperfectly. Emerson has not wholly liberalized us. Darwin has not completely liberalized England. I felt, when the chairman just now gave his illustrations of the manner in which England still needed to be enlightened, that there was an instance that presses more home upon us than either which he mentioned, because it is a thing not to be found in the ranks of the conservatives, like the exclusion of Mr. Bradlaugh and the rejection of the Affirmation Act, but in the action of the reformers of England themselves. A thousand affirmation acts might be rejected and a generation of Bradlaughs kept out of the House of Commons with less injury to the progress of the world, less affront to free thought, than when, only the other day, if the newspapers tell truth, the University College of London, a free-thinking institution, an agnostic institution, an institution which was so fearful of religion that it would not have James Martineau for a professor because he was a clergyman,—when that institution rejected from the doors of its botany classes two young girls, Miss Besant and Miss Holyoke, because their fathers were atheists! We have our sins to answer for; but I do not know an institution in America which would do anything as bad as that.* There is not among us a heretic so great, there is not a man in *The Index* office or a man in the *Investigator* office, there is not even in the law office of Col. Robert Ingersoll himself, there is not a man in America with so bad a reputation, but what, if his daughters presented themselves at the door of any college, so far as I know, even the most conservative, that college would be eager to admit them, and give them all it could teach of botany; and, in the excess of its generosity, it would even fling in as much theology as they would accept in addition.

But, besides the analogy between Emerson and Darwin as to the courage of their opinions, it is also to be remembered that both of them had a quality almost as rare, which may be called the modesty of their opinions. Both of them recognized their own limitations. There is not in the history of literature, there is not in the history of thought, a more touching manifestation of intellectual humility than is to be found in Emerson's early letter to a man who had reproved him,—a man whom we now see to have been infinitely his inferior in everything that makes up thought, the Rev. Henry Ware. Emerson's letter to Ware, acknowledging the imperfections and defects of his own thought, waiving all claims for himself, stands supreme in the literature of such confessions. And always I think of Emerson in the manner in which he subordinated always his own philosophic thought before Alcott, in the way in which he subordinated his own poetic genius before Whitman, in the way in which all his life he was accepting and treating almost as his superiors men whom I, at least, can find only far below and behind him. I see the same thing even in the magnificent compliment paid by Darwin to Herbert Spencer. I—to my shame and reproach be it spoken, perhaps—am still compelled to see in that only an evidence of the same wonderful modesty of the great man.

And then, again, that leads naturally to one point more of parallelism. It seems to me that each of these great men in dying is like the other in this, that each has, in a strict sense, founded no school, left no disciple. This antecedent hereditary power of thought, coming through several generations, seems to have reached its climax in each; and, when each passes, what follows to take its place? You say, in Darwin's case, Is it not founding a school to have had, in the German list, I think it is three hundred and twelve separate books written about him? Is not that founding a school? No. As long as a man has only a dozen books written about him, he may have founded a school. When the number of books is counted by hundreds, the school is scattered: the Nile is lost among the multitude of its outlets. No: it seems to me that no one to-day dares to be so unscientific as Emerson on one side, or to be so purely scientific as Darwin on the other side. Instead of the essentially poetic method of Emerson,—if you can say that there is such a thing as a poetic method of Emerson,—we have the Concord Summer School of Philosophy, whose merits I do not question, but which aims at and continually strives for something which Emerson never even wished for in his life,—that is, to have a system. In the case of Darwin, we have,—since I have already got myself into disgrace with a good many of my present audience, I may as well go a little farther, and disgrace myself yet more, —in the case of Darwin, instead of his slow, deliberate, careful, scientific method, his inexhaustibly laborious research after facts, his stopping for years, if necessary, for knowledge of some one fact that will fill his gap, and telling you that he has stopped there, and why he has stopped there,—instead of that, in the writer who is, more than any one, the recognized leader of the school of evolution, or the school which calls itself evolution, we have a vast miscellaneous activity of mind, an enormous drag-net flung out everywhere, bringing in all sorts of things, valuable and valueless, together; treating history as a thing to be written in advance of the facts, not after the facts; treating science as a study in which you are to provide yourselves with a system, and then pick out your facts to prove it. We have, as it seems to me,—I know how irreverent I shall seem to many,—we have in the method of Herbert Spencer the antipodes of the method of Darwin. If one is science, the other is not science. So, at least, it seems to me.

These points of parallelism between the careers and the intellectual position of these great men are at least so absorbingly interesting that they may justify me perhaps for having lingered too long upon them, and for having exercised over those who are to speak afterward that tyranny of the first comer who uses up more than his share of the time, and then graciously apologizes for it, and says he is very sorry. I can only say this, in closing: Let us all be grateful to the end of time that we have lived in an age where the two great representatives of intellect were men who needed no commiseration, no apology, no evasion of the truth: not balancing their faults against their virtues, their calamities against their successes, but exhibiting to us two noble careers, each clear and almost perfect in its way. They never antagonized each other. Neither of them ever antagonized anybody, or had a dispute with any one. Both of them led lives truly satisfactory and noble to dwell upon. How much that is! What satisfaction we often have to take in this world in the most contradictory and inadequate lives! If we can only get something out of each life that seems noble, that usually seems a good deal to us. And yet here were two lives in which we find nothing to lament. I read the other day, in Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, his account of an occasion in England when he was invited to dine with a friend, and was promised three things. He was promised turtle and venison, and a great man. He says: "I accepted the invitation. The turtle was good, the venison was delicious, but the great man was intolerable." In a world of half greatness, in a world of incompleteness, what peculiar good fortune is ours to have lived in the presence of two lives so symmetrical and noble that we can only find material for comparison between the two, but no material for apologies or regret in the case of either!

*Mr. Higginson had evidently trusted to some imperfect newspaper report of this incident. Mrs. Besant and Miss Bradlaugh are the ladies rejected. An account of the matter, taken from the London *Inquirer*, may be found in another column.—ED.

A TRANSLATION OF CARDINAL SIMEONI'S CIRCULAR TO THE IRISH BISHOPS.

Whatever judgment may be entertained respecting Parnell and his purposes, it is known for certain that too many of his underlings have, in many cases, adopted a method of action which is manifestly at variance with that which the Supreme Pontiff enunciated in his letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, and which was contained in the instructions of this Sacred Congregation unanimously received by the bishops of Ireland in their very latest convention at Dublin. Certainly, this letter did not deny the

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right (*fas*) of the Irish to seek an alleviation of their grievances or to struggle for their rights (*suo jure*). But that divine injunction—namely, that the kingdom of God and his righteousness ought first to be sought—must ever be observed. Moreover, it is wicked to promote even a just cause by wicked methods. Furthermore, it is the duty of the entire clergy, and, in an especial manner, of the bishops, to quiet the aroused passions of the multitude, and recall them to justice and that moderation which is necessary in all things, lest, led on by a too eager pursuit of their object, they should see profit in a deceitful and misleading policy, and place the hope of public property in the perpetration of infamous crimes. Hence, it follows that it is not lawful for any one of the clergy to swerve from these rules or to mix themselves with, or co-operate in, promoting these movements, which are utterly incompatible with prudence and the office of allaying popular excitement. Certainly, it is not intended to forbid the collection of money for the relief of Irish distress; but the aforesaid apostolic mandates unqualifiedly reprobate all such collections as are made avowedly for the purpose of inflaming popular feeling and enabling conspirators against law and order easily to take advantage of such inflamed feeling in furtherance of their lawless designs. Especially must there be an abstention from the promotion of such collections of money, since it has become perfectly manifest that hatreds are thereby excited, and taunts and insults heaped upon prominent men, and the crime of assassination with which flagitious men have polluted themselves is in no wise condemned, and particularly since it is asserted that the measure of a real love of fatherland is to be estimated by the amount of money contributed or withheld, whereby it happens that men seem to be coerced to make such contributions under stress of force or fear. These principles of action having been laid down, it ought to be evident to your lordship (*Amplitudini*) that the money collected in aid of what is called the Parnell Testimonial Fund cannot be approved by this Sacred Congregation, and that hence it is not lawful for ecclesiastics, especially not for bishops, to commend or promote such collection in any manner whatever. Meantime, I pray God that he may keep your lordship (*Amplitudini*) long in health, happiness, and prosperity.

This document bears date May 11, 1883, at the house of the Sacred Congregation for the propagation of the faith, and is signed by John Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect, and by Dominicus, Archbishop of Tyre.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE MATHERS.

Editors of The Index:—

In response to the kindly criticism of Mrs. Gunning, permit me to say that, whatever reliance is to be placed on the testimony of Robert Calef, there can be no question that the Mathers, father and son, were clergymen of conspicuous eminence at a time when clergymen had a preponderating influence in civil affairs, and that their writings, which were voluminous, were such as tended to produce the state of mind which made "Salem witchcraft" possible. In the very year in which Increase Mather was made President of Harvard College, he issued his work on *Illustrious Providences* (a copy of which I have before me, published at Boston in 1684), which is little else than a collection of marvellous tales of occurrences said to have taken place, for the most part, in New England, most of which he attributes to the agency of supernatural beings, chiefly to devils. Thunder storms, according to him, are sometimes caused by Satan, the Prince of the Power of the Air, and sometimes by good angels. He devotes a chapter to proofs of the interposition of the devil in human affairs, drawing his proofs (?) first from the Bible and second from human testimony, ancient and modern, citing many alleged facts which he asserts were undoubtedly "preternatural and diabolical." The tales he gravely relates manifest a degree of credulity which would be amazing in a man of so much learning, did we not take into account the superstitions in which he had been reared.

Now, when we consider that this was the man whom the colony sent to England in 1688 to procure a new charter, and that *he had the appointment of all the officers under this charter*, and that Boston and Salem were sister cities of the same colony, it will be difficult to see that the Mathers "were identified with the history of witchcraft in Boston only."

We must also remember that the clergy were then consulted in reference to all important civil matters. When the "Tragedy in Salem Village" opened, in the beginning of 1692, the General Court, Governor, and Council requested the opinion of several of the principal ministers on the laws as they then were (proceedings in cases of witchcraft had hitherto been "according to the directions given in the Laws of God and the wholesome Statutes of the English Nation"); and, in conformity with the written opinion of these clergymen, a new and more verbose statute on the subject was enacted. Of this "opinion," which consisted of eight articles, Cotton Mather himself says, "It was my poor hand which drew up that advice." (See *Some Few Remarks*, p. 39, of his "War" with Calef.)

Later (in 1698), Cotton Mather wrote of Salem witchcraft as follows: "As to our case at Salem, I conceive it proceeded from some mistaken principles; as that Satan cannot assume the shape of an innocent person, and in that shape do mischief to the bodies and estates of mankind," etc.; and this: "Experience showed that the more there were apprehended, the more were still afflicted by Satan; and the number of confessors increasing did but increase the number of the accused; and the executing of some made way for the apprehending of others: for still the afflicted complained of being tormented by new objects, as the former were removed. So those that were concerned" (was not Cotton Mather one of them?—he speaks of it as "our case," *e.g.*) "grew amazed at the number and quality of the persons accused, and feared that Satan by his wiles had enwrapped innocent persons under the imputation of that crime. And, at last, it was evidently seen that there must be a stop put, or the generation of the children of God would fall under the condemnation. Henceforth, therefore, the juries generally acquitted such as were tried, fearing they had gone too far."

I pass no judgment on the Mathers. Their course was the logical consequence of their belief. Admitting Bible infallibility, witchcraft was real, and witches must not be suffered to live. The problem was how to discover the witches. They solved it as best they could.

When we read the sad tales of the trials of these innocent victims,—one of whom was an old man of eighty years,—and remember that the eight principal accusers were between the ages of eleven and twenty, and that out of the eight but two could write their names, and that yet between March, 1692, and May, 1693, nearly two hundred persons had been dragged to prison under color of law and the form of a trial, we can but cry, "O Superstition, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Fortunate it was that Gov. Phipps had at last the good sense to release the one hundred and fifty still in duress, and put an end to the shocking tragedies.

The question of fixing the responsibility for these events does not so much concern us as does the breaking up of the superstition which still lingers, though under other forms. E. J. L.

"THE DOGMATISM OF THE SYNAGOGUE."

Editors of The Index:—

In the valuable article on "Religious Rationalism in the United States," by Count Goblet d'Alviella, the following passage occurs: "There are reformed Jews every day becoming more numerous in the United States, who have not followed Mr. Adler in his 'ethical religion,' but who have not the less broken away from the dogmatism of the synagogue." Seventy-five per cent. of the Jewish congregations of America are composed of Reformed Jews; but they have not broken away from the dogmatism of the synagogue, as the synagogue never had any dogmatism to break away from. Never has there existed an official Jewish creed accepted by the adherents of Judaism. When the attempt was made by Maimonides, in the twelfth century, to write a *credo*, and to impose its acceptation upon all the Israelites, attempt proved unsuccessful; and, since that time, the effort has never been renewed. Were it to be attempted to-day, it would meet with the same successful opposition as it encountered seven hundred years ago. Judaism has never suffered from dogmatism; and, even in the darkest ages of its history, the Jewish rabbi and layman were always perfectly free, as far as their beliefs and opinions were concerned. Those who are familiar with Talmudical and post-Talmudical literature did not wait for modern Liberalism or Felix Adler to tell them that Moses never ascended to heaven; that God never descended to earth; that revelation was not confined to any particular time or place; that there were in other nations prophets as great as Moses; that natural law was inviolable; that the sun and moon never stood still at the command of Joshua; that the doctrine of Providence might be interpreted to mean the intellect in man, and that its effects are proportionate to the measure and extent of the intellectual endowments possessed by the individual; that eternal punishment is a myth; that Moses never wrote the Pentateuch; and that the prophetical books were not necessarily composed by the men whose names they bear. Every one of these assertions have been made by the authors of the Talmud, Ibn Esra, Maimonides, or Joseph Kaspi; and they were "members in good standing" of the Jewish synagogue. Of course, Judaism asserts the unity of God and the eventual triumph of justice upon earth. But these are not dogmas: they are postulates of reason. The first is asserted upon purely intellectual grounds by Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, bk. xi., chap. vii.); and human reason has not changed much since his days. The second is demonstrated by Herbert Spencer upon purely logical grounds (*Social Statics*, chap. ii.). The "dogmatism of the synagogue" is an empty phrase, *vox et praeterea nihil*. DR. DAVID STERN.

WILKESBARRE, PA., June, 1883.

A DEFECT IN GEORGE'S ARGUMENT.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 1, 1883.

Editors of The Index:—

Several references in *The Index* to *Progress and Poverty* impel me to offer a single criticism on the book; namely, that Mr. George's whole argument would have gained very much in practical effect, if he had shown in detail that his plan *would leave small land-owners as safe in their ownership as they are now.* That is, Mr. George does not describe any equivalent for the deed, recorded in the Book of Records of Land of the town or county, which is Smith's trustworthy and secure evidence that he bought his farm from Brown, and that the farm is his, Smith's.

I hold that, up to the present day, the moral strength of any nation is (roughly, of course) to be measured by the proportion of its people who are independent land-owners, cultivating their own land. This I understand to be Mr. George's belief. But, at the same time, I think his book is calculated to repel exactly this class, by not proving with sufficient clearness that they would be just as safe in their ownership on his principles as they are now. And this omission is the more important, for the reason that his plan would make, otherwise, one sufficiently great call on the disinterestedness and honesty of the land-owners,—I mean in making them pay over in cash all the taxes. No matter if they are to get the amount back in increased prices for produce, the payment of direct taxes in cash is the strongest strain on honesty applied by government to citizens.

Mr. George should show a system of registration of ownerships as cheap, easy, and efficient as the usual American methods. If he would do this, he would, I believe, tenfold the power of his doctrine.

FREDERICK B. PERKINS.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE DOOM OF THE MAJORITY. By Samuel J. Barrows, editor of the *Christian Register*. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1883. pp. 151. Price 50 cents.

Some months ago, Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., of Boston, said in a public address that, before Orthodoxy could revise its creeds, it must revise its estimate of the Bible, since certain scripture texts "are alleged as certifying that the vast majority of the human race are to be the victims of endless woe." This statement was challenged by Rev. Mr. Withrow, of the Park Street Church of this city. Mr. Barrows replied at considerable length in the *Register*. The discussion and the questions which grew out of it furnished the material for this volume. The author aims to show that the doctrine of the damnation of the majority of mankind is a part of the orthodox creed. The evidence offered covers the following points: 1. Evangelical Christians have taught this as a Scripture doctrine. 2. It is taught by evangeli-

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cal creeds. 3. It is still taught by evangelical denominations. These propositions are supported by indisputable testimony, taken from the writings of recognized representatives of Orthodoxy. In the last chapter, the author presents what he regards as a rational mode of interpreting the Bible. The numerous quotations from evangelical writers make the book valuable for ready reference. Mr. Barrows has done his work with thoroughness and fairness; and his little volume can hardly fail to contribute to weaken in some degree the irrational dogmas against which it is directed,—dogmas which, were they true, would prove God to be a monster of cruelty and meanness, compared with whom the most hardened criminals of earth should be regarded as angels of light and paragons of goodness.

CONSCIOUS MATTER; or, The Physical and Psychical universally in Causal Connection. By W. Stewart Duncan. London: David Bouge, 3 Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, W.C. pp. 128.

This little volume is an attempt to bridge the supposed chasm between physical and psychological science, and to blend in a unity phenomena generally regarded as wholly dissimilar. The author argues that the human ego is but a local condition of the one universal substance, a compound of many conditions, variable in composition and situation, and only temporarily persistent; while the elements of which it is composed—namely, the ultimate psychical elements of the universal substance—endure forever. "Matter is never dead. It may be here or there, anon asleep or unconscious, as when its psychical conditions or manifestations take the statical form; yet, again and again, it is awakened both to feeling and to action, ever changing in its forms and numbers and character, alike of body and ego, of living body and personality." With the theory that feeling is merely a concomitant of nerve-action, that consciousness is simply a concomitant of the structural organization, the author is not satisfied. He regards it as an hypothesis affording but a kind of harbor of refuge from the storms of anti-materialism, a sort of safe-like strip of *terra firma* in the midst of what appears to many as a morass. He insists that the connection between the physical and the psychical is a *causal* connection. There is one substance which is the basis and source of *all* phenomena, and that substance is *matter*. But the author applies the term "matter" not simply to the phenomenal manifestation commonly known as such, but to the "substance" or "substratum," which "means merely the unknowable entity underlying the various phenomena we call properties of matter." It is "no longer philosophical to regard it (matter) as an assemblage of entities, atoms, or particles, in greater or less isolation, and surrounded by that nonentity we call 'empty space.'" The author has a strong preference for materialistic terminology; but his thought is substantially that of the modern agnostic school of thinkers, with some little attempts at originality, which consist in presenting speculations that are familiar to all students of philosophy in the language of a school with which these speculations are not commonly associated. The style of the writer is clear, and the spirit and tone of the work are unexceptionable.

SOCIETIES FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE. Are they Beneficial or Injurious? Their Methods and Tendencies considered. By a former Vice-President of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association. Boston: Colby & Rich, 9 Montgomery Place.

The aim of this pamphlet is to show that "Societies for the Suppression of Vice, as usually conducted, are quack moral societies." Vice is regarded as a disease, and, if suppressed by external coercion, is sure to breed other and worse corruptions. It declares that the methods of Vice Societies are threats, deceptions, frauds, and lies, and points out some of their really reprehensible acts in the professed interests of purity. We think the condemnations of this writer are too unqualified, and in some respects unfair; but the statement of Sydney Smith made in reference to the London Vice Society is probably as true to-day as ever. "It is," he says, "hardly possible that a society for the suppression of vice can ever be kept within the bounds of good sense and moderation. . . . The loudest and noisiest suppressors will always carry it against the more prudent part of the community; and the most violent will be considered as the most moral, and those who see the absurdity will, from the fear of being thought to encourage vice, be reluctant to oppose it. . . . Men whose trade is rat-catching love to catch rats, the bug-destroyer seizes on his bug with delight, and the suppressor is gratified by finding his vice. . . . So much fraud and deception are necessary for carrying on his trade, it is so odious, that no man of respectability will ever undertake it." We have no doubt that the majority of those composing the societies against which this pamphlet is directed are well-meaning people, and that the societies have done much good; but some of the criticism of their methods is merited, and what is said of Comstock is probably not much in excess of the truth. He seems to be morbid in regard to certain kinds of abnormal vice, with a prurient inclination to come in contact with it and to talk about it. His representations in regard to the magnitude of the evil of indecent literature are now known to be deceptive and false; and the exhibition of his wares no longer, we are informed, impress committees as they did formerly. He seems to be about as much opposed to free thought as he professes to be opposed to obscenity, and likes to identify and confound the two things in the public mind. He is evidently in an unhealthy mental state, and does not seem to understand the difference between a work of true art and an indecent picture, or between an expression of opinion that differs from his own and obscenity. But for the course he has pursued, which has often been apparently that of a religious fanatic with a cerebral condition inclining him to dwell on lascivious acts and scenes, the foolish clamor for the total repeal of all postal laws against obscene literature never would have been made. We have not a reader, we are sure, who has any other feeling than loathing for the business of those who write and circulate really indecent literature; but a man like Comstock, who takes advantage of this righteous public sentiment against obscenity to gain sympathy and support in his opposition to free thought and his annoying publishers and artists whose work he cannot appreciate, is not fit to be the agent of any society worthy of support.

THE *Art Amateur* for June has a very interesting biographical sketch of La Farge, the decorative artist. After struggling through many difficulties, he has at last become successful and celebrated for his designs and manufacture of decorative glass. The methods are new and ingenious, and his work is much in demand. He is said to employ thirty workmen. We are glad to learn that Mr. S. A. Schoff has at length completed his engraving of William M. Hunt's charming picture of "The Bathers." The *Amateur* speaks of it in very high terms, which we doubt not are well deserved. Among the illustrations is a very spirited reproduction of J. F. Millet's "Shepherdess Knitting," and some pleasing sketches of "Etretat," a French watering place frequented by artists. This monthly keeps its standard high, and improves constantly both in its literary and artistic work.

"THE Fresh Air Fund," in prose, and "A Beautiful Charity," in verse, both illustrated in *St. Nicholas'* happiest style, are alone worth the price of the June number of this excellent juvenile magazine, as likely to interest happy and well-cared-for children and youth in this benevolent enterprise. The well-told story, "The Baptist Sisters," graphically describes the scenes incident to a cyclone; while Celia Thaxter's poem, "Flowers for the Brave," comes very appropriately so near Decoration Day.

"CHOICE LITERATURE" for May, from John B. Alden, 18 Vesey Street, New York City, contains an article entitled "An Unsolved Historical Riddle," by J. A. Froude; "Isaiah of Jerusalem," by Matthew Arnold; "The Highland Crofters," by John Stuart Blackie; "The Progress of Socialism," by Emile de Laveleye; "Richard Wagner," by Bertha Thomas; and many other articles of merit. Price 15 cents per number, or $1.00 per year.

"BABY LAND" for June is, as usual, delightful for the wee pets of the nursery.

IN the vocabulary of science there is no such word as "foreign." The sole question to be asked about any method, either of acquiring or communicating knowledge, is not, Where did it originate? but, Is it adapted to the wants of human nature?—*The Nation.*

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. ROWLAND CONNOR is giving a series of Sunday evening discourses before the Unitarian church of East Saginaw, Mich., on "Our Homes, and How to make them Happy."

THE curators of the Taylor Institution at Oxford have taken a novel step in appointing a lady, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, as examiner for the scholarship and exhibition in Spanish this year. Mrs. Ward is known to be an excellent Spanish scholar in addition to her many other attainments, and took a very active part in the various schemes for the education of women at Oxford as long as she resided there.

IT is probably altogether unique for a *savant* to be able, at one of the most distinguished scientific societies in the world, to refer to remarks which he made before the same society more than seventy years previously. A few weeks ago, M. Chevreul, whose name is well known in connection with his investigations on color, made a communication to the Académie des Sciences; and, at its close, he observed: "Moreover, gentlemen, the observation is not a new one to me. I had the honor to mention it here, at the meeting of the Académie des Sciences on the 10th of May, 1812"!

THE following interesting anecdote appears in Mathilde Blind's recent biography: "After translations from Strauss, Feuerbach, and Spinoza, and *Westminster Review* articles, George Eliot met George Henry Lewes, and began to write fiction at his suggestion. Her *Scenes of Clerical Life* and *Adam Bede* interested Mr. Blackwood so much that Lewes invited him to meet the author. No one was present at the dinner-table besides Mr. Lewes, Marian, and Mr. Blackwood himself. The dinner was an extremely pleasant one; but, when it was over, the guest could not help expressing his regret that George Eliot himself should not have been present. 'Here he is,' said Lewes, introducing the quiet, low-spoken lady who had presided at the table."

MR. W. A. CROFFUT writes in the *Independent:* "Just about a year ago, Dr. Beard called one Sunday, as he was then in the habit of doing almost every week; and we drove up through Central Park. Among the topics of conversation was Emerson, then recently dead. I called his attention to an orthodox sermon, preached the Sunday before, claiming that the Concord pantheist had 'repented' just before he died, and become a true Christian. 'Oh, yes,' said Dr. Beard, 'it is the fate of leading minds. Whenever a man dies who has discarded Christianity, but has lived a reputable and valuable life and become distinguished, the Church feels the logical necessity of making him out a true believer; and there is usually somebody present to testify to his change of heart. None of us,' he added, with a laugh, 'will be safe from this sort of thing on our death-beds.'"

AT a meeting of the New England Woman Suffrage Association in this city last week, Mrs. Clara Neymann said: "Nearly forty years ago, Carl Heinzen, the fearless pioneer worker for equal rights, published a little book on the rights of woman, which treats the subject from a rational, philosophical stand-point. In his paper, which was issued in your city for twenty years, he advocated the emancipation of the negro and the enfranchisement of woman. Hundreds who are now ready to work for woman suffrage were converted and inspired by him." After mentioning a number of papers and persons now working for woman suffrage, the speaker said: "But the German woman suffragists are all anti-prohibitionists, and will fight prohibition, but not temperance, vigorously. They are Republicans in spirit, but will oppose anti-Democratic measures. A few orthodox Germans favor prohibition. A German who is orthodox in one measure is likely to be in almost every other, and the orthodox German is the greatest opponent of woman suffrage. He recognizes a personal Deity above him, who regulates and directs his life. So he feels that he is justified in directing and commanding his wife. He is her superior by a divine order. I know there are orthodox people among Americans who support the suffrage movement. The German is more consistent. He is either a thorough orthodox Christian or a radical Liberal. Only those Germans who are more concerned about human rights here than about a hereafter are true, consistent, earnest suffragists."

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS. 601

EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
The Growing Supremacy of Moral Ideas, Wm. J. Potter, 602
The Lie as a Social Factor, W. S. Kennedy, ... 602
Mythology, Charles D. B. Mills, ... 603
A Remark of Herbert Spencer, B. W. Ball, ... 604
The English "Wordsworth Society," George Whale, . 604
"Negative Preaching," B. F. Underwood, ... 605

EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 606

POETRY.
The Mariner, J. C. Underhill, ... 606

ESSAY.
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, ... 607

MISCELLANEOUS.
Montreal Free Thought Club, ... 609

CORRESPONDENCE.
The Irish Land System—Coöperation, C. H. Codman, . 610

BOOK NOTICES.
Dynamic Sociology, by Lester F. Ward, A.M., ... 611
The Rundschau, Atlantic Monthly, ... 611

PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 611

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Salvation Army *War Cry* has this notice of the work in Syracuse: "Good day; hall packed; thirteen killed; many wounded; the devil kicking; God working; Syracuse for the King."

A NEAT and substantial building is to be erected in Providence, R.I., on Snow and Washington Streets. A portion of the building will be made into a hall, which will be used by the Free Religious Association of that city.

SAYS the Springfield *Republican*: "The foreign correspondents who, during the coronation week, telegraphed from Moscow an unlimited amount of peace and good-will, have completed the price of their admission tickets to the ceremonies by giving a grand dinner to M. Wagonoff, the press censor. After the correspondents have got home, we may expect to get the news."

A MASS meeting, called for the express purpose of rebuking the Pope for his interference in the political affairs of Ireland, was held in Chicago on the 16th, and two thousand people were in attendance. The resolutions declared that the best way to answer all assaults on Parnell, from whatever quarter, was to swell the fund to release his estate from debt. Alexander Sullivan, President of the Irish Land League, said that, if the Pope attempted to prevent liberty in Ireland, he would be pushed aside by an indignant people. The speeches generally were severe in criticism of the action of His Holiness.

ACCORDING to a statement of Sir John Lubbock in the *Nineteenth Century*, down to 1824 the English government gave to the tax-payer a notched stick as a receipt. The old exchequer tallies were willow rods about five feet long, which were notched at certain intervals, each notch being understood to mean so many pounds, shillings, and pence, or fractions thereof. When the amounts were thus notched, the stick was split, one part being kept by the tax-payer and the other by the government. Immense numbers of these old tallies were stowed away in the vaults of the old House of Commons, and it is said that they were probably the cause of the fire which destroyed it.

THE Boston *Sunday Herald* remarks: "The opposition of the Pope to the Irish revolutionists may, after all, best serve their cause. It is not at all desirable that it should have the appearance of a religious war. Though a large majority of the followers of Parnell are Catholics, as are a large majority of the people of Ireland, Parnell himself is a Protestant. Naturally, the Church does not regard him as it would regard a Catholic leader; but the Irish Catholics do not seem to consider his religion at all, following him because he represents to them the cause of Ireland. It would be an interesting but not unprecedented result, if the Roman Church should lose its hold on Ireland because of political considerations; and the elimination of the religious question would be the best possible thing for Ireland."

MR. W. M. SALTER, the Lecturer of the Society for Ethical Culture of Chicago, gave his opening lecture the first day of April. A children's class was immediately organized, also a normal class, both having weekly meetings with Mr. Salter, in addition to his public discourses. "Relief Works," under the auspices of the Society, though having separate membership and officers, has also been started, some $1,400 raised for its charitable work, and two nurses—graduates respectively of the Bellevue Training School (New York) and the Illinois Training School (Chicago)—have been employed and already begun their work of nursing the sick poor in their homes, in co-operation with Free Dispensary physicians. The Ethical Society seems to believe in preaching the gospel of humanity by practising it. Already it is felt that a new type of religious liberalism is being shown by the members of the Society.

JOHN BRIGHT, on the 13th, in an address at Birmingham, Eng., before twenty thousand persons, said: "Permit me to address a word to the artisan classes of the United States. I am no enemy of the United States. I fought her battle in this country. I sympathize with her as much now as I did then, almost as much as if born upon her soil. I believe the question in the United States between a protective and simply a revenue tariff is weaving its solution. The opinion is growing that unstable economic facts are offering themselves for the consideration of statesmen and every intelligent man in the great Republic. An extraordinary condition of things exists there. No country of any age ever experienced or dreamed of an actual surplus of revenue of £30,000,000. This fact is fatal to the high protection party. The government does not well know what to do with it. I believe the next election for President will be fought on free trade lines. The great people of the United States will declare it to be the inalienable right of every American citizen to spend his money in the world's cheapest market."

WE learn from *Brahmo Public Opinion* that on the fifty-third anniversary of the Brahmo Somaj, Mrs. Manorama Mazumder, the wife of Babu Girish Chunder Mazumder, and the lady missionary of the Barisal Brahmo Somaj, publicly conducted the evening service of that Somaj. A large crowd of people was naturally attracted to witness the unusual spectacle. This is perhaps the first time that an Indian lady publicly conducted divine service and preached a sermon before a congregation of men. Her abilities in preaching have long been well known to all who ever attended her private prayer-meetings. She is a better preacher than many of the preachers of the other sex, and we are glad that the way has been opened to her to make her gifts useful to her Church. As a novel feature in connection with the proceedings of the last anniversary festival of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, it may be mentioned that, Mrs. A. M. Bose took part in the proceedings as one of the speakers. Her remarks were well expressed and to the point, and she made some very wise suggestions. This is perhaps the first time that an Indian lady spoke publicly at a gentlemen's meeting. These are signs encouraging to women, who are now earnestly striving to ameliorate the condition of their own sex in India.

THE clergy on the west coast of Scotland have of late been extremely severe in denouncing the conveyance of fish by steamers and railways on Sunday. Some of them have ascribed the failure of the local fishing to the desecration of the Sabbath, and declared to their superstitious hearers that they need not expect God would send fish along their own shores while they permitted the curers of Stornoway to send fish through the country to the London markets on the Sabbath. These appeals to the people, repeated week after week, have had the effect intended. On a recent Sunday, two steamers, laden with eighty tons of fish, arrived at Strome Ferry, the western terminus of the Dingwall and Skye railway, where a special train was waiting to take the fish to London. Before many boxes of fish were on the quay, fifty men armed with clubs appeared and said that the work must be stopped, as it was a violation of the Sabbath. The officers of the steamers remonstrated, and assured the mob that a delay of twenty-four hours would spoil the fish. The Sabbatarians were not to be reasoned with. Their numbers were soon increased to a hundred, and they were determined, if necessary, to fight on Sunday, to prevent work on that day. A collision occurred, in which the transportation people were beaten. In response to a telegram, Rosshire sent to Strome Ferry half a dozen constables, who ordered the rioters to disperse; but they drove the officers, with their small force of sailors and railway hands, before them; and at the end of a severe fight, during which several were badly hurt, the Sabbatarians were masters of the field. They immediately held religious service on the quay, the exercise consisting in prayer and praise, reading from the Bible, and exhorting the people to maintain the Sabbath. The meeting lasted till midnight, when the religious rioters dispersed, and the work of the steamer and railway men was resumed. Something more than orthodox preaching is needed on the west coast of Scotland.

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THE GROWING SUPREMACY OF MORAL IDEAS.

There is no better antidote against the demoralization of pessimistic philosophy than to note the actual progress in morals that has been made by the human race. In spite of the dark and discouraging facts in man's experience, and the black record against him in numberless chapters of his history, there is no fact pertaining to the human race more patent than that it has evolved the idea of moral law as the rule of conduct, and that through the ages there has been increasing practical recognition of the sovereignty of this law. However widely human beings have diverged from the law, enough have observed it to take the race safely forward over all stumblings, and to show that, after all the stoppages and retrogressions have been subtracted from the progress, there is left a solid gain. Looking at the whole history of man, there has been real advancement toward higher and larger good.

And the facts that prove this increasing supremacy of moral ideas are not dependent on any of the several theories of ethics that are entertained. They are, on the contrary, a part of the facts which any ethical theory must explain. In brief epitome, they are these: When we first find man, at the point where primeval history begins, he is found as a mere child in intelligence and character, yet far from a child in one sense, inasmuch as he is strong in animal strength, and largely dependent for his existence on his physical power and courage,—a savage in fact, and but little above the animal races around him. Yet, in the course of the centuries, this being is found to be developing a moral sense. Even if it be believed that the moral sense was an original natural endowment or that the moral law came by supernatural revelation, it will be admitted that historically the manifestation of practical morality has been by a process of gradual advancement. And we find this moral sense slowly strengthening, and, as through the ages it grows and ripens, bringing with it codes of duty, ethical commandments, precepts of private and public conduct, legislative enactments, courts for enforcing them, instrumentalities for ethical education, and numberless beneficent organizations for securing human rights, redressing human grievances, and promoting human welfare.

In fine, when we read the moral history of man, we strike his history at the very centre of its vitality. There is nothing that can atone for the bloody record of his wars and fightings, of his cruel lusts and ambitions, of his manifold injustices and crimes, but that through all there has been kept alive a counter sentiment of right and a growth of mutual affection and helpful service; and that these better sentiments and feelings have tended surely, though slowly, to prevail over the baser, and to drive them out by gradually winning man's loyalty and reigning in their stead. The marriage institution, which began in an act of physical force and robbery, is now based—at least in theory—in all civilized countries on reciprocal love. At the centre of the home once reigned the tyrant's power, and the only obligation recognized was that of servitude. In its place now twine the fair vines of mutual helpfulness and bloom the sweetest flowers that grow on the tree of human life. Where people once lived by rapine and plunder, their descendants now live by fair exchange of goods and honorable dealing one with another. Governments that began in physical might and became strong by war and spoliation have at least to recognize to-day certain bounds of justice. Social vices that once had the countenance of the most enlightened communities, and were hardly counted as vices, are now driven by public opinion into secrecy and disrepute. The very questions of social reform that are raised to-day indicate advance. Conditions of society which once were submitted to as a matter of course are now subjected to critical examination, and morally condemned; and though the methods of amelioration may frequently present perplexing and even appalling problems, there are men and women who are found ready to grapple with them.

There are many and great wrongs, of course, that still remain unrighted. The whole line of progress is not yet accomplished; the millennium is still far ahead. There are outrageous abuses of justice in national life, cruel violations of right and love in domestic life, and vices in society that appear to be eating out its very heart. But, nevertheless, the fact of amelioration and progress cannot be disputed. Whatever aberrations from the moral law still exist,—and that they are many and frightful none will deny,—it is none the less true that the binding obligations of right and love are more generally recognized in the world than ever before. There are modern enterprises of humanity and philanthropy in numbers and nature such as were never dreamed of in the ancient world. Science, by gathering and spreading knowledge of hereditary and sanitary laws and of sociological forces in general, is opening an entirely new field for the application of ethical principles, which is already beginning to be occupied. Though war still wages its bloody vocation, it is attended, as in no previous age, by the sentiment of pity which organizes an accompanying army of nurses to bind up the wounded and soothe the dying. And, in our own time and country, one of the greatest wars of all history was fought to successful issue not for conquest, not for revenge, but because at the root of the irrepressible conflict was the moral idea, which demanded justice for an enslaved race. Hence, we may say truly that even the forces of physical might are now beginning to own the sway of moral ideas. In the long struggle for existence in which, according to Darwinian law, the fittest have survived, first, the fittest were the strongest; then, the fittest were the most intelligent; now, it is beginning to be seen, and by and by it will be more fully seen, that the fittest are the most moral.

In other words, man is coming to see, as never before, his own responsibility for the destiny of the race to which he belongs, and is learning better to meet that responsibility. If behind all human history, he feels the push of a supreme moral purpose, he sees no less the importance of the co-operative push of moral effort on the part of individual human beings. The lesser is none the less necessary in its time and place, because of the greater which overlaps all time and fills all places. Man is summoned to give himself as an active agent in combining and maturing the social forces which are able to work out his own amelioration. The needed moral reform may come in time without the help of this or that individual person; but it will come, because there will be a sufficient number of men and women who have the noble ambition to share its triumph. The moral idea, in the course of the ages, may be firmly seated on her throne of rightful supremacy over animal strength and fleshly passion and sheer brain power; but the whole-souled man or woman will be all alert to respond to the call for helpers to place that crown upon her brow. The conquests which have been won by brute strength and mental sagacity in the long struggle for existence the moral sentiment gives signs that it is about to occupy as its legitimate inheritance. But can any except morally aspiring and morally laboring minds have a share in that inheritance?

WM. J. POTTER.

THE LIE AS A SOCIAL FACTOR.

A Brief Jeremiad.

That the European and American peoples are slowly approaching a crisis very much like that of the French Revolution is a pretty evident matter. The two great causes that operated then operate now; namely, the accumulation of wealth in a few hands, and the universal prevalence of scepticism. It is probable that the first terrible upheaval will take place on the continent. English Anglo-Saxony will move slowest and last of all, unless it be American Anglo-Saxony. For, although the elements of disaffection are rife enough in our motley and mercurial society, yet there is land enough to keep us quiet for half a century or more. Yet social and religious relations are so unstable, so illogical, so unjust, that, with the reappearance of financial depression or of war, we shall probably witness popular outbreaks of a more or less serious character even in this century.

But sophistication and obscurantism are the order of the day at present. Society is now one vast tissue of sophistication, the like of which the world has never seen before. They carry it bravely, —these self-styled conservators of society and of religion. Oh! 'tis a merry game, my masters, I assure you. Laugh in your sleeve, and tip your friend the wink you may, but never dare to blurt out the truth. *Mum* is the word, and keep up the game. Here is Ginx and his twelve babies, —beware of enlightening him; here is one whom the priests have hoaxed into believing that he is to suffer torment for millions of years; and here is a good woman whom they have thrown into deep dejection by persuading her that she has got to live in her present form for millions of æons (an idea as frightful as it is silly). There are thousands of young men of this generation whose lives have been a long and silent tragedy because of religion. The brave choose to suffer and to cause to suffer: the timid sophisticate. Sham is so rife, because truth demands a sacrifice enormous and unexampled. Men hesitate to take the final step, to face the music of circumstances apparently so appalling. It is hard to learn that the only deep and genuine happiness springs from absolute sincerity. The artificiality of mind induced by the religious question has so filtered downward through all the business life of people that we cannot blink the frightful truth that a pure and unsophisticated mind has become laughable in social circles. Simple truth is always obscure to low and double-dealing minds; but, in this day, it is getting obscure to about everybody. If you do not *cant* and dissemble, you are surely either mad or a fool. If one chances to utter a sincere thought on a dangerous topic, ten to one but his companion suspects him of only deeper duplicity and cunning than he usually meets with.

It is the age of disillusion in religious and other matters. But men love illusion. "In one way or other (if not to you, to themselves), most men delight in lying; all, in being lied to, provided the lie be soft and gentle, and imperceptible in its approaches." Thus speaks Landor, very shrewdly. He is referring to the milder of the two forms of lying; namely, that which springs out of the imagination and has its roots in the love of illusion. Of course, love of illusion has its indispensable uses. A man utterly devoid of it is either a prig or a monster. But the devilish lie springs, I conceive, from a very different source. It is the brother of cunning, and is the weapon by which the unscrupulous try to force their way. It is the device of the savage and of a thousand species of the lower orders of animals: by deceit, they procure their food and kill off their rivals. Were

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there no injustice in human society, no struggle, then there would be no lying, in the mean sense.

Undoubtedly, Nature is strong enough and sound enough to pull us through this disgraceful era; but I wish we were well rid of it now, for it is ruining high ideal literature and debauching intellect and character. It has been justly said that, if it were possible to condemn at one blow all sham and all lies in commerce and art, the business of the world would temporarily suffer an almost irretrievable shock. Don't you think then that those blunt old fellows, Ruskin and Carlyle, are right in denouncing this as the age of sham? I do. If it were not an age of lies and violence and hellish passions, we should have no locks on our doors, no banks, no Vanderbilts, and more flowers and songs in the streets (Pippa-songs in place of those of strawberry and orange fiends).

If the unjustly rich were not sophisticated, they would see themselves not as the enviable and fortunate among men, but as its outcasts. There are insects called parasites (disgusting things, such as ticks and tapeworms) that fasten themselves by hooks and suckers to the flesh of other animals, and batten on their substance. They sometimes have daggers in their heads, by which they cut their way in. They live by the toil of others, and contribute nothing. What these are in an animal organism, the unjustly rich are in the social body. Instead of receiving homage, they should be despised, especially if they make bad use (as most of them do) of that which they have filched from the treasure of the nation. The golden rule in business is so to live that you do not defraud any other human being of the full measure of opportunity and wealth that his or her natural endowments could anywhere honestly win.

A striking instance of social oppression and greed recently came under my notice at Marshfield, Mass. The little fishing hamlet of Green Harbor in that town has been almost completely ruined by the folly of a company which has spent $35,000 in building a dike to reclaim some acres of marsh land. The dike has ruined the harbor and destroyed the prospects of the village; and yet the reclaimed land has not been used and will not be worth much, if anything, for a century, owing to the salt in the ground. Even the marsh grass is destroyed, and the whole region lies desolate. Ships in distress of weather no longer have a haven of refuge. The estuary by which Webster used to ascend in his yacht to his own house, a mile inland, is now dried up; and the whole marsh region deprived of its beauty. Here is an instance of sophistication and greed, ending in high-handed oppression. A miserable patch of worthless land (not absolutely needed for a century yet in this country of unoccupied territory) proved a prize strong enough to blind the eyes of a set of men to the absolute injustice they were committing against others.

I will close with bare reference to a curious form of sophistication which has developed among scientific men. They are very right in stoutly resisting premature attempts to discover final causes in nature. But I find that many of them become so steeped and dyed with the idea of struggle and carnage from their continual handling of the lower forms of life that they are absolutely unwilling to admit that the higher phenomena of ethical progress—sympathy, altruism, self-sacrifice—have any existence; or, at any rate, they think all talk about love and sympathy the sheerest nonsense. It is a pity that the dissections, etc., of zo-ology and medicine should have a tendency to harden and make savage the nature. Yet they do; and we ought to take this into the account, when we are dealing with the strange bigotries and crudities of scientific specialists. As one talks with these men on some topics, one is almost tempted to believe the theory of a certain divinity student, who recently told me, in the course of a discussion, that perhaps the reason why he believed in miracles and I did not was because the cells of his brain were constructed (see Golz and Tyson) so that it was a physical impossibility for him to see as I did! This is the most whimsical defence of the orthodox position that I have met with. According to this, we may yet find a man so cellularly constructed as not only to believe that the whale swallowed Jonah, but that Jonah afterward swallowed the whale, and the whole ocean besides.

W. S. KENNEDY.

MYTHOLOGY.

The subject of Mythology, old as it is, is not obsolete: it is still fresh, and of such depth it has an undying interest for the mind. Long considered, debated, held under various interpretation, it has never been finally settled or exhausted. It is studied to-day with as keen a zest certainly, and under more hopeful, more fruitful methods than have ever obtained in the past. Only those who look at it upon the surface alone, and judge its quality from certain seemingly puerile or absurd stories that they find in it, deem it worthless or indeed outgrown.

It has not only a speculative or curious, but a near and practical interest for us. Under one view or perspective, it represents a side or type in human thought that can never pass away, that must become more pronounced and more prevailing as the ages roll on and man matures. Under another view, it shows a phase which, however elemental or childish, and therefore temporary, still persists, and exerts marked influence in society, and indeed with us all. There are survivals, perpetuations of the far distant past; and these become more and more plain and striking, as we study the modes of thought and forms of speech still current. We live still in the shadow of this wide, world-covering tree.

Mythology seems to carry us back, as Mr. Grote well describes, to "a past that was never present." We cannot find the beginning of it. It is hard to translate ourselves back into our own childhood, much more into the childhood of the human race. Hence, the difficulty of the task that lies to be undertaken. Various definitions have been put forward, but none fully or completely define. It is one of those terms that have a wide and somewhat varied range of meaning. Prof. Max Müller defines it "a disease of language," and he speaks of the "reaction of language on thought"; says that, "in this refraction of the rays of language, we see the real solution of the old riddle of mythology." Prof. John Fiske says that a myth is "an explanation by the uncivilized mind of some natural phenomenon." And Mr. E. B. Tylor says, "It is sham history, the fictitious narrative of events that never happened."

All these are good, state well some elements that enter into and go to form the myth; but they are, especially the first two, inadequate, they fail to cover the full fact. Indeed, they might in a degree complement each other. But perhaps no phrase will discharge the office of definition fully. There is a refraction, but it lies deeper than in language merely: it attaches to all determinate thought itself. In the large, we may say there is always illusion, always some refraction in the ray that meets the eye, some misconception, misstatement, awry or perverted representation in every form and type of mythology. It never could arise in a perfectly pure and clear medium.

There are myths undoubtedly of explanation, those that come—and they are many—under Prof. Fiske's definition. The mind of man in all ages is piqued with curiosity, an intense curiosity to penetrate and explain. The savage feels it not less than others. He will read his riddles, and get at any rate some solution. And these explanations will involve the bringing forward of personalities; for, to the child mind, everything is animate and conscious,—we may say personal. To Caspar Hauser, infant as he was at seventeen, the snow was a person. "Naughty," he said, "it bit his finger." The wild savage in the forests of Brazil would bite the stone he had stumbled over or the arrow that had wounded him. Like experience probably has come to us all in early life, temptation strong, if it was not overpowering, to pound in retaliation the stone upon which we had bruised a toe or a finger. To the early men and women, all things were *persons*,—earth, sea, star, mountain, tree, plain. Each was the seat and abode of its guardian deity. Indeed, such belief in regard to the stars obtained in the mind of John Kepler.

It is curious to note how strong the disposition still is to invoke some personality or agency distinctively spiritual, to explain what we may not understand otherwise. The survival of such terms as "spirits" in connection, say, with certain chemical substances, as the "spirits of hartshorn," "spirits of turpentine," etc., attests how tenacious still the old belief, at least the remembrance of it in language. An African wood-cutter believes in a guardian spirit that dwells in the tree; and, when he strikes the first blow with his axe, he flies for his life, pours palm oil on the ground in the path he expects the spirit to follow in pursuit, and so hopes, while the tree-spirit stoops to lick it up, that he may make his escape. In like view, the Greeks described the dryads in the pines and oaks uttering screams of pain when the woodman struck the tree. An American Indian will cast a piece of tobacco from his canoe into the stream, as he is about to pass some dangerous place, that he may placate the spirit of the river-god. On the coast of Guinea, the native kings, to propitiate the sea-god, cast into the sea rice, cloth, bottles of rum, and even slaves. With the same feeling, a Greek or Roman general, about to embark on the main, would make an offering of a bull to Poseidon or Neptune. And, under the same belief to-day, the German peasant, when he knows of the drowning of a person, exclaims, "The Nixy [water-sprite] has taken him." Thus universally has there been this personification of things in nature.

Among the Mandans, the winds are spoken of as "four tortoises at the angles of the earthly plane, who vomit forth the rains"; among the Mayas, as "four gigantic caryatides who sustain the heavens, and blow the winds from their capacious lungs." Among the Khonds in Orissa, Pidzu Pennu, the rain-god, is thought to pour down the waters through his sieve. In the old Norse mythology, the sky was formed of the skull of the Giant Ymer, the earth was his flesh, and the rocks his bones. And, among the Finns, the sky was the concave surface of an immense egg-shell, the half of it, and the earth the yolk. The Norsemen had a myth of Frodi's quern sunk once upon a time in the bottom of the sea, the place now indicated by the Maelstrom. The maid-servants, compelled constantly to turn at the crank, are grinding out salt from this stupendous mill; and this is why the sea is salt.

Earthquakes, the Kamchadals say, are caused by Tuil, the earthquake-god, sledging under ground, and when his dog shakes off fleas or snow there follows an earthquake. Other rude tribes have said it was the world-supporting god shifting the

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earth from one shoulder to the other. The Polynesians held that Maui, who upholds the earth on his prostrate body, from time to time turns to get an easier posture, and this produces an earthquake. Similar conceptions obtained among the Greeks, as is seen in the myth of Enceladus, etc. The Hindus say that water-spouts are caused by Indra's elephants coming down to drink; while, to the Japanese, they are long-tailed dragons, "flying up into the air with a swift and violent motion." The rainbow, with the Greeks, was Iris, beautiful messenger, spanning the way from heaven to earth; or it was the arch whereon Iris, with flashing feet, sped from the heavens, bearing communications from Zeus to men. Among our own ancestors, it was the bridge Bifröst, timbered of three hues, guarded by Heimdal, the watchman of the gods; and over it the souls of the heroes passed on their way to Valhalla. The bright starry band that stretches across the sky is to the North American Indian the "Road of Souls," and the brighter stars that blaze in it at night are the camp-fires of the souls who are on their way to the land of spirits.

Various explanations have been devised for accounting for the spots on the face of the moon, for the crimson hue in the clouds at sunset, for the wild and ever-shifting forms of the clouds, for eclipses, for diseases,—in fact, for everything that arrested the attention of man. These explanations are grotesque, fanciful, capricious, sometimes ingenious exceedingly, and always, no matter how rude the race that invents them, curiously interesting.

We carry reminiscences constantly of the myth-framing and myth-believing times, in the terms and phrases we use in familiar speech and in words we employ in science. Our animal fables are reminders to us of the ages in which animals were believed to speak and be possessed of reason. Our constellations in their very names to-day carry us to the period when animation was read in the stars, and these clusters were thought to be living creatures or persons. We speak of the genius of Shakspere or Newton or Raphael, unconscious that the term bears back to the time-honored belief in the *daimonion*, or accompanying genius, coming with one into the world, and attending upon him through life, as was held among the Romans, and is familiar to us in the story of the genius of Augustus, celebrated in divine honors. In the terms *mercury* and *lunar caustic*, still employed, we are carried back to astrology and magic, to the times when these metals were supposed to be related to the planets whose names they bear. We use such terms as nightmare (*mara*, spirit or sprite), "the old Nick," or Nixy, "Davy's," or the Deva's, "Locker"; and the Slavons still believe nightmare caused by horrid vampires, demon-souls that dwell in corpses, and come and sit upon the chest of the sleeper, sucking his blood away, so that he will pine and die. We speak of the "Man in the Moon," of "Jack and Jill," both going back to lunar mythology,—a mythology yet far from extinct among ourselves, in vigorous life with Swedish peasants; for they will invoke the story of Jack and Jill to explain the moon-spots, and the rainfall in certain stages of the moon. And in the phrase, "The Milky Way," we bear reminiscence of a myth very old, once current among the Greeks, who told of Hêrê, the upper air, or rather the distant ether, nursing at her breast Herakles, the mighty sun-god, in his infancy.

These are samples: we shall find much more bearing from that distant past to the living and surrounding present.

CHAS. D. B. MILLS.

A REMARK OF HERBERT SPENCER.

It is a trite remark that our form of government is too good for average mankind; that average human nature is not yet fitted for it, not yet worthy of the confidence which such a government places in it. Governments of force are still in order over the greater part of the globe, and such governments are badges of the lack of moral and mental development which still characterizes the majority of mankind. "The republican form of government," says Herbert Spencer, apropos of his experiences in this country, "is the highest form of government. But, because of this, it requires the highest type of human nature,—a type nowhere, at present, existing. We (the English) have not grown up to it, nor have you." Nevertheless, here in New England, up to within a quite recent period, a republican form of government has been an almost complete success. It was thus successful here for centuries, because, during all that time, there were no great cities with heterogeneous populations, no opportunities for politicians to enrich themselves at the public expense; while there was an unparalleled social equality everywhere prevalent here, and scarcely any popular illiteracy, such illiteracy having been unknown here in Massachusetts as long as its population remained homogeneous and of the original stock. It was right here in Massachusetts that the American system of popular education was inaugurated and first devised. Illiteracy in this Commonwealth is and always has been an importation from abroad. And when a demagogue, who owes his political success to foreign ignorance colonized on our soil, undertakes to arraign this Commonwealth on the score of the great number of illiterates in its borders, he places himself and his followers in a ridiculous light. He is, in fact, arraigning his own supporters. Massachusetts cannot hold herself or be held responsible for the gross ignorance and poverty of populations born and bred elsewhere, under an aristocratic Church-and-State system. The man who undertakes to hold her so responsible, if he is an American by birth, is a renegade and a bare-faced slanderer. Such a one can only attain to an eminent political position by breaking down all salutary obstructions to the prevalence of fraud and ignorance at the ballot-box.

Within the last fifty years, the whole civilized world has had pass over it a radical social change. The railroad, the ocean steamer, the electric telegraph (submarine and overland), and all the other wonderful mechanical agencies of current civilization, have made of the whole civilized world one community as it were, and promoted the spread of population and the growth of wealth and the building of great cities in this country to a degree which almost takes the breath away in the contemplation of it. The social equality of other days is gone here, apparently never more to return. Our millionnaires now form a class by themselves, a regular plutocracy, such as never existed before in any other country, not even in England. The machinery of our city, State, and federal governments, once simple, has become complicated through the manifold and vast interests with which these governments have to deal. Our population has become more and more heterogeneous. Vast sums of money pass through and are hoarded in the public treasuries. There is money in politics; and, where there is money, there is corruption. Herbert Spencer is right in saying that education is no guarantee of character to resist great temptations. But we have high-toned statesmen notwithstanding,—statesmen in whom the country can place implicit confidence.

Meantime, while not claiming for the American variety of human nature any superiority over other denominations of that article, we still believe, what with the vigilance of the press and the fierce light of publicity which beats upon every department of our government and upon every official, both high and low, who is connected with its administration, that, upon the whole, there is as little political administrative corruption here as there is under the best personal *régimes* of the Old World, if not less.

But Herbert Spencer refrains from drawing from the most sinister social and political phenomena which manifest themselves in the working of our institutions any dogmatically unfavorable inference as to our national future. For he says that nothing but "a vague and general conclusion can be formed in regard to that future, because the factors are too numerous, too vast, too far beyond measure in their magnitudes and intensities. The world has never before seen social phenomena comparable with those presented in the United States. A society spreading over enormous tracts, while still preserving its political continuity, is a new thing. This progressive incorporation of vast bodies of immigrants of various bloods has never occurred on such a scale before. Large empires composed of different peoples have, in previous cases, been formed by conquest and annexation. Then, the immense *plexus* of railways and telegraphs tends to consolidate this vast aggregate of States in a way that no such aggregate ever before has been consolidated." Of course, without the present system of telegraphs and railroads, such a government as the federal government of the United States could hardly be carried on, because the simultaneous co-operation of populations occupying such a vast territory could not be conveniently secured. Now there is a sense of neighborhood pervading all sections of our continental territory.

B. W. BALL.

THE ENGLISH "WORDSWORTH SOCIETY."

The readers of *The Index* will not be inclined to dispute Prof. Tyndall's statement that "the poet will have a great part to play in the future culture of the world. To him, ... we have a right to look for that heightening and brightening of life which so many of us need." And although to many Wordsworth, at first, may seem an orthodox churchman, a wider acquaintance with his works may, after all, show that the author of *Ecce Homo* was right when, in a notable book published last year, he claimed Wordsworth as the poet of natural religion. Hence, some information about this Society and its recent annual meeting may not be uninteresting. Unfortunately, that meeting was held on the same day as some important political gatherings; and the London *Times*, and most of the other English newspapers, could find no space for literary topics. Yet, in that view of poetry in general, and Wordsworth in particular, which has just been referred to, the Society and its affairs are more worthy of notice than some things that to the world seem greater.

The Wordsworth Society was founded about three years ago, mainly by Prof. Knight of St. Andrew's University, Scotland. Prof. Knight is an authority on the greatest of the Lake poets. He has written "Wordsworth and the Lake District," and he is now engaged on a fine new edition of the poems and a life of Wordsworth. The Society seeks to promote the study of Wordsworth; and, meeting once a year, papers are read on topics connected with the man and his poetry. The Society is not large, but some of the most eminent English literary men of the day are members. R. Browing and Ruskin support it. This year,

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the annual meeting was held on May 2, in the old dining-hall of Westminster School. That hall stands under the shadow of the abbey, and in a nook known to many on both sides of the Atlantic. The hall forms one side of a little quadrangle, of which the famous Jerusalem Chamber forms another, and the Deanery (where A. P. Stanley lived) the remaining two sides. At this meeting, I saw Mr. Russell Lowell. He is to be the next President of the Society. He meekly took one of the lowest seats, and declined an invitation to come up higher. The President this year was Mr. Matthew Arnold. He gave a short but most characteristic address. Mr. Arnold's published selections from the poems, his literary fame, and his style are well known. Suffice it then to say that the Wordsworthians found the author of "A Summer Night" still to be

> "Never by passion quite possess'd,
> And never quite benumb'd by the world's sway."

Nor were they denied the flavor of the satire which is dear to the readers of Mr. Arnold's prose. His speech had an air of simplicity; but Mr. Arnold is the last man to be told *Summa ars est celare artem.* There were in this speech certain tricks of phrase, not easy to describe shortly, but to be at once recognized by all who know *Essays in Criticism* or *Literature and Dogma.* Mr. Arnold began by explaining that he had at first declined to join this society for the same reason that he had declined to join others. It was that, as he grew older, he might have more "leisure for amendment and reflection on the inevitable close." Yet, having consented to be President, he now found many excellent reasons for the step. In the Middle Ages, said he, when men sought retirement in their later years, they entered a monastery. He, Mr. Arnold, could not enter a monastery; but he could join the Wordsworth Society. The monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, were equally binding in the Society; for they were enforced by Wordsworth. Poverty and its value in man's moral education were constantly taught, as by the Pedler of the "Excursion"; chastity by exhortations to "plain living and high thinking." And where was obedience better justified than by the famous "Ode to Duty"? He (Mr. Arnold) had sometimes elsewhere dwelt on the defects of Wordsworth's poetry; "yet," said he, "I doubt whether any one admires him more than I do." Although below Shakspere, the "spiritual passion" of Wordsworth, as in the sonnet on "Farewell to the River Duddon," could not be matched from Milton. Wordsworth, too, in contrast to some modern poets, had something to say. Goethe was right, when in his later years he declared he was sick of the fuss then being made about form in poetry. Wordsworth did not neglect form, but he offered something beyond it. Yet greatest of all in Wordsworth was "his power of happiness and hope, his deep power of joy." Here, he compared most favorably with many great poets, and in particular with the great Italians, Leopardi and even Virgil, whose verses were filled with melancholy.

Then followed the papers. The Rev. Stopford Brooke, who has written a well-known book, *Theology in the English Poets,* in which he treats of Wordsworth, read by far the best. It was on Wordsworth's *Guide through the District of the Lakes* (1835). Mr. Brooke compared this *Guide* with the letters on the same locality by the poet Gray, who "liked his natural scenery a little artificial." We were in another world when we opened the *Guide.* Wordsworth's descriptions "glow with recollected love." There was a "continual emergence of poetic ideas through the prose," as, for example, that of a living will in the universe, a soul of its body. After some apt quotations to justify his opinions as to this *Guide,* Mr. Brooke concluded by asking, "Who does not see the poem within it?"

Papers by Mr. Aubrey de Vere, a friend of Wordsworth, and by the Dean of Salisbury, and others, were read; and then Lord Coleridge, the Lord Chief Justice of England, concluded by proposing, in his usual urbane style, a vote of thanks to Mr. Arnold, his old friend, "the most exquisite of critics and refined of poets." Thus ended the gatherings of the Wordsworthians, and they came out into the dust and din of that world which is ever too much with us.

GEORGE WHALE.

SHOOTER'S HILL, ENGLAND.

"NEGATIVE PREACHING."

The opening article in the *Unitarian Review* for June is by Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D., and has the above heading. The writer says that faith is "the only power that can rouse the emotional and moral nature into activity. The negation of even the most arrant falsity produces no feeling, results in no action." "In our own religious community you will find it impossible to trace any beneficent spiritual or moral influence to the mere absence of false beliefs." "But you want to guard against erroneous views. Rightly, and the very way to expose your congregation to them will be to argue against them; for you must never assume or imagine that you have the show of right reason all on your own side.... You cannot guard your hearers from misbelief by fighting against it. On the other hand, you thus stimulate their curiosity to hear the other side; and you stimulate the champions on the other side to emulate, and very probably to transcend you both in dialectic skill and in persuasive rhetoric. Your only way of averting or supplanting error is to plant in the minds, and especially in the hearts, of your hearers a positive faith in the truths which you regard as of vital moment or essential interest....

"You may sneer at the stories of Samson and Goliath and Jonah, at the credulity of the evangelists about demoniacs, at the alleged mistakes of the apostles about the approaching end of the world. You may direct all your efforts toward undermining the plenary authority of Scripture and refuting traditional falsities with reference to it. With part of your congregation, you will succeed only too well. You will make them despise the Bible, and despise you, too, for reading it solemnly and taking your texts from it, when under shelter of those very texts you treat it contemptuously....

"On the long list of those who have fallen out of the clerical profession, you will find not a few who began by the zealous preaching of negations, by fierce onslaught on what, perhaps rightly, they regarded as errors, superstitions, and absurdities; who thought that they were rendering the highest service by teaching people what not to believe; who at length awoke to the consciousness that there was no residuum of faith in their own minds, and that the whole realm of religious truth was involved for them in a dense and rayless agnosticism."

Dr. Peabody, it will be observed, attaches great importance to "faith," by which he means belief in, or consciousness of, "positive Christian truth," if anybody knows what that is. The preacher must be confident and assertive respecting matters of which he really *knows* nothing. He must aim to "rouse" the emotional nature into activity; and —as everybody knows, at least as every public speaker knows—the way to do this is to treat a subject superficially, to present but one side, to ignore objections and suppress doubts, to appeal to traditional beliefs and inherited predispositions. A judicial treatment of a subject, an argument addressed to the understanding, with a careful consideration of the proofs against, as well as those in favor of the position taken, might be more instructive, better adapted to encourage intellectual and moral honesty, habits of reasoning, true liberality, and broad views; but it would be less likely to rouse the emotional nature.

Notwithstanding Dr. Peabody's statement in regard to the "negation of even the most arrant falsity," we must still believe that the negation of demonism, sorcery, witchcraft, and many other delusive and pernicious beliefs, has produced a feeling which has been very favorable to the happiness and progress of the race. If it be said that the truths, of which these beliefs were a virtual denial, should be credited with the good results that have followed, it is sufficient to answer that the progress of negation, initiated by a few minds who had glimpses of the positive truth, has been in advance of the popular acceptance of the positive truth. The explanation of witchcraft is not wholly satisfactory even to-day; but its negation as a supernatural and superhuman influence has, nevertheless, saved the world from an incalculable amount of suffering which would have been experienced had belief in the superstition continued.

The same is true of other superstitions, including many theological dogmas.

Dr. Peabody, it is evident, has no very high opinion of the intelligence and judgment of Christian congregations. He would have the minister regard his hearers much as the father regards his little children, guarding them even from a knowledge of error, and telling them what he thinks it is proper for them to know. He says, substantially, Don't argue against errors; for, if you do, your hearers will become acquainted with them, you will "stimulate their curiosity to hear the other side," and provoke opponents to present their reasons for differing from you, "and very probably to transcend you both in dialectic skill and in persuasive rhetoric." Avoid any reference to dissenting views; just tell what *you* believe, and rouse the emotional element! Could any Catholic priest or Methodist exhorter go farther in presuming on the ignorance, simplicity, and servility of his congregation? An important question very naturally arises here. If the position of the minister is one which other ministers of equal honesty and even greater "dialectic skill" may combat, should he not hesitate to maintain it as a positive truth, lest, in so doing, he "plant in the minds, and especially in the hearts," of his hearers the seeds of ruinous error instead of the truth?

Dr. Peabody probably has as little belief as Mr. M. J. Savage in "the stories of Samson and Goliath and Jonah" and in "the plenary authority of Scripture," but he would have Unitarian ministers keep silent in regard to these things. The destructive criticism of Strauss and Renan and Colenso, and even of Stanley, Martineau, and Robertson Smith is to be ignored, lest you make a part of your congregation "despise the Bible and despise you, too." A mind uneducated in theology and without "faith," but with a moderate amount of common sense and love of truth and confidence in human reason, would suggest rather that the Bible be subjected to the common canons of historical criticism, that the errors be frankly admitted, the truths be commended and enforced on the ground of their intrinsic excellence, and all the known facts in regard to the books of the Bible and arguments in regard to its doctrines, and everything pertaining to the Christian religion, as far as possible be candidly presented to the people.

But Dr. Peabody goes farther, and endeavors to dissuade his ministerial brethren from telling the

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whole truth by declaring that of those who have "fallen out of the clerical profession" not a few began by negative preaching. With some, this will have the weight of argument, but chiefly with such as have less regard for truth than for the easy, quiet life of a minister in good standing in his denomination. The fact is that among "those who have fallen out of the clerical profession" are men like Miln, who, not content to preach negatives, ventured to define their positions, to state their positive beliefs. They told too much positive truth. To-day, in the Unitarian denomination are scores and hundreds of ministers who are restrained from uttering their positive convictions by the influence brought to bear upon them, through denominational agencies, by such men as Dr. Peabody, who, although personally a very excellent man, has his face toward the setting sun, and represents an element in his denomination which, although still strong, is growing small by degrees and beautifully less.

Let no one infer from the above criticism that we think the work of demolition is the most important or the most needed work of to-day. But the necessity for negative criticism still exists and always will exist, not as an end but as a means unto an end. "It is the fashion at the present time," says John Stuart Mill, "to disparage negative logic,—that which points out weaknesses in theory or errors in practice without establishing positive proofs. Such negative criticism would be poor enough as an ultimate result; but, as a means to attaining any positive knowledge or conviction worthy of the name, it cannot be valued too highly. And, until people are again systematically trained to it, there will be few great thinkers, and a low average of intellect in any but the mathematical and physical departments of speculation."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WE are requested to state that the address of T. W. Higginson on Emerson and Darwin, published in our last issue, was never written out by himself; but was delivered without notes, and was printed from a phonographic report, by Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton, after being corrected by the author.

IN defence of the Affirmation Bill, Mr. Gladstone said: "I am convinced that, upon every religious as well as political ground, the true and wise course is not to deal out religious liberty by halves, by quarters, and by fractions, but to deal it out entire, and to leave no distinction between man and man on the ground of religious differences, from one end of the land to the other."

"IT is the Renan, sane in body and in mind, as I am now—not the Renan half destroyed by death and no longer himself, as I shall be, if my decomposition is gradual—whom I wish to be believed and listened to. I disavow the blasphemies to which in my last hour I might give way against the Almighty. The existence which was given me, without my having asked for it, has been a beneficent one for me. Were it offered to me, I would gladly accept it over again."—*M. Ernest Renan.*

REV. ROBERT COLLYER, in speaking of the Brooklyn Bridge on a recent Sunday, paid the following tribute to the genius of Thomas Paine:—

When Thomas Paine got his idea of a suspension bridge from a spider's web, and constructed a model in accordance therewith, the English pronounced it impracticable. The Americans in London, on the contrary, said, It is just what we want on our side of the water. Thomas Paine is the true inventor this side of China of our bridge. He was a man of genius and a great man, with all his faults. His name should have received some mention from the orators who took part in the opening ceremonies.

THE Springfield *Republican* gives from "a private hand" the following extraordinary statement:—

When the czar entered the first evening into his chamber in Moscow, before the coronation, he congratulated himself upon his escape from all danger. Just then, his eye fell upon a large sheet of paper upon which he found the following lines: "Think not, son of your father, that you are out of the reach of all harm, or that the power of the revolutionists is broken. We promise you that nothing will befall you during the festivals in Moscow; but in our power you are as fully now as formerly. Should you doubt our words of warning, then send your police to 81 and 82 Twerskaia Street, and let them report what they shall find." This was done; and the report was that the two houses were undermined in the rear and charged with dynamite, but no fuse was laid. Had an explosion taken place at the right moment, the houses woud have fallen upon the czar and all the grand dukes and visitors. Not one could have escaped, as the line of march was in front of the houses.

JOHN STUART MILL said: "The essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires toward an ideal object, recognized as of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire. This condition is fulfilled by the Religion of Humanity in as eminent a degree and in as high a sense as by the supernatural religions, even in their best manifestations, and far more so than in their other." The late Chauncey Wright, a man of unusual penetration of judgment and fairness, gave the following definition of religion: "Religion (subjective) means man's devotion—the complete assent and concentration of his will—to any object which he acknowledges to have a right to his entire service, and supreme control over his life. Religion (objective) means the object or objects whose claims to this supremacy are acknowledged. An irreligious man is then, first, one who acknowledges no supreme end or objects; or, secondly, one who, though he acknowledge, does not habitually submit his will to such a power."

SAYS the Chicago *Times*: "Philosophers and sociologists of all nations tell us that the very root of the differentiation of the civilized from the savage man is in the development of the faculty of postponing the present to the future. In the savage, this faculty is absent, or only rudimentary. He is the primitive communist, and his life is the end and perfect fulfilment of the social theory set up by those lunatic *doctrinaires* who proclaim saving to be a sin, and the accumulation of wealth a crime against nature. It is simply a struggle for the means of gratifying present appetites. Of making provision for the future he has no notion. Of property and ownership, in any such meaning as the civilized man attaches to those words, he is not able to form a thought. Development of the mental power of doing so marks the earliest step in his painful passage from the savage to the civilized state. And it is in the degree that the acquisition of the faculty of postponing the present to the future is accompanied by the desire and habit of applying it that the character of civilization supersedes the character of barbarism. To put the fact in other words, the accumulation of wealth is the test of civilization."

IN some of the addresses before the Free Religious Association this year, there were references to Emerson and Darwin in which the speakers, in their admiration and praise of the former, plainly did injustice, it seems to us, to the latter. Thus, Mr. Chadwick said, "If Darwin had assured us that the original impulse of his doctrine was acquired from Emerson, the statement would not impress us as at all remarkable." The impression conveyed by Mr. Chadwick and other speakers was that Emerson understood Darwinism before Darwin wrote. When we consider that Darwin's distinction rests first upon his discovery and demonstration of the principle of natural selection, which Mr. Emerson had never advanced, and secondly upon his observations, experiments, and accumulation of proofs in support of evolution, in which Mr. Emerson had never set him an example, it is not easy to see how Darwin *could* have acquired "the original impulse of his doctrine" from Emerson. If Mr. Chadwick and the other speakers here referred to meant to say only that Emerson wrote in favor of evolution before Darwin had published anything in defence of it, the statement is one nobody will question. But when evolution had been taught by Lamarck in 1801, by Darwin's grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, and Goethe some years earlier, and even by Greek philosophers twenty-five hundred years ago, why should a few poetical sentences in Emerson in support of evolution be thought so remarkable as to entitle him to precedence of rank as a discoverer in a field in which Darwin's original contributions to science have secured him world-wide and enduring fame? Emerson was great in his own province. Darwin was great in his own province. Neither could have achieved success or won distinction in the field of the other. Let no one underrate the labor of either of these noble benefactors in order to add to the glory of the other.

POETRY.

For *The Index.*

THE MARINER.

The vessel floats anear the strand,
And he who will may reach the land.

A plank extends from ship to shore:
Here placid rest, there ocean's roar.

"Shall I regain the peaceful shore,
Or ocean's mysteries explore?

"Shall I sit down in quiet ease,
Or venture forth o'er unknown seas?

"In quiet hear the ocean's moan,
Or sail o'er depths to scenes unknown?

"Be rooted to the peaceful land,
Or be by salt-sea breezes fanned?"

So speaks the soul, and on the deck
Sails out to meet success or wreck;

Dares all the ocean's things unknown,
Nor shrinks to sail from zone to zone;

Knows not what he may find before,
Nor that he e'er shall reach the shore.

To *know the truth*,—the single aim
That lights his way with constant flame.

Cares not, if truth he may discern,
That he to shore may ne'er return.

A voyager o'er seas unknown,
He maps the path he sails alone.

O valiant soul! Brave pioneer!
Thy track of light the world shall cheer,

And guide mankind in after days,
When souls of truth shall speak thy praise.

O mariner, speed on, alone,
O'er ocean infinite, unknown!

Know, far as finite eyes may see,
The depths of Being's mystery;

With reverence for truth, explore
The trackless way unknown before.

A trail of light shall mark thy way,—
Darkness before, behind thee day.

J. C. UNDERHILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

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The Index.

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THE objects of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index.*

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

(*Continued from last week.*)

[NOTE.—We are compelled by circumstances to break the order of the addresses in our report. Mr. E. D. Mead's address on Emerson and his philosophy should come in here; but we have to defer it until next week, when we will either give it entire or an abstract of it.—ED.]

The PRESIDENT.—Mr. Mead has presented Emerson and his work from a point of view so nearly akin to Emerson's own that it will, doubtless, occur to some of you that Darwin should also be presented by one who is engaged in the same line of thought and work, that is, by a scientific man or one who comes near to it. And we did so plan at first. We asked Prof. John Fiske to speak for Darwin, but he was going abroad to spend several months. Then we asked Prof. Youmans, but he pleaded too many labors already. We then asked Mr. Chadwick, of Brooklyn; and he will pardon me, I know, for thus letting out the secret of his being our third choice, when he sees that, though a preacher and theologian, we considered him so broad and comprehensive a thinker as to include the scientific point of view within his mental range. I have now the pleasure to introduce to you Mr. John W. Chadwick, who will speak of Mr. Darwin's way of answering the great problem of things.

THE RELIGIOUSNESS OF DARWIN'S TEACHINGS.

Address of John W. Chadwick.

To catch our next fish with a piece of the last was never easier than it is to-day, when Emerson is first and Darwin second in the order of debate. If Darwin had assured us that the original impulse of his doctrine was acquired from Emerson, the statement would not impress us as at all remarkable. Alike the poetry and the prose of Emerson abound in passages of a Darwinian character. It is not that Emerson was a convert to the development theory, as Darwin stated it. The passages of which I speak date, almost without exception, from a period considerably antecedent to the publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859. Darwin was still voyaging in the "Beagle" when Emerson wrote the introductory motto to his little book on *Nature*, which contained so much. This motto was:—

> "A subtle chain of countless rings
> The next unto the farthest brings;
> The eye reads omens where it goes,
> And speaks all languages the rose;
> And, *striving to be man, the worm*
> *Mounts through all the spires of form.*"

And the *Origin of Species* was still fifteen years off when he wrote in the essay on "Nature," in his second volume of *Essays*, these ominous words: "Efficient Nature publishes itself in creatures, reaching from particles and spicula, through transformation on transformation, to the highest symmetries, arriving at consummate results without a shock or a leap. A little heat—*that is, a little motion*—is all that differences the bald, dazzling white and deadly cold poles of the earth from the prolific tropical climates. *All changes pass without violence* by reason of the two cardinal conditions of boundless space and boundless time. Geology has initiated us into the secularity of nature, and taught us to disuse our dame-school measures, and exchange our Mosaic and Ptolemaic schemes for her large style. We knew nothing rightly for want of perspective. Now, we learn what patient periods must round themselves before the rock is formed, and then before the rock is broken and the first lichen has disintegrated the thinnest external plate into soil and opened the door for the remote Flora, Fauna, Ceres, and Pomona to come in. How far off yet is the trilobite! how far the quadruped! how inconceivably remote is man! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from the granite to the oyster, and farther yet to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come as surely as the first atom has two sides." We question whether Darwinism, evolution, ever can be made to harmonize with poetry and with religion; and, behold! our first idealist arrived at these results long before Spencer, long before Darwin, not by the path of science, but by the sheer necessity of poetry and of religion. In Emerson, we have a prophet of the ultimate synthesis of the most radical science with an idealist philosophy, and a religion drenched with the consciousness of an omnipotent and omnipresent God. It would be impossible to find in Darwin's writings a passage so frankly materialistic as the passage I have quoted from Emerson. But, because it is from Emerson, we know that there is a Materialism which does not conflict with Idealism, with Spiritualism, but lends itself for illustration to their genius and their law.

It is not as if we were obliged to choose between Emerson and Darwin as our exclusive mental diet. Neither exhausts the other, but Emerson includes Darwin as he is not by him included. What he lacks of Darwin is of a special nature,—the *how* of evolution. He is confident of the method and result, but for the details of the process he has little thought or speech. What Darwin lacks of Emerson is his wide scope, his universality. The ethical import of Darwin's writings in comparison with Emerson's is as one to many thousands, and with the theistic import it is much the same. And why? The man of Darwin's apprehension is the Latin *homo;* of Emerson's, the Latin *vir*. The one is an inchoate creature, a *becoming:* he appears as Adam in the mystery, going across the stage, *going to be created*. The other is "the Superior Man,"—civilized, moral, spiritual; "in apprehension, how like an angel! in action, how like a god!" Darwin is almost never theological. The relation of his doctrine to theology he leaves for others' explication. And, though Emerson's subjects are so numerous, God stands not in their order. But, none the less, he is a God-intoxicated man. His page is drenched with Deity. There is an "escape into the Infinite" at every turn. No definition is attempted, but evermore the real presence of the Eternal presses home upon the mind and heart.

To say these things is no disparagement of Darwin's genius or his work. He was a man of science. Emerson was a philosopher and poet. And hence the difference of range. But, as a man of science, Darwin was no narrow specialist. As geologist, as botanist, as zoölogist, he was equally distinguished. In each department, his was a talent of the highest order. His magnificent generalization would have been impossible, if he had been great only in one department. Nor was he one of those who cannot see the forest for the trees; who,

> "Viewing all things intermittently,
> In disconnection dull and spiritless,
> Break down all grandeur."

His relation to nature was not only of the analytic, scientific sort: it was also of the synthetic, human sort. The *savant* did not swamp the man. But he understood the need of concentration. Others might work like Nehemiah's men upon Jerusalem's wall,—in one hand a spear, in the other a trowel. Notably, this has been Tyndall's way. But Darwin must have both hands for his work. He had no battles with the theologians. Did they rave against him? He let them rave. He did not waste his strength. He put it all into his own peculiar task. And so it happened that he lived to see the triumph of his principles.

But so it also happened that in the liveliest controversies that were excited by his principal writings (the controversies concerning their religious significance), he took no public part; and, if in private his expression was more free and full, nothing of much importance has as yet transpired.

But what really concerns us is not some isolated expression of theological opinion on the part of Darwin here or there, but the significance of his system of biology in its widest range and its completest implications. At the time of Darwin's death there was a flood of arguments to the effect that he was soundly theistic; and, therefore, if not so good a Christian as Henry VIII. or George IV., not wholly undeserving of interment in their company in Westminster Abbey. Marvel not at this, for Orthodoxy never can afford to let the famous dead appear unorthodox. She must and will have the prestige of genius and success upon her side, though, to bring this about, it should be necessary to invent an elaborate fiction of death-bed repentance, without a particle of fact to bottom it. But theological expressions which may be entirely satisfactory to the sectarian zealot may affect very differently those who are seeking to discover the real significance of a great thinker's teachings on the religious side. To these, it matters little that in his *Origin of Species* Darwin explicitly places an intelligent Creator at the commencement of the process of organic evolution. They ask if he is rightly there; if his being there is consistent with Darwin's general system; if it is consistent with any true philosophy of universal life. And, from these, a negative answer has been almost unanimous. "For the Creator in the *Origin of Species*," one has said, "seems introduced more for ornament than for any serious work he has to do, or at least rather to conciliate the mass of hostile theological prejudice certain to be aroused by the other doctrines than to satisfy any logical demands of the system." We put in a demurrer here. Such was the intellectual honesty of Darwin that we cannot conceive that the Creator at the beginning of the process of organic evolution, in the closing paragraph of the *Origin of Species*, was any cake to Cerberus. It was a survival in culture, a relic of the mechanical English tradition which is so conspicuous in the theological speculations of John Stuart Mill. But it is true that the Creator of Darwin's closing paragraph "has nothing to do at the beginning save to endow one or two primordial forms with the lowest degree of elementary life, leaving the rest to natural selection and the ordeal of battle. And he has had nothing to do ever since (on the earth at least) but sit passively by and watch a law which executes itself without any need of interference on his part. He is a monarch that reigns, but does not govern."

However satisfactory such a God as this may be to conventional pietism, it will hardly be satisfactory at this stage of human progress to any thoughtful, any religious person. We must have more of God than such a scheme allows, or less will be preferred. Only by not thinking much about it could Darwin have intruded such a foreign element into the structure of his thought. A mechanical Creator, impressing laws on matter, breathing life with its several powers into a few forms or into one (these phrases are his own), is as repulsive to our purest science and philosophy as a mechanical Creator engaged in the special creation of various species. Of Darwin making this concession, the high gods of special providence and miracle may well declare, "He has become as one of us." He differs from them only in degree. He has not escaped from the region of mechanical ideas. The God who "impresses laws" on matter, and who "breathes life with its several powers into a few forms or into one," is a very near relation to the God who originates species by special creation, and performs the various miracles of the New Testament. He is the same sort of God. And, if his appearance in the closing scene of Darwin's drama of existence is not without due warrant, then Darwin has done no more for us than to establish the probability of

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natural selection within certain empirical limits. Within these limits, the probability is less for his allowance that there is an outlying sphere of special creation; and, beyond these limits, the God of special creation, special providence, anthropomorphic action, miracle, is still at large. If Darwin's God, impressing laws on matter and breathing life into a few forms or into one at the beginning of the process of organic evolution, is a coherent adjunct of his general scheme, there is no reason why any one should not be a Darwinian in his zoölogy and a supernaturalist in his theology, believing in the miraculous birth of Jesus and in his resurrection from the dead.

To this complexion must we come at length? Is Darwin's natural selection only a patch of new material upon the supernatural garment of the Deity? It were a lame and impotent conclusion. We thought we had a rule, and we have only an exception. And we are obliged to question whether the last state of Darwin's follower is not worse than the first. Special creation has been eliminated from his scheme of animal forms. In place of this, he has the laws of Reproduction, Inheritance, Variability, Struggle for Life, Natural Selection entailing Divergence of Character and the extinction of less improved forms. These give a real explanation in place of an empty name,—special creation, a mere symbol of ignorance, incapable of conveying any definite or indefinite idea. Some of their details are marvellously beautiful. Others are harsh and terrible. It is something to have knowledge in the place of ignorance, a real explanation in the place of a mere word, big-sounding, meaning nothing. But is it a sufficient compensation for the expulsion of the living God from all the countless æons that have elapsed since that dim morning when he breathed the breath of life into a few forms or into one, for the thrusting back of Deity into that infinitely distant past? I doubt it very much. "There is a grandeur in this view of life," says Darwin. Here speaks the specialist, enamoured like Pygmalion with the perfection of his own completed work. But to us occurs—just in the measure that we are not merely scientific, but poetic and religious—the sorrow of Pygmalion, that this completion is devoid of life. We sympathize with the opposition which has always met the astronomer, the geologist, the biologist, who has been engaged in pushing back the line of the divine activity into a remoter past. This opposition has not been wholly irrational. It has been the soul's cry for a *real presence*, a Deity in the present tense,—no *I was*, but the great *I am*. True, there are those whom Darwin's original Creator of a few primordial forms grieves and offends, not on account of his remoteness and his insufficiency, but because even then and there he seems superfluous, matter *per se*, with nothing of divine propulsion or inherent spiritual force, being, as they conceive, sufficient for the cosmic work. But such are few compared with those who least of all things dread too much of God; whose heart's desire is answered by no off mechanician delegating powers to certain primitive forms; only by One of whom they can affirm,—

> "He glows above
> With scarce an intervention; presses close
> And palpitatingly his soul o'er ours.
> The everlasting minute of creation
> Is felt *here*. *Now* it is as it was then.
> Here is no operation of a law
> Whose maker is elsewhere at other work.
> His soul is still engaged upon his world."

These also find a God impressing laws upon matter a lesser God than they would fain adore. If matter is something external to him, "a datum objective to God," then there is something plus the infinite,—surely impossible, or he is something less than infinite. Moreover, these cannot conceive of laws impressed on matter. Here, they say, as in the case of special creation, we have mere words. Matter without laws is inconceivable. They are no paint put on. Their tint is in the grain. They are the constant methods of the Immanent and Universal Life.

Do I seem to criticise and to condemn, where you expected only admiration? But my criticism and my condemnation are not for the real Darwin, the Darwin of a thousand nice experiments, ten thousand careful observations, all contributing to establish a magnificent generalization: they are for the Darwin of a few ill-considered phrases at the conclusion of his book, on which the orthodox have pounced as eagerly as an ant upon an aphis, covetous of that one little drop of limpid juice, so pleasant to their taste. These phrases which Orthodoxy has more highly prized than all the oceanic deep of thought on which they are a bit of flying foam count for just nothing with the unbiassed student seeking to penetrate the actual significance of Darwin for religious thought and life. These eighteenth-century deistic phrases he finds opposed by the collective tenor of the total mass of Darwin's speculation. A mechanical Creator, no matter how remote, stands not in the order of his thought, which suggests no fragment of organic evolution set in a frame of anthropomorphic creation, but a process of organic evolution that is coextensive with the range of all terrestrial and universal life. "Creation by law, evolution by law, development by law,"—these are apologetic phrases which imply a God external to the order of the world. From Darwin's proper self, they have no warrant. We must pronounce him atheistic, if it is atheism to find no Deity "sitting upon the circle of the earth," or in any "part of the wide heavens." But he is not atheistic, if theism may be regarded as

> "A sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused"

than any extra-mundane Deity,—

> "A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

The point at which the scheme of Darwin has most obviously traversed the scheme of natural theology as expounded by Bell and Paley, and a host of equally ingenious writers, is that philosophically known as teleology, more popularly as the argument from design. But it ought not to be forgotten that this argument which was once so popular, which Thomas Paine put into a rhetorical shape with which he was so entirely satisfied that he several times repeated it, did not by any means wait for the appearance of Darwin to bring it into ill-repute. Physics was still enamoured of this argument when metaphysics demonstrated its intrinsic worthlessness. Kant never did a more effective piece of work than his arraignment of the argument from design,—the physico-theological argument, he called it, for the being of a God. A host of Transcendentalists have followed where he led the way. Most of the voices here are echoes. But so is not the voice of Dr. Hedge, who never yet echoed another's thought. "The idea of design," he says, "is purely subjective,—an idea derived from human workmanship which we apply to nature. Were we not already possessed with the idea of God as the author of nature, and were it not for our irresistible tendency to anthropomorphize, to ascribe human methods to the God of our belief, I doubt if we should ever have come upon this mechanical view, this cunning device theory of natural products. I doubt if we should view them as workmanship at all. . . . The design which we impute is something appertaining to ourselves: it is our own subjectivity which we import into nature." This argument cannot be stated in any way that shall preserve its natural force and not imply the triumph over difficulties by ingenuity, which implication is entirely inconsistent with the idea of an omnipotent, unconditioned being.

But, though the Transcendentalists left the watch-maker Deity wounded and half-dead by the way, it must be allowed that Darwin has not played the Good Samaritan. He has finished what the Transcendentalists began. He has given the watch-maker Deity his *coup de grâce*. There are those who do not so interpret his results, who profess to find in him new arguments for the designer-god much more persuasive than the old. But very different has been the average conclusion, and much more accordant with the facts. Hardly could anything be less suggestive of design than the struggle for existence, as set forth by Darwin. A God designing such a struggle would not suggest the motto, "God is love." And, as for the wisdom of it, what should we think of a farmer who planted hundreds of seeds where there is room for only one to grow, and, having planted them, left them to fight it out? But the existence of rudimentary organs of no service to the individual or class, if not a positive disservice, is more obviously fatal to the argument from design than any other fact in the Darwinian order. Such organs do not occur infrequently. Among them are the teeth of fœtal whales, that never cut the gums; of certain birds also; the wings of various insects that are never opened or used; the caudal vertebræ in man, his *appendix vermiformis*, which so often causes death; and many similar phenomena. The special-creationist, the Paley-ologian, confronts these facts with a theory of ideal types. The Deity is represented as adhering to a general plan; though the adherence is not always useful, and is sometimes in the way. A Deity proceeding in this way has aptly been compared to a conservative coach-maker, who, *for the look of the thing*, sticks a sham pistol-box upon his coaches, when the reality is no longer needed. And then, too, it might be asked, Would not a God "so anxious for the type" have brought it out in the majority of cases rather than in a small minority?

There is and can be no agreement between Darwinism and the watch-maker God, the manufacturer, the mechanician, the anthropomorphic disposer of certain causes with a view to certain definite effects. Darwin's denial of special creation is immeasurably more than any mere denial of the creation all at once of any separate species. It is equally the denial and disproof of the creation of any organ or function as it now exists for the purpose which it now serves. Nowhere is manufacture. Everywhere is growth. "All changes pass without violence." If Theism upon these terms is possible and satisfactory, it is well and good. It can be had—so the true Darwin rules—upon no others.

Is Theism possible upon these terms? No: if by Theism we must mean the dogma of a God who is altogether such a one as ourselves, or like ourselves in any appreciable degree. We never know how anthropomorphic we are, said Goethe. But, now, we know that the God of our belief and worship must be much less anthropomorphic than we have heretofore conceived. His thoughts are not our thoughts. His ways are not our ways. Nevertheless, he is a power adequate to the production of all things that are, a fount of being involving all that has been yet evolved and all that can be in the boundless futures of the world: involving thought, else thought had never been; involving love, else love had never been; involving all that we can hope or dream, or more than this and better, else had the hope and dream never been quickened in our breasts.

> "The faith that life on earth is being shaped
> To glorious ends; that order, justice, love,
> Mean man's completeness, mean effect as sure
> As roundness in the dewdrop,—that great faith
> Is but the rushing and expanding stream
> Of thought, of feeling, fed by *all the past*."

It is the self-respect of the Eternal Power arrived at consciousness in man. Such Theism as this is possible consistently with Darwin's characteristic thought. Whom have we in heaven but thee, and there is none on earth that we desire beside thee! No longer need we bruise ourselves against the notion of a God who might have interposed his arm to fend us from dreadful stroke,—might, but did *not*. No longer need we figure to ourselves the present world as void of Deity, subsisting by some delegated power millenniums back deposited in a few primordial germs. Well does one say, "*If* there could be a force which is not as indissolubly related to Omnipotence as every creek and cranny of sea-water is to the ocean with which it rises and falls, the one intellectual necessity, the thought of God, would be gone." And the moral necessity no less. We crave no lesser good than to be ministered unto at every moment of all time by the divine completeness. We must believe that our last heart-throb was not less the pulse of God than the first motion of vitality in the first cell that quivered into life.

> "Nearer, my God, to thee,
> Nearer to thee!"

So sings our heart its sweet and natural song.

But there are those, and they are earnest and intelligent, for whom supernaturalism and anthropomorphism have no longer any charms, to whom Darwinian evolution presents the sinister aspect of a world which in the last analysis is born of chance. What if the variation at this or that moment had been quite otherwise, and yet such that, seized upon by natural selection, it would have attained to paramount importance. Then, instead of this cosmos that we have, there might have been a very different cosmos; instead of this *man*kind, a very different kind of leading race,—some mute, inglorious Jumbo, high advanced and conscious top of all. There are those who answer that the variations have been determined, that the development has been controlled, by overruling

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Mind to certain ends. Such a solution brings back again the extra-mundane God, the watch-maker. A better answer is that the variations which Darwin frequently calls "accidental" have their law no less than every other process and event. As yet, they are enveloped in a cloud of mystery; but this cloud may yet be cleared away. In the mean time, the grand result is tolerably confirmatory of the sanative direction of the variations and selections of the process of organic evolution up to date. All is not good, measured by our subjective standards. But, if many things might have been worse or better, how many more are wondrous sweet and fair. Whatever might have been, what is, is full of good. Humanity can say with the apostle, "By the grace of God, I am what I am." And, for the rest, why should we care to think that only just exactly what has come to pass could come, and not in vain? I would not so cut myself off from faith in the immeasurable spontaneity of nature and of God. Rather would I believe that on a million planets in yon deep of blue there are a million races different from ours; and, if every one of them is higher, so much the better for our thought of the eternal things. The God I worship is a God who can afford the mutual rapacities of the lower creatures, the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday, the ferocity of a Caligula, the sensualism of an Alexander VI., the Christianity of a Philip II. or an Innocent III. "I take the responsibility," said Andrew Jackson. God takes the responsibility of all these things. Fain would we come to his relief. There is no need. He will not thank us. "There is no respectfulness, no real adoration," said John Weiss, "in these human attempts to whitewash the Great First Cause. They lead to mental bewilderment, and will forever have the weakness of being controverted by the facts."

It is through no unfairness or unwisdom that Darwin is classed with the materialists. That is to say, he is as much of a materialist as the great majority of those on whom this label is affixed. In the completest index of his works, the words "matter" and "materialism" would not perhaps appear. He entered upon no discussion of these fundamental problems. Like Candide, in Voltaire's romance, he had enough to do in tending his own garden, listening for what the earth-worms had to say to him, and the trailing plants. Orthodoxy, covetous of his fame, has easily convinced herself that he was no materialist. She has his word for it. This word we have already noticed. There it is in the last paragraph of the *Origin of Species*. And it is clear and unmistakable. What we have there is a God impressing laws on matter, a God breathing life with its several powers into a few forms or into one. There is no materialism here,—none, in the ordinary sense. There is an extra-mundane, anthropomorphic God. But there is no agreement between these expressions and the bulk of Darwin's thought. It is impossible for any intellectually serious person to follow up the process of organic development as Darwin has described it in his various writings, and arrest his feet before the verbal barrier which they oppose to him in a single place. The rush of the great argument carries him through and beyond this barrier as if it were a wisp of straw. He cannot give good heed to this immense induction, and after all believe that organic evolution is a part, and not the whole. Every experiment arranged to test the problem of spontaneous generation may as yet have failed to prove the fact. Future experiments may be as unavailing. But while at the same time the first instance of special creation is not only undiscovered, but inconceivable, the suggestion comes with overwhelming force that the transition from inorganic matter to organic life was with as little violence as the transition from our April into May and June, as little calling for the interposition of an extra-mundane God. Ay, more, such faith have we in the unending genesis, that the present world interprets and resumes the infinite past, that we have not a doubt that even now while we are gathered here this transition from the inorganic to the organic is somewhere taking place as naturally and quietly as the sunlight is falling upon hill and stream and the shadows of the clouds are trailing over them.

Do any of you wonder that I seem to welcome this result with joy and gladness, when to many it appears so sad, so terrible? But it is not as if at the beginning of my discourse I had not read to you from Emerson a statement of this same result. What is implicit in Darwin was explicit there. Therefore, let not your hearts be troubled. The materialism which Emerson can announce with such a fine hilarity is not a materialism that need be feared, as if it might deprive us of our confidence in ultimate Spirit, universal Mind. Idealism is the philosopher's stone with which he converts that seeming grossness which we denominate matter into the gold of sensibility and thought. What is this matter which is so often talked about as if it were something get-at-able, something that can be seen and handled,—what is it but certain mental forms plus an impenetrable mystery? All that we know of it is the mental forms. If we could see the hypothetic atoms, the mystery would still be there. The thing in itself would still be as remote as ever. Science and Philosophy have met together; Huxley and Kant have kissed each other on this common ground. The analysis of sense-perception has redounded wholly to the supremacy of mind. That world which seems real and objective to us is our own world, a world made by the casting of an absolute unknown in the moulds of our sensibility and understanding. The death-warrant of dogmatic materialism can be read in these conclusions by all except the blind. What we call matter is "mind-stuff" in the main, and what it is besides we do not know.

When matter has been thus transmuted into mind, it is a very different matter from that which has made materialism a word so ominous of evil to mankind. The objection could not be too strenuous, so long as matter was regarded as a something which, without inherent mind, could build the cosmos, and the thought and love and pity of mankind. Nay, let the separate atoms be as live and pushing as you please; grant them not only chemical affinities, but each a brain compared with which Plato's or Newton's were an imbecile affair,—and who shall deem that they could put their heads together, so that such a universe as this would be the outcome of their cogitation? "The divinity is in the atoms." Yes, but in them not "distinct in individualities"; in them as a pervasive and cohering Unity.

And, now, perhaps it may be evident why the concession made to mechanical theology in the *Origin of Species* did not seem a beautiful or a desirable concession; why it seemed good to us to appeal from that to Darwin's larger, deeper self, and learn from that that the process of organic evolution is a process which has no mechanical beginning, but a sweep as wide as universal nature, from the primeral nebula as yet unstirred up to this day of June. It was because we knew that matter was no lifeless entity, but largely *as we know it* alive with our own sensibility and thought, and for the rest alive with the informing spirit of the Infinite and Everlasting One.

Why should we think it necessary for an external Deity to interpose, when that which we call matter is the Shekinah of an Infinite Power, the manifestation of an Infinite Life? If matter is not *homoüusian*, of the same substance with God, then have we indeed materialism; then have we God *and* matter, a finite dualism, and no infinite One. But, if matter is thus consubstantial with the Infinite, why should we not expect it to be equal to all changes from the nebula to the granite, and from granite to the moneron, and from the moneron to man? It is God that worketh in it both to will and to do.

> "Not of adamant and gold
> Built he heaven stark and cold;
> No, but a nest of bending reeds,
> Flowering grass, and scented weeds.
> Or like a traveller's fleeting tent,
> Or bow above the tempest bent;
> Built of furtherance and pursuing,
> Not of spent deeds, but of doing."

There are other aspects of my theme, to which, had others not assigned my task, I might have turned more willingly than to this, which must be indeterminate and vague after whatever speech. Right well should I have liked to speak with you of the relation of the Darwinian doctrine to our self-consciousness; to ask, What import has it for our human dignity and worth, and what for our immortal hope? This last particular is one which touches many closely and with a pathetic hand. But if we have inferred our immortality from our essential dignity, and not our dignity from our immortality, then have we better reason than we ever had before for such a hope; for, surely, to say, "I also am a man," is something higher and deeper-sounding, now that we know what infinite periods have gone into our structure and what patience of the Infinite Power. Does any one object, What if our poor relations,—the humbler creatures, as we call them in our own dispraise,—being of our stock and lineage, seem to demand a partnership with us in the immortal life? Let them come in. I doubt not there is room enough for all. I could more easily believe that every living creature will survive the circumstance of death than that certain men and women whom I have known and loved are blotted out. If you could not, I can but say to you, "O ye of little faith!"

But, whatever waits for us in other worlds than this, for those who shall succeed to our inheritance of earthly things what splendid futures shine! What prophecy is the work already done of that which yet remains to do! And, when the coming man has distanced the attainment of to-day as much as we have distanced the attainment of our remotest ancestors who stood with port erect and face toward heaven, then will that scripture be fulfilled which our own Shakspere wrote, "What a piece of work is man!"

> "Thus he dwells in all,
> From life's minute beginnings, up at last
> To man,—whose attributes had here and there
> Been scattered o'er the visible world before,
> Asking to be combined,—dim fragments meant
> To be united in some wondrous whole,—
> Imperfect qualities throughout creation,
> Suggesting some one creature yet to make,—
> Some point where all those scattered rays should meet
> Convergent in the faculties of man."
>
> "So in man's self arise
> August anticipations, symbols, types
> Of a dim splendor ever on before,
> In that eternal circle run by life."

MONTREAL FREE THOUGHT CLUB.

Opening Ceremonies.

On the 3d inst., the new rooms of the Free Thought Club of Montreal, situated on St. Catherine Street opposite the cathedral, were opened under favorable auspices. The attendance was large. Mr. Boas occupied the chair.

At the opening of the proceedings, Mr. George Martin said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It affords me very much pleasure, indeed, in common with every member of this Club, to see so many of our friends here to-day on the occasion of opening our new hall. This pleasure is enhanced in view of what such an assembly broadly signifies. It is, I think I may safely say, an unmistakable indication of a rapid spread of liberal thought in our midst, of an increase of that beneficent spirit of mutual toleration and respect which tends to harmonize communities, and renders intercourse among individual citizens a pleasure and a joy.

We are passing through a period of intellectual unrest, a time of doubting whatever is doubtful, of questioning whatever remains unsettled, and, above all, of a bold and fearless assertion of "the right of unlimited search" into all matters pertaining to the welfare and enlightenment of mankind, the right to ignore and set aside all ecclesiastical proscriptions and decretals.

It is only within the present century that the heavy hand of ecclesiasticism has been forced to relinquish its grasp on human reason, and only in recent years that thoughts of the most radical and startling character have been permitted fairly to take wing, exulting in the freedom which they find to fly wheresoever the free air and sunshine of heaven may invite them.

The priesthoods of the day of every complexion have become more modest in their claims, in many cases apologetic, in some cases repentant, ready to confess to sins of omission and commission. Even "Mother Church" herself, alarmed at the rising tide of unbelief, turns her latest fury only against atheism or agnosticism, and through one of her highest dignitaries proposes a combination of all religious peoples, Jews, Mohammedans, and Buddhists, all theists joining with Christians, Catholic and Protestant, to wage a war of extermination against this monster, born of his fears, that rises up everywhere and arrogantly refuses to worship or recognize the supernatural.

This same high dignitary, had he lived at a somewhat earlier period, would have recommended a very different procedure in connection with the heretics and heathen whose co-operation he now craves in a crusade of persecution; craves only from a depth of despair induced by his seeing the decay and ultimate

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overthrow of those colossal despotisms that have retarded the march of civilization, and have proved so inimical to human happiness, chief among which his own Church has acted the most inhuman and sanguinary part.

These reflections on the signs of the times I have supplemented with some verses, which I respectfully offer for your acceptance:—

Onward!

Onward still, the fiends of terror
Never more by force of error
Can the thinker's thought subdue;
Dear to us the hero-sages
Of the pious, priestly ages
Whom the fierce fanatics slew.

Dead? They are not dead! their teaching,
Through the long, dark centuries reaching,
Throbs in countless hearts to-day:
Not one word for freedom spoken,
Nor one limb for freedom broken,
Has been wholly cast away.

See! in the enlightened nations,
Shaken to their deep foundations,
Venerable temples reel;
Superstition, wounded, wailing,
Angry-mouthed, but unavailing,
Howls to Heaven her last appeal.

Forward! then, 'tis shameful treason
In this glorious age of reason
To disguise one's honest thought;
None but dupes and cowards falter
To disown each ghostly altar
Where the ancient lie is taught.

Ours the age of science, splendid
Are her triumphs, with them blended
Truths that zone the world with light;
Ours an age of song more truthful
Than the old-time Muses youthful
Poured from their Olympian height.

Long have slept the gods they flattered,
Long ago their altars scattered,
Vanished from the midst of men;
Other gods have followed, follow,
Prayer and praise grow faint and hollow,
Can dead faiths come forth again?

Ours the age of Freedom, striding
O'er the earth, no more abiding
On bleak mountain tops, secluded;
Where she passeth tyrants tremble,
Priest and king their craft dissemble,
Theirs the spoils of souls deluded.

Onward! be our motto, ever
Striving with a wise endeavor
Higher, higher still to rise;
Striving to uplift and gladden
Hearts that grim beliefs but sadden,
So shall spread the truths we prize.

The President then delivered an address on the aims and objects of the Club.

Mr. R. C. Adams made an address on "The Leading Principles of Liberalism"; Mr. G. Iles, on "A School System for the Children of Free Thinkers on a Rational Basis"; and Mr. Alexander Murphy, on "The Social Features of Organization." Dr. Fisher followed in a forcible speech; and, after remarks from several others, the meeting adjourned.

To the above, for which we are indebted to the Montreal *Herald*, is added the following from a letter from Mr. George Martin, the former President of the Club:—

The meeting was one of unusual interest to Montreal free-thinkers, and marks a distinctive feature in the growth of our Club. The President's address, entitled "A Plea for Liberal Organization," was a masterly exposition of radical views on religion; and the necessity for united effort in defending and propagating those views was supported by a chain of argument in which was no "missing link"; in proof of which it need only be mentioned that at the close of the meeting several of our most prominent and influential fellow-citizens who had hitherto stood apart from the Club gave in their names for membership.

We are well on to a hundred strong, and our prospects for the future are such as serve to kindle enthusiasm in the veins of any pessimist that may be among us. We have already entered on preparations for a course of lectures to run through the coming fall and winter months, to be given weekly in our new hall, on scientific, ethical, and other subjects, which we know will raise our standard. The speakers will be chiefly selected from "home production"; and, if we can manage to import a few "big guns" from your side of the line, our dear old nurse, Orthodoxy, whose increasingly feeble state of health excites commiseration in all the churches, will run a risk of being thrown into convulsions.

We have a capacious reading room, a good library, and other serviceable rooms, in connection with our lecture hall, all suitably furnished by the Club, making "a haven of rest," as one of my young friends put it, for members and their friends. This great improvement in our position is largely due to the unceasing zeal and solid brain of my esteemed successor as President of the Club, Mr. Feodor Boas. The helm is in safe hands, the trim little craft is well steered.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IRISH LAND SYSTEM—CO-OPERATION.

Editors of The Index:—

No more interesting or valuable contribution to the subject of the Irish land question has been recently made, than that of Mr. E. T. Craig, in his recently published book entitled *The Irish Land and Labor Question, illustrated in the History of Ralahine and Co-operative Farming.*

Going back to the time of this experiment, we find the state of things in this unfortunate island almost precisely like that with which we are familiar at the present time: the same reliance upon the potato as the principal source of food for the laborer, the failure or partial failure of this crop, the inability to meet the heavy requirements of the landlords in the products of the soil, the brutal compulsions of the stewards, the evictions of the poor from their homes and the consequent misery, suffering, and desperation,—all resulting in the banding of these unfortunates together, in the vain hope of finding a cure for their sorrows by sending terror into the great landlords, their agents, and the government. No way of life and existence seemed open to them, "save through the meshes of crime, and the bloody portals of force, violence, and murder."

Early in the year of 1831, the family of Mr. John Scott Vandeleur, of Ralahine, County Clare, having been obliged to take flight, and his steward been murdered by one of the laborers selected by lot at a meeting held to decide who should commit the deed, Mr. Vandeleur sought in England some one who could aid him in organizing an agricultural association, to be conducted upon co-operative principles,—a desire which he had long cherished. He found Mr. Craig, who seems to have been equipped in the most thorough manner by his experience, careful study of social problems, and a tender and profound regard for the rights and the well-being of the poor and needy, for the undertaking. He says, "I arrived at the conclusion that an association to rent a farm, stock, and buildings, was practicable and desirable; and that, if suitable productive efforts were sustained by intelligent guidance and agreement to give the laborer a participation in the net profits over rent and interest of the capital employed, the system would realize success for all concerned."

The objects of the association formed were thus stated in the constitution: 1. The acquisition of a common capital; 2. The mutual assurance of its members against the evils of poverty, sickness, infirmity, and old age; 3. The attainment of a greater share of the comforts of life than the working class now possess; 4. The mental and moral improvement of its adult members; 5. The education of its children.

The farm, stock, tools, and other property, were leased of Mr. Vandeleur for the sum of £900. All profits after payment of interest and rent belonged to the members, divisible at the end of the year, if desired. A co-operative store was started to supply themselves with food and clothing. The estate was managed by a committee of the members. All labor was paid in labor notes, which were exchangeable at the store for goods or cash. No spirituous liquors of any kind, tobacco, or snuff, were kept or used upon the premises. The expenses of the children's food, clothing, washing, lodging, and education, were paid out of the common fund. All were encouraged to eat at the common table, where better meals were provided at a saving of expenditure. No litigation, either before a lawyer or magistrate, was allowed—all disputes being settled by arbitration among themselves. Other judicious rules for guidance of the association in every department were adopted.

In considering the results which followed these arrangements of Mr. Craig's, it must not be forgotten that the state of the country as described above, the suspicion entertained of him as a spy and informer, the opposition to him as a Protestant (all of the laborers being Catholic), the fact that they spoke only the Irish language while he did not, and the ignorance, superstition, and desperation of these poor people, rendered the experiment a hazardous and doubtful one; and, as has been said, "No one but a man of rare zeal and courage would have attempted so hopeless a task." What followed?

Although the wages paid were the ruling ones at that time (8*d.* per day for men and 5*d.* for women), the prices of the provisions sold at the store were so low, and the other economies of the system so great, they immediately began to save money. Their health and appearance quickly improved,—so much so that, with disease raging around them, no case of death or serious illness occurred during the three years the experiment lasted. Sanitary arrangements were perfected. An enlightened system of education for the young was adopted, those old enough being alternately employed on the farm and in the school. Physical and moral training were most carefully attended to. Soon, "outsiders" were extremely anxious to become members. Every thing was prosperous, and the benefit and improvement extended to the people of the neighborhood. The young men who were known before the experiment commenced as the most violent and discontented proved to be the most active, steady, and industrious members. The moral aspect of the peasantry of the neighborhood became changed; and there was an admitted increase of security, peace, and happiness arising from the associated action of the community. Formerly, in want, in fear of the future, under irritating and harsh task-masters, they were turbulent and unreasonable; but now, surrounded by favorable circumstances, they became necessarily virtuous and contented, industrious, peaceful, and happy. Mr. Craig says: "On my arrival at Ralahine, it will be remembered, the state of the country was such as to rouse the fury of the peasantry, and the utmost rigor on the part of the governing classes, the magistrates and the police. The peasantry were committing the wildest freaks of savage vengeance, and the district was described as a 'hell upon earth.' In the space of twelve months, I had been the means of changing the moral aspect of the whole neighborhood; while Ralahine, in its peaceful arrangements, comfortable dwellings, constant employment, schools, and social festive meetings, seemed like an earthly paradise, compared to the miserable conditions, groundless suspiciousness, and wild, passionate vindictiveness which formerly prevailed throughout the south of Ireland, and then became intensified in County Clare and Ralahine." This happy association came to a sudden termination through the ruin and flight of Mr. Vandeleur, who had lost his entire property by gambling. Every thing was sold off, and the experiment came to an immediate close.

The entire history of this experiment in agricultural association, or co-operation, of which the above is the merest sketch, will be found by any one interested, in The Irish Land Question, or the Subject of Co-operative Undertakings,—a most absorbing work, rivalling in interest, as told by Mr. Craig (in the language of an English critic), "the *Blithedale Romance*, from the inimitable pen of Hawthorne." It shows how, under existing conditions,—with no change of the relation of landlord and tenant, with no alteration in the political status of the people or the government, without help from government or from abroad, without change of religious beliefs, with a continuation of the excessive taxation of the English and the Catholic Church establishments, and that of the landlords in rent and interest,—even the commonest people of Ireland may be transformed from discontented, violent agrarians, and revolutionary murderous conspirators, into quiet, inoffensive, self-supporting, contented, thrifty, useful citizens. How such an experiment can fail to affect the minds of such English and Irish members of Parliament as are not actuated by personal, mercenary, or ambitious motives, it seems impossible to conceive! So complete a success, upon the first trial, indicates that fundamental principles were reached in the experiment, which must be applicable to larger fields. Were the

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landlords of Ireland desirous to introduce measures which would make their laborers contented and happy, while at the same time they should receive a fair return in interest and rent for all the capital invested, it is evident that this experiment would have been tried by others before the present troubles had occurred. It is now likely to be tried again; and will be successful everywhere when such sagacity, energy, tact, and forbearance as Mr. Craig exhibited can be found and placed in command.

This experiment confirms us in the belief, long entertained and gradually becoming more wide-spread, we think, that the evils of the present times are not so much political and religious as social; and that, once true social conditions established, the comfort, happiness, and longevity of citizens of the New World as well as the Old would be immensely increased, even under the faulty political arrangements existing at the present time.

As an illustration of the beneficent results of the application of co-operative principles to actual business, no finer recent one can be found, though they are numerous and rapidly increasing. Mr. Holyoake describes the condition of the originators of the Rochdale co-operative store-keeping as being so low in poverty and other respects as to be impossible to be conceived of by Americans. These people at Ralahine were not only equally poor and wretched in every way, but the unfortunate circumstances surrounding them had rendered them violent and murderous. But "co-operation" was equal even to this emergency. It made them peaceable, contented, happy, prosperous. And this is its effect, whenever and wherever it is wisely and properly administered. The same results are seen in Germany, where an application of the principle is seen to banking and loans; in France, to trades and industry, especially in that of M. Godin, at his Social Palace at Guise; in England, by the Rochdale experiment; and, in our own country, by the co-operative banks or mutual building associations. Its immediate effect is to encourage and build up thrift, to set a higher standard of morality for all, to give the laborer something more than mere personal interests and relate him differently to his fellows, to reduce in some measure the unseemly scramble for the means of support, and to make it possible to live without the necessity of injuring others by our own success, by rendering the interests of all associated identical or nearly so.

Mr. Craig says, "The main features of the plan which were *new*, consisted in giving the laborer a participation in the management, and a share in the profits after rent and interest were paid, *thereby awakening the zeal and intelligence of the producers in promoting the success of the concern.*"

Why are not these principles applicable to other interests in this country? and may they not be the fundamental ones in all harmonious relations of capitalist and laborer? We believe that they are.

C. H. CODMAN.

BOOK NOTICES.

DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY, OR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE AS BASED UPON STATICAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE LESS COMPLEX SCIENCES. In two volumes. By Lester F. Ward, A.M. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1, 3, and 5 Bond Street. pp. 1390.

The author of this work, while he recognizes the great and permanent value of what has been done in the domain of social science, thinks this value is thus far potential only; that the school of Mill, Spencer, and Fiske has advanced but to the "passively dynamic stage," which notes only the changes wrought by nature, unaided by art; and that what is now needed is that sociology advance to the actively dynamic stage in which social phenomena shall be contemplated as capable of intelligent control by society itself in its own interests. Theo-teleology paralyzes human effort; metaphysical ontology, which builds on pure ideas, ignores the mediation of material things; and even the philosophy of evolution, so far as it denies that social phenomena are susceptible to artificial modification, justifies the charge that it is impracticable and fruitless. Sociology, the author thinks, is in danger of falling into the class of "polite amusements or dead sciences"; and he has endeavored to use the results of the labors of many great minds, and to weave them into a unique fabric by which society may be rehabilitated.

Some of the leading claims of the work may be briefly stated as follows:—

The degree of intellectual capacity, as already developed, is quite sufficient in the present civilized races to establish and conduct a thoroughly organized social system; that all attempts artificially to accelerate this development must be attended with great difficulties, and, in so far as successful, must occupy prolonged periods; that the only two methods by which this can be done are, first, artificial selection, or the scientific propagation of human beings,—a method confronted by great practical obstacles; or second, rational change of environment, consisting in the supply of the intellect with more and better legitimate materials to work upon, *i.e.*, increase of knowledge; that the amount of useful knowledge possessed by the average mind is far below its intellectual capacity, thus keeping the degree of intelligence correspondingly below what it might be; that the actual amount of such knowledge originated by man, though doubtless still below his ability to utilize it, is sufficient, if equally distributed, to elevate him to a relatively high position and to awaken society to complete consciousness; that the most important of all *desiderata* is the thorough distribution of the great body of valuable knowledge already extant; that the resources of the globe are not inexhaustible, unless zealously husbanded by the deliberate foresight of enlightened intellect; and that a night of inaction and degeneracy will surely come in time, unless something swifter and more certain than natural selection can be brought to bear upon those intellectual faculties by which alone man is distinguished from the rest of the fauna of the earth, and enabled to people all parts of its surface. Man has been the servant of Nature too long. All true progress has been measured by his growing mastery over her, which has in turn been strictly in proportion to his knowledge of her truths.

In these two volumes, a large number of cognate subjects are discussed, among which are the Positive Philosophy of Comte, the Synthetic Philosophy of Spencer (whose "causality," it is affirmed, "has never been equalled"), the Genesis of Organic Form, the Genesis of Mind, the Genesis of Man, the Genesis of Society, Reciprocal Relations of Man and the Universe, Utility, Progress, Action, or the Direct Means to Progress, the Immediate Data of Ideas and Education. The work is able and scholarly, radical in thought and clear and strong in expression. It abounds in original reflections. The philosophy of the author is scientific materialism, from the standpoint of which, design, the basis of ethics, free will, etc., are discussed vigorously and fearlessly. No attempt is made to qualify conclusions on account of their supposed consequences. The subject of sex and the questions growing out of it are treated with great plainness, but with the earnestness of a thinker who has something to offer, and of a reformer who believes his views will benefit the race. The chief defect of the work, in our opinion, is a lack of appreciation of the highest aspects and the most recondite principles of psychology, in consequence of which lack, the treatment of several intellectual and ethical problems seems to us incomplete and inadequate. This must be apparent to every reader who is familiar with Spencer, Bain, Lewes, and other writers of this generation who have treated these subjects in the light of the best scientific and philosophic thought of the age. But while the work is not without defects, it has great merits, and is entitled to a place in the library of every thinker.

THE *Rundschau*, or Broad View, is published gratuitously in pamphlet form, in order to circulate liberal ideas among the Germans in this country as well as in Europe. Five thousand copies have been issued of the first number, which, besides many advertisements, especially of radical books, contains two spirited poems, "Wo ist der Himmel?" and "Letzter Wunsch," together with an article of marked originality, designed to show that Jesus, in driving out of the temple all who bought and sold animals and forbidding any one to carry a sacrificial vessel through the building, meant to testify against the whole system of burnt offerings, and show his own desire to have simply "a house of prayer," so that he was acting like those iconoclasts in the sixteenth century, who established Protestantism in Dutch and German cities by breaking to pieces the Romish altars and images of the saints. This essay is probably the work of the editor, Fritz Schütz, who may be addressed at Carver, Minnesota, and who has done good work, not only as a preacher of Free Religion in Germany as well as in this country, where he has made several missionary journeys, but also as a writer of valuable works, one of which we shall soon notice at some length.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for July begins three new serials: "A Roman Singer," a story by F. Marion Crawford; "En Provence," sketches of travel by Henry James; and "Newport," a society novel by George Parsons Lathrop. Richard Grant White's amusing sketch, "Mr. Washington Adams in England," is concluded in this number. It contains some interesting reading for the admirers of Walt Whitman. "Some Phases of Idealism in New England," by O. B. Frothingham, and "Municipal Extravagance," by Arthur B. Ellis, are the two most earnest papers of the number. "Tompkins" is a realistic short story by P. Demings. Among the longer reviews, we note an excellent one of Jones Very's *Poems* and Munger's *Freedom of Faith*. There are poems by Maurice Thompson, Edith Thomas, and E. R. Gill, with other good reading.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak for the Liberal Association of East Dennis, Mass., next Sunday.

REV. CHARLES T. BROOKS died at Newport, R.I., last week. He was born at Salem, Mass., June 20, 1813, graduated at Harvard College and became pastor of the Unitarian Church at Newport in 1837, on which occasion Dr. Channing preached the ordination sermon. He has served continuously as pastor of the church since, until nine years ago, when he was made pastor emeritus. Mr. Brooks was an accomplished student of the German language and literature, and made many translations from that tongue, among them being Schiller's "William Tell," "Mary Stuart," and "The Maid of Orleans"; "Titian," from Jean Paul Richter; "Specimens of German Song," from Bost; Schiller's "Homage of the Arts"; a translation of Goethe's "Faust," probably the best translation of this work ever made; with miscellaneous pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath, and other German poets. He also published "The Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill at Newport, R.I.," "German Lyrics," "Songs of Field and Flood," and "Eight Months on the Ocean and Eight Weeks in India." His last work, a translation of one of Richter's poems, was published during the past year by Roberts Brothers. He was the last survivor of the eight members of his class who were settled in the Unitarian ministry. Among them were Drs. Bellows and Osgood. Mr. Brooks was a man of singular gentleness and purity of heart and life.

MRS. MARIAN FULLER CURTIS, wife of Mr. John Curtis, died at her home at Wellesley Hills on the 14th inst. For more than thirty years, Mrs. Curtis has had to struggle for life against an afflictive and incurable disease, which subjected her to great suffering and compelled her every year to leave her New England home for a milder climate. She was a woman of remarkably quick and keen intelligence, a brilliant conversationalist, a hospitable friend, an enthusiastic lover of music, and herself a fine musician, and a lover and helper of all good causes of humanity. Her sickness closed for her very much of the bright and active career that was opening before her in her early years; yet, in spite of the disappointment, deprivation, and pain, she found the world a very enjoyable one,—the good and beauty of it more than balancing, as she said, the evil. She so triumphed over her own suffering that she never lost the pleasure of thinking and doing for others. In her early days of health, she was one of the devoted band of Boston abolitionists, and her enthusiastic service to the cause is well remembered by the old workers for it. Only a few days before her death, alluding to her own long suffering, she said that it had not abated her faith in the least in a Supreme Power working for good: the suffering was the result of some broken law, not understood, of which she had become the victim. Yet she was glad to be one in a universe so arranged; and, though entirely rationalistic in her way of looking at religious beliefs, she could not believe that this life was to be the end of the human mind. Our friend, Mr. Curtis, who, through all the years of his wife's invalidism, has been her devoted care-taker, has our sincere sympathies in his bereavement.

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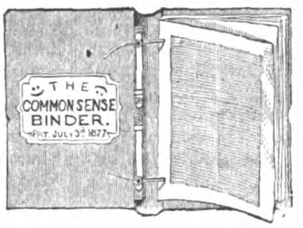

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THE INDEX

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

CURRENT TOPICS, ... 613
EDITORIALS AND SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
Settled and Unsettled Questions, Wm. J. Potter, . . . 614
The Death of a God, Moncure D. Conway, ... 615
Nihilism, Rowland Connor, ... 616
Moral Purpose in Art, Horace L. Traubel, ... 617
EDITORIAL NOTES, ... 617
POETRY.
A Soliloquy, Sara Ward, ... 618
The Indian's Heaven, B. W. B., ... 618
ESSAY.
Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, ... 619
CORRESPONDENCE.
Consolations of a Noble Faith, W. I. Gill, ... 621
"By their Fruits ye shall know them," Eliza B. Burnz, 622
A Sample of Dr. Buryea's Preaching to Young Ladies, D. F., ... 622
The Slander Repeated, D. B. Hale, ... 622
Note of Correction, J. H. Allen, ... 622
MISCELLANEOUS.
Judge Hoadly and *The Index*, E. D. Stark, ... 622
BOOK NOTICES.
Autobiography of Benjamin Hallowell, ... 622
Doctor Claudius, by F. Marion Crawford, ... 623
The North American Review, ... 623
PERSONAL ITEMS, ... 623

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE Cologne Cathedral, the foundation of which was laid six hundred and thirty-five years ago, is completed.

IN Calcutta, so rapid is the adoption of progressive ideas that the number of non-Christian females who can read and write has doubled in the last five years.

THE *Presbyterian* says, "Herbert Spencer's books, Dr. Draper's, Ingersoll's Lectures, all that we mean by 'infidel publications,' are to be found in Japan, India, and other heathen lands, and are used as weapons against the truth. It is surprising how many divisive and hindering influences go out from the old centres of Christianity. The missionaries in Egypt feel the disturbing influence of the Plymouth Brethren, and their students are beguiled away by the pestilent preachers of this soft-going heresy."

JOSEPH COOK, who spoke against "the doctrines of the New Departure in the recent Andover discussion," prefaced his remarks with a brief prayer. The Boston correspondent of the *Christian Union*, taking a humorous view of this part of the exercises, writes: "One man thought that Mr. Cook showed himself to be a great master by his prayer before speaking Wednesday afternoon to put himself *en rapport* with the audience. Daniel Butler replied that it reminded him of the story of two boys who were in an apple-tree when it was struck by lightning. One asked the other if he could pray. 'No,' was the reply. 'Well,' said the other, 'something has got to be done mighty quick.'"

ACCORDING to recent statistics, there are in France 219,270 houses without any window whatever, and to which light and air are admitted, when admitted at all, through the door or a hole in the door. More than a million persons in France are obliged to live thus deprived of nature's freest gifts. In Paris there are between three and four thousand families living in single rooms destitute of means of warming, and between two and three thousand families in single rooms with no opening for light and air. John Bright lately made some appalling statements as to the number of families in Glasgow living in only one room apiece. Even here in free America, the true statistics of the number of families of workingmen obliged to live in one room would be surprising to those who take an optimistic view of our social economics. Here is an inviting field for philanthropic work.

"CHILDREN and fools," says the old adage, "should not have weapons." This saying should be laid to heart by all those spiritual "mediums" who do their ghostly work by scientific methods. Through not understanding this, one Collins Cumberland, who had been astonishing the people of Richmond, Ind., by his mediumistic powers, suddenly came to grief recently. One cold evening, he entered a hotel where he was to have a seance, and to warm himself stood close to a very hot stove. Suddenly he burst into flame, to the amazement of all present, and was severely burned before the fire could be put out. The explanation was that a bottle containing phosphorus which he used in his tricks had the cork blown out by the heat, and the stuff ignited on contact with the air. His converts have relapsed.

THE *Christian Leader*, the leading Universalist paper of this country, remarks: "If one could put implicit faith in the keen eyes and alert ears of *The Index*, he would believe that the old forms of faith are rapidly crumbling, and that a certain foreshadow of desolation sits on all the altars of Orthodoxy." It then mentions "swarming Sunday-schools, populous churches, great missionary, charity, and book concerns, richly endowed and loyally supported, and manifold activities moved by a vast and splendid energy," in contrast to the small attendance at "a Free Religious church of a Sunday morning." This is a very superficial view of the subject. Indeed, the *Leader* says, "This, of course, is not decisive of the relative merits of Orthodoxy and of Free Religion." Certainly not; and why, then, refer to it to disprove what is evident to every careful observer? The fact of the rapid decay of Orthodoxy in the churches, which makes them less objectionable than formerly, renders possible the support they now receive largely from those who are indifferent to theological creeds. And to this condition of things Universalism, the influence of which is not to be measured by the numerical strength of Universalist churches, has contributed. The *Presbyterian*, in whose columns we find copied the paragraph from which the above quotations are taken, will please note the significance of the facts here mentioned.

AT the recent synod, at Albany, of the Reformed (formerly known as the Reformed *Dutch*) Church in America, a number of preachers condemned Sunday newspapers, and resolutions were passed asking not only "the members of our churches," but "all friends of morality" not to buy one, and to condemn them on all proper occasions. The Sunday newspaper was declared to be "a great and growing evil" that diverts the people "from the proper observance of the Sabbath." The Springfield *Republican* commenting on the speeches of these preachers, which it characterizes as a "feast of cant," says: "When the minister cries out that his Sunday audience is lessened by the reading of the Sunday newspapers, he simply confesses that he has fallen behind his times, while the paper has kept with them; that he cannot serve the people so strongly and so attractively as the editor does. This confession is most significant, but not of the Sunday press as 'a great and growing evil.' It is significant of a failure in the pulpit, of a lack in the preacher, of an emptiness in the 'Sabbath observances.' If these are really suffering in comparison with the Sunday paper, let them inquire at home, and find how much of that is due to the blind, deaf, and halt clinging to forms and creeds that are nothing to the actual push and power of human life. What an impudent thing it was in this synod to appeal to 'all friends of morality' never to buy a Sunday paper!—as if that could possibly be a question of morality! Why, men even go to church regularly twice a 'Sabbath' without the least notion of 'morality.' It is not morality, but religious habit, that has to do with 'Sabbath observance.'"

THE excursion of the city government down the harbor on the 15th, designed as an entertainment of a military company from New Orleans, was not a very creditable affair. The members of the city council had dealt out invitations to a large number of political "strikers," "rounders," "heelers," and "bummers" in recognition of their election services, and this crowd of roughs swelled the company to nearly or quite fifteen hundred. Ample provision was made by the caterer, but so large a number could not be accommodated at one sitting. Of course the guests should have been served first, and that was intended by the committee of arrangements; but the favored "friends" of the city representatives made a rush for the table, and occupied the places before the guests could be seated; and the small police force on board was insufficient to eject this mob of a thousand or more. "The wines provided by the city were drunk," says a city paper, "by goblets full, and the pigs swilled the fiery spirits by brimming tumblers. Perhaps it was as well. They were the sooner laid out and stowed away." The entertainers, mortified beyond expression, had to take the guests aside, explain the situation, and provide for them the best they could in an informal manner. The complaint that public funds should be used for a rowdy picnic like this, which was a disgrace to the city, is very pronounced; but there is still greater reason for complaint that the representatives of this city, or some of them, are so low morally, and that the party methods by which their election was secured are so vile, that roughs like those who made up the larger number of the excursionists on the Empire State should have received invitations from members of the city council in recognition of their "services." To say that such men actually represent the good city of Boston is slanderous.

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SETTLED AND UNSETTLED QUESTIONS.

It is not our custom to take notice of anonymous communications. But we are going to make an exception in the case of a writer over the signature of "A Woman," who criticises a certain remark of ours made at the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association, asks certain depreciatory questions concerning that Association, and closes by saying that she pauses for a reply. We propose to give a reply, because the writer voices a not uncommon criticism which is worthy of consideration.

The remark to which our critic objects is that, while the Free Religious Association assumes the existence of religion as an historical fact, it does not assume, but leaves as an open question, the explanation or philosophy of that fact. She says (we use the feminine gender, inferring that the signature truly indicates the writer's sex) that she "thought Max Müller and other German, French, and English writers had settled that question long ago"; and, interpreting our remark to mean that it is "the business of the Free Religious Association to seek for the cause [of religion]," she wonders "how long it will take that Association to arrive at the cause." She further desires to know: "What great questions have you settled the last sixteen years? What affirmations have you made in reference to Immortality, Inspiration, Prophecy, Miracle, Book-revelations," etc.? The attitude of *The Index*—of which, we are glad to know, she has been "a diligent and earnest reader for some time"—seems to her "provokingly uncommittal." She has "learnt more the last twelve weeks" at a certain "Citizens' Conference" to which she refers than "from all the papers, including *The Index*, for the last two years,"—and this though at the Conference "every one of the speakers is from the mercantile and working classes." The chairman, she says, is "a merchant, who strikes the mark every time. He deals in affirmations, not negations; goes back to find causes, and rests on nature." And then, on the hypothesis that *The Index* is waiting for science to pronounce a decision on these matters, she asks, "Is there no one connected with *The Index* of any scientific attainments capable of giving to the world some scientific facts bearing on these mighty questions?"

We fear that our critical friend is too impatient to get great problems settled. We have to confess for ourselves that we do not keep in *The Index* office a scientific expert to give an answer to the questions concerning Religion, God, Immortality, etc. The editors, nevertheless, try to keep themselves tolerably well informed as to what the principal scientific men are doing, and are ready to report at any time, as are also several of their contributors, any scientific discoveries "bearing on these mighty questions." If, therefore, *The Index* has not, in "the last two years," given such positive answer to all these questions as to settle them forever, we must plead in justification that the leading men of science have not given us any absolutely settling discoveries. But let us not demand too much. Science is very sure when it is sure. But it may take a long time for it to work to its ground of perfect surety. And some of these questions, which the human mind has been asking and answering in one way and another ever since there was a human mind, are so deep and broad that we suspect it will be very long before science will settle them to the entire satisfaction of even the majority of enlightened minds. There are many such minds that have yet to be convinced that science can ever determine such questions at all. And if our correspondent has found the problems of God, of Immortality, of Religion, in its essential nature, *answered* and *closed* beyond all reopening or revision by the twelve weekly discussions of the "Citizens' Conference," it does not strike us as necessarily a happy result. So she might have found these problems settled, though possibly not in the same way, in a conference of Roman Catholic priests. There are certain questions so large, so far-reaching, that, if settled in certain stages of the discussion of them, they must inevitably be settled on a too narrow basis and by too arbitrary judgment to be settled rightly. We do not doubt that the speakers of the "Citizens' Conference" are possessed of bright and keen intellects, nor that their opinions on many matters are well worth listening to; but, though they may have given positive answers to all the questions named by our correspondent, we should yet hesitate to concede that their decision is likely to be the one which the world will finally accept as conclusive.

Certain of the questions to which our critic refers, as those of Miracle, Prophecy, Inspiration, Book revelation, are indeed in a fair way toward a settlement, not very remote, which shall practically unite all enlightened minds. In a generation or two more of such progress as has been made in the handling of these subjects in the last twenty-five years, it would not be surprising if Protestant Christendom should be substantially united in the solution of them on the ground of natural process and law. And this progress is going on through the application to the study of these subjects of that free scientific method of criticism which it is one of the special objects of the Free Religious Association to promote. Possibly, then, the sixteen years of that Association's existence would not have been in vain, even if it had done nothing more than hold up the standard of this method of free and scientific investigation for the solution of such questions. But these questions are subordinate and simple by the side of others which are involved in the problem of what Religion is in itself. It is true that Max Müller and many other scholars are at work on this great problem of religion, and are gathering the materials of what is beginning to be called the Science of Religion. And it is true that these materials appear in a general way to point toward the conclusion that all religions are the result of the natural evolution of a few common elemental sentiments and beliefs amidst different environments. But none of these great scholars would claim that even very fundamental questions involved in this general problem of religion are yet decided by scientific criticism. None of them would claim that the whole philosophy of religion is yet settled beyond question or appeal. How the power called Deity, or God, is to be conceived as existing and acting; whether a supreme power as personal conscious intelligence can be rationally conceived or believed in at all by man; how man is related to the power, conscious or unconscious, that sustains and vitalizes the universe; and whether this relation is dependent on the present physical organism of man and wholly ceases with its dissolution, or may be continued in some other form,—these are questions which cannot be considered as scientifically settled they are, certainly, still widely discussed by learned and scientific men.

Yet this is not to say that individual thinkers may not come to very firm conclusions even upon these questions. Nor is it correct to say that members of the Free Religious Association are waiting for science to pronounce its authoritative dictum on these subjects before they have any opinions upon them. Even scientific men have convictions on matters pertaining to their special sciences before they are able to present the facts of a complete demonstration. The doctrine of evolution was held by Darwin, even while he admitted there were gaps in the evidence. It is perfectly in accord with scientific methods to adopt and contend for beliefs on such a basis, provided only that they are not dogmatically held and promulgated as incapable of amendment. So on these great questions involved in the problem of religion, people may hold logically and firmly to some one of the necessary alternatives, on the ground of the weightiest probabilities, or of the strongest reasoning so far as the evidence is seen; and they may rationally and earnestly labor to extend views which thus seem to them to accord with the highest reason, though modestly disclaiming any possession of an infallible judgment in the case. The present writer, for instance, has a theory of religion as representing man's relation to the universe and its life-forces, which appears to him to be entirely rational, philosophic, and scientific. He stated it in an address before the Free Religious Association last year, and has more than once stated it in *The Index*. It seems to him so fully in accordance with all the known facts bearing on the question that practically he has no doubt of its truth; and it affords for him all the working basis needed for practical and constructive activity with and for a special religious society. But he is not so narrow-minded and dogmatic as to be determined to adhere to his present religious beliefs against all possible discoveries that may be made by science or historical investigation in opposition to them. It is not at all necessary that one should be colorless or non-committal in opinion, or feel no strong motive for the positive expression of opinion, because one holds his opinions always in submission to any new tests of truth that may be offered by advancing reason and knowledge.

But, though earnestly maintaining our own beliefs, we should not think of imposing them upon others with whom we may work as a necessary bond of fellowship. Other members of the Free Religious Association may agree with us in these beliefs or they may hold and advocate other beliefs quite as strenuously. But all agree together that the beliefs of none, not even of however large a majority, shall be imposed upon the Association as a whole. Each may work in his own way, and with all possible zeal, for the views he holds to be true, and he may urge them on the platform of the Association; but he stands there as the equal of others who may hold and urge different views. The same equal and free representation to different opinions is allowed in *The Index*. Our correspondent would evidently have some tribunal to decide which is true among the various opinions presented. But if she will go to a meeting of a scientific association, though she may hear different and even opposing views presented by the members, she will find no court of judges authoritatively settling which of them is right. No scientific association settles a question of science by passing a resolution declaring its opinion upon the matter. Yet questions of natural science are continually being settled. They cease to be questions and become established truths. It is unnecessary, however, for any scientific body to proclaim that fact by a vote. A question of science is settled when it ceases to be discussed by intelligent men; and no other proclamation is needed. The Free Religious Association is content to leave religious truth to the same kind of arbitrament.

It should, however, be said clearly, in conclusion, that the Free Religious Association by no means exists solely, as our correspondent appears to imply, for the eliciting of truth on the thought-problems of religion. Indeed, seeing what a great

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variety of opinions there is on these problems among earnest and enlightened people, it is one of the first aims of the Association to induce people to leave their differences as to speculative beliefs in abeyance, and to unite heartily in efforts to promote the practical improvement of mankind. If our critical friend remained through the late Annual Convention, she heard a very different question discussed at the afternoon session,—that of co-operation as the remedy of social evils. And, if she should follow the members into their stated vocations and labors, she would find them generally interested in, and many of them hard at work at, the practical problems of human amelioration.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE DEATH OF A GOD.

One of the most impressive pages ever written is that which concludes Part Third of Heine's *Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*:—

"A peculiar awe, a mysterious piety, forbids our writing more to-day. Our heart is full of shuddering compassion: it is the old Jehovah himself that is preparing for death. We have known him so well from his cradle in Egypt, where he was reared among the divine calves and crocodiles, the sacred onions, ibises, and cats. We have seen him bid farewell to these companions of his childhood and to the obelisks and sphinxes of his native Nile, to become in Palestine a little god-king amidst a poor shepherd people and to inhabit a temple-palace of his own. We have seen him later coming into contact with Assyrian-Babylonian civilization, renouncing his all-too-human passions, no longer giving vent to fierce wrath and vengeance, at least no longer thundering at every trifle. We have seen him migrate to Rome, the capital, where he abjures all national prejudices, and proclaims the celestial equality of all nations, and with such fine phrases establishes an opposition to the old Jupiter, and intrigues ceaselessly till he attains supreme authority, and from the Capitol rules the city and the world, *urbem et orbem*. We have seen how, growing still more spiritualized, he becomes a loving father, a universal friend of man, a benefactor of the world, a philanthropist; but all this could avail him nothing. Hear ye not the bells resounding? Kneel down. They are bringing the sacraments to a dying god!"

Heine regarded Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* as the first stroke of this death-knell. Whatever may be the case in Germany, that book might sound on for another hundred years without troubling the English Jehovah. Yet all signs show us here that we have drawn near to the death of the deity of this country; and, day by day, we are learning the nature of the disease which proves fatal to a god. It is not metaphysical nor philosophical nor theological, but moral. The god of England is dying of pusillanimity and meanness. He has become so cowardly that he dares not look an honest man in the eye, and, if he hears an honest voice, can only fly at the throat through which it comes. You have heard how this god recently found it necessary to tear three young men from their wives and cast them in prison for laughing at him. They are suffering what almost amounts to solitary confinement for what would be regarded as a bit of English humor had its object been, say, that Hindu god which an English judge in Calcutta lately ordered to be brought into court. Well, the intelligent and independent people of the country protested against this. A petition signed by the most eminent men in literature and science asked the government to release these men,—the only person who refused to sign, so far as I have heard, being George Jacob Holyoake. A number of eminent clergymen petitioned for the release of the men, feeling that their deity was getting the worst of it. The government has not refused to interfere with the sentences. You will naturally ask, Why? It is well known that its members agree with the press and the bar that the imprisonment is monstrous; but the sectarians, who lately placarded the country with the words "God or Bradlaugh," are in panic about their deity. He is in serious danger; and provincial politicians have warned Gladstone that the Methodists and other ignorant preachers will preach against him if he adds another item to the very little he has ever done to redress the wrongs of any freethinker.

It is perfectly well understood that, if Gladstone had resolved that Northampton should have its constitutional representation, Bradlaugh would now be occupying his seat in Parliament. Harcourt (who married the daughter of Motley), and such thinkers as Fawcett, Dilke, Chamberlain,—there is not a thimble-full of Orthodoxy among them,—are thus degraded before the intelligence of the country by pretending to be Jehovah's gaolers, while it is well known that any of them would care not that God should be spelt with the smallest "g" so long as Gladstone is spelt with a big one.

Not content with displaying the "Majesty" of their god by putting three humble freethinkers in gaol, the myrmidons of Jehovah have actually invaded University College,—the college which refused to elect James Martineau a professor because he believed in a god,—and browbeaten it into refusing admission of two distinguished freethinkers to a botany class. This outrage excited the indignation of many students, it being estimated that about two hundred of them are unbelievers in Jehovah. These prepared a careful petition to the Council of the College, asking them to reconsider their refusal of the freethinkers. But there are over twelve hundred students in the college, and a majority of them naturally opposed to free or any other thought. One of these got hold of the petition, already well signed, and made way with it. A second petition was prepared and signed. An orthodox student tried to seize it, but was overcome; whereupon, two large students watched their opportunity, and, seeing the youth who carried it all alone, rushed upon him, robbed him of the parchment, and destroyed it. One of these youthful defenders of the faith remarked, "All's fair in war." Exactly so; children and fools speak the truth: it is war, not peace, which is the *ultima ratio* of the English god.

But never was there a pettier war. How long can a god live whose university Armigeddon is reduced to two muscular Christians pitching into one, and garroting a petition against persecution? It is evident that the arguments of the orthodox are exhausted, and the intellectual verdict has gone against them. Whatever deity may exist, theirs certainly does not. There is neither Jehovah nor Trinity in the universe. But these deities live practically in the vast interests whose titles depend on acknowledgment of their existence. Therefore, in a like practical sense, they die. The Trinity is dead; he hadn't a law that could protect him, and he has bequeathed all his assets to—God. Jehovah is fast transferring his rights to—God. Thus it comes that the pure and spiritual theism which just now Parker, Newman, Martineau, and Miss Cobbe were making so engaging, has in England been suddenly fitted up as a party barricade. Intolerance, Toryism, and the shopkeepers' sects, have made a last stand there, and are crying furiously,—"If you do not believe in our God with a big 'g,' we will outlaw you, kick your representatives out of Parliament, kick your children out of colleges, insult you in every way we can, put you in gaol, speak evil of the women you love, and persuade all the roughs of the country to do you an ill turn." They do not merely say this, but mean it and practise it.

Sunday before last, young Mabel Besant, who, since she was taken from her mother by the joint efforts of a Jewish judge and a Christian clergyman, because of the mother's heresy, has been placed at a boarding-school in Boston (England), was taken to church there; and the clergyman so denounced her mother by name that the poor child had to be led out. Every word he said of Mrs. Besant was a slander. There isn't a purer or more honorable woman in England than Mrs. Besant. Her husband has vainly sought through spies to obtain evidence of even doubtful or suspicious conduct on her part that he might secure a divorce, until he has given up in despair. It is this deadliest of all her attacks on their god which so infuriates the doctors at the bedside of that deity. If Mrs. Besant would only be coarse instead of refined, illiterate instead of matriculating at universities, immoral instead of chaste, she would greatly endear herself to the defenders of the faith. If she could be proved an adulteress to-day, they would fall on their knees and offer up thanksgivings, and report their divine patient better.

You see on what a slender thread hang everlasting things. As the secularists decline to become vicious and immoral, the zealous preachers are reduced to slander them or else admit that their god is not essential to society and morality. But this cannot be done without putting the immorality upon the side of their god. The Rev. Mr. Mitchinson, who drove Mabel Besant out of church by abusing her mother, has brought upon himself a storm of wrath, and not a defender of him has spoken. I have before me a number of newspapers containing indignant editorials and letters. A High Churchman of Boston has had to shield his deity by joining in the condemnation.

The Lord Chief Justice has similarly tried to parry the blow which Judge North and his aldermen dealt to the established deity by imprisoning the three freethinkers,—an event which has been followed by the utterance of more blasphemy (in a legal sense) than had been uttered in the last twenty years. During that period, I have had opportunities of observing the course of religious controversy, and never before have I known the name of "God" so loaded with odium, so given over to the patronizing defence of base and mean men. It is a terrible time for sincere and religious theists. Their hope of making their faith in a personal deity prevail is sinking away; for they cannot use any sacred name or epithet which does not link them to the mean, heartless, illiterate men now physicking a god dying of their drugs. Like Asa, the English deity has taken to the physicians, and his metaphysicians cannot save him.

The Agnosticism which has followed the Theism so cruelly sacrificed is likely to be forgotten in something more like Gnosticism. The voice of those who know not is thin and metaphysical; the voice is practical and strong of those who know. They know very well that a god exists who is subsidized to the extent of 250,000,000 sterling, who in return for that is a source of discord and all uncharitableness; and as the ancient gnostic took the side of Christ against Jehovah and worshipped the serpent because he outwitted Jehovah, so there is swiftly arising in England a multitude of believers whose creed was stated by Swinburne,—"I believe in God and am against him."

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

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NIHILISM.

Politically, socially, and religiously, Russia is unlike any other nation pretending to civilization; and some clear conception of wherein it is unlike should be obtained by any one who may desire to understand the purposes or to criticise the methods of the Nihilists.

Russian government is absolutely despotic. The will or the whim of one man may at any time and upon almost any subject override the decisions of legal tribunals or the desires of millions of persons. The imperial ukase is supreme, and its promulgation is not always necessary. A hint from the throne suffices at any time to determine official action. Practically, the Czar may deprive of property, liberty, and life as arbitrarily, if not quite so expeditiously, as the savage Mtesa of Africa's Uganda; and he probably blasts or destroys as many lives in the course of a year as that despised monster. And the lives, moreover, are of vastly greater value to their possessors, to their country, and to the rest of the world.

Socially, Russia has only two grades or classes,—about fifty millions of peasants or serfs in one grade, and ten millions of nobles, civil rulers, army officers, and priests in the other. The middle class—the real backbone of all other civilized nations, and the only class in the United States—has scarcely any existence in the whole empire. All the education, power, and wealth are in one class. The serfs, with few exceptions, are ignorant and superstitious, and too often brutal and drunken. Their communal life has developed few ideas of private property or contract obligation,—in fact, few moral ideas of any kind.

Religiously, Russia is equally exceptional. The Greek Church is a mass of superstition. The priests inherit their offices, and are, as a rule, grossly ignorant. They have no understanding even of the dogmas of their own creed. Moreover, their religion has no association whatever with morality. An enlightened Christianity, such as we are familiar with, does not exist in Russia. This fact can scarcely be stated in exaggerated terms. A peasant, for instance, asked to name the three persons of the Trinity, answered: "How can one not know that? Of course, it is the Saviour, the Mother of God, and St. Michael, the miracle-worker." Another peasant was overheard in making the following prayer: "Look here, O Nicholas God! Perhaps my neighbor, little Michael, has been slandering me to you, or perhaps he will do so. If he does, don't believe him. I have done him no ill, and wish him none. He is a worthless boaster and babbler. He does not really honor you, and merely plays the hypocrite. But I honor you from my heart; and, behold, I place a taper before you." The existence of this debased religion was an important factor in the rapid spread of Nihilism, as will be immediately shown.

The Crimean war appears to have been the beginning of a new era in Russia. It lessened the confidence of the upper class in their own country, and inclined them to seek for European knowledge. Sons of both nobles and priests went abroad for education. The works of Büchner, the German materialist, of some of the French socialists, and a few of the English scientists were translated and widely circulated and read; and the effect of these works was very peculiar. The first result was the utter extinction of belief in Christianity, or of what assumed that name in Russia. "Christianity fell," says a Russian writer, "like an old decaying hovel, which remains standing because no one touches it." At the present day, an educated Russian who believes in Christianity is a curiosity. Not only did Christianity fall, but atheism and materialism were received enthusiastically, and propagated with all the ardor of a new religion. "We were profoundly convinced," says another Russian writer, "that we were fighting for the happiness of human nature; and every one of us would have gone to the scaffold, and would have laid down his life for Moleschott and Darwin." Says another, "It is a fact highly characteristic of the Russian mind,—this tendency to become excited even to fanaticism about certain things which would simply meet with approval or disapproval from a man of Western Europe."

This was the first phase of Nihilism. It annihilated belief in Russian Christianity. It gave an impulse to the emancipation and education of women. It destroyed faith in political and moral despotism. It had all the force of a religious awakening. But it was almost entirely literary and philosophical. Practically, it was not in the least revolutionary. It was an affair of personal enjoyment,—a luxurious intellectual bath, reserved for the few. It proposed nothing. It lasted, we will say, from 1860 to 1870, and of course had no effect upon the serfs, and very little upon the priests.

During these ten years, however, a new generation was growing up; and young blood cannot flow quietly under the impulse of new ideas. The belief must be put into action. The peasant must share the intellectual treasures of the more fortunate noble. The young man "will tell the peasant how to free himself and become happy": he will "endure every privation in order to carry to him the words of redemption, the gospel of our age,—Socialism. What matters to him if the cutthroats of the government lay hands upon him? What to him are exile, Siberia, death? Full of his sublime idea, clear, splendid, vivifying as the mid-day sun, he defies suffering, and would meet death with a glance of enthusiasm and a smile of happiness." And, with this generous resolution, Nihilism passed into its second phase,—the phase of propagandism.

From 1872 to 1875 inclusive, the young Nihilist carried on this propagandism with a missionary zeal which no religion in the world has ever surpassed. His enthusiasm was unquenchable. The intensity of his devotion verged closely upon fanaticism indeed, but his purpose was grandly unselfish and pure. His socialism and materialism may be open to any severity of criticism you may please to visit upon them, but they were only the natural reaction and outgrowth of his history and surroundings. The "enthusiasm of humanity" was never more beautifully illustrated than in Russia during the years just mentioned. The deeds of heroism then and there enacted are worthy of one of the brightest pages in the history of human endeavor. It is of course impossible to give here a detailed account of the methods of propagation employed by the Nihilists, or of the noble sacrifices they endured.

The next three years, from 1875 to 1878, were years of agitation and of disenchantment. The zeal of the Nihilists was necessarily creating a spirit of unrest throughout the empire. Although no real revolutionary agitations had as yet been attempted, the government foresaw their coming and resolved to stamp out the disturber of its quiet. Every engine which despotism could invent was put in operation to this end. Russian brutality and espionage are alike notorious, and both were used to the fullest extent. The writing to or receiving a letter from a suspected person, the making of an address, attending an assemblage, teaching a school, circulating a tract, the mere possession of a book,—furnished excuse enough for an absolute despotism to pronounce the sentence of imprisonment, expatriation, Siberia, or death.

By the time of the close of the Nihilist trials of 1878, the utter hopelessness of succeeding in the propagation of new ideas under existing circumstances became apparent. But the fire was too fierce to be smothered. It burned in breasts which could not conceal it, and which believed moreover that it ought not to be concealed. What then? The trodden worm will turn. The mildest animal will defend its young. And these men and women believed, and believed truly, that the salvation of the ignorant and oppressed children of Russia demanded their sacrifice and the leaven of the new gospel by which they were inspired. Criticise, denounce, say what we will against the Nihilists from our easy position of a freedom already won, whenever we put ourselves sympathetically into their position, we can understand that but one course of proceeding seemed possible to them. The power that blocked the way to liberty of speech and enlightenment must be destroyed. The change from a self-sacrificing circulator of a tract to the equally self-sacrificing hurler of a deadly bomb is a horrible transformation, but who will dare to say that it was avoidable or unnatural? The Nihilist became a Terrorist. And thus we have arrived at the third and existing phase of Nihilism, each phase being distinct in itself, but the first leading by natural transitions to the other two.

I have aimed thus far only to indicate the different phases of Nihilism, and to mention a few of the reasons for its existence as furnished by the Nihilists themselves in their different publications, and especially in the remarkable little work by Stepniak, recently published in Italian, and subsequently translated in England under the title of *Underground Russia*. Stepniak is, of course, an assumed name; but the author was one of the editors of *Land and Liberty*, and his reliability is assured by a preface to the book by Peter Lavroff, who is a recognized leader of the Nihilists.

The present demands of the Nihilists have been frankly declared, and are extremely moderate. They ask only, in fact, for the following:—

"First, a general amnesty for all political offenders, since they have committed no crime, but have simply done their duty as citizens.

"Second, the convocation of the representatives of the whole of the people, for the examination of the best forms of social and political life, according to the wants and desires of the people."

As a condition precedent to such convocation, they ask for:—

a. Complete freedom of the press.

b. Complete freedom of speech.

c. Complete freedom of public meeting.

d. Complete freedom of electoral addresses.

"We solemnly declare before the country, and before the whole world, that our party will submit unconditionally to the National Assembly which meets upon the basis of the above conditions, and will offer no opposition to the government which the National Assembly may sanction."

Will the Nihilists succeed?

That they ought to succeed, if their position be as above stated, every one will admit. But we have sadly learned that in this world the measure of right is not necessarily the prophecy of immediate success, and the forces against which the Nihilists contend are some of the most powerful possible. So far as the overthrow of the present despotism is concerned, there is good reason to believe that they may succeed at no distant day. Although their numbers are comparatively few, and according to their own account are kept few

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that they may be handled more effectively, they have with them doubtless, to a certain extent at least, the sympathy of all the educated people of their country. This sympathy is expressed by assistance in many ways, as well as by pecuniary aid.

Three possible solutions of present Russian difficulties have been pointed out. The Czar may be frightened into a concession of the substance of the demands above stated. Failing this, some pretender to the throne may win success by the promise of a constitutional government. Or, third, the constant agitations, which are already influencing the peasantry, may eventually give birth to an agrarian rising, from which peace will be won after a period of fearful anarchy. Once let the Nihilists, in any one of these ways, obtain perfect liberty of speech, and their arduous task of lifting up the mass of the people may then be undertaken with some degree of courage. Their extreme socialist and materialist views may be safely disregarded. Perfect liberty would prove the readiest bringer of all necessary modifications.

But, in the mean time, however mistaken their theories or repugnant their deeds, let no American withhold from them either his sympathy or his word of encouragement. Let the Czar once be fully assured that civilized sentiment is not with him, but with his opponents, and he would be compelled to yield; and this yielding would be the happiest occurrence for troubled Russia. Unfortunately, the official acts of our government have given him too good reason for believing that the sympathies of the people of this country are with him, and not with the Nihilists. This, I am convinced, is a mistake, or at least will become so, when the purposes of the Nihilists are better understood. The impartial verdict of history may yet enroll the Nihilists among the true saviors and martyrs of mankind. Applause then may be easily rendered. Let us give our word of encouragement to-day, when it may chance to be of some service in the universal struggle for liberty.

ROWLAND CONNOR.

MORAL PURPOSE IN ART.

"Moral Purpose in Art," as considered in the May *Century* through a portion of one of the last of the late Sidney Lanier's manuscripts, finds its noblest expression in the author's inclination to review the Bible poetry in its purely poetic and human conformation. Nothing half so well harmonizes with the present drift of great thought as does a really reverent judgment of the damaged book on its own merits. So common have been the distorted views, and so various and vain have been the attempts to extract virtues and wonders that do not exist in the book, and to deny homelier beauties not laden with enough of the theological dead-weight to satisfy the orthodox sense of the necessitous, that it is with relief that we greet a scholar's feeling and non-priestly tribute.

The Bible is richly wrought from a wealth of language and thought which requires only to be separated from the God-idea of its origin to be appreciated. This separation must, however, be total and unsentimental, and tradition must in relation to it have no more government of our common sense than is patent when we pass upon the Homeric miracles, or the old Teutonic legends, or on the modern believers in Lourdes and the English "Peculiar People." Every one who contributes to this freeing of the native man from the clutches of the mother and father souls lifts to the sun new proof that the destinies of the race are safe.

It is forced upon every man of thoughtful sense to believe that the Bible, with its manifest imperfections, may stand for a very noble human strength and purpose, or for a futile and unworthy fabric from Olympus. We must either accept it as a grand human work, or as an ignoble and ignorant production of the gods. An untrammelled understanding sees the alternative as the first inspiration on the pathway to freedom. The human reason refuses to be denied its right to decide the question. If the imperfect judgment strays, let it be known that the judge writes but for his own soul, and involves no other personality in his decisions.

There is that in men which refuses to be written down by popes. The Irish agitation, so far as it was a free and sincere one, will go on unaltered by the protest from Rome. Men who love the Bible with more than the old-time fervor, because not bound by their new theories to harmonize things as contradictory as life and death, will go on loving the literature and the life expressed in the book though a whole nether-world were present with its threats. What do the "partial inspiration" theories mean if not that the human mind is to take its place as judge of this book? If each reader maintains decision for the inspiration of passages suitable to his or her idea of what *should be* god-written, there no longer exists outside of the mind of the examiner any inspiration at all. This becomes plain as we drop our glasses and face matters with the clear eye. Furthermore, if liberal Christian souls start out with the growing assumption that "God" is but another way of saying "Infinite Love," and then proceed to outlaw or declare allegorical such harsh tenets as would contradict their position, it follows again that the human reason is at work against faith, and that an imperfect human mind can attach no perfectness to its decrees. Such considerations break the inspiration theories squarely and decisively. When the honest thinking of men drives in this mad way, the destruction ensuing is worse than was accomplished by the traditional bull who was let loose in the china-shop.

The only way to retain the Bible is by strictly keeping it reserved from inquisitive minds. Under the present standing of Christian doctrine, it cannot be a subject for criticism or even for fair interpretation. A doubt of meaning cannot consistently be admitted. The solidity of the inspiration ends if we break upon it with "interpretation," which in essence is warrant issued for schism, sect, and war. When we look over the past, we are surprised to find by what plausible incoherency the human mind has managed to cling to its idols. Any one of a thousand long-existing contradictions is enough, when the day of intellectual reprieve comes, to upset the most elaborate structure.

The Bible rises as the belief in its inspiration falls. I should turn from the fount with disgust should I believe it fed from heaven, but drink of it with utmost love now that I find it rich with the pathetic haltings of the race. From gods on high, who could help us and do not, I turn to my fellowmen, who struggle with me toward the goal of all helpfulness. We want the perfect sympathy; and shipwreck, famine, crime, and war carry our tear-filled eyes from the awful blasphemy of cloud-worship to the weary hearts which need here the answer of our every inspiration. How large is this writ in the heart of human sorrow! The Bible is one of the sweetest waifs on human literature, and never would I pass over its pages had it less than now the proof everywhere of its thoroughly human writing. There is a moral lift given the heart when from the old literatures we catch the *spirit* that led on from less nobility to more, and that feeds all inspiration for the coming times.

Lanier was always a writer whose feeling for the beautiful seemed to express the perfect mastery of musical form. In aiding to detach the Bible from its distorted position in the churches, he made a really necessary contribution to the liberal thinking of the day. The moral purpose in art for which he sought needs an entrance into the ecclesiastical views of what is Bible truth and what is truth. Nowhere so prevalently as in the pulpit is found so little logic hidden beneath such pretence of logic. The moral purpose of *religion* finds but poor representation on the intellectual side of modern worship. It is the world's good fortune that there is more honor and truth in the moral than in the mental religious state of the people. It is not the horrible thing some may conceive it, that we should bring Jesus and the Bible *down* among men and man's books; for the *down* implied is not one of degradation or essential lowering, but a merely bringing-nearer, that the human eyes may see the never-suspected fellowship, and know what a pathetic human sympathy, and not an imagined pitying god's condescension, is.

The souls who have felt most the weight of our common sorrows know best that the fellow-feeling of equal men adds more to the fund of the common joy than does a mistaken effort to take from men and give to a fiction on high some of the noblest of human developments. Neither Jesus nor the Bible was so transcendent that they could not have been the children of men, and neither so perfect that they could have been pressed by perfection's seal. We rob the race when we take from it its finest work. If men may deserve credit for their nameless noble children and their books of a day, surely some meed is called out by their Christs and their Bibles. Is grandeur and nobility so surprising that we must ever credit them to the clouds, or to some power not deigning to have a hand in the making of ordinary things? We insult the fine jointure of the worlds when we divide the workmanship.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE book for the writing of which Rev. Dr. W. W. McLane has been expelled from the Presbytery of Ohio is entitled *The Cross in the Light of To-day*. Its heterodoxy is held to lie in the doctrine that Christ's death was not sacrificial, in the sense that it was vengefully demanded by God, but was altogether an expression of divine love.

APROPOS of the recent death of a minister's wife by the accidental discharge of a pistol while arranging a closet, the *Sunday School Times* sensibly remarks: "If a man wants to increase the probabilities of an accidental shooting of his wife, or his mother, or his sister, or his brother, or his intimate friend, he would do well to keep a loaded revolver always at hand in his house. There are at least five chances of the pistol being used in this way, where there is one chance that it will help to keep off midnight assassins or burglars."

SAYS the *Free Methodist*:—

An Agnostic, being present in a refined circle, was surprised when told that a certain noted lady believed firmly in the Sacred Scriptures. He ventured to ask her, "Do you believe the Bible?" "Most certainly, I do," was her reply. "Why do you believe in it?" he queried again. "Because I am acquainted with the author," she answered confidently. Poor souls, that know not God in Christ as their Saviour, think, like Spencer, that he is "unknowable," and so reject his word. But true believers have a blessed acquaintance with both.

Multitudes, including many "noted" persons like Moody, and many of another class like Guiteau and the James brothers, mistake inherited

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superstitious tendencies, traditional beliefs, wild fancies, and unregulated feelings for acquaintance with "God," and then, in their simplicity, pity those who have the intelligence to see and the candor to admit that the ultimate cause of all phenomena is inscrutable.

THE word "atheist" has long been used as a term of reproach, and it is not uncommon for candid minds who have been theologically educated, even when they have outgrown theological beliefs, to associate atheism with that which is morally bad. Mr. W. M. Salter even, one of the broadest and noblest representatives of liberal thought, himself an agnostic, if we mistake not, in his admirable lecture, "Why Unitarianism does not suit us," indulges in the following language, which is inaccurate and at the same time unjust to those who call themselves atheists: "The true atheist is he who does not believe that an ideal justice and right can conquer in the world; that men, all men, and universal human society and government cannot will and do the good, the perfect good." It was far from the intention of Mr. Salter to do injustice to any class of thinkers; but a moment's reflection will convince him that in the use of the above language the prejudice of theological education triumphed over exactitude and fairness of expression.

THE editor of the Cleveland *Leader*, a leading Republican journal of Ohio, must have graduated from the office of one of the Eatanswill editors, Messrs. Pott and Slurk, specimens of whose editorials are given by Dickens in his *Pickwick Papers*. The following extract, from an editorial in the Cleveland *Leader* on the Ohio Democratic nominee for Governor, is exactly in the Pott and Slurk vein of clap-trap. Says the *Leader*:—

Unless a paper published in his own city has stated that which is false, and there is no reason to think it has, then the nomination of George Hoadly for Governor of Ohio will be the deepest and most outrageous insult ever offered to the God-fearing people of the State. It is well known that Hoadly is an infidel of the rankest sort, but few people will be prepared for the statement published at his own home that he is one of the vice-presidents of the notorious society which issues that vilest of religion-hating and society-degrading sheets, *The Index*. Bob Ingersoll would scorn to disgrace himself by having anything to do with the disgusting doctrines of such a publication. Yet the Democratic party is shameless enough to ask the moral, Christian people of Ohio to smirch the fair fame of the Commonwealth by electing George Hoadly to fill its highest office. It is needless to say that the impudent request will be treated with the contempt it deserves.

According to a correspondent of the Cleveland *Herald*, a copy of a paper containing the above, or something like the above paragraph, has been sent to every minister in the State of Ohio. A communication in reply to these slanderous statements, from Mr. E. D. Stark, will be found in another column.

PROF. EGBERT SMYTH, called for during the recent Andover discussion, said:—

First, I have just subscribed the creed of this seminary for the fifth time since I have been connected with this institution. I have done it without any mental reservation of any kind. I have given to it the precise sense of its framers: the sense in which they themselves put their names to it, so far as I am able to ascertain what it was. This to me is a religious act. I have done it in the presence and fear of God. Now, secondly, I have this to say,—*that the man does not live whom I will permit to dictate to me his interpretation of that creed in the place of my own!*

These remarks elicited the most hearty applause, which was renewed again and again, and they give great satisfaction to journals like the *Independent* and *Christian Union*, which favor the New Departure. But the *Congregationalist*, although less progressive, is more consistent, and comments on Prof. Smyth's remarks as follows:—

Such utterance was consistent and creditable for him purely as a private Christian holding that formula of doctrine as expressive of his own personal beliefs. We take leave, however, to think it both inconsistent and absurd when he looks upon himself as a professor taking that creed avowedly as the legal condition of his rightfully holding office in Andover Seminary. Having promised "religiously" to observe all the statutes of the institution, he has bound himself beforehand, as he keeps his promise, to allow several men on the face of the earth to dictate to him what that creed means; namely, first the Trustees; second, the Visitors; and third, "the Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth for the time being." So that it will not be strange if, at some future date, our friend should see cause to revise this too impetuous utterance.

OUR readers may be interested in the Statement of Principles prepared by the local founders of the Chicago Ethical Society, among whom were Judge Henry Booth, General I. N. Stiles, and Ernst Prussing. Members, in joining, are understood to give general assent to it, though no subscription is required. At present, there are some seventy members:—

Statement of Principles.

1. We recognize the truth that the well-being of the State in which our interests are so vitally concerned must consist in the well-doing of its individual members. Therefore, we deem it to be our highest duty so to cultivate our faculties and order our lives that we may instruct others in every good way, both by example and precept, and thus, while securing our own happiness, render the highest and best service possible to the State and to our fellow-man.

2. We consider just and rational views of our own relation to the universe in which we are placed to be obviously essential to the proper comprehension of our duty. Where the mental vision is clouded with mists of superstition, no clear conceptions of duty are attainable. Speculative philosophy and dogmatic theology, therefore, should be tested by the teachings of science, reason, and conscience, and stand or fall by them.

3. The forms of dogmatic belief currently taught have ceased to command our intellectual assent or satisfy our moral needs. They obstruct the development both of mind and heart. To find a truer philosophy of life and a larger ideal of duty is one of the tasks that we set before us.

4. As there are general laws governing physical life, upon our obedience to which our physical health is dependent, so there are laws, as yet but imperfectly understood, underlying our moral and intellectual life, on which our moral and intellectual well-being depends. The study of these laws is of the highest importance, both for the well-ordering of our own lives and for enabling us to give others, especially our children, all possible aid in shaping their lives to noble ends.

5. Having constantly before us the spectacle of debasement and misery resulting from the violation of these laws, often through ignorance, and realizing how inadequate the methods heretofore employed to cure these evils have been, as shown by the results, we feel that a sacred duty rests upon us, while we seek to correct our own lives in whatever may be amiss, to do all within our power to raise our less fortunate fellow-men out of the sorrowful conditions into which they have fallen.

THE *Christian Union* thinks the action of the Overseers of Harvard College in refusing to confer the degree of LL.D. on Governor Butler was wise. It says:—

The action of the Overseers must commend itself to all thoughtful men. If a college degree means anything at all,—and of late years it has been doubtful whether it does mean anything in this country,—it means the possession on the part of the men who receive it of those qualities of character and scholarship which entitle one to special distinction. The degradation of the college degree has gone so far that it can only be stopped by some institution of the prominence of Harvard College. There is absolutely nothing in the character or career of Gen. Butler to entitle him to the distinction. There are, on the other hand, many reasons which make him conspicuously unfit for it. . . . If colleges mean anything, they are standing protests against such careers as that of Benjamin F. Butler. To confer a degree upon such a man is not only to bring the distinction into disrepute, but to make aspiring young men who have high ideals of life sceptical of the uses and education of American colleges.

The *Independent*, taking quite a different view of the matter, says:—

If Harvard College had no usage in respect to giving the Law Doctorate to Massachusetts governors, the case would be very different. It has a usage; and the plain requirement of consistency, dignity, and decency, was that Governor Butler should not, for personal reasons, be made an exception thereto. A judge who on the bench forgets that he is acting *officially*, and that his likes or dislikes are not to enter into his action or form any part of its reasons, makes a great mistake; and precisely this mistake in kind has been committed by the Overseers of Harvard College. They have used their official position to strike a blow at the man they dislike, but whom the people of Massachusetts liked well enough to elect to the office of Governor, and, by electing him, to place him in the line of succession to a Law Doctorate by the established usage of the college. . . . That he is a learned and able lawyer everybody understands; and, in this respect, the title would have fitted his qualifications, as it often has not in the case of other governors of Massachusetts. Absolutely nothing will be gained in the way of a practical and effective protest against the man by this out-of-the-way method of attacking him. The attack, in the circumstances as actually existing, is injudicious, childish, undignified, spleenish, unworthy of the calm, the self-possessed, and "roundabout" common sense that we should expect to find in the Overseers of a great college like that of Harvard.

POETRY.

For *The Index*.

A SOLILOQUY.

And what is life? An opening flower,
A waking morn, a passing dream;
A toy that's broken in an hour,
A wave from Lethe's turbid stream,—
Aye, this is life.

And what is death? The closing day;
The night, the grave, the mould, the gloom
To eyes that cannot see the ray
Of beaconing Hope beyond the tomb,—
Yea, this is death.

And when despair is linked with death,
What wonder that we cling with fears
To a fickle, fleeting, feeble breath
That brings us only pain and tears;
For this is life.

Better, we think, the uncertain fear,
The pain, the tears, the trembling dread,
Than the rayless, pathless desert drear,
And the unyielding, narrow bed;
For this is death.

When Hope assures us of a morn,
Night means but sleep and placid rest;
The grave is of its terrors shorn,
And Death a more than welcome guest
That brings eternal life.

SARA WARD.

VIRDEN, ILL., May, 1883.

For *The Index*.

THE INDIAN'S HEAVEN.

(From SCHILLER.)

Where he has gone no winter chills,
There never falleth snow;
Spontaneous o'er the happy fields
The golden maize-ears grow;
With birds the tuneful thickets swarm,
With game the forests dim;
In lakes ne'er rough with gale or storm
In shoals the fishes swim.

B. W. B.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 28, 1883.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 3 Tremont Place, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

THE OBJECTS of THE INDEX may be defined by the objects of the Free Religious Association; namely, "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history"; in other words, Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth. And it seeks these ends by the method of perfect Liberty of Thought. It would subject the traditional authority of all special religions and alleged revelations—the Christian no less than others—to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason. It would thus seek to emancipate Religion from bondage to ecclesiastical dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that the practical power of religion may be put more effectually to the service of a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, ... } *Editors.*
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, ... }

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For *The Index.*

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

(Continued from last week.)

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 3 o'clock. In calling it to order, the President said:—

"The Free Religious Association is interested not only in questions of philosophical thought, but in questions of practical life. It is not always easy to draw the distinction between the two. Often the thought-questions are seen to be very practical ones, and quite as often the practical questions are seen to have a deep philosophy behind them. But it will be admitted that the question we are to consider this afternoon is a practical one, and also, perhaps, that it is not a question likely to be settled without a good deal of clear thinking. Thought, as well as feeling, must help to solve it. The subject is 'Co-operation as a Factor in Social Progress.' It is to be introduced by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, who has given the question much thought, who also feels deeply upon it, and whom I have now the honor to present to you."

CO-OPERATION AND PROGRESS.

Address by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales.

Progress consists in eradicating evil, and in creating good. The wrongs in social life are deep and many. Those who hold most strenuously to the belief in the innate excellence and goodness of human nature are yet obliged to confess that goodness has in the main been of slow growth, and that, in the formation of character, struggle, heroic self-denial, and long suffering are still necessary.

In the process of development, the feeble and immature require to be educated to a knowledge of good and evil, so as to shun one and embrace the other. As with the individual, so is it with society. Turn whichever way we will, the glaring fact of evil, of sin, of improperly adjusted relations confronts us. We cannot ignore it; neither can we accept it as an unchangeable element in natural law, but simply as the result of energies not yet sufficiently unfolded to act harmoniously.

And as education is the all-important agent for promoting and determining the symmetry of individual life, so in like manner is it to education that we are to look for a mitigation of the ills of social life. Chief among these evils, because it involves all others, is the unequal distribution and concentration of wealth, with its terrible adjunct, poverty, stalking by its side.

Wealth and pauperism are rapidly increasing, the richest cities being also the poorest. From the latest report of the Secretary of State, we learn that in 1831 we had in New York State one pauper to every one hundred and twenty-three active, self-supporting citizen; we now have one pauper to every eighteen.

The accumulation and concentration of *wealth* keep pace with this alarming increase of *poverty*.

Thirty years ago, $5,000,000 were owned by only a few men in the United States. To-day, we have in New York alone more than three hundred men worth over that sum.

One man has made $75,000,000 in fifteen years, another possesses $100,000,000, while the Great Central Pacific Syndicate has realized in the last fifteen years $186,000,000. Hundreds of men own from one to twenty millions, and live in more than Oriental splendor.

If we bear in mind that all exchangeable wealth is the expression of labor, we can easily perceive that this enormous accumulation and concentration of wealth, with its corresponding increase of pauperism, is caused by an imperfect system of distribution which gives to one more than his lawful share, and withholds from others who have not the power to secure it a just compensation for their toil. Excess of energy in one direction, deficiency in another, disease in both.

In all the great cities there is a class to whom books, newspapers, music, all the refining influences of life, are almost unknown; whose days are days of hopeless toil,—striving in vain, Sisyphus like, to lift the crushing weight of poverty.

In the city of Brooklyn there are tailoring establishments employing from five to sixty operatives, chiefly women, under conditions that seem almost incredible. A fair type of these establishments is as follows: A workroom eighteen feet front, fifty feet deep, and eight feet high, occupied by about twenty-seven machine operators with their machines. The ventilation of the room is afforded by cracks in the doors and windows. A small stove keeps the room warm enough to work in, and adds to the poisonous condition of the atmosphere.

The employés are paid partly by piece and partly by time, fourteen hours being considered a fair day's work. In these establishments running under full time, the proprietor makes $50 a week, and averages the year through $25 a week. The best operatives, the hardest workers, make on full time $7 a week, and average $5 the year through. Fair operatives make $5 on full time, and average $4. Slow and sickly operatives, those in whom the forces of life run low, make $4 and average $3. This system is a result of the intense competition in the tailoring business.

A second illustration is found among the sewing girls of the Fourth, Sixth, and Tenth Wards of New York. Their occupation consists in making undergarments. They generally work in little groups of from two to ten, working fourteen hours a day, and in some instances seven days a week. They earn from $3 to $5.50 a week. It is computed that, in the city of New York, this class numbers over fifty thousand souls. In this connection, a case last month came under my personal notice through the intervention of a New York lawyer. Five sewing girls retained him to collect a claim of $37.50 against a dishonest employer.

The testimony in court disclosed that they had worked three weeks, fourteen hours a day, at $2 50 a week apiece. This is at the rate of thirty-six cents a day for a human being.

When we contrast the cost with the means of living, we can easily perceive what a fertile source of immorality is our present system of low wages.

Another class is that of the Bohemian and German cigar-makers of the East Side. This system may justly be considered the most terrible blemish upon American civilization. The mode of existence of these cigar-makers is as follows: They occupy a suite of two or three small rooms in a tenement belonging to their employer. Not alone the man, but the wife and little children are also engaged. Two of their rooms are used for storing tobacco and for sleeping, and the other for cooking, eating, and working. An average family of five persons, including the small children, works from twelve to sixteen hours a day, and earns, as the result of their combined activity, from thirty to forty dollars a month. From the testimony taken by the Executive Committee of the Cigar-makers Union of Chicago, it appears that a number of girls, many of them under age, are employed in making bunches for cigars at $3 a week. In order to earn this sum, they work fifteen hours a day three days in the week, and seventeen the other three,—making an average of sixteen hours a day of steady work for fifty cents per diem.

In the recent report of the Illinois Bureau of Statistics, the fact is brought to light that half the average workingmen of that State cannot earn enough to furnish food for their families, but are compelled to call upon their wives and children to eke out their means of subsistence.

Only a few weeks ago, a society was organized in Philadelphia to protect children under fourteen years of age from the cruelty of working from six o'clock in the evening until six o'clock in the morning at a rate of remuneration that hardly supplied them with food.

These illustrations are only of value as they indicate the inevitable results of competitive industry. These evils are not accidental, they are incidental to the system. What is true here is true in all the ramifications of social life where competition prevails, only varying in its results in proportion to the intensity of the competition.

Under such circumstances, human nature becomes vicious. When men are kept down to the level of the animal by a rate of wages which supplies only the bare necessities of living, when trade compels them to herd and swarm in rooms unfit for use, we have not simply the creation of vice, but we have the destruction of purity, honesty, and all the elements essential to the formation of right character.

Such a condition of affairs, inasmuch as it tends to deteriorate the race, to increase and perpetuate misery, ignorance, and degradation, is essentially evil. When we reflect that manual labor, every form, forms the foundation of the social fabric, we can easily form to ourselves a conception of what the nature of the superstructure must be when the base is composed of such material.

What is needed is a more perfect distribution of the wealth which labor and capital create, as well as a more friendly interest in the welfare of those who compose the foundation of society.

So long as human nature remains the same, so long as it is governed by a narrow selfishness which renders it incapable of perceiving that the highest interests of each and all are best subserved by the application of principles of justice to industrial and social relations,—so long it will not do to leave the relations of capital and labor subject to the caprice of individual benevolence.

The laborer has his rights as well as the capitalist, and these rights are only to be secured under an industrial system which yields him a return corresponding to the value of his work. This can only be accomplished by co-operation, because there is no other way in which the interests of all parts of society can be subserved save through co-operation; no other way in which the finer elements of social life can be drawn out and developed, and the workman stimulated to greater activity, greater economy of habits, and intelligent interest in the work in which he is engaged.

The principle of competition is the law which rules throughout the animal kingdom. It is not simply a law governing human actions, but, under different names and conditions, we perceive its presence in every department of nature. Throughout all life, we find this law appearing in what is called the "struggle for existence." As a result of this "struggle," we have had the "survival of the fittest," those best adapted to develop higher forms of life, the destructive elements incidental to the fact having been necessary to the production of new and higher types. Entering human life under the name of competition,—man warring with man, tribe with tribe, nation with nation,—this law has operated with a corresponding result. Just as the struggle for existence in the animal world was one of the factors in the production of a conscious intelligence, so has the law of competition been one of the forces in the development and elaboration of higher social and political forms as well as higher intellectual, moral, and spiritual characters. But the law which is applicable to, and productive of, good in the animal kingdom, and

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to man in a lower state of existence, ceases to be beneficial when the race has reached that condition for whose attainment the law was created.

It is immaterial to the argument whether there be design or non-design in the universe. One thing, however, is certain: that, from the first appearance of life upon the globe, nature has worked with the iron law of natural selection toward the evolution of a moral, intellectual, and social being; and the moment that the desired type came into existence the object of that law was reached, and the law itself became subordinate to the higher law it was instrumental in evolving.

Competition is productive of good just so long as it is the means of producing higher forms, forces, and types of life than formerly existed; but when competition, reversing its action, gives us not the best but lower forms of industry; when, through the cheapening of labor, we obtain poorer commodities and prevent the development of our industries, arts, and sciences; when the subtile mechanism of labor is from time to time arrested, and trade stands paralyzed; when it opposes itself to the advance of republican principles, and fosters those of a monarchical nature; when it arrays itself against the spirit of the Christian religion, and breeds hatred instead of love; when it develops gigantic monopolies where the rights of the people are trampled upon,—in short, when it gives us, not the survival of the "fittest," but of those least adapted to perpetuate civilized and Christian principles, then competition as a dominant force is no longer admissible in human relations.

For be it remembered that there is in nature a terrible law of reaction, of darkness as well as of light. The same process which evolves the spring blossom and the summer fruit also brings to life the germs of cholera and yellow fever. There is development downward, retrogression as well as progression.

The law of competition upon which our present industrial system is based is not compatible with the highest development of society. Nearly all the ills of social life arise from the inharmonious relations of capital and labor.

Ignorance is the child of unrequited toil. The struggle for existence compels the children of wage-earners to commence work when they should be at school.

Disease, wretchedness, vice, and crime are the monstrous brood which poverty begets.

Pauperism and crime will never disappear until labor is raised from its present degraded position, and is recognized as an equal factor with capital in the creation of wealth.

If we leave the law of competition to work out the even tenor of its way, there will result in the course of years a condition of society more or less analogous to that of modern China. There will be a dominant class of enormous wealth, power, and influence, a middle class of somewhat larger proportions numerically, and below that a vast horde of swarming children of toil, unto whom heredity, circumstance, and social law deny all hope and amelioration. There will be a plutocracy such as the world has never seen. The franchise will be exclusively an article of traffic. Virtue, eloquence, intellect, manhood will be simply goods in the market of wealth for the highest bidder to buy.

For one palace of to-day there will be fifty under the new *régime*, but for one swarming tenement there will be a thousand.

The usual concomitants will obtain: vice, now concealed, will raise its hydra head, and crime will develop with the increase of luxury. A thousand and one forms of wrong for which to-day we have no name will spring into existence in response to the demand made by a changed and deteriorated social state.

Against this picture rises up the eternal expression of the Golden Rule. The one *régime* involves inequality, injustice, suffering, disease, and death; the other commands equality, justice, health, happiness, and life. Between the two there is no choice for the Christian, the humanitarian, patriot, moralist, and philosopher.

On every side of life to-day, we see not merely various interests, the results of a complex civilization, but we see opposing interests. We see the distinctions between different classes becoming daily more sharply defined.

Year by year the Brahmanical system of caste, a system representative of a lower order of existence, is developing in this Western world. Monopoly, the kingly despot of wealth, is laying its heavy hand on the throat of our industries and checking the free expression of our activities. There are unmistakable indications of coming trouble. Silently but surely the nation is drifting away from the moorings of republican principles. The demand of the times is a more complete protection and upbuilding of the people in contradistinction to that of the few. As Victor Hugo said, "Yes, the peoples are dead, but the people is being born." This demand cannot, however, be supplied so long as society is controlled by a system in which a minority exert for their own aggrandizement an absolute control over the lives, fortunes, and happiness of the public at large.

There can be no symmetrical development of national character while competition is the corner-stone of the nation. A true republicanism requires not alone equality, but equal opportunities; not equal powers, but equal scope wherein to exert those powers; not concentration, but distribution.

On the other hand, despotism implies that the many exist for the benefit of the few; hence the concentration of wealth, power, social, political, and religious privileges in the hands of a restricted class, and a consequent deprivation and suffering among the many, constitute a despotism irrespective of its political form. The danger which threatens us to-day is not a recurrence to monarchical institutions, but an insidious and slow reversal to a lower form of life, one in which plutocracy with its accompaniment, immorality and political corruption, are the leading characteristics.

This is only to be averted by such a change in our trade system as will present on the one side the undue concentration of wealth, and on the other facilitate its equitable distribution and enjoyment.

If there be a lesson taught by history it is that, when nations reach the zenith of their power, their first step toward decay and death is in the development of a plutocracy with its attendant evils. Is our own nation to be added to the long list of dead commonwealths? Cannot we, profiting by the experience of the race, antagonize and conquer this tendency which already manifests itself in such alarming proportions?

We have reached that stage in our development where wealth and power are becoming vested rights in fact, if not in law; while poverty is daily assuming more and more terrible forms.

On the one side there are the idleness, plethora, and disease of great wealth; on the other there are the want, the over-exertion, and disease of intense poverty.

The remedy is to apply the corrective principle of co-operation, whereby a proper distribution of wealth and power may be effected.

Underlying our civilization we have the solemn and supreme affirmation that we all stand in one common relation,—that of children of the universal Father, who causeth "His sun to shine upon the just and the unjust."

In the Declaration of Independence, we have the affirmation that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This latter statement derives its authority from the former, that all men are brethren, thus summing up the whole family of humanity, and making it one organic body. It is one, because it has sprung from one root,—God

Not only is man related to man in the bonds and sympathy of a common humanity, but, in the statement that that relationship exists by virtue of a universal one, we have man placed in correspondence with everything beneath and everything above him.

Nor is this doctrine sustained by merely religious and local authority. It is borne out by science and by history as well. For science, in tracing matter downward from organic to inorganic, thence to its nebulous condition where it wholly eludes the senses and becomes one with force or energy, shows us under all varying manifestations one bond of relation connecting the whole. It reaffirms and explains the unity of life, the brotherhood of the race, the identity of human interests. It shows us that all of life, from the atom to man, is related. Of the nature of that supreme energy from which the material universe was evolved, science does not affirm. It only declares that the sum of energy is always the same, and that whatever form of grandeur nature, unfolding in man, may assume, it can never be greater than its source, and must be in correspondence with it.

The question that vitally concerns us is, Must there always exist an antagonism between religious and republican principles and social life? Must religion forever chiefly consist in creed and doctrine, without having its correlative in conduct? Must the great fact of the unity of life, of the brotherhood of the race, never find an appropriate channel of expression? Is there no law which, when applied to social economy, will realize and express in all that pertains to the welfare of man the divine law of relation and obligation?

There is such a law. There is a principle which, when rightly applied, will banish disorder and unite in mutual helpfulness the whole human race. That principle is co-operation, which bears the same relation to trade that the general law of interdependence does to sociology, and the Golden Rule does to morals.

For co-operation is, after all, naught but the highest expression of that tendency which separates man from the animal world, and which in its outflowering has made all human society and civilization. Probably no weaker animal dwelt in the far-off period than the primitive man. Singly, he was vastly inferior to many of his contemporaries; combined, co-operating, he was their master, and in the long and weary years conquered and expelled all of his brute antagonists.

It was co-operation in later years that built the patriarchal family into the tribe, and so rendered possible man's first conquest over nature. It was co-operation that reared the great edifices of the world. It was co-operation that first brought together moral principles from material facts, and so made the great roll of names that culminates in Christ.

It was co-operation that kept learning alive in the dark centuries of the Christian era, and it is co-operation, above all things, that has made modern science, and so placed our age so immeasurably higher than all the preceding centuries.

Its application in morals has been the secret of the success of all the great religions. Stammered by Confucius, enunciated by Zoroaster, pleaded by Buddha, thundered by Mohammed, and commanded by Christ, it has transformed the daily life of the world. If it has upreared science, if it underlies society and civilization, if it vitalizes and glorifies all religion, let us carry it one step farther, where it will meet the most resistance, but where it is most needed, let us extend it to the trade systems of the world.

For co-operation is not to be restricted to industrial relations of whatever nature. It exists wherever men work together for their common good and that of others. The principle evolves from thought and feeling, where it is boundless, to definite laws and modes of expression.

In trade the law is the association of capital and labor upon the terms of justice. This principle has not yet entered mercantile life. Nevertheless, into trade it must come.

Our great manufacturing establishments conduct their affairs as they were conducted two hundred years ago, obtaining labor at the lowest rate so as to reduce expenses. No account is taken of the growth of liberal ideas and institutions, of the spread of republican and Christian principles, and the conversion of ignorant, unreflecting men into thoughtful, intelligent workers. The very spirit of the age is ignored: its marvellous inventions and discoveries, its mechanical appliances which are revolutionizing industry and changing civilization, are still regarded as compatible with industrial servitude.

Manufacturers and employers of labor must be brought to perceive that changed conditions in social life necessitate a corresponding change in industrial life; that a highly advanced civilization requires a stable basis of action for further development; and that this stable basis can only be provided through the harmonious relations of capital and labor,—through labor, apart from its wages, being allowed to participate in the profits of the business in which it is engaged. In this way only can republican and Christian principles find expression. In this way only can wealth be properly distributed and the encroachments of organized capital upon the rights of the people be arrested.

"There are those who regard it," says J. E. Cairnes, in his treatise on *Social and Political Economy*, "as a

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law of industrial development that capital should ever become more and more aggregated in a few hands; and that, as a consequence of this, the position of the laborer in the future must remain substantially what it is at present in the more advanced industrial countries, that of a recipient of wages merely. The economic data for its determination have not yet been fully worked out; but the permanent maintenance of a *régime* such as is contemplated, co-existing with a progressive industry, can only issue in one result,—a constant exaggeration of those features already beginning to mark so unpleasantly the aspect of our social state; namely, a harsh separation of classes, combined with those glaring inequalities in the distribution of wealth which most people will agree are among the chief elements of our social instability."

The time has come when for the sake of national prosperity, if for no higher reason, that the principle of justice in human relations should be proclaimed. Under the economic rule which regulates wages in accordance with the law of demand and supply, the average rate of wages of the wage-earning classes has been, and still is, kept at that point which yields them only a bare, miserable subsistence.

The relative value of the brain and hands is not fairly or rightly expressed in the relative profits between employer and employed. The workman should have his share in the profits of the business, and those profits should be in proportion to the success of the business and his activity and capability.

"This plan of industrial partnership," says Mill, "has been found of admirable efficacy, both in England and elsewhere: the admission of the whole body of laborers to a participation in the profits, by distributing among all who share in the work—in the form of a percentage upon their earnings—the whole or a fixed portion of the gains, after a certain remuneration has been allowed the capitalists."

The direct advantages to be derived from this system of industry are that each workman has a personal interest in his work. He will labor with greater skill, foresight, and economy, so as to increase the profits of the business.

The moral results of co-operation are no less obvious. It is the fulfilment of that law which was proclaimed eighteen centuries ago, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," which economically expressed is, Thou shalt make thy neighbors' interests identical with thine own.

Up to the present time, we have not regarded this law in its full significance, that of an economic as well as religious principle. A careful analysis will show its deep and subtile meaning.

The human family is one; its interests are bound and linked together. There is the same absolute interdependence of all the parts of the social organism as in that of the individual. The law governing one governs also the other; and as one member of the body cannot suffer without every part being more or less afflicted, so in like manner one portion of the human race cannot be plunged in the slough of misery without that misery affecting directly or indirectly the entire human family.

Who can trace the subtile nerves of sympathy which engirt the world? A great fire in Chicago or Milwaukee carries desolation to hundreds of thousands, and sorrow to all. The failure of a bank, through the incapacity or dishonesty of one, implies ruin and wretchedness to many. The destruction of corn and wheat in Kansas and Iowa means languishing trade in New York and idle ships on the East River.

Typhoid fever in the squalid hovel reaches up to the gilded palace.

The poison germs in the reeking tenement find their way to all grades of life. Low, monstrous forms of vice and brutality among the vicious and brutal breed vice and crime in less revolting forms among the educated and refined. Yellow fever in the uncleansed streets of the South scatters its germs broadcast for Northern incubation. Cholera in Asia crosses the ocean, and with rapid step decimates the Western world. There is no law in nature more absolute and active than that of interdependence.

Innumerable instances might be cited to show that all classes of mankind are related, and that a true economy necessitates the application of the Golden Rule to all the affairs of life.

If a nation is not symmetrically organized, if the people are badly nourished and of stunted growth, if they are characterized by feebleness, immaturity, and low animal propensities, and if the greater part of their energy is used in supplying the demands of the more cultured portion of the community, then the superstructure of national life, the wealth, the culture, the aristocracy of a nation, whether kingly or democratic, will inevitably, and when least expected, show signs of approaching dissolution.

We can no more exhaust the life forces of a nation by leaving its people to struggle endlessly with those twin monsters, poverty and ignorance, and all their terrible accessories, and yet continue to prosper, than we can exhaust the life forces of our own bodies by insufficient care and nourishment, and yet maintain the royalty of thought and the equilibrium of health.

History shows us three distinct stages of development in the condition of the working class: First, a slave bought and sold like any article of merchandise. Passing from slavery into serfdom, he is no longer bought and sold, but his position is that of a menial, and labor is held in utter contempt. During the feudal period, political power was based upon property qualification, and legislation was wholly in the interests of the few. The next marked advance was where we find the laborer to-day master of himself, and, to a limited extent, of his action, but without the power to free himself from the thraldom of the law of demand and supply in its regulation of the rate of wages.

The next period is before us, when labor is to be recognized as an equal factor with capital in the creation of wealth. Then the last lingering remnant of slavery will disappear, and labor will stand in all its native dignity.

> "And the smith complains to the anvil's song,
> Complains of the years he has toiled and pined;
> For the priest and the ruler are swift to wrong,
> And the mills of God are slow to grind.
>
> "But a clear, keen voice comes over the sea,
> It is piercing the gloom of the waning night:
> Time was, time is, and time shall be
> When John o' the smithy shall come by his right.
>
> "And they who have forged the pitiless round,
> Which has pressed him hard in body and soul,
> Shall perish from earth when the grist is ground,
> And the Mighty Miller shall claim his toll."

It is simply a question of time and education. Just as surely as barbarism has given way and is disappearing before the refining forces of civilization; just as surely as the workman has ascended, step by step, from slavery and serfdom to the ownership of himself,—just so surely will he attain to the ownership of his labor, rising above the law of supply and demand by having a pecuniary interest in his work. And, as every advance has been characterized by greater intelligence and higher moral attributes, so will it be in a still greater degree when co-operative industry and a just distribution of wealth shall have superseded our present competitive system.

In the more intimate associations which such a system of industry necessitates, many objectionable features characteristic of undevelopment will slowly disappear. For, if vice and disease are contagious, health, happiness, and goodness are no less so. The thought of the endlessness of poverty, with its terrible adjuncts of vice and crime, is not in harmony with the progressive tendencies of nature. Class discriminations, the oppression of the poor and needy by the rich and powerful, the monopoly of the fruits of labor, are not in harmony with the moral forces which should govern human life. The law of the survival of the strongest through the "struggle for existence,"—let it be operative on a plane of life where it is productive of good, but let the higher law of justice, of love, govern in all the relations of life.

That higher law of co-operation, of associated interests, does not come to destroy individual action, but to augment it. It does not come to sweep away private property, the result of years of toil and endurance, but to increase that property by extending larger facilities to all. It does not come to destroy or subvert family life,—from which civilization started, and on which it rests,—but to broaden, beautify, enrich, and ennoble it, so that existence may be brighter, sweeter, purer, easier for all.

Co-operation comes to increase individual action by a closer combination of all human forces, for the largest individualism is only attainable through united action. In unity there is strength.

Co-operation is the organization of individual actions and industries for the greatest good of the whole, and this is accomplished through the greater good of all the parts.

Human nature, in so far as it contains the animal quality of inertia, dislikes innovation.

> "Let us alone, it says,
> Let what is broken so remain;
> The Gods are hard to reconcile,
> 'Tis hard to settle order once again."

Every new and higher doctrine succeeds only after antagonism and battle.

In the main, the greater the value of any new doctrine, the greater the hostility it excites.

Inasmuch as antagonism to that which is true merely accelerates the reception of its truth, and as errors in the statement of a truth give that antagonism form and meaning, it is necessary to study out well the entire theory of co-operation, to learn its relation to the past, also its principles and mode of application, and what evils are to be guarded against in its introduction.

We are leaving the landmarks of the past behind us,—savagery, barbarism, feudalism, slavery. We are preparing to enter the yet untrodden field of human equality, where all men will have an equal opportunity to life, liberty, and happiness; where the rights of the lowliest and poorest, as children of God, are to be secured and protected.

This mighty movement is in various ways pressing forward toward its fulfilment. The duty, the necessity of the hour is to institute such reformatory measures as that the coming change may from the first be a beneficial one.

Although in the past, and up to the present hour, it has been necessary that the fact of human brotherhood should to a great extent find no proper channel of expression, yet just in proportion to the nonfulfilment of the law have individual and national life suffered impairment, retrogression, decay, and death. Happiness and life are in direct proportion to our ability to conform to the written and unwritten laws of God in nature.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CONSOLATIONS OF A NOBLE FAITH.

Editors of The Index:—

To an article in *The Index* of June 7, depreciating the "Consolations of Religion," as it appears in the effect of a certain theology or faith, I wish to add the following for its completion, with your permission.

Neither theology nor any other thought or set of thoughts is of any consequence, except so far as it is believed; and then it may be powerful for good or evil. Thus, faith is the mightiest of finite forces. The eleventh chapter of Hebrews is but a canto of an endless poem, which might be sung in praise of the power of faith, and every word be true. Faith is the necessary and universal spur to action, except the desperate and merely reflexive. Without faith, calm and patient waiting and mental repose while momentous events, which much concern us, are pending, can never be had.

The effect of any faith will vary according to its nature. Its child must be born in its own likeness. According to the seed will be in kind the harvest, whether it be good or evil.

To some minds, therefore, pure materialism and atheism may have some consolation relative to a future life. Such a faith has nothing to fear just because it has nothing to hope. It contains no Minos in any form, with his sentence of retribution. The antipodal faith of pantheism will have a similar effect. Emerson was quite happy from a fortunate birth, an even temperament, and a growing fame, and a strong faith in a vague theory of optimism which puts all things unconsciously on a grand march toward excellence and dignity.

On the other hand, Christians who believe in the eternal damnation of the vast majority of mankind, of all the heathen, and most of the people in Christian nations, have good grounds for a degree of constant sadness and fear. If the number saved is so small, why should they be saved? And what assurance have they or can they have? They may well doubt, and the doubt is an arrow which transfixes the heart. They need to make assurance doubly sure, lest at last they may be cast away, contrary to their expectations, which is said to be the doom of "many." Faith in this cruel and blighting dogma, a "doctrine of devils," has for many ages been a source of in-

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numerable woes to mankind, remaking men a prey to priestcraft and the slaves of despots colleagued with priests. The Christian world has hence been an Enceladus under the burning mountain. But the mountain is crumbling and paling its fires, and the oppressed giant is slowly struggling into freedom. When this is attained, spiritual gloom will pass away, except where moral perversity holds it in just detention; and the consolations of religion will be as sure and perfect as the effect of dews and showers on the thirsty herbage.

In the mean while, this happy condition is and has been enjoyed by millions of Christians who have attained this freedom for themselves. This is conspicuous as the general experience of the devout and good among the people called Methodists (and not by any means confined to them), who do not believe usually in the general perdition of the heathen or in the perdition of any one who has not intrinsically doomed himself by his rejection of known truth and neglect of known duty. Such people view God as infinitely better and more lovely than the best of men and women, and consider themselves assuredly as his children; and that, therefore, they are safe and provided for as concerns eternity, to which all the present is some way, though often painfully, made ancillary. In this faith, they have a boundless scope for every faculty of their nature, and a prospect of the future which in every particular is inspiring, except the self ruin of wilful and incorrigible sinners. In this faith, therefore, there is a consolation and stimulus and moral incentive of the strongest kind and of the highest order; for it is the belief in the least possible evil for any and the highest possible good for all, which good is conspicuously manifest in the state and experience of those who conform to the highest moral and spiritual in perfect devotion.

With such a view of God and his government,—a view which we hold to be essentially Christian,—it is not true that the effect of trust in God is offset by the effect of the fear of God. "There is nothing to fear, except by those who know they deserve to suffer, and cannot therefore escape it. This is not a belief in a superintending Providence that *arbitrarily* decides the issues of life." God's providence is the action of eternal rational moral necessity, by which nature itself is made pregnant with an immutable, intelligent, and moral purpose in its action and effect, however unconscious of its working and destiny. The subject of this faith may, like other people, have to suffer and to feel and exhibit the effects of nervous derangement and depression which no religious consolation can wholly conquer or prevent; but the sweetest and most refreshing draught that ever touches his fervid lips is that which comes up, clear and cold and sparkling, from these hidden and eternal depths, the well of life, which this faith ever digs for all true believers. W. I. GILL.

"BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM."

Editors of The Index:—

The fruits of Christian theology have not always been sweet or a blessing to mankind. The fruits of Christian religion—its human sentiment—have not, in the main, been so sour. And, from some cause,—possibly from the tree having received a few scientific grafts during the past fifty years,—we find it at present bearing much fruit that may be pronounced "very good."

I wish to call the attention of Liberal organizations and ethical societies to a kind of work that is being done by the Young Women's Christian Association of New York, and which needs to be taken up in all large cities. It is the teaching of some special business to intelligent women who find themselves obliged to earn their own living. The association before mentioned pays competent teachers to give thorough and complete instruction to classes of girls, over eighteen years of age, in penmanship, book-keeping, stenography, type-writing, drawing, and retouching of negatives; each girl attending the class which teaches the art she desires to learn. No girl of good character is excluded. I have had Protestants of various sects, Roman Catholics, and Jews in the stenographic classes which I have taught here for the past four years.

Thus, hundreds of young girls are yearly provided with the means of subsistence; for the association has also an employment bureau where pupils and others are provided with places as speedily as possible. It has, in addition, a lending library, and a reading-room where are to be found all the New York dailies, standard weeklies, and the best magazines.

The business management of the institution is admirable, no debts overhanging, though the efficiency of this excellent organization is much hindered by the want of money to enlarge its building and perfect its work.

It is, however, conducted entirely by women; and women know how to do the best that can be done when, not having the means, they cannot do as they would.

Now, what city will be the first to organize and carry on for ten years a *Young Women's Liberal Association?* Let Liberals and Christians cease detraction, and rather "provoke one another to good works."

ELIZA B. BURNZ.

A SAMPLE OF DR. DURYEA'S PREACHING TO YOUNG LADIES.

Editors of The Index:—

At Andover, June 10, Rev. J. T. Duryea, LL.D., in his baccalaureate address before the young ladies of the Abbott Academy, took faith as the key-note of his address, and gave agnostics a pretty hard rap by referring to them as "developed fools." He took a voyage at sea as a parallel to the voyage of life, and said, "A chart and compass are the only safeguards against disaster: you must first be sure of your chart and your course." That will do to preach to young ladies, but it wouldn't do to tell sailors. How many "*developed fools*," even, do you believe would start on a voyage to sea in a ship full of charts and compasses, without an experienced captain, mate, pilot, and crew who, individually or collectively, had been over the course once at least? If merchants had been sending ships for years over the ocean to an unknown country, and none of them had ever returned or been heard from, wouldn't a spirit of agnosticism begin to show itself? Wouldn't the younger merchants begin to question, and doubt whether the old chronicles from which their fathers had derived their courses were not the result of some very vivid imaginings of some human beings in the remote past?

Faith—the substance of things hoped for, but not seen—is an imaginary line that theologians like to draw, in their minds, alongside of a line of facts, and call it a parallel. By the way, is it gentlemanly—even if it be Christianlike—to call a person a fool, because he doesn't think just as you do. What is the difference, if any, between a "developed fool" and a natural-born one? Here is my idea of the difference: A developed fool is one who has *found out* that he knows but a very little outside the verities of life, while a natural-born one is one who hasn't. D. F.

THE SLANDER REPEATED.

Editors of The Index:—

I just read in the daily *Evening Post* of Hartford, Conn., June 19, an article on the nomination of candidates for governor of Ohio, in which I read the following: "Judge Hoadly possesses one qualification which will not be of great advantage to him in an Ohio campaign. He is an infidel of the rankest sort, one of the vice-presidents of the notorious society which issues *The Index*, which is classified as that vilest of religious-hating and society-degrading sheets." There is bigotry and intolerance and a violation of the command, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

For the right, D. B. HALE.

COLLINSVILLE, CONN., June 20, 1883.

NOTE OF CORRECTION.

Editors of The Index:—

I was in error in thinking that I had "passed in review" *all* the extant writers of the first ten centuries. I find I have a second-hand reference to Julius Capitolinus, whom I could not get sight of. This implies that there may be many others whom I do not know. I shall not, however, overstate in reckoning the number of those whom I have either studied or cursorily examined at about five hundred. J. H. ALLEN.

JUDGE HOADLY AND "THE INDEX."

Mr. Stark informs us that the following communication has been "seething in the cauldron of the *Leader* editorial rooms" for four days, but that *Leader* magnanimity "can hardly be expected to rise to the height of even tardy amends for its gross injustice." He further writes: "Of course I make no political or theological controversy with that paper. Its 'God-fearing and Christian,' its Republican and temperance zeal is unquestioned and unquestionable, and with many will no doubt cover a multitude of sins; but, to the question whether the juster estimate of the real sanctities of private reputation, the clearer notions of social and civil rights, and the natural moralities of temperate and truthful speech would not gladly exchange all that partisanship and cant for improved manners, it seems to me there can be but one answer." We append the communication:—

To the Cleveland Leader:—

A feeling as of personal injustice and outrage constrains me to remonstrate at your words of the 16th in regard to George Hoadly and *The Index*. From the very first number, now for thirteen years, I have been a close reader of that paper. During all that time, the very foremost men and women of our time have been its leading and conspicuous supporters,—foremost, I mean, in moral and intellectual courage, worth, and culture. Not in any spirit of partiality or eulogy merely, but weighing my words to fit the fact, I say, for devotion to what is true and pure and just, for seriousness, moral elevation, for unpartisan championship of all the high interests of society, as well as for high literary quality, *The Index* has no peer in the periodical literature of our age and tongue.

Hon. George Hoadly is one of the vice-presidents of the association whose organ *The Index* is, and he may well be proud of his associates. They are, so far as I know, true men and women of exceptional worth. Not to burden you with the long list, from its foundation to the day of his death Emerson was one of them. As I understand it, this was the only voluntary association that for many years he had given the weight of his great name to, and that not by good-natured yielding to solicitation, but by hearty sympathy with its aims and methods, and co-operation in its work.

The "God-fearing and Christian people of Ohio" are not "smirched" by the candidacy of Judge Hoadly, nor would be by his election on any ground of his personal character, so far as yet appears; but the conduct of the Republican campaign by such intemperate and immoral means cannot but hurt our party prospects, and, what is worse, lower the tone of the public morals.

A frank withdrawal of the slanderous imputation and apology for your rash mistake would be matter of profound gratification and thanks to at least one Republican and friend. E. D. STARK.

June 18, 1883.

—*Cleveland Plaindealer, June 23.*

BOOK NOTICES.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN HALLOWELL. Written at the Request of his Daughter, Caroline H. Miller, for his Children and Grandchildren, in the Seventy-sixth Year of his Life. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Association. 1020 Arch Street.

We began the perusal of this book—dedicated as it is "To All who feel that they are the better for his having lived," and which the author's "Prefatory Note" explains "is a true picture of me and of my then condition; that they [his descendants] therefore may study it as representing the environments that have evolved my character, and the '*Me*' that makes this record"—with an expectation of finding little of general interest in a life thus written for a domestic purpose. But we have been most agreeably disappointed,—not in the matter of the commonplace incidents of the life here portrayed, but in the spirit of the man himself. No one, whatever his creed or unbelief, can arise from the perusal of this volume without feeling benefited by contact with so sincere a soul, or without finding his faith in human goodness strengthened or aroused. It is the autobiography of a singularly conscientious, pure-minded, and single-hearted man, who accepted misfortunes unrepiningly, and made the best of his opportunities. Although for the greater part of his life a teacher of others, yet he was not a deep thinker or given much to speculative philosophizing; but, better than these, he was an honest, honorable, upright man, wonderfully broad in his views for a man of such intense faith in the "inner light." It is surprising to note the singular combination in his character of almost childlike simplicity with shrewd business tact and almost intuitive comprehension of human nature as displayed in the varied events of his laborious and earnest life. In his plain statement of the facts of his life, though there is apparent no attempt at vainglorious self-laudation over his often hard-won victories over self and circumstances, yet there can be perceived an honest expression of satisfaction at every surmounted difficulty. Never

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does he attempt to preach to others sermons from the texts supplied by his own life-lessons; but the constant self-questioning which he exhibits, and his quiet acceptance of all evils as a part of the necessary discipline of life are more potent for good than pages of sermonizing directed at the faults of others. The book is more healthful in tone and inspiring than anything we have read in the autobiographical line since we read the journal of John Woolman, another Quaker as pure-minded and earnest as Benjamin Hallowell. Copious addenda accompany the autobiography, including some plain statements in regard to his religious belief, several of his favorite poems, and letters of sincere condolence addressed to his family on the occasion of his death, by many well-known thinkers and writers.

DOCTOR CLAUDIUS. A True Story. By F. Marion Crawford, author of *Mr. Isaacs*. Price $1. New York: MacMillan & Co. For sale by Lockwood, Brooks & Co., Boston.

The novel-reading public, not having been of late years treated to anything exceptionally new in the way of romance, has become thereby very hungry for anything savoring of a new departure in romantic literature. Mr. Crawford, in *Mr. Isaacs*, catered so far to this hungry longing as to give to his heroes new environments, incentives, and purposes. In *Doctor Claudius* he follows the same idea in a lesser degree. Yachting and love-making have become identified in story-readers' minds, through the efforts of Black and others. In addition to this element, Mr. Crawford adds in *Doctor Claudius* his specialty of an *olla podrida* of nationalities, as in *Mr. Isaacs*. We have a German doctor, an English duke and his sister, an American lady, countess by marriage to a Russian, a Scotch duenna, and a calculating Yankee millionaire. In spite of an ill-sustained plot, the interest never flags, and "Dr. Claudius" himself is a well-drawn, well-sustained character.

THE *North American Review* for July is as wide-awake to current events and discussions as any previous number. This magazine makes a specialty of the discussion of live issues by live men. In this number we have the opinion of President J. H. Seelye, of Amherst College, as to "Dynamite as a Factor in Civilization"; Lieut-Gen. Phil. Sheridan's description of "The Last Days of the Rebellion"; W. S. Holman, member of Congress, gives an account of "The Increase of Public Expenditures"; Rev. O. B. Frothingham has an able article on "Democracy and Moral Progress"; Z. R. Brockway has something to say in regard to "Needed Reforms in Prison Management"; Thomas S. Perry writes of "Science and the Imagination"; George E. Waring, Jr., gives some timely hints as to "Sanitary Drainage," and Elbridge I. Gerry writes on "Cruelty to Children." The "Symposium" which closes this number is on "Church Attendance," in which only one "Non-Church Goer" takes the field against three reverends, and those not the best known.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

MR. M. J. SAVAGE sails for Europe next Friday, to be absent from this country till September.

HENRY DOTY MAXSON (formerly of Milwaukee) is to take the Chair of History and Political Economy in the Normal School at Whitewater, Wis.

PROF. WILLIAM D. WHITNEY, of New Haven, Conn., has been elected an associate of the Lyncean Society of Rome, in recognition of his services in the field of comparative philology.

EMPEROR WILLIAM of Prussia has set apart November 11 and 12 of this year for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Luther. It is expected that this anniversary will be very generally observed by the Protestant churches of all countries. It is thus that Time takes his revenges. So, once again, it comes to pass that

"The hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn."

IN Dr. Edward Lasker, this country receives as a visitor one of the prominent statesmen of Germany, and one of the most learned lawyers of Berlin. Like nearly all politicians of eminence in the empire, Dr. Lasker failed so often to agree with Prince Bismarck that he finally withdrew from active connection with his party, the National Liberals. There seems to be no immediate prospect that his party will be able to profit by his leadership, and Dr. Lasker, therefore, will spend considerable time in the United States. The object of his visit is pleasure and the study of our institutions.

NO EVENT in recent times has called out such enthusiasm in England as the commemoration of the completion of John Bright's twenty-five years' service as representative of Birmingham in Parliament. The great Commoner passed through miles of crowded people, and the cheering was hearty and incessant. Americans have reason to feel unusual interest and satisfaction in this recognition by the English people of John Bright's service. In the dark days of the Rebellion, when eminent Englishmen had only words of doubt and discouragement for us as a nation, Mr. Bright said: "Mr. Gladstone believes the cause of the North to be hopeless, and that their enterprise cannot succeed. . . . I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in an unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic, westward, to the calmer waters of the Pacific Main. And I see one people and one language, and one law and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime."

OF Judge Hoadly, who was nominated last Wednesday by the Democratic Convention of Ohio, for governor, the New York *Herald* of Friday said: "He is an able and honest man, and a Democrat in the true sense of that word. We make haste to say this of him, because before forty-eight hours are over he will probably discover himself to be a villain of the deepest dye." The New York *World* has this to say: "In nominating Judge Hoadly, the Democratic Convention of Ohio did at once the wisest and the most liberal thing it has done in many years. Wisest, because George Hoadly will receive more liberal independent Republican votes than any other Democrat could possibly receive. The most liberal, because, until 1872, Judge Hoadly was a Republican, and there were older Democrats of merit who aspired to the honor. Thus, the Democratic Convention showed a broad, generous spirit in taking up a man not entitled to the nomination by party rules and party service. And it showed very good sense in taking up the man who is able and pure and is sure to receive the largest possible German vote in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and other cities. . . . Judge Hoadly is a man of fine ability, winning manners, pure character, and a clever combination of wit, brain, and pluck. He will make a splendid canvass. From now till the first week of October he will be one of the most prominent figures in American politics. Should he be elected by a very decided majority, and in a vote as full, for instance, as that cast in the last presidential election, he will become a presidential possibility."

REV. JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, Bishop of Natal, died last week, after a brief illness, in his seventieth year. He was of Cornish birth, educated at Cambridge, made Bishop of Natal in 1853, and published his famous work, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, in 1862. He had long before won distinction as a scholar, and as author of works on arithmetic and algebra which took rank as standard text-books and are still in use in England. His book on the Pentateuch called down upon his head the thunders of the Church. Both houses of the convocation of the Province of Canterbury condemned the book, and the Bishop of Cape Town, as Metropolitan, declared its author deposed from his see. This deposition was pronounced void by the Privy Council, on the ground that the crown had no power to constitute a bishopric or confer coercive jurisdiction within any colony possessing an independent legislature. The Council of Colonial Bishops tried to starve out Colenso by refusing to pay him his income; but Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, ordered it paid, with arrears and interest. In England, Colenso had many friends; and on his visit in 1865 to see to his rights, $16,500 was given him as a token of sympathy and respect. He published a new chapter of his work on the Pentateuch in 1872, and more on the same subject in 1873, a volume of sermons, a Zulu grammar and a Zulu dictionary, and a translation into that tongue of the New Testament and other parts of the Bible, and the prayer-book, besides many educational works for the Zulus, of whom he was indeed a good friend.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to coöperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reëlection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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The office of the Association is at 3 TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON (directly in the rear of the Tremont House), where is also the publication office of *The Index*.

All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

Communications intended specially for the Secretary, as well as his personal correspondence, should be addressed to him at PROVIDENCE, R.I.

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